

Dialogue:

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

BOARD OF EDITORS

(APPOINTMENT THROUGH 1967)

- DOUGLAS ALDER
History, Utah State University
- MARY L. BRADFORD
Literature, Arlington, Va.
- CARLFRED B. BRODERICK
*Family Relations
Pennsylvania State University*
- DOUGLAS R. BUNKER
Social Psychology, Harvard University
- VICTOR B. CLINE
Psychology, University of Utah
- GARY H. DRIGGS
Banking, Phoenix, Ariz.
- JOHN HALE GARDNER
Physics, Brigham Young University
- MICHAEL R. HARRIS
History, Pomona College
- KARL KELLER
*Literature,
San Diego State College*
- STANLEY B. KIMBALL
History, Southern Illinois University
- KENT LLOYD
*Political Science,
University of Southern California*
- GARTH L. MANGUM
Economics, Washington, D.C.
- EDWARD D. MARYON
Fine Arts, University of Utah
- FRANCES MENLOVE
Psychology, Karlsruhe, Germany
- R. JOSEPH MONSEN, JR.
Economics, University of Washington
- DIANE MONSON
*Political Science,
Brigham Young University*
- DALLIN H. OAKS
Law, University of Chicago
- DEWITT J. PAUL, JR.
Industry, Union, N.J.
- CHASE N. PETERSON
Medicine, Salt Lake City
- KENDALL O. PRICE
*Social Psychology,
University of Southern California*
- STERLING D. SESSIONS
*Business Education
Lima, Peru*
- CHERRY B. SILVER
Literature, Denver, Colo.
- JOHN SORENSON
Anthropology, Santa Barbara, Calif.
- NORMAN H. TOLK
Physics, Columbia University
- DOW O. WOODWARD
Biochemistry, Stanford University

ADVISORY EDITORS:

- LEONARD ARRINGTON
LOWELL BENNION

EDITORIAL STAFF

Managing Editors: Eugene England†,
G. Wesley Johnson†
Publication Editor: (Salt Lake City)
Paul G. Salisbury†
Notes and Comments Editor:
Joseph Jeppson†
Book Review Editor: Richard L. Bushman†
Associate Book Review Editor:
Ralph W. Hansen
Manuscript Editor: Edward Geary†
Editorial Associates: Kent Christensen,
Nancy Lund, Kent Robson,
R. A. Christmas, Karen Rosenbaum

Editorial Assistants: Meredith Barker,
Margaret Crockett, Nancy Folland,
Kathy Hansen, Marilyn Pearson,
Susan Thurman, Susan Jane Thurman,
Eileen White

Publication Assistants: Linda Wilcox,
Charles Solomon, Doug Cowley

BUSINESS STAFF

Management Consultants: Tom Bennett,
Joe Ollivier
Office Manager: Christie Redford
Subscriptions: Pat Bacon
Promotion: Dave Barber, George Pearson,
Margot Pearson

†Indicates Member Executive Committee

Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought is published by the Dialogue Foundation. Editorial Office and Subscription Department, P. O. Box 2350, Stanford, California 94305. Publication Office, 2180 E. 9th South, Salt Lake City, Utah 84108. *Dialogue* has no official connection with any department of Stanford University or of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Second class postage paid at Salt Lake City, Utah. Printed by The Quality Press, Salt Lake City. All communications should be sent to the Editorial Offices. *Dialogue* is published quarterly in Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter issues. Subscription rate in the United States is \$7 a year; \$5 for students and missionaries; add \$1 for foreign subscriptions. Single copies, \$2.00, back issues, \$2.50. Subscription and change of address requests should be sent to the Subscription Department. *Dialogue* welcomes articles, essays, stories, notes and comments, and art work. Manuscripts should be sent in duplicate to the Manuscript Editor, accompanied by return postage. Contents copyright 1967 by the Dialogue Foundation.



Dialogue:

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 1.

SPRING, 1967

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.

CONTENTS

Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought / Vol. II, No. 1 / Spring 1967

IN THIS ISSUE		2
LETTERS TO THE EDITORS		5
ARTICLES AND ESSAYS		
MORALITY OR EMPATHY? A Mormon in the Theater	<i>Ronald Wilcox</i>	15
CHRIST WITHOUT THE CHURCH: The Challenge of Dietrich Bonhoeffer	<i>Kenneth Godfrey</i>	28
AN HONORABLE SURRENDER: The Experience of Conversion	<i>Carlos S. Whiting</i>	40
ART AND BELIEF: Art and Belief: A Group Exhibition	<i>Dale T. Fletcher</i>	48
Art and Belief: A Critique	<i>Douglas Hill</i>	52
ROUNDTABLE		
THE BIBLE IN THE CHURCH		
The Bible in the Church	<i>Heber C. Snell</i>	55
Scholars and Prophets	<i>Sidney B. Sperry</i>	74
The Bible, the Church, and Its Scholars	<i>Kent Robson</i>	85
POETRY		
VILLANELLE FOR OUR ELDER BROTHER	<i>Sylvia Ruth</i>	91
HOMESTEAD IN IDAHO	<i>Clinton F. Larson</i>	92
REVIEWS		
THE "LEGEND" AND THE "CASE" OF JOE HILL	<i>Vernon H. Jensen</i>	97
CONFUSION, U.S.A.	<i>Joseph H. Jeppson</i>	110
TALE OF A TELL	<i>Ellis Rasmussen</i>	111
SHORT NOTICES	<i>Claudia Bushman, Eugene F. Campbell</i>	113
AMONG THE MORMONS: A Survey of Current Literature		116
HUGH NIBLEY: A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE	<i>Louis Midgley</i>	119

NOTES AND COMMENTS

*E. Marshall Chatwin and LeGrand Woolley,
Samuel W. Taylor, C. Jess Groesbeck* 122

ART CREDITS:

Art direction and design: PAUL G. SALISBURY

Cover Design: WARREN LUCH

Dialogue is grateful to Mrs. Yeaman of the University of Utah Library and to the Salt Lake City Library Special Collections for the cooperation in obtaining the materials on Joe Hill. The following were taken from THE LETTERS OF JOE HILL compiled and edited by Philip S. Foner (New York, 1965): 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 106, 109

The original sketches in this issue are by the following artists:

ALBERT L. CHRISTENSEN	113
PAUL ELLINGSON	84
FRANKLIN T. FERGUSON	72, 128
EDWARD JOE RUBEN	6, 8, 11, 12

IN THIS ISSUE

Since the inception of *Dialogue* over a year ago, a crucial role has been played by the Board of Editors in helping to determine which manuscripts should be printed in the limited amount of space available in each issue. With the exception of letters and certain notes, all materials are circulated (without authors' names) to at least three members of the Board for review; their detailed criticism of manuscripts and their advice and support in other matters have given the Staff a broader vision of *Dialogue's* needs and possibilities and have been vital to its success.

At the beginning of each year a group of new members of the Board is chosen for a two-year term. This year we are pleased to introduce the following new members: Mary L. Bradford, who studied English at the University of Utah and now lives in Virginia where her husband is a banking executive; Frances Menlove, one of the founders of *Dialogue* and a Ph.D. in psychology, who is currently living in Karlsruhe, Germany, where her husband is doing research in physics; Douglas Alder, who is Assistant Professor of History at Utah State University, where he also serves as bishop of one of the student wards; John Gardner, who is head of the Physics Department at Brigham Young University and was recently appointed President of the Utah Academy of Arts and Letters; and John Sorensen, who taught anthropology at Brigham Young University for several years and is now Director of Research at the Defense Research Corporation in Santa Barbara, California.

One of the central concerns of *Dialogue* is to examine the opportunities and problems of the Mormon artist in contemporary society. In this issue we present an essay by an actor and an exhibit by a group of artists who are struggling with these opportunities and problems. In our lead essay, Ronald Wilcox, an experienced professional actor and playwright who studied both at BYU and at Baylor University before joining a distinguished repertory company, challenges some of the notions about the theater that lead people in the name of morality to apply the same standards of behavior to the play and its actors as to real life. In place of a guest artist, in this issue we present paintings from a group exhibition of young Mormon artists held last December and January in Salt Lake City; Dale Fletcher, who helped organize the exhibit, examines the exhibition's theme, "Art and Belief," and recounts some of the feelings of himself and his fellow artists about the possibilities of a "Mormon" visual art, and Douglas Hill does a critique of the exhibit's contribution to a "visual tradition," which he finds as yet lacking in Mormonism.

Also included in this issue is a long narrative poem by Clinton Larson, a poet of growing stature who teaches at Brigham Young University and whose poetic dramas, recently published in collected form, have been performed in a number of cities in the United States.

Letters to the Editors

Dear Sirs:

. . . *Dialogue* can become a source of intellectual satisfaction that will complement and augment the spiritual satisfaction abundantly provided by the Church. To become such a source it must be vital and current and must not be pedantic or pretentious. I say this because those of us who need *Dialogue* the most have limited knowledge of history, literature, and philosophy. Obscure references or quotations will be lost on us. "We" are the growing number of Church members educated in the biological and physical sciences and engineering. Our ward here in Wilmington, Delaware (DuPont, Hercules, Atlas, etc.), has about thirty members with Ph.D.'s in these fields. . . . I don't imagine we're unique.

So talk to us and with us about God and His Church. And let us write an article or two. Best of luck.

A. U. Daniels
Wilmington, Delaware

Dear Sirs:

In Mr. Mangum's article "Free Agency and Freedom — Some Misconceptions" it seems to me the principal misconception is Mr. Mangum's. Moral freedom and its adjunct, moral responsibility, stem from two sources: (1) the inherent ability of the individual, eternal (uncreated: Doctrine and Covenants 93:29) primordial

intelligence to will its own acts independently of any causes external to itself; (2) the environment of this intelligence, including the spiritual and material body in which it is clothed and surroundings and the influences to which it is subjected. Without the first there could be no moral responsibility. Indeed, if man were wholly a creation of God then He, not man, would be responsible for men's actions. Mr. Mangum, who states "Man is a creation of God . . .," is not alone in erring on this point. The teacher's supplement of the current Gospel Doctrine course, "The Gospel in the Service of Man," states that "the eternal intelligence was organized into 'intelligences' . . ." thus denying the eternal individuality of man (Abraham 3:18, 19) and thereby denying his moral responsibility. It is only in the realm of the second that God or man can enter; and as God with his superior knowledge and power can frustrate or overawe the primordial intelligence in any exercise of its own will so can man in a lesser degree. Witness the effect of drugs, accident, disease, fear, early conditioning, false teachings, etc., on the ability of men to direct their own lives. The story of the war in heaven certainly has its counterpart here on earth and it takes on added significance insofar as it does. If Mr. Mangum seeks a scriptural evidence of God's concern for the deprivation

by man of a suitable environment for his fellowman to achieve the purpose of his existence he need turn only to the story of the flood or of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Since free agency, which is identified with moral freedom by Mr. Mangum, of necessity requires both the eternality of the individual intelligence or will and a suitable environment for the free exercise of that will (identified with freedom by Mr. Mangum) it would appear that the concepts of free agency and freedom cannot be separated as Mr. Mangum would have us believe. This, however, in no way diminishes the importance of his interesting discussion of freedom.

John H. Gardner
Brigham Young University



Dear Sirs:

"Anti-intellectualism in Mormon History," *Dialogue*, Vol. 1, No. 3, by Davis Bitton, presents a most interesting example of "intellectualism."

The author, on pages 124 and 125, states "the Church became predominantly Republican" in its leader-

ship, in that it "was represented by Senator Reed Smoot, President Heber J. Grant, and President J. Reuben Clark, Jr. — all conservative Republicans." Footnote No. 28 states that President Grant "switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party at the beginning of the century."

I lived in the same neighborhood with President Grant for many years. I personally know of active assistance he rendered the Democratic Party in the 1918 political campaign. He was always known as a Democrat at least until the middle 'thirties when the Democratic Party apostatized from its traditional principles. From 1918 to 1925, Charles W. Penrose, an ardent Democrat, served as Counselor to President Grant. Anthony W. Ivins, also an active Democrat (whose son stated in my presence less than eighteen months ago that his father was a Democrat until the day he died) served as a counselor to President Grant from 1921 to 1934.

It is not my purpose here to criticize these brethren either individually or collectively for their political beliefs. But I do feel compelled to correct the record. President Grant did not "switch from the Democratic to the Republican Party at the beginning of the century," and the Church leadership was not "predominantly Republican." Mr. Bitton, in stating it was, is guilty either of poor research, none at all, or of manufacturing his facts.

Mr. Bitton charges repeatedly that the Church has had a "garrison mentality." In doing this, he does not understand inspired leadership as an accepted doctrine of the Church. By using this expression, he imputes a rigid regimentation to the Church membership which is entirely unwarranted.

This is but illustrative of Mr. Bitton's "intellectualism" in treating his

subject. To refute the many other critical assertions of the writer of this article would take many pages, and would endow a dignity to it to which it is not entitled. It is sufficient to say that Mr. Bitton's "intellectualism" consists principally of repeated cliches, insinuations and misstatements of facts which illustrate quite definitely that he has not the capacity to objectively discuss the subject.

A few words are also appropriate concerning "Separation of Church and State," which appeared in Vol. 1, No. 2. A rational reader feels to agree with much of what is said, including some of the conclusions set forth.

However, one who reads the article without having a more complete knowledge of the facts of political life in Utah is subconsciously or otherwise led to the conclusion that the Republicans are the "bad guys," and that the Democrats are the "good guys," for all the examples of violation cited by the writer were perpetrated by the Republicans, the Democrats being the innocent victims.

I personally know of many violations by members of both political parties. The human weakness of mixing politics with religion certainly has not been confined to one party. One of the latest was an attempt by the Democrats in Utah to convert two stake conferences into a vast political rally just prior to election.

The writer of the article, by imputing evil only to Republicans admits that his research was pitifully incomplete. In the future, if he will but call upon me when his research takes him into the field of political wrongdoing, I shall be pleased to help, that he may avoid bias or prejudice.

William D. Callister
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

As pertaining to many *Dialogue* contributors among whom Davis Bitton is but one, may I observe:

It would seem that there are some, perhaps even many, who see the need for a great intellectual awakening, crusade, reform to roll forth and cleanse once for all and forever the terrible stigmas associated with the "Mormon" church today. To put forever to an end the outmoded image of a tottering and decadent leadership so far out of step with the present and future needs of this people.

I've always wanted to go with a winner so — I'm ready to follow. But before I go, may I put out a question or so for answers?

How many of these learned intellectuals who stand ready to serve God and man in this great purge are full tithers of consistent record? How many have put God into their debt by their quiet works among the poor and needy? How many are a consistent part of the thirty-five percent attending Sacrament Meeting week after week? How many have completed their searching and doing for their kindred dead that they might provide eternal crowns of glory for them and theirs? How many are among the meek and lowly who have given unselfishly and unstintingly of themselves to support by earnest and prayerful supplication and service those *now* chosen of the Lord? How many are true examples to their fellows as pertaining to strict adherence to principles of the words of wisdom offered by a loving God and Father? How many give oral testimony to their knowledge of the truths of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as taught now — and always before — through the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints? How many are members of the Church of Jesus Christ of

Latter-day Saints, not merely “Mormons”?

As I said, I’m ready to follow, but is it all right if I wait for these answers? In the meantime — I hope to see you in church.

J. Maurice Clayton
Salt Lake City, Utah



Dear Sirs:

James B. Allen was just in his criticism of Davis Bitton for presenting us with twenty-four pages of anti-intellectualism without really defining the term. Not until Professor Bitton gets specific in outlining three levels of anti-intellectualism within the Church (pp. 131-132) do we begin to get a clear idea of his meaning in the context of Church history. One thing about anti-intellectualism seems certain, however. Whatever it is, we do not like it, and we wish the tag could be attached to someone else. This fact (and the immediate reaction of most members of the Church on hearing the charge indicates that it is a fact) makes Professor Bitton’s article all the more timely and important. If the Church is afflicted with anti-intellectualism, and if this is bad, then we need much more dialogue to bring this into the open, examine it, and prescribe a cure. This, of course, was not Professor

Bitton’s task and he is to be highly commended for helping to bring the Church into a proper historical perspective regarding anti-intellectualism.

More serious than a failure to define the term, however (we really do have some idea of what anti-intellectualism is), was what I consider a false association of nineteenth century Mormonism with the Enlightenment. I am surprised that Professor Allen did not catch this, and since the idea of rationalistic Enlightenment–Mormonism–intellectualism in the nineteenth century is something of a basic premise to the first part of the article, the readers of this article should be made aware of the nature of this premise.

On page 112, immediately under Roman numeral I, we read: “In several respects the Mormonism of the nineteenth century was less hostile to intellect than the common assumption has had it. For one thing, Mormonism had much in common with the rationalistic Christianity growing out of the Enlightenment.” What I consider three errors of fact contained in these two sentences make the subsequent thesis of Mormonism–rationalism–intellectualism in the nineteenth century very questionable.

1. The analogy is too anachronistic to be valid. The Enlightenment had reached its apex nearly 100 years before the organization of the Church in 1830. Locke was dead in 1704, Leibniz in 1716, Pope, Swift, Montesquieu and Christian Wolff were all dead by 1755. Kant’s “*Was ist Aufklärung*,” which appeared in 1784, was really more of a statement on Romantic individualism than Enlightenment. Any ideas from the Enlightenment that survived *Sturm und Drang*, Romanticism, and the Great Awakening hardly survived in their original rationalistic form.

2. There was no “rationalistic

Christianity growing out of the Enlightenment." If any religious movement can be affiliated with the Enlightenment it is Deism, which was certainly not Christian. The most dynamic religious movements to follow immediately on the Enlightenment in England and subsequently in America were Methodism and the *Unitas Fratrum* (United Brethren or Moravian Brethren), personified by John Wesley and Ludwig Zinzendorf. Both movements (originally one organization) had their primary inspiration from the German mystics and Pietists of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and were primarily anti-rationalistic.

3. Ironically, the Enlightenment was in itself anti-intellectual. The concepts of the Enlightenment thinkers on the universal availability of truth, their constant raillery against "pride," their "celestial mechanics," their "chain of being," their devotion to rules and classical simplicity — all these are anti-intellectual (if by the term intellectual we mean such things as a constant seeking for the truth, a questioning of clichés and authoritarian statements, a "divine discontent," a searching of the "unfathomable depths," a belief in the philosophy of becoming). Arthur Lovejoy has expressed the basic anti-intellectual nature of the Enlightenment in the article: "The Parallel of Deism and Classicism," (*Modern Philology*, Feb., 1932). Under the sub-heading "Rationalistic anti-intellectuallism" he says:

The presumption of the universal accessibility and verifiability of all that is really needful for men to know implied that all subtle, elaborate, intricate reasonings about abstruse questions beyond the grasp of the majority are certainly unimportant, and probably untrue. Thus any view difficult to under-

stand, or requiring a long and complex exercise of the intellect for its verification, could be legitimately dismissed without examination, at least if it concerned any issue in which man's moral or religious interests were involved.

This excellent paper by Professor Lovejoy was first read before the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America at Washington, D.C., in 1930 — which is also a slight contradiction of Professor Allen's statement that "the term anti-intellectualism came into vogue only in the 1950's."

Discounting the individuals and looking for an intellectual "movement" in the eighteenth century we do not find it in the Enlightenment, nor in Mysticism-Pietism. Without writing an article on the subject I can only say that I believe the real concept of intellectualism as we understand it (without defining it) was formulated most brilliantly by Friedrich Schiller and Friedrich Schlegel in the late eighteenth century with their delineation of the mind that is at the same time reflective and intuitive, respectful of authority and "rationalism" and also capable of new insights gained through feeling, emotion, or inspiration. We find this all through Goethe's writings, we find it through the writings of the German Romanticists and through the writings of the later English Romanticists. This was not some type of intellectual schizophrenia. It was a mind which was capable of both thought *and* feeling in a harmonious unity. Coleridge, after a year in Germany, writes: "The poet's heart and intellect should be *combined*, intimately combined and unified with the great appearances of nature, and not merely held in solution and loose mixture with them."

In this context in the early nine-

teenth century we find a true intellectualism, and (you knew it was coming) a careful analysis will show that Joseph Smith (and several of his contemporaries in the Church) had this type of intellect. They were respectful of authority and "rationalism" but at the same time they possessed sufficient humility to recognize the *non plus ultra* of human effort and rationalistic endeavors, and consequently they received much truth beyond the grasp of the empiricists. They were respectful of and grateful for revelation and inspiration but at the same time they realized that revelation was not always an answer to a problem, but often a formula by means of which they could solve the problem themselves.

There are, then, two types of anti-intellectualism. We are anti-intellectual when we see all revelation as *the* answer and conclude, therefore, that there is no need to solve the problem, or worse, we deny there is a problem. We are anti-intellectual also when we see rationalism (logical or empirical) as the only source of truth. There is no monopoly of either type of anti-intellectualism in the Church. There may, however, be an imbalance in that too many of us have sought so diligently for the answers that we have neglected our divinely given power to solve the problems — in which case Professor Bitton is right after all, and "over-intellectualizing is the least of our worries."

Garold N. Davis
Boulder, Colo.

Dear Sirs:

During the past two years there have been a number of articles in L.D.S. publications concerning the age of the earth, organic evolution, and, in general, how certain scientific

facts and theories relate to the Book of Genesis and to the revelations of Joseph Smith with respect to the creation of man.

Also, Davis Bitton, in his article, "Anti-intellectualism in Mormon History," in issue 3 of *Dialogue*, briefly discussed some of the problems that members of the Church face as they attempt to reconcile Church doctrine with modern scientific knowledge.

It appears rather important in present day Mormon doctrine that Adam existed as an actual historical person some six thousand years ago, as the first and the "father" of the human race. Yet the abundance of knowledge, especially in the fields of genetics, geology, and anthropology, show that men, or men-like beings, have existed for hundreds of thousands if not more than a million years. (Dr. Louis S. B. Leakey's discovery in Olduvai Gorge in Tanganyika of the fossil man *Zinjanthropus* is dated at approximately 1.75 million years.) It is also rather apparent that 6,000 years ago the so-called races of man were as diverse in physical characteristics as they are today, and that they were dwelling on all of the continents of the earth that are presently inhabited.

How does a Mormon anthropologist look upon this problem? I hope that in a future issue of *Dialogue* this topic will be discussed.

Mark F. Harris
Fremont, Calif.

A special issue on religion in an age of science is in the early planning stages. [Ed.]

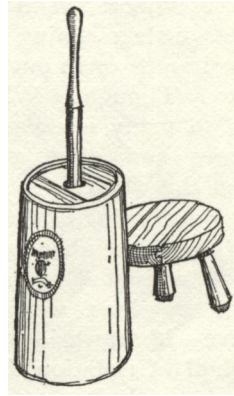
Davis Bitton replies:

I have no desire to claim that early Mormonism was a religion of the Enlightenment. If my article conveyed that impression, Garold Davis has clarified matters by pointing out

that approximately two generations intervened between the end of the Enlightenment (as it is usually understood) and the beginnings of Mormonism. But surely he would not wish to be understood as saying that Deism was the only religion of the Enlightenment, without qualification. In addition to the Deists (non-Christian by definition), there were "supernatural rationalists" like John Locke and rationalist apologists like Bishop Joseph Butler who tried in different ways to reconcile their Christian faith with reason. And there were mavericks like Joseph Priestley. Rejecting the traditional creeds, Priestley was at once a materialist, a skeptic, and a believer in the Biblical prophecies. After moving to America he participated in founding the Unitarian movement, which, along with Universalism, can quite properly be described as a kind of rationalistic Christianity growing out of (*not* simultaneous with) the Enlightenment. It is with such liberal Christianity of the early nineteenth century that Mormonism had much in common. This similarity is not questioned by Mr. Davis, who indeed agrees with several of my basic points.

More relevant than his discussion of chronology is his idealized portrait of the mind both reflective and intuitive, incisively logical yet marvelously responsive to feeling and inspiration, independent yet respectful of authority. The trouble is that authority and reason, logic and intuition, do not always tell us the same thing. Besides, what do we do in the Church when my reason and your reason come to different conclusions, when your reason threatens my emotional nostalgia, or when authority clashes with our combined intellectual and emotional integrity? A "harmonious unity" of thought and feeling would doubtless go far

towards solving such problems, both individually and collectively, but this has always been far easier to label than to achieve. In the meantime, given the simple fact of our human limitations, it ill behooves anyone to equate his own perspectives with the eternal gospel or to impugn the loyalty of those who interpret things differently. The Church, as Paul reminded us, is one body with a diversity of gifts, of administrations, of operations: "And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you."



Dear Sirs:

The letter of Mr. Robert D. Preston in the Winter Issue (No. 4) typifies a type of erroneous thinking by many members of the Church. In commenting on Dr. J. D. Williams's article in your second issue he stated, "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."

Apparently to Mr. Preston anything other than a John Birch conservative orientation smacks of welfare statism and is contradictory to the revealed work of God. Many misguided individuals in and out of

the Church believe that the Gospel teaches that an individual or system is either good or evil and that approaches to society's problems are similarly restricted to a moral dichotomy of right or wrong.

What is the "Welfare State" to Mr. Preston? Is it the enlightened, humanitarian approach to the question of the civil rights of the Negro as exemplified among many others by our own great leader Governor Romney? Is it the "Christian" hand extended across the sea as exemplified by our Peace Corps? Are these examples of the "liberal political persuasion" castigated by Mr. Preston?

The terms "liberal" and "conservative" have little meaning either in the political arena or in our *Dialogue of Mormon Thought*. While categorization to many is essential, it is a dangerous and often misleading practice on the whole.

The more meaningful dialogue, to me, as a Church member, is over the question of "activism" versus "passivism." For too long we as L.D.S. people have withdrawn into our comfortable shell of isolation, busy with our Church work but unconcerned with the ills of the society within which we live and work. (I might say that the John Birch Society is at least to be commended for their active concern about the plight of our country.)

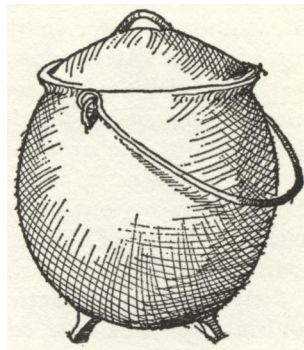
Christ did more than any man to correct the evils of his contemporary society. He strove to elevate the concepts of love, charity, honesty, chastity, justice, and fairness in his fellow men. He went out of his way to associate with and administer to the lowly, dispicable, and hated of his time.

However, the tendency of too many in our Church is to restrict our love, compassion, and charity to our own. Too often we draw the line with our

religion, our color, our nationality, or some other arbitrary classification of human beings.

Carrying this concept to the political arena the question becomes this: Is it incompatible with the Gospel as we understand it to support activism in government? What facet of the revealed word is violated when we support politicians who are oriented toward positive governmental measures to correct some of the social and economic ills of our society and in the international society of nations?

Gary R. Ricks
Santa Barbara, Calif.



Dear Sirs:

Could we please have some sort of enlightened comment about a book that is being foisted on the women of the Church? The atrocity is called *Fascinating Womanhood*, but according to its contents could more accurately be called *Deceitful, Capricious and Irresponsible Womanhood*. I believe that because of its point of view that women do their finest work as mothers and wives, it has been accepted on that basis without further investigation into the matter of *how* women accomplish this work. According to the book's author, women must resort to the age-old deception of coquetry, little white lies, and women's wiles in order to achieve her

desired goal — to be loved. It stems directly from the ancient prescription of how does “inferior” woman ply “superior” man and thus gain her own personal desires. We are told in *Fascinating Womanhood* that by using woman’s inferior position wisely and through inflating the male ego, she will receive respect, admiration, protection, and love in marriage. (A sorry indictment of the male.) If we believe what the author tells us, we accept the premise that womanliness is forced artificiality and admitted inferiority. Woman can only emerge from this position as artificial and inferior.

If woman is to achieve something more than fascination, she must be

taught to sharpen her perception, develop her intellect, improve her sense of humor, apply tenderness, understanding, compassion, and love to all of her relationships — and she will need no artificialities. She will be quite genuine and sufficiently able to receive love and admiration and cope with life’s problems as a human being, regardless of sex. Woman is not inferior nor is she a fool. *Fascinating Womanhood* would like to make us think so.

Renee P. Carlson
Alexandria, Va.

FASINATING WOMANHOOD, by Helen B. Andelin, will be reviewed soon in DIALOGUE. [Ed.]





Dale T. Fletcher:
BEING IN GRASS (TOMMY AND SAMMY)
Brush and India Ink.
See *Art and Belief* p. 48.

Dialogue: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

MORALITY OR EMPATHY?

A MORMON
IN THE THEATER

Ronald Wilcox

Depending largely on his own experience, a Resident Artist at the Dallas Theater Center (a noted professional repertory company and school of drama), examines in this essay the esthetic and moral difficulties facing an actor when he is expected to portray on the stage modes of behavior radically different from his own (such as, for a Mormon, profanity, obscenity, and drinking and smoking). Ronald Wilcox has appeared in 25 plays (600 performances since 1959), including lead roles in Wolfe's OF TIME AND THE RIVER, O'Neill's LONG DAY'S JOURNEY INTO NIGHT, and (presently) JOURNEY TO JEFFERSON, an award-winning adaptation of Faulkner's AS I LAY DYING; he is also a poet and playwright.

Late one night last November, after a visit to Utah, I was driving across the New Mexico desert. It's a long way from Ogden to Dallas, especially in a Volkswagen, but I've always found the desert a fine place to think. At the moment I was preoccupied with thoughts about the theater.

With my Mormon origins fresh in mind, I could feel the old problem reasserting itself: Where and how does the Mormon fit into contemporary theater? Or does he fit? Or should he? These were no mere academic questions for me. I was returning to my career as a professional actor and playwright at a resident repertory company in Dallas.¹

Several coughs from my Volkswagen reminded me that a desert may be a fine place to think at night, but it's a poor place to be caught without transportation. (Would my foregone, footsore pioneers have agreed?) I chugged into Carlsbad, and — stroke of luck! — I located the only Volkswagen dealer between El Paso and Dallas. With a Christian charity I was most grateful for — he was in his pajamas and it was after midnight — he replaced my four ailing sparkplugs.

He could swear with such finesse, such abandon, that I was hardly aware he was doing it. In his mouth the foulest blasphemies seemed descriptive, the vilest obscenities mere understatement; each four-lettered word reached a level of rare philosophic speculation. It was a pleasure to meet a man who had mastered his language, who handled his medium of communication with that ultimate non-chalance we call art.

My appreciation deepened when I discovered that here, in the middle of the desert in the middle of the night, was a man who not only could replace my sparkplugs with ease and hyperbole, but who had a true interest in drama. He had worked in several community theater productions during the past year, including *My Three Angels* and *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*

It was concerning this latter play that the lightning of his insight struck me. In fact, I was so stunned with his statement, I heard no thunder from it, none at all, for several hours. It was only when I was alone again, out in the desert, that his remark finally reverberated. He had said of Albee's play, "Oh, it's a good play, I suppose, but I just don't know about all that goddam foul language."

Here was a man who managed to formulate in a phrase a problem that I, as an actor, as a playwright, as a Mormon, had pondered for more than ten years with far less illumination.

LONG DAY'S JOURNEY INTO CENSORSHIP

Within this brief space I would like to raise several questions which, I hope, will stimulate a few tentative answers, further speculations, and some rebuttals. Of course, I cannot within this single essay discuss in any detail the complex subject of the Mormon in contemporary theater; therefore, I shall begin with a single question about one aspect of a Mormon's experience: "Should a Mormon actor swear on the stage?"

Were the question, "Should a Mormon swear?" the answer would

¹ Established in 1959, the Frank Lloyd Wright designed Dallas Theater Center has received international acclaim, including the Special Jury Prize in the festival of plays at the Théâtre des Nations in Paris (1964).

be obvious and simple, even simple-minded. But, bring in the “actor,” add the phrase, “on the stage,” and it becomes a question not easy to answer and, for a Mormon, not easy to ask.

In 1963 there was a controversy at Baylor University in Waco, Texas, concerning Eugene O’Neill’s *Long Day’s Journey Into Night*. Paul Baker, who was then Chairman of Drama at Baylor (as well as Managing Director of the Dallas Theater Center) was faced with this dilemma: Should he allow the language of O’Neill’s play to be heard on the stage of a Baptist university?

Mr. Baker had been honored with the first rights to a college theater production of the O’Neill play. However, O’Neill’s widow, who had control of these rights, had stipulated that it should be performed in its entirety — no cuts. This meant four hours of tough language.²

To do the play, or not to do the play, that was the question. Was the O’Neill drama, because of its artistic value, worth doing in spite of the shocking language? In Mr. Baker’s opinion, yes. It was the masterpiece of O’Neill’s career. It deserved a hearing.

For twenty-six years Mr. Baker had cut or toned down the language of plays performed at Baylor University. As the son of a Presbyterian minister himself, his position was that such cutting, specifically for a production at a religious institution, could be done within the aesthetic context of the play. University restrictions were beginning to relax, but now, for the first time, he had to choose between the entire play or no play at all. He decided to do the play. He accepted Mrs. O’Neill’s conditions and went ahead with it.

During the first week of production, the moment of truth arrived. A Baptist minister decided to treat his Sunday School class of boys to an afternoon in the theater. It was to be, I suppose, a cultural experience with the famous playwright, What’s-his-name. The results of that afternoon’s unplanned recreation made Southwest Theater history. The minister was shocked, the boys took it calmly, the President of the University closed the play, and, subsequently, Mr. Baker resigned over the issue of academic freedom. Lack of confidence cost Baylor not only its most brilliant faculty member, but the entire staff of the drama department.³ The furor has not yet died down.

Since I was not personally involved in the Baylor controversy, I let any disturbing issues thus raised slip quietly into that part of my

² Tough, not obscene. Needless to say, *Long Day’s Journey* is not a play about Mormon family night, but compared with almost any of those by Albee, Genet, or Williams it reads like an M.I.A. drama about avoiding the pitfalls of drink.

³ Mr. Baker and his staff transferred, en masse, to Trinity University in San Antonio.

mind where I keep questions I would rather not try to answer. Two years later, as fate would have it, I found myself in a position where I could no longer escape these sticky moral issues. Mr. Baker decided to produce the O'Neill play at the Dallas Theater Center. I was cast as James Tyrone, father of the Tyrone (O'Neill) family.

I soon found myself center stage in the middle of four hours of drinking, swearing, dope addiction, allusions to wenching, violent and continual recriminations, atheism, etc., not to mention two large cigars which smoked *me*. The whiskey wasn't real, of course, but that held little consolation — it was substituted with either weak tea or watered down coke. For thirty bleary-eyed nights, four hours a night, I lived in the depths of O'Neill's blackest agonies — me, a Mormon.

What do I remember most? Well, I remember compassion. Oh, I remember Mama, and Mama's abominable dope habit, and drink, and hate, and love, and goddam it to hell, but mostly — mostly, I remember compassion.

A Mormon actor in a non-Mormon setting. Ronald Wilcox as James Tyrone in Eugene O'Neill's LONG DAY'S JOURNEY INTO NIGHT; directed by Paul Baker, Dallas Theater Center, 1965.



The final moments of the play: Mary Tyrone comes down the stairs — in her arms her wedding gown — her girlhood around her like a white shroud. James Tyrone says something to her, but

. . . it cannot penetrate her preoccupation. She doesn't seem to hear him. He gives up helplessly, shrinking into himself, even his defensive drunkenness taken from him, leaving him sick and sober. He sinks back on his chair, holding the wedding gown in his arms with an unconscious, clumsy, protective gentleness.⁴

The tears I shed each night were real.

WHO'S AFRAID OF VIRGINIA'S LANGUAGE?

What struck me at the time was not that the *Long Day's Journey* controversy occurred at Baylor (I have B.A. and M.A. degrees from that shockable institution), but that it could *not* have occurred where I spent my first three college years, Brigham Young University. Why? Because the play, under those same conditions, would never have reached the stage.

In the summer issue of *Dialogue* we are given what I consider to be a summation of the Mormon position on stage decorum. Dr. Harold I. Hansen calls for new scripts to be sent to B.Y.U.:

Scripts for the coming seasons are now welcomed by the Dramatic Arts faculty of Brigham Young University. Serious or humorous dramas on Mormon themes, either historical or modern, will be accepted. The scripts should not portray drinking or smoking and the language and action should at all times be in harmony with the highest standards of the Church.⁵

Human language and action — even Mormon language and action — are not always in harmony with the highest standards of the Church, so we may assume what kind of scripts will be welcomed by the Dramatic Arts faculty, and what kind will not. O'Neill, and most other modern playwrights, would fare rather badly.⁶

The position is clear: Some things are proper on the stage, some are not. I did not object to this policy while attending B.Y.U., and I have no intention of beginning at this late date.⁷ A religious institution such as Baylor or B.Y.U. does have a right to impress its own moral vision upon student theatrical experience. After all, it *is* paying the bills — why should it pay to be offended? For that

⁴ Eugene O'Neill, *Long Day's Journey Into Night* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 172.

⁵ Harold I. Hansen, "Production of Plays with Mormon Themes," *Dialogue*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 142.

⁶ B.Y.U. produced O'Neill's least offensive play, *Ah, Wilderness!* last season.

⁷ I wrote the script for the 1953 B.Y.U. Varsity Show, *Keynote*, and there was nary a swear word in it.

matter, why should any individual member of an audience pay to be offended? Moral indignation is not compulsory. You can always ask for your money back at the box office.

I have never questioned the right of a producer of plays or of the paying audience to exercise its own judgment concerning the nature of the drama it wishes to witness. What I do question is a mental attitude which seems to me not only aesthetically retarded, but morally untenable. My concern is that such an attitude, instilled in drama students, tends to carry over from their experience of drama at a religious institution to plays produced in the public theater. We can be too well-educated in the subject of how to be shocked.

Dr. Hansen and the Volkswagen dealer in Carlsbad have arrived at a similar conclusion about language and action on the stage, though the idioms they would use to express their respective positions are somewhat different. To Dr. Hansen the use of profanity is in itself morally repugnant in any situation, and it should not be used on the stage. To the man from Carlsbad profanity is a casual concomitant of everyday life, but it should not be used on the stage.

Both viewpoints presuppose that somehow stage life is different from real life. I agree. The stage is not life itself, but a *vision* of life. All actions which occur upon it will be shaped by some unique vision, the product of an author's imagination. Discover his vision and you explain his play.

What is most interesting to me is how disparate views can, like straight lines, cross at a common point. We could follow the Southern Baptist view, which dominates Baylor, and arrive at approximately the same position as my Carlsbad friend and Dr. Hansen. Nor would this begin to exhaust the possible list of divergent views which would agree there are some actions and remarks that should be avoided on the stage.

Drama is a social art, of course, and it is not surprising to find taboos. The theater has always reflected the society of its origin and sustenance. Life as it is represented on the stage is a matter of selection. The theater artist must select certain actions of mankind. These must be consistent with his vision, and he must present an intelligible organization of his material if he wishes to communicate with his audience.⁸ The selections made by co-operating artists (playwright, director, designer, actor, etc.) reflect their own personalities and social backgrounds:

⁸I realize I am generalizing to an unconscionable degree, but I must avoid specific questions of modes of drama, e.g., realism, expressionism, "happenings," etc.

Look how the father's face
Lives in his issue; even so the race
Of Shakespeare's mind and manners brightly shines
In his well turned, and true filed lines.⁹

Each theater artist seeks the truth of his vision of life, then attempts to communicate that vision to his audience.

His vision, unless he claims divine revelation, is human and subjective. The artist's expression may take on the form of what he wishes life were, and we, with him, can imagine a world of fantasy and romance. Or, his vision may be what he thinks life really is, and we, with him, can imagine a world of objective reality. His vision may be what he believes life should be, and we, with him, can imagine an ideal world of values. A play is a combination of these and other kinds of human understanding.

We, as audience, respond to this imagined world of the stage with our own personalities. We place our vision of life alongside the artist's. Sometimes we feel our vision glows more brightly in the radiance of his artistry, and we are grateful for the experience. Sometimes we feel our vision has been darkened or belittled, and we may respond in anger or rejection. We may feel his vision is simply inconsequential, so we are indifferent. Or, in our greatest experiences in the theater, we may feel his vision has brought us something unique, and we are changed by it.

Whatever the dramatic experience we share with theater artists, we respond, just as they do, to the truth of a vision of life. When our visions differ, when the artist's vision seems untrue to ours, it is understandable that our dramatic experience in the theater, which is so dependent upon a delicate rapport between stage and audience, is frustrated. An audience cannot be coerced into liking, or pretending to like, that which it simply does not like. This is natural and within the realm of legitimate human differences.

However, when we respond to a different vision of life, such as O'Neill's, with an antagonism which seeks to prevent others from experiencing his vision and deciding for themselves its cogency, I question whether the motives of this response, honest as they may be, are those of the Mormon ideal of truth.

Plays encompass the entire range of man's vision of man. As long as we can acknowledge the artist's basic integrity, we should be able to accommodate different viewpoints, even when we do not agree. To question a man's basic honesty ends the possibility of dialogue, on-stage or off.

⁹ Ben Jonson, *To the Memory of My Beloved Master, William Shakespeare*.

SHOULD THE STAGE SWEAR AT MORMONS?

Art is an expression of the truth of an artist's personal vision of life. If we wish to experience the artist's vision with him, we, too, must seek after the truth he is trying to tell us, whether it coincides with our personal vision or not. Though we can only react according to our personalities, we can try to delay immediate value judgment until we understand the nature of his vision. Again, this is not compulsory. At no time are we forced to seek after a particular artist's vision. If the incidentals of his expression (swearing, for instance) offend us, we are free to dismiss his work without attempting to understand it further.

I must question not only the intelligence of such a response, but its moral basis. The Prophet Joseph Smith revealed what has become a Mormon's foremost definition of truth:

Truth is knowledge of things as they are, and as they were, and as they are to come.¹⁰

John A. Widtsoe adds:

... that is, truth is synonymous with accurate knowledge or a product of it.¹¹

The question of accuracy and the means to determine accuracy can be debated at length, but one thing is clear: Mormons believe that truth is *not* wishful thinking; it is not defined as what *should* be, but what *is*.

I concur that profanity is inconsistent with the highest standards of the Church. I am painfully aware of my own predilection for this easy idiom, and I must constantly guard my personal speech; but I cannot honestly believe that wishful thinking will make the problem go away.

Swearing *does* exist, and Eugene O'Neill created realistic characters who *do* swear. We may dislike it, but there it is. And to prevent the opportunity of experiencing powerful visions of life by any author of talent does no service to truth. To employ our repugnance toward profanity to the extreme of condemning a great play whose final effect, or, if you will, "message," is an intense human compassion which borders on Christian love, is like judging a fine painting on the basis of its subject. We may feel that immodesty is a reprehensible standard of conduct, but it does not follow that a classical nude painting is pornographic. One need only wander through the Vatican collection of Greek statues to realize that plaster

¹⁰ Doctrine and Covenants 93:24.

¹¹ John A. Widtsoe, "What is Truth?" *Evidences and Reconciliations* (Salt Lake City: The Bookcraft Co., 1943), p. 3.

fig leaves are far more offensive than nature rendered in innocence and beauty.

O'Neill's expression may be neither innocent nor beautiful; this is a matter of opinion. However, it seems to me that a proper aesthetic and moral judgment of a play such as *Long Day's Journey Into Night* should not be based upon an isolated particular of O'Neill's expression (the use of curse words in the dialogue) but upon the play as an artistic unity.

It is possible to advocate evil in beautiful language, just as it is possible to advocate virtue in coarse language. Were O'Neill preaching the delights of dope addiction, I could understand (but not necessarily agree with) an immediate rejection of the play by a Mormon audience, but to cut off any hope of confronting his tragic vision because we are offended with his language or other particulars of the play is, to me, not only unintelligent, but morally insensitive.

This does not mean that I espouse the acceptance of O'Neill's vision. Personally, I reject the viewpoint of this strange and unhappy morality play, this black passion. In my opinion O'Neill is saying human action is predetermined by what men in the past have called Fate and what modern man finds masquerading as a mechanically predestined Self. O'Neill's characters are presented as the helpless victims of themselves, a vision I cannot agree with.

But the artistic vision O'Neill communicates to me lets me experience that which I could only experience in the imagination of a powerful artist. Some may reject O'Neill on this very basis, but I firmly believe we cannot in good conscience reject that which we do not understand. When we do, we raise up an idol of Ignorance; we worship our own dead image of the world. I must give O'Neill a chance to change my mind. I did, and he didn't, but at least I understand his view. I have experienced, with him, his long day's journey into night.

I cannot believe God demands that we think only certain approved thoughts. I believe He does wish us to choose only the best and try to make all things of good report a part of our lives. I feel free to understand the best of O'Neill (compassion, forgiveness, love amid hate) and to understand (though I may reject) those particulars of his vision, his bad reports, which do not lift my spirit. I do not feel inwardly stained because I have experienced that which I reject.

I demand this freedom for myself, the freedom to view the world in its entirety, and I feel sad when I see my fellow Mormons (or my Baptist friends) reject great experiences in drama, or in any of the arts, because of isolated offensive details. To censure others is al-

ways simple, but to love our fellow men, including characters on the stage, requires not only compassion, but imagination. It's easy to be offended, but difficult to understand.

We know that compassion is often painful; maybe this is why so many of us avoid it. Yet, as Mormons, we are admonished to seek after love and compassion for others, not censorship and disapproval, after understanding and sympathy, not moral superiority. If our attitude toward imaginary characters on the stage is a feeling of rejection, what is our attitude toward our real-life neighbors? Do we shun those who do not meet our high standards of conduct, or do we try to understand them, share with them our view of life, even gain from the better side of their personalities?

If we feel "dirty" when we witness human fallibility (the subject of all drama), if we feel contaminated by human expressions, human experiences, are we not retreating from the truth of what *is* into the fantasies of our wishes, noble as these wishes may be? It is not easy to hate the sin and love the sinner.

That which *should* be can only become reality through our actions, and our actions cannot bring to pass our higher ideals until they are based upon enlightened and informed habits of mind. I am not virtuous because I never heard of evil; were that possible, I would not have had to enter this mortal life, which as a Mormon I understand was designed to provide real knowledge of good and evil and growth through real choices. I am virtuous only in the same degree that I recognize the good among many less desirable choices, choose it, and then try to make it a part of me. I cannot believe I have sinned because I have witnessed sin, nor that I am a sinner because I understand a sinner. I am responsible for my personal actions, not for my knowledge of the actions of others. I must be able to see the possibility of all men in myself before I can realize my own potential.

It is just this knowledge of human action which the art of drama so powerfully communicates to men. We become poor theater artists and insensitive members of the audience when we cannot view our fellow human beings except through a scrim of immediate value judgment. Premature moral rejection brings down the final curtain on any play.

The theater presents a vision in which we experience vicariously the lives of other humans. We can gain insight into the lives of the characters through the forms and patterns of dramatic art. We can then consider our own emotional struggles dispassionately; we can evaluate human passion outside ourselves, yet relate it *to* ourselves. We do this in light of whatever knowledge the theater artist is able

to communicate, as well as whatever knowledge we ourselves bring to the theater.

Drama's great mission is to reveal our own natures to ourselves. It does not necessarily tell us how to act upon this knowledge, or whether to act at all. It can only hold up the mirror. A dramatist can only offer his vision to his fellows. He can pray he has seen clearly, but he can only share his vision; he cannot force others to see life as he sees it.

The clearest human vision is distorted to some degree by subjective preconceptions. We may not feel that O'Neill has shown us life as it is, though we can believe he honestly attempted to do so. In *Long Day's Journey Into Night* we are witnesses of O'Neill's world, not the world itself. Yet, as imperfect as even the most honest of man-made, artistic visions may be, none are so reprehensible as deliberate distortions of life (including those which favor only virtue) which pretend to be the entire truth. Propaganda may reach the level of art in its expression, but art is not propaganda. Without honesty, art cannot exist.

It is one thing to seek virtue, but quite another to distort life. It is one thing for the theater artist and his audience to have strong tastes and preferences, but quite another to pretend that one special viewpoint reflects life as it is. If a painter portrayed a man standing in the sun who cast no shadow, and then claimed this were an image of photographic reality, such a painting might please those who love only the sun, but it would sadden those who love the truth. The complete picture must include the shadow.¹² To ignore the dark side of human nature can begin as assumed virtue, but it can only end in something less than truth. To circumscribe our vision of what *is* in order to favor what *should be* may be a well-meaning lie, but it is still a lie.

SHOULD MORMONS SWEAR ON THE STAGE?

I have no final answer for others, but I can state my personal resolution in the matter. Right or wrong, this is what I believe: Ideally, a Mormon should not swear on the stage or anywhere else. If he does so, he must be personally responsible for his actions. However, if a Mormon is an *actor* who is portraying a character who swears, he has become the instrument which brings that character to life. A Mormon actor, as an individual, is responsible for the choice itself, that is, whether to participate with others in bringing a par-

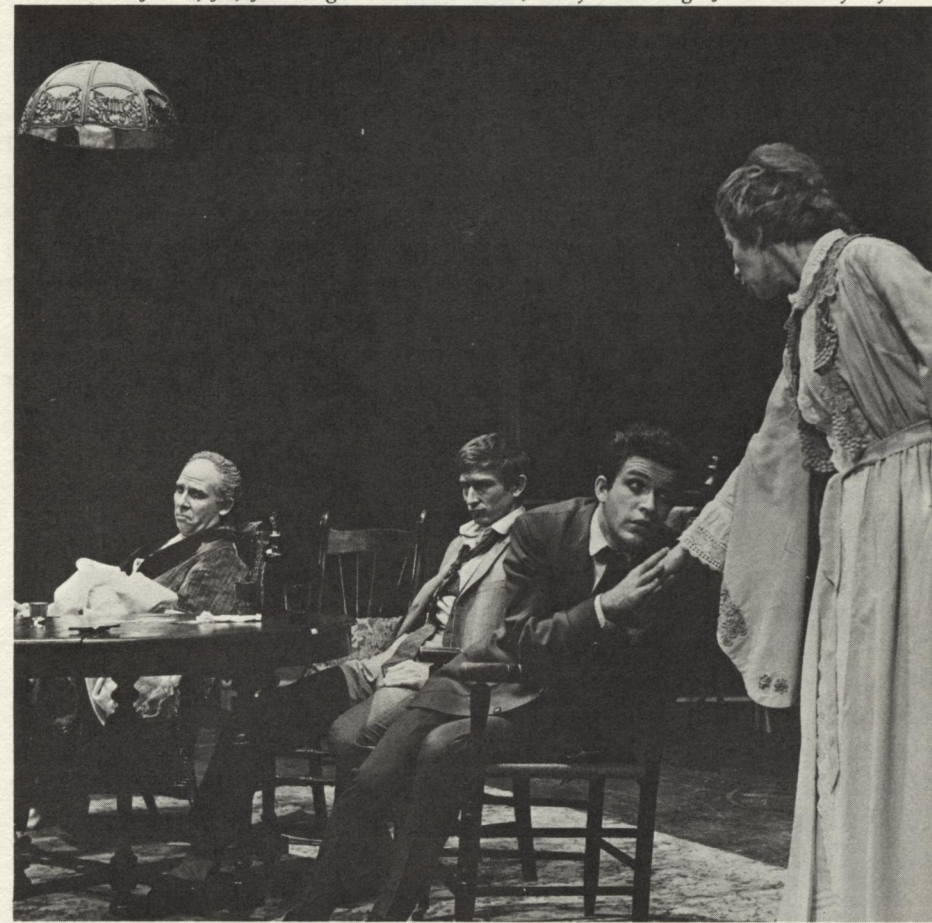
¹² Again, I must avoid modes of expression. A surrealist painting might portray just this image.

ticular play to life on the stage. My decision was that the artistic integrity and dramatic value of *Long Day's Journey Into Night* more than justified the particulars of its expression.

Once an actor has made his decision, he becomes, or should become, an integral part of the medium of dramatic art. To hold him morally responsible for every word the author has placed in the character's mouth would be, in my opinion, as logical as blaming oil pigment for being green and looking like grass after the painter has shaped it on the canvas. It becomes not a question of morals, but aesthetics.

If the actor persists in applying his own sense of morality to his character's actions, he does a poor job on the stage. He must, as far as it is possible to do so, think and act as the character thinks and acts. This is the greatest stumbling block for the Mormon actor. He

The final moments of the play. From left to right, Ronald Wilcox as James Tyrone; Warren Hammack as James, Jr.; John Figlmiller as Edmund; Mary Sue Fridge Jones as Mary Tyrone.



finds it difficult to remove from his mind, even in order to portray an imaginary character, his own code of moral conduct. To the audience his portrayal will seem false in that same degree he is unable to imagine the actions of a character outside his own personality.

For instance, a villain seldom thinks of himself as a villain. The solution for the actor is to portray the character as the character sees himself, perhaps not as a villain, but as a misunderstood hero. The figure of a mustache-twirling Simon Legree is a caricature of a moralist, not a portrayal of human character by an actor. It is for the audience to determine the villainy of a character's actions; it is for the actor to portray those actions with honesty and accuracy. In the art of acting, morality is no substitute for empathy.

First, if any opinion is compelled to silence, that opinion may, for aught we can certainly know, be true. To deny this is to assume our own infallibility.

Secondly, though the silenced opinion be an error, it may, and very commonly does, contain a portion of truth; and since the general or prevailing opinion on any subject is rarely or never the whole truth, it is only by collision of adverse opinions that the remainder of the truth has any chance of being supplied.

Thirdly, even if the received opinion be not only true, but the whole truth; unless it is suffered to be, and actually is, vigorously and earnestly contested, it will, by most of those who receive it, be held in the manner of a prejudice, with little comprehension or feeling of its rational grounds and not only this, but fourthly, the meaning of the doctrine itself will be in danger of being lost, or enfeebled, and deprived of its vital effect on the character and conduct; the dogma becoming a mere formal profession, inefficacious for good, but cumbering the ground, and preventing the growth of any real and heartfelt conviction, from reason or personal experience.

John Stuart Mill
On Liberty

CHRIST WITHOUT THE CHURCH:

**THE CHALLENGE
OF DIETRICH BONHOEFFER**

Kenneth Godfrey

Continuing a series on contemporary theologians, this essay examines the life and thought of a latter-day Christian martyr who is rapidly becoming perhaps the major influence among Protestant (and some Catholic) theologians and the younger clergy. Kenneth Godfrey, who will become Director of the L.D.S. Institute at Stanford University next year, is presently an instructor in the College of Religion at Brigham Young University, where he is finishing his doctorate in American History. He has published a number of articles in THE IMPROVEMENT ERA and has others scheduled for publication in various historical quarterlies.

On August 24, 1932, Dietrich Bonhoeffer began an address at the International Youth Conference in Glad, Switzerland, with the words, "The Church is Dead."¹ Today, 1966, Bonhoeffer is dead, yet the church lives. However, a dead Bonhoeffer is exerting a greater influence over the "living church" than the living Bonhoeffer did over a "dead church."

Martin E. Marty has written that only the European triumvirate of Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, and Rudolf Bultmann and the Amer-

ican triumvirate of Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul Tillich, and H. Richard Niebuhr have been studied, invoked, and analyzed more than Bonhoeffer in the last twenty-five years.² He goes on to state that Bonhoeffer's name is frequently interjected into conversations in seminary halls, student retreats, on college campuses, on the pages of ecumenical youth journals, in fraternities of younger ministers, and in the theological world generally.

John T. Elson, writing in 1965 in *Life*, pointed out that Bonhoeffer's books were gaining an astonishing popularity in the secular world and that he was unquestionably the favorite theologian among young Protestant seminarians in the United States. John Robinson has called him "the John the Baptist of the post-Christian age."³ And *Newsweek* magazine in its January 3, 1966, religion section said that "the future Bonhoeffer envisioned is taking shape . . . pre-eminently in the pious United States."⁴

Such statements by Bonhoeffer as "Principles are only tools in the hand of God, soon to be thrown away as unserviceable"; "We are proceeding toward a time of no religion at all"; "The church needs to develop a non-religious interpretation of Biblical concepts"; and his talk about the "world come of age," seem to have caught the fancy of such widely differing people as Thomas J. J. Altizer, John Robinson, and Martin E. Marty. Reinhold Niebuhr, John C. Bennett, the late Paul Tillich, Paul Lehmann, Karl Barth, John Bailee, Stephen Neill, Ronhold Smith, and most of the leaders of the ecumenical movement have also been influenced by Bonhoeffer. Robinson's book *Honest to God*, which owes much to Bonhoeffer, has become a best seller and created an ongoing debate in the theological world.

What does all this have to do with a Latter-day Saint? Why should a Mormon concern himself with a Bonhoeffer? The answer partially lies in the questions he raised, such as How do you deal with the world come of age? What do Christ and Christianity mean for us today? What does the Church have to say to man in his prosperity and health and consciencelessness? What real meaning does Christ have for youth whose chief interests seem to be hot rods, saxophones, beauty queens, all-Americans and the pious aura of Jesus-saves-ism? What does Christ mean for a Christianity that

¹ John D. Godsey, *The Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958), p. 83.

² Martin E. Marty, "Introduction: Problems and Possibilities in Bonhoeffer's Thought," *The Place of Bonhoeffer* (New York: Association Press, 1964), p. 10.

³ John T. Elson, "A Man for Others," *Life* (July 13, 1965), p. 108.

⁴ "U.S. Protestantism: Time for a Second Reformation," *Newsweek* (January 3, 1966), p. 33.

seems to place greater emphasis on statistical victories and preserving various institutions than it does on Christ and people? It is readily apparent that all of these questions need to be answered if Christ is to live in men's hearts, minds, and lives. As Paul Busing has written:

The Greatness of Dietrich Bonhoeffer lies in the fact that he was a Christocentric theologian and pastor who was neither a narrow pietist nor a parochial Christian. Secure in his own faith and in the tradition of his church he was able and willing to look beyond frontiers: Christ is the Lord of all life, and therefore all life is the Lord's, all life belongs to him and must be related to him.⁵

THE LIFE OF DIETRICH BONHOEFFER

Dietrich Bonhoeffer lived in an age of violence and in a country of violence. Yet he found life something wonderful and worth its costs and terrible disappointments. He was optimistic about man and seemed to love living. Perhaps the key to his optimism is found in the passage from Dostoyevsky that he loved to quote, "Hell is when one can no longer love!" As one examines Bonhoeffer's life it becomes apparent that he did love.

Bonhoeffer was born February 4, 1906, in Breslau, Germany. His father was a well-known physician and authority on psychiatry and neurology. His mother was Paula von Hase; her father had been chaplain to the emperor and her grandfather was the famous church historian Karl von Hase.⁶ Dietrich grew up in an intellectual environment close to the University of Berlin.

In the First World War his two elder brothers and three cousins were killed. Bonhoeffer wrote that even though all of this happened when he was a small boy he could never forget the gloomy days of the war. "Death," he said, "stood at the door of almost every house and called for entrance."⁷ He later wrote:

Before the war we lived too far from God; we believed too much in our own power, in our almightiness and righteousness. We attempted to be a strong and good people but we were too proud of our endeavor, we felt too much satisfaction with our scientific, economic and social progress, and we identified this progress with the coming of the Kingdom of God.⁸

It seems that war made him realize that prosperity and righteousness do not necessarily go hand in hand. He tells of not having enough

⁵ Paul F. W. Busing, "Reminiscences of Finkenealde," *Christian Century* (September 20, 1962), p. 1108.

⁶ Godsey, p. 19.

⁷ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *No Rusty Swords* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 79.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

to eat and of wearing clothes made mostly from paper, of eating bread made from sawdust and of seeing people jump from bridges as he walked to school. He also wrote that he would never forget that it was the Quakers who first sent food after the war.

Bonhoeffer was schooled at the University of Tübingen and the University of Berlin. He studied theology and presented his doctoral dissertation to the University of Berlin for approval when he was twenty-one years of age. This dissertation Karl Barth later called "A theological miracle."⁹

In 1930 Bonhoeffer was given the Sloane Fellowship at Union Theological Seminary in New York. In the late summer he arrived in America for the first time. At Union he studied such things as the philosophy of the Christian religion, religious aspects of contemporary philosophy, religion and ethics, parish administration, the present expansion of Christianity, and ethical issues in the social order. He wrote home, "Theological education in America is practically oriented and practical theology dominates American Christianity. There is an industrious preoccupation with organizational matters which reveals an awareness that something at the very core is missing."¹⁰ He was appalled when American divinity students laughed openly about Luther's ideas on sin and forgiveness.

Upon his return to Germany Bonhoeffer became very active in the ecumenical movement. He preached that this movement needed one great common proclamation that would lead people together and this could only come by way of theology.

By 1934 he was becoming less and less satisfied with his situation at the University of Berlin. His theology was becoming suspect, largely because of his association with Karl Barth. He had no associates on the faculty whom he could turn to and none with whom he was theologically congenial. At this time his own thinking was in a state of flux. His emphasis was shifting from dogmatics to simple Biblical exegesis, and he was becoming more and more concerned with the ethical demands of the Sermon on the Mount and what it meant to be a disciple of Christ.¹¹

After Hitler's rise to power Bonhoeffer became head of a seminary which met without official sanction, a sort of underground theo-

⁹ Godsey, p. 23. The title of this dissertation was "*Sanctorum Communio: A Dogmatic Investigation of the Sociology of the Church.*" Ernst Wolf says this work was probably the most discerning and perhaps the most profound handling of the question of the real structure of the church. Already in this work one can see the influence of the developing "theology of the Word of God" and of Karl Barth.

¹⁰ Hans J. Hillerbrand, "Dietrich Bonhoeffer and America," *Religion in Life*, XXX (1960-61), 569.

¹¹ Elson, p. 114.

logical school. The members of this school lived together in a kind of communal system; they sang Negro spirituals that Bonhoeffer had learned in America, did missionary work two by two, and studied the scriptures together. This little community lasted two years before it was discovered and abruptly closed by Gestapo orders.¹² During this time Bonhoeffer wrote two books, *The Cost of Discipleship* and *Life Together*; the first is a devastating attack on what he calls "cheap grace" and the other is an outlined plan for Bible study, worship, and prayer based on his experiences at Finkenwalde.

By 1939 he was concerned about his safety, as were his friends. Partly because of his own wishes and partly because of his friends' fear for him he was asked to come to America and lecture at the Union Theological Seminary. He wrote during this period, "I should have to do violence to my Christian conviction if I would take up arms here and now."¹³ However, when he arrived in New York his conscience would not let him stay. In a letter to Reinhold Niebuhr he stated that although he was unalterably opposed to Hitler and everything he stood for he could not leave his people to suffer alone. He felt compelled to return and face their guilt with them. He seems to have concluded that one could not flee from the world and its trouble; rather one had to face reality and learn to live in the world as it was here and now. He wrote, "The full force of self-accusation due to a wrong decision arises again and almost crushes me."¹⁴ His conscience compelled him to go back to Germany.

Upon his return Bonhoeffer found that he had no place to teach or preach. He discovered that he had been placed on the Gestapo's list of enemies of the Third Reich.¹⁵ He became convinced that pacifism was an inadequate response to "the great masquerade of evil," and joined the anti-Nazi underground. He involved himself in one of the many plots on the life of Hitler. In March, 1944, two British-made bombs, disguised as brandy bottles, were placed aboard the plane that was to fly the Fuhrer from the Russian front near Smolensk to his military headquarters in East Prussia. The bombs failed to explode and a month later Bonhoeffer was arrested.

Bonhoeffer wrote letters and papers while in prison which, as R. A. Markus has written, reveal "a man who has, surely, come very close to the wholeness we are commended to strive after . . . a relevant pattern of holiness."¹⁶ Prison life caused him to think about

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Hillerbrand, p. 571.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 573.

¹⁵ Elson, p. 114.

¹⁶ R. A. Markus, "A Relevant Pattern of Holiness," *The Hibbert Journal*, LV (1957-1958), 392.

Christ and the meaning of the Christian way of life. He was forced to look at death as something real that might happen to him at any moment. He wrote, "It is not the external circumstances, but the spirit in which we face it, that makes death what it can be, a death freely and voluntarily accepted."¹⁷ Thus, facing death constantly, he came to feel that each new day was a miracle:

It would hardly be true to say that we welcome death — although we all know that *accidie* which should be avoided like the plague — we are too curious for that, or to put it more seriously, we still hope to see some sense in the broken fragments of our life. Nor do we try and romanticize death for life is too precious for that. Still less are we inclined to see in danger the meaning of life — we are not desperate enough for that, and we know too much about the joys life has to offer. And we know too much about life's anxieties also, and all the havoc wrought by prolonged insecurity. We still love life, but I do not think that death can take us by surprise now.¹⁸

At one time Bonhoeffer was assigned a room on the top floor of the prison during the summer months and the room was almost unbearable with the heat. He lived in this room all summer and refused to ask for a transfer because "of the other person who would have to set foot in that hot cell."¹⁹ The other prisoners recognized in Bonhoeffer a more than ordinary man. When the Nazis came to hang him, he said, "My life is not ending it is just beginning."²⁰ He was executed and the witness of Dietrich Bonhoeffer was sealed.

Bonhoeffer's life and writing was full of the experience of our century and a moving response to it, and even though he died at a young age he left the world a challenge to which it has only begun to respond. Perhaps this challenge is best summarized by T. E. Utley.

Where, one must ask, will the ravages of liberal theology end? The devil and hell went long ago; the position of the blessed Virgin has been seriously undermined; God, who until last week was invulnerable, is now distinctively on the defensive. What will ultimately be left except a belief in the need for bishops if only to give evidence in trials about obscenity and to talk to pop singers on television.²¹

In an age when spacemen have searched the skies and have failed to find either the Christian heaven or the God who was supposed to be

¹⁷ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), p. 34.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁰ Martin E. Marty, "Bonhoeffer: Seminarians' Theologian," *The Christian Century* (April 20, 1960), p. 468.

²¹ T. E. Utley, quoted in full in David L. Edwards, *The Honest to God Debate* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963), p. 96.

“out there,” perhaps Bonhoeffer provides both this challenge and the answer for some.

CHRIST: THE MAN FOR OTHERS

Jesus Christ was for Bonhoeffer a real person that could and should become the anchor of every man. He was caught up with Jesus and tried to make him the center of his life. However, he was not oppressive in his zeal. He would not force men to accept Christ. A notable example of this was the case of a fellow prisoner, an agnostic, who in an air raid cried, “O God, O God!” Bonhoeffer told him that the raid would soon be over, feeling that it was wrong to force religion down his throat under such circumstances. He felt that people should not be forced in weak moments into religion.²²

He argued that “the fact that Jesus Christ died is more important than the fact that I shall die, and the fact that Jesus Christ rose from the dead is the sole ground for my hope that I, too, shall be raised on the last day.”²³ He is expressing here a rather common Christian view of Christ and his mission on earth. But rather than ending his belief in Christ here, he taught that just as Christ lived among sinners and died alone, deserted by his followers, so the Christian, too, belongs not in the seclusion of a cloistered life but in the thick of foes.²⁴ He did not believe in monastic withdrawal from the world. He clearly believed in fighting the battle with other men in everyday life.

There is no hint of transcendental irresponsibility in Bonhoeffer. Christianity is rooted in and concerned with the ultimate, the transcendent, the eschatological, but before the ultimate, the transcendent, the eschatological comes the penultimate, before the last things, the next to last things, and these are the everyday social and ethical concerns of mankind.²⁵ Bonhoeffer felt that it is through Christ that God grasps men, not on the boundaries, but at the center of their lives. To encounter Jesus Christ implies a complete reorientation of the human being. Bonhoeffer identifies Christ as “the man for others” and insists that one can only be a disciple of Christ by seeking that same identification.

Bonhoeffer’s theology was essentially Christology. It centered upon the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. The law of Christ for

²² Ibid., p. 15.

²³ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Life Together* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1954), p. 17.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 17.

²⁵ John Macquarrie, *Twentieth-Century Religious Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 330-331.

man is a law of bearing burdens. The brother is a burden to the Christian, precisely because he is a Christian. For the pagan the other person never becomes a burden at all; he simply sidesteps every burden that others may impose upon him. But when one really follows Christ everyone becomes a burden. Man cannot step aside; he must bear the yoke, and through Christ it becomes easy and the burden light.

Bonhoeffer clearly did not follow those theologians who rejected the divinity of Christ. On the contrary he seems to feel that it is only through Christ and his Atonement that men can attain real purpose in life. His was not an “easy” Jesus, for he believed that the time when men could be satisfied with words, theological or pious, was passing; religion itself, including conventional metaphysical undergirding and specific pious stances such as conscience and inwardness, was passing.²⁶ Thus he argued that Christ should not be relegated to some last secret place but that He should confront man at his strongest point, in his self-sufficiency.

THE CHURCH

The church for Bonhoeffer is the presence of God in the world, *really* in the world, *really* the presence of God. The church is not a consecrated sanctuary, but the world, called by God to God; therefore there is only one church in all the world. The church, he argues, is contingent upon Christ. The church hears only from Christ and not from any fixed law or from any eternal order.²⁷

He contends that faith in the living church of Christ only breaks through where one sees most clearly the dying of the church in the world, the processes of every new collapse, where one knows that the world, if it is honest, cannot say anything but “the church is dead.”²⁸ The reason the church is dead is because its “believers” do not believe in the world, not even in a world that is capable of development and improvement. They do not believe in the good in men nor that it will eventually prevail. They do not even believe in the real church or in its power. Thus, Bonhoeffer logically concluded that the church was dead. He seems, here, to be pleading for men to have faith in men, to trust one another, and to believe in God and the ultimate triumph of good.

Bonhoeffer contends that the church is more than a mere religious fellowship than can be exhaustively interpreted by a phe-

²⁶ Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison*, p. 220.

²⁷ Bonhoeffer, *No Rusty Swords*, p. 167.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

nomenological investigation of its structure. At the same time he was convinced that Christian doctrines were completely understood only in relation to the social dimension. Man, he says, is never alone but always in community. The church, especially in America, was becoming a mere social club rather than a true *community*. The priesthood of all believers had become the rights of the club members. Teas, lectures, community charity events, athletics, dances, and bowling for all ages were substituted for the proper work of the church.²⁹

In his address to the International Youth Conference Bonhoeffer seems to identify the church with Christ. At least Christ is the mover, the organizer, the originator of the church. He seems to feel that the teachings of Christ as given to the world, the hand of God moving the world toward the ultimate good, the Christian responsibility for one another, constitute the church. When men cease to love and trust one another, when they lose faith in the ultimate destiny of things, when men cast God out of their hearts, when churches become social clubs concerned with bingo, parties, and dances, the church is dead.

CHRISTIAN MAN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Dietrich Bonhoeffer often spoke of man as being alone, free, a wanderer, afraid to confront himself, afraid to confront a fellow being; and yet he felt that through Christ and a true commitment life could bring such confrontation and meaning could be found. He strongly urged men to be themselves. A favorite thesis: "Don't let the world around you squeeze you into its own mould, but let God re-mould your minds from within."³⁰ He felt that God did not stand over against man but gave himself to man and to the world. Therefore the man and the church that sought separation from the world were for him the most false.

Bonhoeffer argued that men must face reality. He said, "God will not permit us to live even for a brief period in a dream world."³¹ God was not a God of the emotions but the God of truth. The man who fashions a visionary ideal of community and demands that it be realized by God is repugnant to Bonhoeffer because such a dreamer becomes proud and pretentious. But the man who has a vision of a better world and because of this vision enters the community, binds men to him, and creates the better world is the man of God.

²⁹ Godsey, p. 43.

³⁰ Bonhoeffer, *No Rusty Swords*, p. 15.

³¹ Bonhoeffer, *Life Together*, pp. 27-28.

It is just such a life that enables us to participate with God in his sufferings — with Christ in Gethsemane. If we succeed, the success will not make us arrogant, and if we fail, the failure will not lead us astray. We participate in the suffering of God by living in the world.⁸² Going to church for an hour a week is easy enough. But to first go into the neighboring slum or the inner city from which suburbia has fled is very difficult. Yet the order of procedure is clear in the Lord's command. Were we to obey that command we would first reconcile ourselves with our neighbors in the inner city or segregated and shunned residential areas or even in the rival church down the street, and then enter our sanctuaries. If this were required there might be silence in many a meeting house next Sunday.⁸³

Men in the twentieth century must learn that they cannot escape from themselves. Bonhoeffer felt keenly the dread of what he called "the new man of our era,"⁸⁴ the victim of the tragedy of time caught up in the "panic of closing doors," in growing old, in ambition's failure, and in the tyranny of social conformity. He grew tired of people who felt they were righteous and carried around with them a sanctimonious pioussness. He often related the statement of St. Teresa that in her travels she met some "holy persons" who were saints in their own opinion, but that when she got to know them they frightened her more than all the sinners she had ever known.⁸⁵

Bonhoeffer concluded that for man in the twentieth century, God, Christ, and religion had to be modernized in the sense that they had somehow to take on meaning for men largely religionless, devoid of sorrow and the other sufferings that had caused men to be religious in the past. He felt that if this task could not be accomplished the church was dead, God would die, and Christianity would come to nought.

CONCLUSIONS

Bonhoeffer's theological views are not clear, nor do they support either an orthodox or a liberal persuasion. His last writings seem to lead one away from theology to the social gospel. He was more concerned in prison about the Sermon on the Mount and man's relationship to man than he was about formal theology. Yet we find in his writings such things as the suffering of Christ, the reality of God, and the value of forgiveness. Perhaps it is because he does not

⁸² Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison*, p. 21.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

⁸⁴ Theodore O. Wedel, "Man Coming of Age," *Union Theological Review*, XVIII (1962-63), 336.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

offer a neat and confident theological structure that many are drawn to him.

Many of Bonhoeffer's teachings regarding Christ are in harmony with Mormon theology. Mormons, too, would argue that Christ should be the center of their lives. They believe that men should share one another's burdens. They are concerned with the apparent Christless living of most Christians. Mormonism teaches that a man is saved by the grace of Jesus Christ after all he can do. Christ, they argue, is the mover, the organizer, the guider of the Church. But they would differ with Bonhoeffer in that Mormons believe the answer to the problems of mankind is to be found in the teachings of the scriptures and the living prophets. They hold that though Christ should be the center of a man's life — the Church itself is founded on and centered in Christ. Bonhoeffer would do away with religion whereas the Mormon believes that religion and Christ cannot be separated if the individual is to attain eternal life.

Thus, while Mormons would agree with Bonhoeffer that Christ is divine and the Son of God, they would differ with him regarding the role of the church and Christ's part in establishing His true organization upon the earth.

Mormonism, like Bonhoeffer, contends that man must involve himself in the world. There have been no ascetic tendencies in Mormon thought. Mormons have been reminded many times by their leaders that the task of the Church is to change the world; in the last annual conference of the Church Elder Harold B. Lee repeated a challenge he has made many times: "The Church is a continuing revolution against any and all the norms of society which fall below the gospel standards."

The challenge of Bonhoeffer is whether or not a man can find God in an age of comfort, material wealth, scientific discoveries, and loneliness. The Book of Mormon is replete with examples of wealthy people turning from God and trusting in their own prosperity. In fact most of the people in the Book of Mormon found God in despair, hunger, war, and sorrow. Bonhoeffer says that we are approaching the time when God will no longer have any meaning if He can only be found in the suffering part of life.

But many theologians have doubted Bonhoeffer's contention that the world has come of age. They see great advances in science and technology but little progress in human relations. Men are still alone, there are still slums, prejudice, and inhumanity. Liberal theology and the social gospel have been found inadequate to account for man's continuing failure and sin and sense of meaninglessness. Perhaps we need less "modernizing" of Christianity and more

of the religion taught by Christ 2000 years ago. New Morality has solved few problems; perhaps the old might, if it could provide better motivations.

Latter-day Saints would not agree with Bonhoeffer that man is necessarily alone in a strange, unfriendly world. They would argue that man can and does have the companionship of the Holy Ghost to comfort and guide his life. One of the great teachings of Mormonism is that this life can be one of joy with the help of Christ, the Holy Ghost, and the Church. Nevertheless one is forced to admit that Bonhoeffer has said much that strikes to the core of the human condition in our time. We need to find Christ and give meaning to our Christianity in the main currents of life. We need God in our prosperity and health. We need the church in our happiness and joy. The challenge of Bonhoeffer is the challenge of the future. Can people with long hair, dirty faces, and banjos find meaning in life through Christ? Can the man in the gray flannel suit find God within the corporation? Can we successfully meet the threat of agnosticism by preaching the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God? Or has God really died in our time? Is religion meaningless? Are we destined to live in a godless world, materially rich but lacking purpose? Mormonism answers that modern man can find meaning in life through Christ. That religion is not meaningless, that the Church is not dead, and that men can and often do find God amidst material wealth and prosperity, that life does have purpose and that the hand of God guides his Church toward the millennial reign of Jesus Christ.

Mormons would agree with Bonhoeffer that the Church must be concerned with things greater than dances, bingo, and teas. The real work of the Church is saving men's souls and bringing to each life its possibility for joy. The answer to religionless man in prosperity or poverty is the Church. For Mormons, true religion, the ordinances, and the Church are as essential to man's happiness here and hereafter as are loving one's neighbor — in fact, give the motivation and direction necessary to truly love one's neighbor.

Perhaps Bonhoeffer's real value lies in his effort to thrust complacent churched people out into the world come of age. Here they must use their commitment to Christ to truly love and help man, even the imposing group of men who see no place for God in their comfortable, independent lives.

AN HONORABLE SURRENDER:

THE EXPERIENCE OF CONVERSION

Carlos S. Whiting

Conversion to a new vision and way of life is a somewhat rare and certainly an amazing human experience. In this essay Carlos Whiting, Executive Director of The Foundation of America and a consultant to The President's Council on Recreation, tells of his sevenyear struggle to resist becoming a Mormon.

Not infrequently a Mormon convert thinks back on those events and feelings which preceded his decision to join the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He may wish to recall these things not so much for any personal benefit, but to determine the processes of conversion so that he can help friends and acquaintances obtain the light of the Gospel which he already enjoys. Cynics might conclude that this desire to win fellow converts is largely a catering to a psychological need. That is, a convert's original decision to join the Church may be justified when he can demonstrate to himself and to others that his new religion is deemed valid and soul-satisfying to them as well. In acknowledging an element of truth in this, one need not (and, indeed, cannot in all honesty) summarily dismiss further consideration of the need for understanding one's own conversion.

My own steps toward conversion may be far from typical and are certainly different from many. For example, while many individuals were quick to see the light and since their baptism have continued to grow strong in the Church without a backward glance, I investigated the Church for seven years. Following baptism I had no lapse of faith, but neither was my growth an expression of simple faith only. Not only did I imagine from the beginning that I had to have all the answers before I could accept baptism, I have since joining the Church continued to study, probe, and even to question. For some of those born into the Church — and who somehow equate such intellectual processes with weakness of faith and even with “rationalizing” — this inquiry may appear needless at best and possibly dangerous. I offer these experiences to others, however, for any benefit that may be derived from them. For me, the compulsion to set them down for the record is now its own justification.

With respect to my Middlewestern background, I came from a milieu which for convenience may be called today “Billy Graham Protestantism.” Through much reading and conversation, some of it in a university atmosphere, I moved to a more liberal position. While not dismissing the validity of mysticism and prayer, I was increasingly attracted to a more scientific approach to man’s origin and destiny. This was consciously balanced, however, by a determined respect for much valued tradition.

Having looked at the slough of atheism from a distance, explored the dunes of agnosticism, and rested on the plains of humanism, I satisfied myself by my late twenties that I would have to find my own Christian synthesis. In an intellectual exercise with some Chinese graduate students, and having studied the religions of the Near and Far East, I concluded that the “true” religion must be constructive and positive in its effect on the growth of human personality and could best be “pictured” in Jesus. I then made my commitment. As I put it at the time, I gave my allegiance to the person of Jesus.

Over many years I learned much from that most exciting of texts, the Book of the Earth, whose pages lie open for all to see in places like Grand Canyon and Yellowstone. My appreciation of nature and my professional work in conservation gave me some understanding of man’s animal heritage. The chemical and visceral responses of man’s body, I realized, could easily be mistaken — if one was not alert and wise — for spiritual stimuli.

I had been fortunate to have known many fine individuals in various religious sects and I had noted that, without exception, each was certain of the truth of his own beliefs by the strong and com-

elling emotion which welled from within. I was deeply impressed with the importance of not confusing such a feeling with a manifestation of the Spirit. Further, I was firmly convinced of the relativity of all truth — absolutes being beyond man's animal mind and limited comprehension.

It was, then, in this frame of mind and with this background that I first came in contact with Mormons, at the age of twenty-eight.

Working in Washington, D.C., with professionals of largely Western origin, I encountered numerous jack-Mormons and some of the more faithful variety. Among the latter was Dr. Clarence Cottam, who, for some reason, never discussed his religion with me but lived it with a vigor and integrity that was most impressive. The "occasional" Mormons made references to polygamy and certain other topics of perennial interest, but my curiosity was scarcely whetted. One threw a copy of the *Improvement Era* into his wastebasket and I retrieved this and read it with interest.

Curiously, it was at this time (when I was thirty) that two clean-cut and personable young men — L.D.S. missionaries — visited my wife. She arranged for them to return to talk with me. My interest was solely — or so I was convinced — in learning more about the sociology of a peculiar people.

The first lesson or two offered a novel theology, particularly concerning a God with a body who was essentially a glorified man. This God, our Heavenly Father in a literal sense, chose to deal with mankind through his firstborn son Jesus Christ, who revealed himself through prophets — particularly, in our age, through the prophet Joseph Smith. For me, this perfect example of text-book anthropomorphism did not strain credulity as much as the story of Joseph and the Golden Plates. Nevertheless, I was willing and actually quite eager to read the Book of Mormon. I even accepted the challenge to read it with prayer and made the "mistake" of asking God, if the book were true, to reveal it through his Holy Spirit and not to let me go until I had a certain knowledge of it.

Parenthetically, I must say here to those not accustomed to this kind of thinking or procedure that it is a very dangerous thing to do. I let myself in for seven miserable years before finally joining the Church, and I came to know the personality and methods of Satan with a certainty which defies description. While my troubles — and the conspiracies I encountered — appeared at the time unrelated to my search for religious truth, they were injurious to health and equanimity and seemed designed by evil forces to destroy me. Looking back, it seems possible that I might have escaped some of this by an earlier acceptance of the Mormon faith.

The process of conversion had begun, but something had happened to the missionaries, and we were never to see them again. After some months, I was about to write to Salt Lake City and tell the powers there that I still had a few questions to ask, when we were fortunate to have call on us a brilliant and convincing young man, Ronald G. Hyde. Elder Hyde dedicated a year of twice-weekly study sessions to us and several subsequent years of less intensive but equally prayerful and dedicated effort. In addition, for several years, every new missionary in the area was brought before us for testing and training.

In retrospect, it is a great blessing that we were not approached by missionaries several years later during the present missionary plan of casting a net, retrieving those prizes immediately available, and returning the unlikely looking fish to the sea.

Over the next few years I read everything in print available to me and prayed nightly for hours at a stretch. The skies were brazen and there was no hint of an answer. I was much too sophisticated to call for an angel or a vision, although there were times when either would have been welcome — in spite of a vague fear that I might receive one or both and then not be certain it was bona fide. My great concern was that I could be able to discriminate between a genuine desire to believe and any real evidence that the Mormon doctrine was true.

There were, of course, several conflicts which developed as I began to meet more Mormons, attend services, and give serious thought to Mormonism. The immediate things which struck me were the “wholesomeness” of the people and their sincerity and dedication. In addition, I liked the fact that the Mormon Church attracted and held men and young people. This, to me, was not novel or unique — as I am sure it must be to many investigators — because any church that Billy Graham would feel at home in could demonstrate these same fruits — as well the the fruits of a life of prayer, Bible study, testimony, tithe paying, and discipline on a par with the Word of Wisdom. This conviction that I had encountered but another group of earnest Christians who did not know or appreciate the fact that there were other Christians in the world stuck with me for years. In opposition to this conviction, however, there persisted the possibility in my mind that the doctrine was in fact unique.

If I had considered it a purely intellectual foray, I am sure that I would have been content with my early reconnaissance. The compelling fact is, however, that I had committed myself in prayer (through the encouragement of Ronald Hyde) to a spiritual — and not just an intellectual — investigation of the truths of the doctrine.

Lamentable as it may be to many who are trained to more orderly thought processes, religion (and Mormonism in particular) can be neither savored nor surveyed adequately through rational means. With the inclination I had, and with the time and energy then available to me, I approached the study with unusual determination.

One of the first observations I made in conversations with missionaries is that there are important semantic and other barriers to early rapport. One example is the word "church." To me, this word has always meant that "body of believers" who have accepted Jesus Christ as a personal saviour. It was foreign to me to think of the church referred to by Jesus as an organization (although I recognized, of course, that there were organized sects which claimed identity with the New Testament church). Another semantic difficulty was embodied in the word "authority." For reasons peculiar to my Protestant upbringing, I could not relate to my idea of the church any *need* for individuals with authority to speak or act in the name of God — either priest or prophet. My slowness in thinking in the same terms as the missionaries must surely have seemed, at least at times, as hardness of heart.

The disciplines of the Church are several and to many people, I observed, were arduous. Certainly, to many the idea of "giving up" tobacco, caffeine, and alcohol is difficult. To me, there was no problem and what little use I had made of these products was easily abandoned. Tithing, while a little harder to accomplish, was easily accepted in theory. The disciplines of attending meetings and of being watched over by the brethren were more severe. This brotherly concern, by the way, ultimately became a manifestation of love (and love among the brethren, while not part of my conversion process or part of this story, was to become the most convincing testimony of my own faith). I did not see at the time that diligence in attending priesthood and sacrament meetings and a prayerful consideration of others is vital to the faith. One significant stumbling block was certainly in this area.

With respect to points of doctrine with which I was struggling, the fact struck home early that Mormons denied the priesthood to Negroes. To a liberal with Negro friends, this was nearly convincing evidence that the Church lacked inspiration rather than possessing it. The painful wrench it took to postpone an understanding of the "Negro question" added many months or years to the time that I would eventually accommodate myself to the idea. That I did choose to postpone it and to move on to other considerations must be credited to some element of faith and not the intellect. Let me merely state here, however, that I am convinced that other aspects

of the Mormon doctrine are so compelling and convincing that this act of faith is not only acceptable but necessary.

Polygamy is first in the mind of non-Mormons and needs to be dealt with quickly and effectively. The idea that the taking of several wives was not an indulgence of the flesh is one which needs patient development. Since sexual temptations and sins are generally agreed to be in conflict with spirituality, I needed to be convinced that there were ameliorating circumstances helping to justify polygamy before I could seriously entertain the possibility that Mormonism had spiritual values worthy of consideration. I found this justification, in part, in my belief that the unsettled conditions for single women in the industrial revolution beginning in the East and already well underway in England made their conversion to Mormonism easier; with the attraction of more women to the cooperatively-inclined Mormon communities the surplus of women (which existed to a degree in all societies of the time) raised a question: "With the Mormon emphasis on marriage and childbearing (and in salvation through and with the husband) how were these good women to be saved?" Polygamy under the logic of these circumstances became inevitable.

Another issue of importance to me as an investigator was determining the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. If considered only as a work of fiction, the Book of Mormon has elements of the most mature genius. In its characterization and likeliness of incident, it has a ring of truth. In its exposition of doctrine, it ties in to a most complicated theology, which seemingly would be beyond the capability of young Joseph. Apart from its own statement that it is a digest of histories and philosophies of many kings and prophets there was for me no easily acceptable explanation of the book, and I believe that no fair-minded student of the Book of Mormon can escape the thought he may be — and very likely is — reading scripture.

Outside of acknowledging Joseph as a prophet, the best answer I could come up with at the time was that Joseph was both a genius and a mystic — a mystic in the sense that he communicated with personalities elsewhere in time and space through extrasensory powers. The Psi factor (as well as Joseph's genius) would very likely be a partial explanation in any case, and the investigator finds himself back at the beginning. Suggesting that Joseph suffered hallucinations and that he had some facility for mass hypnotism greatly weakens the story and does not square with continuing evidences of Joseph's spiritual powers. The theory is too hard to accept. One must be determined *not* to believe to entertain such a theory for

long, and it was for me easier to accept the possibility of spiritual gifts.

The perversity of some Mormons in trying to tie in relics of Indian culture of the era 1000 A.D. to the time of Cortez and Pizzaro with the Book of Mormon period was most annoying to me. However, the possibility of a pre-Indian, "white" civilization grew in my mind as I studied Thor Hyerdahl's "American Indians in the Pacific," which develops the theory behind the Kon Tiki expedition. His color photos of blond and red-haired mummies in the Americas prompted careful reading of his other evidences of a culture which preceded that of the Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas.

The idea of pre-existence suggests many answers to questions "Who am I?" and "What is my purpose in life?" The evangelical Protestant has no difficulty in accepting the pre-existence of Jesus (although Jesus' identity with God the Father, in the Protestant concept of the Trinity, is the explanation for his pre-existence). For me, it was not difficult to conceive and then accept the idea of a pre-existence. It is a marvelous thought that we are literal children of God the Father, literal brothers of Jesus Christ, and that we have chosen to come to earth as part of a plan to obtain material bodies and to prove ourselves worthy of returning to God's presence. The doctrine of eternal progression and the idea that we may be Gods is one of great power and attraction to me, and I found myself believing that even if the doctrine were not true we should live as if it were true. Nothing but good could come from such motivation.

That the idea of Mormonism *should* be true — that it is attractive and compelling and ought to be true — is a thought that possessed me and became determining. The more I became familiar with the doctrine and the more I saw Mormonism in practice, the greater was my desire to believe. I wanted to believe.

The earnestness of my desire to believe was balanced by my determination to find objective evidences of the truth of Mormonism. Yet, I concluded that in spite of many interesting and persuasive evidences it may not be possible to find these proofs.

I became certain, however, that everything I wanted to believe was to be found in Mormonism. If I could have applied myself in many years' study to finding a Christian synthesis, I could have devised no better. It was remarkable to me the way the Bible, Mormon scriptures, and Joseph Smith's teachings tied together in theological all-inclusiveness.

Conversion came to me suddenly. There was no voice and no vision. I merely surrendered, as the honest and honorable thing to do. It was a Sunday morning and we were at breakfast. In a few

minutes my family and I would leave for Sunday School at a nearby Protestant church. There was a notable unwillingness to go (I was an officer and had many responsibilities in the church, and it was my duty to attend to them). I looked around the table at my wife and young children.

“Should we go to Mormon Sunday School?” I surprised us all by asking.

“Yes, let’s!” they clamored.

I smiled wryly at my wife. “I’m converted at the breakfast table,” I said.

Every man, and more particularly my immediate associates who are with me daily, know how I regret the ignorance of this people — how it floods my heart to see so many Elders of Israel who wish everybody to come to their standard and be measured by their measure. Every man must be just so long, to fit their iron bedstead, or be cut off to the right length: if too short, he must be stretched, to fill the requirement.

If they see an erring brother or sister, whose course does not comport with their particular ideas of things, they conclude at once that he or she cannot be a Saint, and withdraw their fellowship, concluding that, if they are in the path of truth, others must have precisely their weight and dimension.

This ignorance I see, in this particular, among this great people is lamentable. Let us not narrow ourselves up; for the world, with all its variety of useful information . . . is before us; and eternity, with all its sparkling intelligence, lofty aspirations, and unspeakable glories, is before us, and ready to aid us in the scale of advancement and every useful improvement.

Brigham Young
JOURNAL OF DISCOURSES, VIII (1860), 8-9

ART AND BELIEF

An Exhibit of Mormon Art was held at the Salt Lake Public Library, December 10, 1966, to January 7, 1967. We present here a selection of the paintings, introduced by an account of the preparation and rationale of the exhibit by one of the participants, Dale Fletcher, and a review of the exhibit by Douglas Hill, an Instructor in English at Brigham Young University who has a deep interest in the visual arts (his photographic essay on early Mormon churches appeared in DIALOGUE, Autumn, 1966).

ART AND BELIEF: A GROUP EXHIBITION

Dale T. Fletcher

Could there be a "Mormon Art" — something different, vital, worthy of both words, Mormon and art? During the school year 1965-66 this and related questions were being discussed much around the B.Y.U. art department, mostly on an extracurricular basis. Typical of these numerous informal discussions was one which took place in the graduate students' painting lab during Fall Semester. Larry Prestwich, who had just exhibited a series of drawings based on the Book of Mormon, was talking with Trevor Southey, a Rhodesian who recently joined the Church, about the prospect of new distinctively L.D.S. art; and Larry finally suggested, "Let's have an exhibit." Trevor had previously visited the Salt Lake City Public Library and had made acquaintance with the person then in charge of art, who had given him a tentative invitation to have an exhibition.

One of the students who became deeply interested was Dennis Smith from Alpine, Utah, one of the most searching and experimental of those who later contributed work to the exhibition. It was he who towards the end of Spring Semester invited a group of those interested to his home where we all bared our feeling, and began to make plans. We decided to each make a strenuous effort to produce some work that would represent our desires and intentions

as well as we could, and Trevor was to finalize the arrangements with the Salt Lake City library for an exhibition in December. Many other ideas were discussed, such as a summer festival of fine arts for the Provo area and the founding of an art school. The dreams for the future grew and grew until some pictured the area becoming a world art center with positive new kinds of art supercede "Pop," "Op," "auto-destructive art," and what-not.

Among those who were at that first meeting there was quite a variety of opinion as to *what* we ought to paint and *how* it should be painted. Dennis Smith has repeatedly emphasized that each must find his own way to produce what is most meaningful to him, rather than to expect the emergence of a common style. Trevor Southey kept stressing the necessity to make our art communicative to all, so that it will actually function in building people's faith and appreciation of Mormonism. Some said, "We should strive after formal excellence." Others said, "Our work ought to be poetically excellent in the matters of content and expressiveness." "We must be wary of superficial sentiment and banality." "We should keep it positive and optimistic in contrast to much contemporary art." "It must be emphatic enough to capture people's attention, interesting enough to hold it, and significant enough to deserve it."

We held meetings fairly regularly through the summer. Students from the music and drama departments sometimes attended. One time we met

Gary Smith: ETERNAL PLAN, Oil.



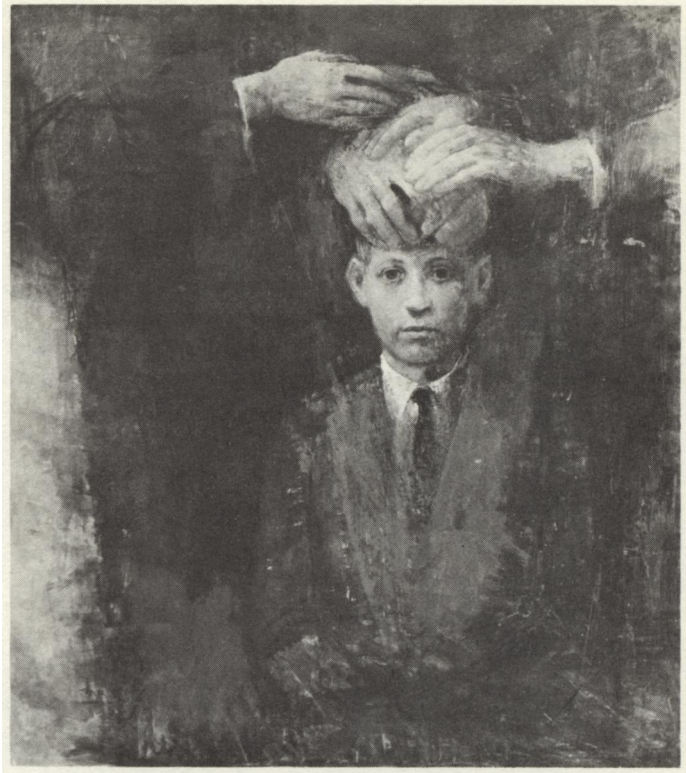


Larry Prestwich: THE FINGER OF THE LORD, Pastel.

and listened to Dr. Crawford Gates tell of the writing of the music for the Book of Mormon Pageant. Another time we met at the home of Gerald and Carol Lynn Wright Pearson and listened to Carol Lynn recite some of her excellent, distinctively L.D.S. poetry.

Just before the exhibit was hung, we met to decide which works to include. Among those who were finally represented were some students who had not met with us up to that time. There is Mike Coleman, who believes that "Mormon Art," if there is to be such, should involve the realistic portrayal of the beauty of nature and be similar in its aim to the work of such painters as Corot. Very different is the work of Michael Graves, who paints in a more abstract way. Another student, Stan Wanlass, submitted a painting in which he comments on the crassness and commercialism to which false religiosity sometimes descends. The others who were represented in the exhibition are my wife, Leone, and I. We have greatly enjoyed the discussions of the group and feel it an honor to exhibit with them.

Art tends to reflect the spiritual tone of the times, the faith and hopes of the people or their doubts and perplexities. The Apostasy made inevitable the growth of a nagging, ever-increasing doubt concerning the authority of the medieval church, which has had a profound effect upon Western art. This doubt has manifested its presence — sometimes in direct expressions of anxiety and at other times in the form of compensations, hope or fervant



Trevor Southey:
ORDINATION, Oil.

wish standing in for faith when evidence was deficient. By the nineteenth century this doubt became more and more inescapable. When Karl Marx made his assertion that religion was the opiate of the people he was not too mistaken — given the import of Joseph Smith's first vision. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, artists were seeking desperately to find other values outside the Christian promise to give art meaning and purpose. One hastily cast up rampart after another has been overwhelmed, and we are brought at length to open surrender to the predicament — in the black square, the soup can, the raw portrayal of sexual confusion, the twiddling of the optic nerve. It is as if mankind reaches down and feels around and discovers that, just as he feared, his pedestal is not there any more. The remedy is gone, or, as the Bible puts it, there is no water in the cistern. The modern artist sees the problem like an iceberg through the fog. There have always been good artists who stayed below decks and didn't see it and continued to paint nice, pretty pictures, but art as a whole has moved relentlessly toward a consciousness of *morality* without *meaning*. As the Surrealist, Matta, said, "The teeth of the dragon are everywhere; all the same, I am violently against St. George."

The critical fact of Mormonism is that it is *authentic*. This places the person with a testimony in a different metaphysical orientation from our brethren outside the Church. The remedy is back. The foundation is under us again, so that to paint after the glory of reality is no longer naïveté or

escapism as it must seem in the world. The destiny of the Kingdom is secure. Soon the Millennium will come, and by and by the knowledge of God will cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. As this change is effected, art will change accordingly. The members of the Church who are artists will more and more realize the significance of the covenants they make by baptism and in the temples in relation to the use of their talents. The Gospel truths as they become better understood will stimulate a fresh awareness of the value inherent in all things. The artists will point out this value for mankind. In playing this new role, their work will be produced sacramentally as a free act of praise and be dedicated to the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God on earth. And Glory be! All those old masters who desired to paint sacramentally for Christ were justified after all. How good it will be to shake their hands — and also the hands of those modern artists who sounded the alarm in the dark — and all hands who receive it when the light comes on.

ART AND BELIEF: A CRITIQUE

Douglas Hill

The recent exhibit of paintings by Mormon artists held at the Salt Lake City Public Library was not, as many people hoped or expected, a confirmation of what might be called a Mormon style. The painters, if I understand their intentions correctly, were interested in expressing individual belief rather



escapism as it must seem in the world. The destiny of the Kingdom is secure. Soon the Millennium will come, and by and by the knowledge of God will cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. As this change is effected, art will change accordingly. The members of the Church who are artists will more and more realize the significance of the covenants they make by baptism and in the temples in relation to the use of their talents. The Gospel truths as they become better understood will stimulate a fresh awareness of the value inherent in all things. The artists will point out this value for mankind. In playing this new role, their work will be produced sacramentally as a free act of praise and be dedicated to the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God on earth. And Glory be! All those old masters who desired to paint sacramentally for Christ were justified after all. How good it will be to shake their hands — and also the hands of those modern artists who sounded the alarm in the dark — and all hands who receive it when the light comes on.

ART AND BELIEF: A CRITIQUE

Douglas Hill

The recent exhibit of paintings by Mormon artists held at the Salt Lake City Public Library was not, as many people hoped or expected, a confirmation of what might be called a Mormon style. The painters, if I understand their intentions correctly, were interested in expressing individual belief rather



than religious consensus. The brochure describing the exhibit states that the work reflects "personal approaches to the expression of their [the artists'] beliefs." But because the artists were painting within the same framework of convictions one would, nevertheless, expect a consensus of sorts. There needn't be prior agreement for artists to produce a religiously or philosophically similar art. If they have common grounds for belief, certain similarities are unavoidable, as long as each individual responds honestly to his own belief and experience. If art is created as an act of religious devotion, the devotion grows out of parallel, not divergent, concepts of God.

I do not think that the sincerity of devotion in these paintings is in question. Nor is the quality of the art itself, at least for my purposes. Many of the paintings were undeniably good. What I did find central to this exhibit is the question: Do these paintings represent the emergence of a Mormon tradition in art?

Unless this question can be answered in the affirmative, the show was no more, no less, than a collection of paintings by artists who are incidentally members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Furthermore, if this is the case, the exhibit should not have called attention to the religious affiliation of the artists. It is one thing to identify artists with a locale or a school, quite something else to identify them with a religion which would specifically shape the style and content of art.

However, the shaping force of Mormonism seemed to be absent from these paintings in general. But then the exhibit was small, the range of styles and subjects rather wide: abstracts by Larry Prestwich, poem-paintings by Dennis



Dennis V. Smith:
GROWTH PATTERNS,
Bronze.

Trevor Southey:
THE PLAN, Oil.



Smith, pastorals by Mike Coleman, depictions of youth by Dale Fletcher, and embryonic forms and almost mystical interpretations by Gary Smith. But I found in these paintings no commanding or decisive religious impulse that could be called Mormon, with the exceptions, perhaps, of Trevor Southey's "Laying on of Hands" and "The Plan," and Dennis Smith's "Younger Brother."

But subject alone is not enough to define art; neither is style. When the two are joined in an unmistakable resonance of belief, without self-consciousness or sentimentality, the art is sacramentally valid for the Church. Some argue that it is wrong to assume that there can be or should be a Mormon art, but I believe that such an art is inevitable once a visual tradition is established. As yet there is no visual tradition in the Mormon Church, and until there is the expressions of faith in art will be uncertain and tentative. Individuality will have little relevance to the common faith that gives shape, direction, and meaning to experience.

Therefore, if the exhibit lacked the clear, strong evidence of Mormon faith in particular, as opposed to faith in general, the fault lies not so much with the artists as with the lack of a visual tradition from which inspiration is drawn, a tradition which could likely emerge from the continued efforts of the Prestwichs, Southseys, Smiths, Fletchers, and Colemans, but which can only grow when the members of the Church collaborate in an active and vital way with the artists. A tradition is not for the few, but for the many. That is why I think the exhibit, despite certain disappointments, was important, and why I would like to see it become an annual event.

Roundtable

THE BIBLE IN THE CHURCH

*Participants: Heber C. Snell
Sidney B. Sperry
Kent Robson*

The way the Bible is understood and used in the Church is extremely important to the personal religion of a Mormon and to his ability to converse with other men about his beliefs and values. In this Roundtable two L.D.S. scholars examine different ways the scriptures can be approached in the context of a religion which emphasizes continuing revelation and the authority of prophets, and then a young student of philosophy does a critique of their conclusions. Heber C. Snell, a former L.D.S. Institute Director and for many years a teacher of courses in the Bible at Utah State University and (presently) Weber State College, is the author of ANCIENT ISRAEL, ITS STORY AND MEANING and articles in THE IMPROVEMENT ERA. Sidney B. Sperry, Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature at Brigham Young University, is the author of numerous books (and articles) on the scriptures, including ANCIENT RECORDS TESTIFY, THE SPIRIT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, and the current adult lesson manual in the L.D.S. Sunday Schools. Kent Robson, who serves in his student ward Elders' Quorum presidency, is completing a Ph.D. in philosophy at Stanford University.

THE BIBLE IN THE CHURCH

Heber C. Snell

My apologia — if one is needed — for this essay may be presented and done with at once. I have been aware, as a member of the Church,¹ of its great resources as a moral and spiritual force and I desire, in what I write here, only to enhance them. As an interested student and teacher in the Church for many years I have also had opportunity to think about some of its needs and to try to do something about them. My effort will take the form of calling attention to certain problems (as I regard them) in the Church and their possible solution. Constructive criticism can be of service to any social or religious institution, as history has shown time and again, and I hope that my comments and suggestions in the interest of improvement may prove timely and useful.

STATUS AND USE OF THE BIBLE IN CHURCH

The way in which scripture is regarded and interpreted by any Christian body is of the highest importance for all its members. It may mean the difference between missing and finding fundamental historical and religious truth. The Church regards itself as definitely prefigured in the Bible and as being the authoritative interpreter of it. This fact alone makes it extremely important to understand the situation in the Church with reference to this ancient scripture and the use its speakers and writers have made of it. Equally, it calls for an evaluation of these points of view.

The Church currently accepts four different volumes as Holy Scripture, three of them unknown to the modern world a century and a half ago. These three are the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price. The first is an account of certain civilizations established in parts of Central and South America by Asiatic peoples of various origins, principally Israelite, the latest one destroyed ca. 420 A.D. The Doctrine and Covenants is a compilation of the revelations of Joseph Smith, together with two additional "sections" and a revelation to Brigham Young. The Pearl of Great Price contains four writings, one professing to be from the hand of Abraham, another claiming to be certain revelations given to Moses (but not in the Old Testament), the third a revision of Matthew 24 by Joseph Smith, and the fourth an "extract" from the Prophet's history, which includes an account of the "First Vision."²

In 1830, when the Church was organized, it had two sacred books, the Bible and the Book of Mormon, the former apparently accorded first place.³ As early as 1831 a first compilation of Joseph Smith's revelations, known as the *Book of Commandments*, was accepted as scripture but because of untoward events was never printed "as such" by the Church.⁴ The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church, a development from the earlier compilation, was so named, accepted, and published in 1835 as scripture. There have been a number of editions since, containing revelations up to 1847. The Pearl of Great Price was the latest writing to enter the L.D.S. canon of scripture, the date of its official acceptance by vote being October, 1880.

From occupying the status of the first of two books of scripture in the Church the Bible became, in the course of about two decades, one of four. There are indications that it has now declined to the position of third or even fourth place among the Church's sacred books. Certainly many among the Latter-day Saints regard it as inferior in authority to the Book of Mormon⁵ and the Doctrine and Covenants, and some appear to subordinate it also to

¹ The word Church in this essay refers to the L.D.S. Church, unless its context makes it mean otherwise. The Bible — the other noun in the title — I regard as an inspired book. The question of its inspiration is not, however, a part of my subject.

² To these writings have been added the "articles of faith" of the Church.

³ One might fairly infer as much from the extensive use of the Bible in the earliest period and from its precedence in the eighth "article of faith."

⁴ Cf. W. E. Berrett, *The Restored Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1959), p. 139.

⁵ Cf. the following statement by Joseph Smith: "I told the brethren that the Book of Mormon was the most correct of any book on earth, and the keystone of our religion, and a man would get nearer to God by abiding by its precepts, than by any other book." *History of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1950), I, 461.

the Pearl of Great Price.⁶ Whether this decline in the status of the Bible is good either for the Church as an institution or for its individual members is open to serious question.

This change of status of the Bible seems to be well attested by the relatively little attention given it by Church speakers and writers. One seldom hears from the pulpit a sermon or lecture dealing with it in an historical or analytical way. The reader needs only call to mind the sermons at quarterly and general conferences for the support of this assertion.⁷ To be sure, the Bible is frequently quoted for the purpose of sustaining Church teaching, but such use rarely throws light on the nature and worth of the Great Book. A like neglect is observable in the literature of the Church. The writer counted thirteen articles, making a total of 41 pages, in *The Contributor*,⁸ volumes 1 to 17, dealing in some fashion with it, as against thirty-six, a total of 267 pages, on the Book of Mormon. An examination of the *Improvement Era Master Index*, covering the years 1897-1940 inclusive, gave thirty-six titles under Bible, or 137 pages, as compared with 124 titles and 725 pages under Book of Mormon.

In view of these data, which certainly show interest trends — to claim no more for them — it is to be doubted that Sunday School outlines, Mutual Improvement Association manuals, and most of the other literature of religious education in the Church would present a picture much different. An exception should possibly be made in the case of Relief Society lessons and Seminary and Institute curricula.⁹ These indicate a greater relative interest in the Bible, yet there are some Institutes in the Church which give no courses at all in it during certain divisions of the school year. In none of the Institutes, currently, is work in the Bible required for graduation.¹⁰

It might be argued that wide knowledge of the Bible among Latter-day Saints may be taken for granted, while the study of "modern scripture" needs to be stimulated. The point might be partially conceded in the case of converts to the Church, for these could have learned a good deal about the Bible in other churches but little or nothing about the writings peculiar to Mormonism. Converts are few in number, however, compared to native members. If it is further argued that the latter acquire, through their experience in the Church, the needed acquaintance with the Old and New Testaments, I, for one, should like to know what are the grounds for such an opinion. My work, as a teacher of the Bible in L.D.S. collegiate institutions over a period of a quarter of a century, has failed to convince me that our people have made much advancement in biblical knowledge.

As to the *formal status* of the Bible in the Church, as scripture on a level

⁶ Cf. Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Way to Perfection* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1958), p. 55-59; Doctrine and Covenants (ed. of 1932), Preface; *General Conference Report*, Oct., 1948, pp. 163, 164.

⁷ Someone should do the research involved, using the sermons published over a given period. The writer is confident it would sustain in a striking way his statements in the text.

⁸ This periodical was the official organ of the two special youth organizations of the Church from 1880 through 1896. In the following year it was succeeded by the *Improvement Era*.

⁹ Research should be made in these several areas and the results evaluated. So far as the writer knows no serious study of the kind has been done.

¹⁰ Until this year six credits in Book of Mormon have been required out of eighteen necessary for graduation.

with the Book of Mormon, this would seem to be secure as long as the eighth "article of faith" stands. This reads:

"We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God."¹¹

Certain remarks of President George A. Smith, at a general conference of the Church within recent years, are to the same effect. He seems to the writer, however, to subordinate the Bible to the other "standard works" of the Church.¹² J. Reuben Clark writes that the four books "are of equal authority in the Church."¹³ I am told that President David O. McKay holds the same view.

EVALUATION OF THE BIBLE'S STATUS

The comparatively poor standing and neglect of the Bible in the Church may be taken, I think, as an indication of the level of its understanding and appreciation by the leaders and laity. A more impressive index may be found in the manner of its use in supporting Church doctrine and providing predictions for which fulfillments in our time are claimed. Light on the subject may be had from two sources, the current teaching and preaching in the Church and its literature.

With the aid of these sources one might deal with a number of aspects of the use of the Bible in the Church, e.g., the apparently lower estimate generally of the Old as compared with the New Testament, the well-known practice of interpreting the Bible by reference to the other sacred books, and the long-established tendency, beginning with Joseph Smith, of regarding the Church authorities as the official interpreters of the Bible. I shall deal with none of these topics, interesting as they may be. Instead, I shall go on with other aspects of my subject, of equal or greater interest, and first to a consideration of *that use of scripture which finds in it confirmation or proof of certain teachings of the Church*. This is commonly referred to among scholars as the dogmatic, or "proof-text," method.

There is nothing better, possibly, to illustrate this approach to the Bible in the Church than a letter written by Joseph Smith early in 1833 to N. E. Seaton, editor of a paper in Rochester, New York.¹⁴ I quote from the letter:

The time has at last arrived when the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob, has set His hand again the second time to recover the remnants of His people, which has been left from Assyria and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea, and with them to bring in the fullness of the Gentiles, and establish that covenant with them, which was promised when their sins should be taken

¹¹ Suggestions have been made toward a revision of this "article," as it affects the Bible, in order to bring it more into line with modern knowledge, but to date no change has been made. The point merits further discussion.

¹² Cf. *119th Semi-annual Conference Report*, pp. 163-164.

¹³ J. R. Clark, *On the Way to Immortality and Eternal Life* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1949), p. 209.

¹⁴ The name of the paper is not known. The Prophet does not state whether the letter was published at the time (*History of the Church*, I, 312).

away. See Isaiah XI; Romans XI, 25, 26, and 27; and also Jeremiah XXXI, 31, 32, and 33. (*History of the Church*, I, 313)

The Prophet goes on to show that the Jews rejected the covenant offered them by Christ, and that the Gentiles then received it but in turn proved apostate — all this in fulfillment of scripture.¹⁵ Since then wickedness has grown apace,

. . . and *Destruction*, to the eye of the spiritual beholder, seems to be written by the finger of an invisible hand, in large capitals, upon almost everything we behold. (*History of the Church*, I, 314)

There was no deliverance for anyone, said Joseph, except through repentance and acceptance of the restored Gospel.

In connection with this message to “all people,” the Prophet adds to his interpretation of the Old Testament the testimony of the Book of Mormon, and in doing so uses more Bible references:

By it [Book of Mormon] we learn that our western tribes of Indians are descendants from that Joseph who was sold into Egypt, and that the land of America is a promised land unto them, and unto it all tribes of Israel will come, with as many of the Gentiles as shall comply with the requisitions of the new covenant. But the tribe of Judah will return to old Jerusalem. The city of Zion spoken of by David, in the one hundred and second Psalm, will be built upon the land of America, “and the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads” (Isaiah XXXV: 10); and then they will be delivered from the overflowing scourge that shall pass through the land. But Judah shall obtain deliverance at Jerusalem, Ezekiel XXXIV: 11, 12 and 13. (*History of the Church*, I, 315)

In these quotations from the Prophet’s writings there is no thought of context or other conditioning factors. What the specific references teach, to his mind, is given in general terms and then the biblical passages are cited, usually in a lump. One may be pardoned if he suspects that this is a rather loose way of handling scripture and that there may be less or more in the quotations than the interpretations suggest.

A number of years after the writing of the Seaton letter Joseph Smith wrote an account of the appearances of Moroni to him in 1823.¹⁶ This messenger quoted profusely from the Bible, particularly the Old Testament. In the Prophet’s journal the quotations are cited *en bloc*:

He [Moroni] first quoted part of the third chapter of Malachi, and he quoted also the fourth or last chapter of the same prophecy, though with a little variation from the way it reads in our Bibles. . . . In addition to these, he quoted the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, saying that it was about to be fulfilled. He quoted also the third chapter of Acts, twenty-second and twenty-third verses, precisely as they stand in our New Testament. . . . He quoted the second chapter of Joel, from the twenty-eighth verse to the last. He also said that this was not yet fulfilled, but was soon to be. . . . He also quoted many other passages of Scripture, and offered many explanations which cannot be mentioned here. (*History of the Church*, I, 12, 13)

¹⁵ Passages specified are Is. 24: 5; Mk. 16: 17, 18; I Cor. 12.

¹⁶ It is not definitely known when the account of these visions was first written, but the earliest publication date was probably 1838. Cf. F. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York: Knopf Inc., 1945), p. 39.

This wholesale way of handling biblical materials seems to be in defiance of all canons of interpretation, but occasionally the Prophet became a more careful exegete, dealing with particular words and phrases of scripture. Thus in Section 77:1 of the Doctrine and Covenants, he identifies "the sea of glass" of Revelation 4:6 as "the earth, in its sanctified, immortal, and eternal state." The four beasts of the next verse are figurative expressions, he writes, "describing heaven the paradise of God, the happiness of man, and of beasts, and of creeping things and of the fowls of the air," etc. In view of the difficulty of ancient apocalyptic, this seems a bold venture in biblical interpretation. In the annotated edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, however, the editors are at great pains to justify the Prophet's explanations.¹⁷

The disciples of Joseph Smith, those who wrote and spoke on religious themes, followed in the main the pattern of biblical exegesis set by him, i.e., to quote scripture and interpret it without regard to the historical milieu in which it arose. It is the method employed later in such collections as the *Journal of Discourses*¹⁸ and the semi-annual reports of Church general conferences. It has always been conspicuous in the missionary literature of the Church, such as the *Voice of Warning* by Parley P. Pratt and *Rays of Living Light* by Charles W. Penrose. It characterizes likewise the more pretentious books dealing with doctrine. Important examples of the latter, which have been in long use, are *The Gospel* by Brigham H. Roberts, and *The Articles of Faith* by James E. Talmage.¹⁹ More recent books of like kind are Joseph Fielding Smith's *The Way to Perfection* and *The Progress of Man*, also Milton Hunter's *The Gospel Through the Ages*. These later volumes rely much less on the Bible than on "latter-day scripture." Numerous examples of "proof texts" and their application could be cited from them and other Church writings.

Since the expository literature of the Church uniformly employs the "proof-text" approach to scripture, it could be expected that the current teaching and preaching would follow, except in rare instances, the same pattern. Gospel tracts and books, especially prepared to win converts, are distributed today by hundreds of missionaries who in their evangelical work utilize them to "prove" the accepted theology. One will rarely hear, in a Latter-day Saint assembly for worship or instruction, any departure from the traditional method. This is true, in lesser measure, in the Seminaries and Institutes of the Church. It is as if the modern study of the Bible, through literary, historical, and archaeological approaches, had never been heard of.²⁰

In the days of Joseph Smith — and, generally speaking, to the end of his

¹⁷ Cf. H. M. Smith and J. M. Sjodahl, *Doctrine and Covenants Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1957), pp. 471, 472.

¹⁸ This is a verbatim report of general conference sermons of the Church from 1853 to 1886.

¹⁹ A concession that the context of scripture should be taken into account in interpreting it occurs in a statement made by J. E. Talmage in his *The Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City, 1890), p. 365.

²⁰ I do not take the position that *all* scriptural passages require for their understanding one or more of these approaches. Many proverbs, psalms, moral and religious teachings, etc., have a universal character which makes them directly understandable to the reader. This fact explains in part the immense contribution the Bible has made through the centuries to human life.

century — it was hardly to be expected that Mormon theologians would utilize any approach to Bible study but the one in common use in Christian churches everywhere. The Prophet showed a good deal of independence indeed, in his own handling of scripture, and tolerated it to some extent in others,²¹ but he never came in sight of the better methods of biblical study which we know today. Had he lived when the newer critical studies were becoming known in America — roughly the latter half of the last century — he would probably have been sympathetic with, if not an ardent student of, them. The warrant for this statement is his early absorption in learned studies, particularly Hebrew,²² his recommendation to “the Saints” to study all good books, and his well-known openmindedness.²³

DANGERS IN USING THE DOGMATIC METHOD

The dogmatic method of interpreting scripture is probably the least profitable approach to it. Strictly speaking, it is not a study of scripture at all since its interest is to “prove” certain presuppositions which may bear little or no real relation to texts cited. But the supposed demonstration proceeds by seizing upon some verse, or larger section of the Bible, which is thought to support the proposition to be established. Needless to say, the supposed “proof” is always found.

A principal defect of this use of scripture is that it ignores completely the historical situation in which the texts it uses arose. It is rarely ever concerned about their date or authorship, or even the context of the quotations used. It knows nothing of the occasion of the biblical book containing them nor of its purpose. Since all these items may have an intimate bearing on the meaning of the quoted materials, ignorance of them may lead one anywhere — and generally does.

It is not necessary in this paper to write of the confusions in Christianity traceable directly to the supposed right of every man to interpret the Bible in his own way. He has the right, no doubt, under the law, but he had better go only as far as his knowledge of relevant materials warrants. In other fields of human endeavor it is taken for granted that comprehensive knowledge is needed. We rely on the lawyer to interpret the law, on the physician to prescribe for our ills, on the historian for facts of history. As for the biblical field, it is too often assumed that specialized knowledge about it counts for little or nothing at all. The claim is made, in fact, that it may actually hinder the search for truth. Conceivably it *may*. Vitiating factors *do* sometimes enter into biblical interpretation — even at the hands of scholarly men, it must be confessed — *but genuine knowledge is surely not one of them*.

The free use of the “proof-text” approach to scripture in the Church has led to a number of highly questionable interpretations of biblical materials. As I have suggested, this was quite unavoidable in the first half-century of the Church’s existence. But these interpretations need not be continued

²¹ The case of Pelatiah Brown is an example (*History of the Church*, V, 340, 341).

²² This difficult language he and others studied with enthusiasm, as early as 1836, under the tuition of “Professor Joshua Seixas,” brought from Hudson, Ohio, to Kirtland (*History of the Church*, II, 368 ff.).

²³ Cf. W. E. Berrett, *The Restored Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1961), pp. 135 f.

simply because they have come down from the fathers. A better method of getting at the meaning of scripture has long been available, and it is difficult to understand why Church theologians, professing as they do to welcome truth from all quarters, have not eagerly made use of it. The method has been already described in part, and I shall shortly give two extended illustrations of it to show what light it is able to throw on the responsible task of interpreting biblical writings.

Meantime a number of brief examples of questionable interpretations based on proof texts may be cited from Mormon writings. The Pratt brothers made much of the vision of Nebuchadnezzar and its ancient interpretation in Dan. 2:31-45, with which they coupled certain verses in Dan. 7. By implication, if not by direct statement, they identified the "everlasting kingdom" (Dan. 2:44; 7:27) with the Church set up in 1830 by Joseph Smith.²⁴ The Pratts have been followed in this interpretation by such prominent Mormon writers as B. H. Roberts,²⁵ J. E. Talmage,²⁶ and Joseph Fielding Smith.²⁷ J. A. Widtsoe is more cautious, saying only "that the stone that broke the image to pieces is the Kingdom of God."²⁸ The Daniel passages cited by these writers apply, not to events of the centuries since Christ but to those supposed to take place in the Second Century, B.C., and earlier.²⁹

In frequent use by Church theologians³⁰ has been the allegory of the two "sticks" (Ezek. 37:15-20). The "sticks" have meant for them the Bible and the Book of Mormon. Ezekiel's own explanation of his allegory follows the passage immediately in verses 21-28. For him the sticks mean the two kingdoms, Israel and Judah. In his view they will again be "one nation." The prophet's words in these verses are so plain that "he who runs may read" and, I may add, understand.³¹ Numerous texts of the Bible (e.g., Is. 24:5; Amos 8:11, 12; II Tim. 4:3, 4; II Pet. 2:1-12) are said by Mormon writers to point toward the complete apostasy of the ancient Christian Church. Thorough study of such texts, taking into account their history, will usually show that they are descriptive of conditions in the writer's own time or of events which, in his view, will shortly occur. It would be difficult indeed to prove that the Bible writers had their eyes fixed on specific events to take place

²⁴ P. P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning*, etc. (Liverpool, 1909), pp. 11-16; N. B. Lundwall, *Masterful Discourses and Writings of Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, no date), pp. 192-206, 258.

²⁵ *New Witnesses for God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1911), I, p. 119.

²⁶ *The Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1924), pp. 364-368.

²⁷ *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1950), pp. 7, 23, 24.

²⁸ *Evidences and Reconciliations* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1943), p. 61. Dr. Widtsoe has at this point some very sensible remarks on the interpretation of Daniel's prophecies.

²⁹ To present the evidence for this statement would require an essay. The reader is referred to J. Bewer, *Literature of the Old Testament* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), pp. 410-419.

³⁰ The two L.D.S. interpretations of scripture in this paragraph are so widely held in the Church that it seems unnecessary to give specific references.

³¹ One writer, Edward H. Anderson, maintains that the Hebrew word for "stick" in the Ezekiel text cannot be translated by the words roll, or book, or record. He cites D. C. 27:5 in support of his view that "the stick of Ephraim" refers to the nation of which the Book of Mormon is the "record." (Quoted from an unpublished article entitled "Book of Mormon, A Record of the Stick of Ephraim.")

centuries after their own day.⁸² If space permitted, many examples of questionable interpretations of biblical texts could be cited from Mormon writings.

In what has been said, I have had no thought or intention of calling in question Latter-day Saint beliefs as such, whether relating to future events or to doctrines. This is not my interest in this essay. *My one objective has been to question the validity of the biblical support claimed for certain theological teachings held by Church writers and so to lead to a better way of dealing with scripture in the interest of truth.* The Bible, in my view, has been too much used by Church theologians as a repository of proof texts, with little or no regard for the historical background or context of the sections cited.

THE HISTORICAL METHOD OF BIBLE STUDY

The better way of studying scripture, that is, its approach through history, has already been referred to and partly described in this essay. Its essence is in the intent to get at the facts regarding the origin and nature of the writing being studied.⁸³ I shall now describe the method more fully and then go on to illustrate it.

Every biblical book is the product of some human mind, or minds, activated variously by the Divine Spirit and reacting to a certain environment. It follows that the more one knows about the writer and his milieu the better one is prepared to uncover the meaning of his book. It may be said, indeed, that without this knowledge the message of the ancient text will remain more or less hidden. Such specific facts as the date and provenance of the book, the identity and character of its author, his purpose in writing, contemporary ideas and movements, and special issues which the writer confronts — these are what is meant by the *historical situation*.

This fruitful method, in relation to a biblical book, may be described also from the point of view of the ancient reader, for then as now books were written to be read. What the book meant to the intelligent reader — what each incident or saying meant to him — must be taken into account so far as we possess knowledge of such matters. Thus to get an understanding of Paul's ideas about resurrection, spiritual gifts, or the Lord's Supper, it would be helpful to know what the Corinthian Saints thought about them. It would help materially, in interpreting portions of the Revelation of John if we knew what contemporary church-goers said about them after they heard the book read to the congregation (cf. Rev. 1:3). To know what the great ideas of the Gospel of John — truth, light, life, incarnation, and revelation — meant to its ancient readers and how they must have been moved by them would further immensely our understanding of this difficult scripture.

It may fairly be claimed, I think, that most of the values inherent in the several methods of studying scripture may be found in the historical

⁸² I cannot discuss here the problem of predictive prophecy. The reader is referred to a clarifying treatment of the whole subject of prophecy in a book by a famous Canadian scholar, R. B. Y. Scott. Pages 1-17 point out that prediction is a leading feature of the kind of prophecy known as apocalyptic but that it is also found in the sermons of the great prophets. Scott's book, *The Relevance of the Prophets* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1953), should be in every library of books on the Bible.

⁸³ In this important quest — and in the interpretation of all scripture — the illumination of the Divine Spirit is to be sought. His aid is, in my view, indispensable.

method. To use scripture to support some belief, anciently or modernly held, is legitimate enough, provided one has ascertained, if possible, what it meant to the ancient writer and reader. What a quoted passage *seems* to mean to us may be quite different from what it *actually* meant to them. By the couplet,

For out of Zion shall go forth the law
And the word of the Lord from Jerusalem —

the ancient prophets did not mean, and were not understood to mean, two different cities but only one.⁸⁴ When Mark and Matthew reported that the Spirit descended “like a dove” on Jesus at his baptism, they did not visualize, in all likelihood, a real dove; they were merely utilizing, in a simile, a well-known symbol of the Spirit of God. Luke (Lu. 3:22) apparently meant a real dove.⁸⁵ The so-called “devotional method” of Bible study — devout reading of scripture with little attempt at analysis — has been very fruitful in bringing moral and spiritual help to readers. The danger in its exclusive use is that it falls short of a complete handling of the text while gathering up at the same time various unwarranted meanings. The study of scripture by way of its history, so far as this can be known, is prerequisite to its full understanding and enjoyment.

One could select almost at random illustrations of the historical approach to the Bible. I shall now present the two which were promised earlier in this paper, one dealing with the Book of Nahum in the Old Testament, the other with the Revelation of John in the New Testament. Both studies will be necessarily brief, but they may well serve the two-fold purpose of showing how the study of an entire biblical book should be undertaken and how the book may be grossly misunderstood when it is not placed in its historical setting.⁸⁶

THE BOOK OF NAHUM

An advantage in selecting Nahum for our first study is that it is a small book, it will be seen, affords a particularly simple and clear illustration of itself and further clarified by sources outside the Bible. The study of this book, it will be seen, affords a particularly simply and clear illustration of the historical method.

Nothing is known about the prophet Nahum except what may be gleaned from his book. Even his native town, Elkosh, has not been identified, but that he was a poet of power and skill is evident from the little book he has left us. The regret of scholars is that we have so little from his pen. His book, which has been called “a song of exultation,” is wholly about Nineveh, the proud and wealthy capital of the ancient Assyrian kings. The city is named in three places in the book (1:1; 2:8; 5:7) and the entire poem is an account of its siege and downfall, the misery of its inhabitants, and the

⁸⁴ The quotation comes from Is. 2:3 and Micah 4:2. It is a clear case of synonymous parallelism, in which the second line means the same as the first. Jerusalem and Zion are equivalent terms. Cf. a quotation earlier in this article, where Zion is thought of as a city to be “built upon the land of America.”

⁸⁵ Cf. B. W. Bacon, *The Story of Jesus* (New York: The Century Company, 1927), pp. 129-171. Confirmed literalists should read and ponder these pages by one of America’s foremost New Testament scholars.

⁸⁶ These two book studies constitute the major part of my positive argument. Their brevity is necessitated by the space accorded this essay.

exultation of the prophet at the prospect of its fall. The book was written probably about 612 B.C., the established date of Nineveh's destruction.

One must know something more about the famous Assyrian city if one would understand Nahum's prophecy. For more than two centuries Assyria had been a name to be dreaded by the little nations of western Asia, for most of them had suffered cruelly at her hands. Their tribute money had gone annually to enrich and adorn her great capital. So it came about that Nineveh's walls and palaces symbolized for them the cruelty and tyranny which had cost them treasure and blood. Any misfortune that might overtake the city and the empire would be the signal for rejoicing by all the nations which had been their victims in time of war.

A hundred years before Nahum's time the Kingdom of Israel had felt the power and vengeance of Assyria in being reduced to a vassal state. The best of her people had been exiled from their own land to become prisoners of war in the Assyrian country. Judah had escaped at the time a similar fate, but for more than a century her kings had been vassals of the kings of Nineveh.

Out of this seemingly hopeless situation the news reached Judah in the days of the "good king Josiah" that Nineveh had been surrounded by hostile armies. Her arch foes, the Babylonians and Medes, had massed their combined forces against her. A seer of Judah, probably a countryman like Amos, discerned in this event an omen of evil for "the bloody city." Yahweh had at last brought her to a time of reckoning for her sins; she would be overthrown and among the nations none would mourn her passing.

The Book of Nahum — really only a small tract — announces itself as "an oracle concerning Nineveh; the book of the vision of Nahum, of Elkosh." Yahweh is then dramatically presented as a God of power and wrath in confronting his adversaries but one who is "good to those that wait for him" (1:2-10). Coming nearer to his theme, the prophet declares Yahweh's intention toward Judah:

I have afflicted you, but I will never again afflict you.
And now I will break his rod from upon you,
And burst asunder your bonds. (1:2, 13)⁸⁷

It was characteristic of the Hebrew prophet to think of God not only as the rewarder but also as the punisher of Israel, who often used a great nation as his instrument of chastisement. Isaiah had frequently spoken of Assyria as "the rod of his anger," and Jeremiah had referred in somewhat similar terms to Babylonia.

Nahum 2 opens with a prophetic announcement to the ill-fated Ninevites:

The shatterer has come up against you;
Keep the rampart;
Watch the road; brace your loins.
Strengthen your forces to the utmost. (2:2)

The reader is presently aware that the siege of the city is being fiercely pressed (2:3-6).⁸⁸ As it progresses,

⁸⁷ All biblical quotations from this point to the end of the article are from the *American Translation* of the Bible.

⁸⁸ It is these verses which have proved especially intriguing to some Mormon interpreters. They have seen in them an account of conditions in our own time, modern passenger trains

Nineveh is like a pool of water,
Whose water escapes. (2:8)

Plundering goes on apace, for the city is rich in goods and spoil; and then —

There is emptiness, and desolation, and waste,
And a melting heart and trembling knees. (2:10)

And the poet asks exultantly,

Where is the den of the lions,
Where the lion tore enough prey for his cubs,
Filling his den with prey,
And his lair with booty? (2:11, 12)

In the closing chapter the prophet returns to a description, hardly to be surpassed, of the battle for the city (3:2, 3). Her shame is held up to public gaze (3:4-7). She is likened to Thebes, the proud city of Egypt that “went into captivity” (3:8-10). Again and again, as if he is unable to shut out the vision, the seer returns to dire prediction of Nineveh’s fate (1:11-14; 2:13; 3:5-7; 3:11-13) and to scenes of the final hours of the siege and fall (2:3-10; 3:1-4; 3:14-17). Last of all, in a sublime epitaph of the nation, he exclaims:

Your shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria;
Your nobles sleep!
Your people are scattered upon the hilltops,
With none to gather them.
There is no healing for your wound;
Your hurt is incurable.
Everyone who shall hear the news about you
Will clap his hands over you.
For against whom has your malice not continually gone
forth? (3:18, 19)

Nahum’s prophecy must have made a profound impression in Judah, especially among those who still believed that Yahweh was a God of judgment able to accomplish his purposes in the world. From the modern believer’s standpoint it is another prophetic testimony that the God of justice will not always bear with human sin, that the course of history will vindicate the true and good and reward “those that wait for Him.”

THE REVELATION OF JOHN

Our New Testament illustration of the historical approach in the study of a biblical book will present greater difficulties. The Revelation of John is a fairly large book, as biblical books go; its setting and authorship are somewhat controversial; and its character as an apocalypse makes its detailed interpretation often baffling. It is quite possible, however, to relate it to its time and to uncover its general purpose and meaning. The book will turn out to be, not a guide to events marking the end of the world — as fundamentalist exegetes have often made it — but a challenge to ancient Rome, with her paganism and hostility to the Christian Church, and a clarion call to Christians in the Empire to stand firm in their religion in spite of Rome and all her demonic works.

running at night, canal locks, and even train conductors taking tickets. (Cf. L. A. Kelch, *A Practical Reference*, p. 14.)

The Revelation is the only book of the New Testament professing to be a message "made by Jesus Christ" to disclose the future. The author is the prophet John, a persecuted Christian, who introduces himself as being on the Island of Patmos and as hearing in a trance a loud, trumpet-like voice commanding him to write what he saw and send it to "the seven churches."³⁹

From the prophet's own account it becomes apparent what the nature of his writing is to be, and his description is fully borne out by the character of the contents. The Revelation belongs to a class of writings called apocalypses, well known in Judaism from the Second Century B.C. They dealt usually with vision experience, real or assumed, and had to do mainly with predictions of the future. Unlike some Jewish apocalypses, which had to be sealed until the time for their fulfillment was near, the Apocalypse of John expressly warns:

"Do not seal up the words of prophecy that are in this book," he said to me, "for the time of their fulfillment is very near." (22:10)

Similar notices of the immediacy of events predicted are found at the beginning of the book (1:1, 3) and three more at the end (22:7, 12, 20).

What was the occasion for a writing of this kind? It was a critical time for the Christian Church, almost certainly the later years of the Emperor Domitian, when Rome was enforcing Caesar-worship in some parts of the Empire. For the Christians of the province of Asia resistance often meant death. Some of the more timid were giving up Christ and hastening to obey the Roman edict. In the face of such a crisis the prophet John, himself a sufferer, wrote to urge Christians not to worship "the beast," symbol of the hated Roman power whose fate was already decreed, but to prove valiant fighters for the faith and win for themselves full participation in the victory and glory of Christ, who was soon to come and put all tyranny under his feet. The book was a trumpet call to courage and faith.

John was directed by a heavenly voice to write on a scroll his visions of things to come and send it to the seven great churches of the Roman province. Letters to these churches form the prelude to the visions themselves, as the Revelation has come down to us, and contain the prophet's special messages to the churches, first as a group, afterward to each one individually. Presumably the roll of visions reached each church along with the letters, and was read — as it was intended to be — to the congregation (1:3).

The longer visions begin with Chapter 4 and conclude with 22:5. They have been given titles as follows: "The Roll of Destiny" (chs. 4-11), "The Dragon War" (12:1-19:10), and "The New Jerusalem" (19:11-22:5).⁴⁰ Without any attempt at detailed exegesis, I shall present briefly the content of the visions and make general comments as to their meaning. It will be seen that each vision has a definite relation to the persecution situation with which the author is concerned.

³⁹ These are named in Rev. 1:11. Almost nothing, outside the Apocalypse, is known about the author, John. Those interested in speculation concerning him may consult M. S. Enslin, *Christian Beginnings* (Harper and Brothers, N. Y., 1938), pp. 367-372.

⁴⁰ E. J. Goodspeed, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 244-250.

In the first great scene⁴¹ a throne appears in heaven. "In the spirit" the prophet John sees God seated upon it, surrounded by twenty-four elders, each clad in white and seated on a throne with a gold crown on his head. As part of the heavenly court are four living creatures of grotesque appearance, who never cease, day or night, to proclaim praises to God. The elders also, as they listen, fall down and worship him, casting their crowns before the Divine King and singing his praises. As the seer continues to gaze he discerns in the right hand of him who is seated on the throne a scroll written within and on the back, sealed with seven seals. To the prophet's great sorrow no one is found in heaven worthy to open the scroll. But soon he sees "a Lamb standing, as though it had been slain, with seven horns and with seven eyes." The Lamb takes the scroll, at which the four living creatures and the elders sing together a new song, proclaiming his worthiness to open it. Immediately a vast chorus of angels joins in the praise and then "every creature in heaven and on earth and under the earth and in the sea."

As the seals of the scroll are broken one by one, terrible portents appear. At the opening of the fifth seal John sees "under the altar the souls of those who had been slain for the word of God and for the witness they had borne," and he soon learns that their number is a hundred and forty-four thousand. Shortly a vast multitude, which no one could number, appears praising God and the Lamb, and the seer is told:

They are the people who come through the great persecution, who have washed their robes white in the blood of the Lamb. (7:14)

Nothing will have power to hurt them any more, and "God will wipe away every tear from their eyes."⁴²

When the seventh seal is opened seven mighty angels appear, each with a trumpet ready to announce some new disaster. As the seventh angel is about to blow, the seven thunders proclaim secrets of the divine program which the seer is forbidden to write. But he is assured that at the seventh trumpet call "the mystery of God" will be fulfilled. In the interval occurs the episode of the two prophets, who in some way advance the divine program. When the seventh angel at last blows his trumpet all the woes are ended, and

The sovereignty of the world has passed into the possession of our Lord and his Christ, and he will reign forever and ever.

A joyous message indeed for suffering Christians in the Empire, who believed they would share in the heavenly kingdom. The vision closes amidst a tremendous display of earthshaking forces.

In the Second Vision (12:1-19:10), the "Dragon War" in heaven forms the prelude to the conflict on earth between Rome and the Christian Church. Expelled from heaven, the Dragon, that "ancient serpent who is called the Devil and Satan," relentlessly pursues the woman who symbolizes the Church.

⁴¹ Vision One, "The Roll of Destiny" (Chs. 4-11).

⁴² The quotations in the paragraph are clear references to those who had suffered martyrdom in the Roman persecution.

Unable to destroy her, he goes off "to make war on the rest of her children — those who obey God's commands and adhere to the testimony of Jesus."

At this point the prophet John beholds "an animal come up out of the sea with ten horns and seven heads." To this animal the Dragon gives his power and throne; he is "to make war on God's people and to conquer them." A second beast, rising out of the earth, teams up with the first and works great signs to deceive mankind, "telling them to erect a statue" to the first beast and worship it (an obvious reference to Caesar-worship). To the instructed reader of the Revelation it would be quite clear that this animal symbolizes the persecuting Empire. The second beast probably represents the priesthood of the national cultus. It bears the mark or number 666.⁴³

At this stage of the vision the "hundred and forty-four thousand" reappear, standing with the Lamb on Mt. Zion. They are the martyrs who refused to worship the beast or his image and who follow the Lamb everywhere. And now in succession three angels proclaim their messages. The first calls on men to worship the Creator of all things (in contrast to the worship of the beast), for judgment is at the door.⁴⁴ It is even now afoot as the second angel announces the fall of "mighty Babylon" (Rome). The third angel declares that whoever worships the animal and its statue is fated for eternal torment with fire and brimstone. In sharp contrast are those who die as Christians, for they shall rest from their labors and receive their eternal reward.⁴⁵

Following this interlude "one like a son of man" appears with a sickle to reap the earth; he is ably seconded by an angel. As John looks again he sees seven angels, armed with seven plagues which they are commanded to pour out upon the earth. They are fearful plagues, penal in character, because men have lost the power to repent. The seventh plague climaxes them all, falling upon great Babylon to make her "drain the cup of the fury of his wrath."

The alert reader of the Revelation will not miss the emphasis on the city's fall and its significance. More than two whole chapters make it plain that "great Babylon" is none other than the imperial city Rome, "drunk with the blood of the saints and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus." The mystery of her identity is completely solved when she is pictured as a harlot sitting on the seven heads of the "scarlet beast." These, says the writer, are seven hills and also seven kings, "five have fallen, one is reigning, the other has not yet come, and when he does his stay must be brief." Any modern commentary will trace these and other details of Chapter 17 back to their historical equivalents. With other evidences the book affords, they point unmistakably

⁴³ "The number 666 in Aramaic letters could mean Nero Caesar, and probably veils a still deeper allusion to Domitian, whom the Church was indeed finding a second Nero, a Nero come to life again." E. J. Goodspeed, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), p. 247.

⁴⁴ "Almost every L.D.S. theologian sees in the message of this angel a clear reference to the "restoration of the Gospel" through Joseph Smith. Such an interpretation ignores the plain fact that the Revelation describes events which the writer declares would soon come to pass (Rev. 1:1; 22:20; *passim*).

⁴⁵ This sentence expresses one of the prominent motifs of the *Apocalypse*, the glorious destiny of those who resist emperor-worship and "die for the faith."

to the reign of Domitian as the time of the persecution and to ancient Rome as "the great city."

Chapter 18 describes the holocaust accompanying the destruction of the city. Voices from heaven make declaration of her multitudinous sins, while men who have profited by her, merchants, "shipmasters and sea-faring men," and "kings of the earth," stand awestruck when they behold the smoke of her burning. And they cry out —

Alas! Alas, for the great city . . . For in a single hour
she has been destroyed!

The third and closing vision (19:11-22:5) opens around the throne of God. A white horse appears, its rider called "Faithful and True," also the "Word of God." He leads the armies of heaven against the hosts of evil and conquers them. The beast and the false prophet, who has deceived by signs "those who had let the animal's mark be put on them and who worshiped its statue," are thrown alive into the burning lake while the bodies of the others, who had been killed by the rider of the white horse, are eaten by the birds which had gathered for "the great supper of God." The Dragon, "who is the Devil and Satan," is seized, chained and thrown into the bottomless pit, where he is doomed to remain a thousand years.

The hosts of evil disposed of, at least for the time, the millennial reign of Christ begins. The subjects of his kingdom are the martyrs in the great persecution of the Church:

And I saw the souls of those who had been beheaded on
account of the testimony of Jesus and the message of
God, who refused to worship the animal and its statue.
. . . They were restored to life and reigned with the
Christ a thousand years. (20:4)

At the end of the thousand years Satan is loosed for a little season. He gathers the hosts of Gog and Magog for a final stand, but fire from heaven consumes them. The devil is thrown into the lake of fire and brimstone, there with the beast and the false prophet to be tortured day and night forever.

The universal judgment from the great white throne is next set in motion, and the dead, great and small, are judged out of the book of their deeds and the book of life. These are the dead that have no part in the first resurrection and the millennial reign. As the climactic act of the great judgment, Death and Hades are cast into the lake of fire along with all whose names were not found in the book of life.

The final scenes of this third vision are a worthy climax to all that John the prophet saw. A new heaven and a new earth appear and, descending from heaven, the new Jerusalem. Simultaneously, a voice from the heavenly throne cries out:

See! God's dwelling is with men, and he will live with
them. They will be his people and God himself will be
with them, and he will wipe every tear from their eyes.
There will be no death any longer, nor any grief or cry-
ing or pain. The old order has passed away. (21:3, 4)

The descending city is described as "having the glory of God, its radiance like a most rare jewel," with no need of sun or moon to shine upon it because "the Lamb" will be its lamp and God its sufficient light. Religious

ecstasy could hardly picture a more exalted scene. It is the high point of the entire apocalypse.

The epilogue of the book (22:6-21) is in a lower key, adding little that has not already been said. To one point, however, it gives great stress, the nearness of the Second Coming (22:7, 20). Curiously, this is the point which those who would make the Revelation a guide-book to the future of the present world conveniently forget.

The Revelation met a great need, the need for assurance that God would not desert his own in their world of peril; instead he would save them with a great salvation. Its symbolism, often most extravagant, conveyed to the persecuted Christian Church a sense of its great danger, yet of its final triumph. At the same time the book concealed from the enemies of the Church the message of defiance it carried. Because of its character as an apocalypse the Revelation has been much misinterpreted, yet its setting, purpose, and general meaning are well known. For this we have to thank those interpreters who have understood and utilized the historical method in studying it.

SUGGESTIONS TOWARD IMPROVEMENT

I come now to the closing section of this study. Here I shall discuss certain implications of what I have written regarding the Bible in the Church. I shall also make some criticisms and suggestions of a general character which are intended to be constructive.

Why do Church writers continue to use an inferior approach to the study of the Bible when a better one is available? This question cannot be side-stepped. It is not enough to appeal to the past and to sanctify its interpretations. It must be asked always whether these are true in the light of known facts and clearer thinking. If they are not true there should be no hesitancy in modifying or discarding them in the interest of advancement. It should be likewise with the methods of Bible study.

So far as this writer knows, the first Latter-day Saint teacher to make any extended use of the historical method in teaching the Bible was William H. Chamberlin. It was toward the end of the first decade of this century. Professor Chamberlin, who had received biblical training at the University of Chicago, was called to the Brigham Young University to teach ancient languages, philosophy, and religion. After a distinguished service of several years, opposition to his teachings discouraged him and he resigned. The chief complaint against him centered in his use of the so-called "higher criticism" of the Bible. (Incidentally the term "higher criticism" is a grossly misunderstood designation of one legitimate field of study of ancient texts.) Professor Chamberlin's leaving the University was generally regretted by faculty and students.⁴⁶

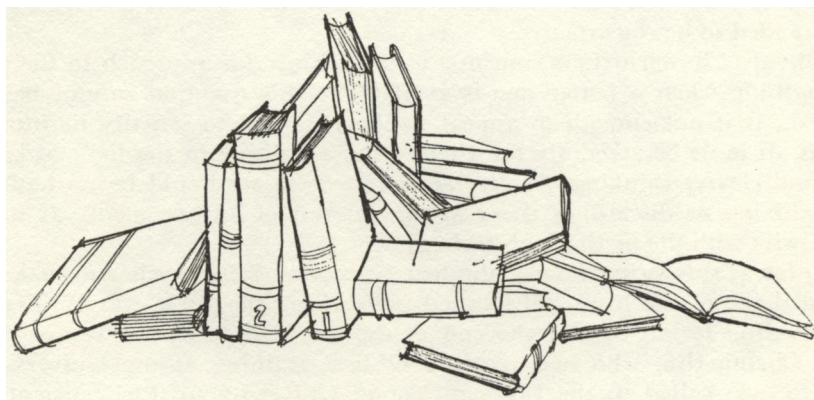
Beginning in 1929, a series of summer schools at the Church University featured the presence each year of an eminent scholar brought from the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. Dr. Joseph F. Merrill was then

⁴⁶The year 1911 was eventful at the "Y." Three other professors, Ralph V. Chamberlin, Joseph Peterson, and Henry Peterson, well trained in their respective fields of study, found it advisable to sever relations with the institution. Complaints against them had basically to do with their supposed religious unorthodoxy.

Church Commissioner of Education and is entitled to credit, along with others, for setting up such a program. Courses in religion were taught by these scholars, among others the Old Testament by William C. Graham and New Testament by Edgar J. Goodspeed. Church seminary teachers were required, during the first two or three years, to be in attendance. But opposition arose and the project was abandoned.

To bring the best biblical scholarship to the aid of Church education was a noble experiment which, many thought, came to an end too soon. Whether the first Prophet of the Church, had he lived in our day of fresh discoveries and new insights in relation to the Bible, would have continued it, is, of course, a speculative question. I, for one, believe that he would have done so.

Fundamentalism in Protestant Christianity finds its chief support in the literal interpretation of the Bible.⁴⁷ Early in its history the L.D.S. Church added as scripture three other books claiming equal or greater inspiration and authority, which are, like the Bible, "taken as they read." They are taken this way because they are believed to be literally the word of God. The Church makes an exception in the case of the Bible: this is the divine word only "as far as it is translated correctly."



To take scripture as it reads seems to mean for the fundamentalist to take it as factual or "as every word true." No person acquainted in the least with the history of the Bible manuscripts, and with the fact that there are sometimes wide differences between them, could assume such a position in relation to the Great Book. This attitude toward scripture even ignores the differences between prose and poetry. For it, the book of Job has to be genuine history, the prophet Jonah must in fact be "swallowed by a whale," the sun actually stood still at Joshua's bidding, etc. The heaviest indictment

⁴⁷ Two good books which deal with a better kind of biblical interpretation are J. P. Smyth, *How God Inspired the Bible* (New York: James Pott and Co., 1918), and H. E. Fosdick, *The Modern Use of the Bible* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934).

against this fundamentalist position, however, is to be found in the fact that human beings wrote the books of the Bible and made, as a rule, no claim that their writings were inspired, to say nothing of a claim to infallibility.

Mormons readily admit that the Bible may contain errors due to mis-translation, but refuse, usually, to see error of any kind in the other standard works. If one is pointed out, they are likely to insist that there is no error and that they "take the word of the Lord before the word of man."⁴⁸ The sufficient reply to such an assertion is that every intelligent person does this *when he is able to identify the divine word*. Certain criteria have to be employed to discriminate between man's word and God's word. It is very unanalytical to say that every word of scripture is the word of the Lord. The Bible itself refers to the possibility that even a prophet may speak "presumptuously" (Deut. 18:20-22), and Jeremiah 28 provides a glaring example of one who did.

The most I can hope for, as I come to the concluding pages of this writing, is that some who read it may be stimulated to work for better things. The Church possesses, in its active membership and especially in its youth, a great force for righteousness. The Seminaries and Institutes have in them many devoted teachers who would like to lead their students into the treasures of the Bible, but these teachers have had little training in the better ways of studying it. This is certainly not a desirable situation — and it ought to be changed.

To effect such a change requires, at the very outset, that vital teachings which the Church has propounded from the beginning be honestly followed. Incentives toward such teaching may be seen in these aphorisms: "The glory of God is intelligence," "A man is saved no faster than he gains knowledge," and "Seek wisdom out of the best books."⁴⁹ Complete freedom of discussion in Church groups, and unhampered research in educational institutions, should be encouraged, even in fields where there is the possibility of running into conflict with theological beliefs.

Those who bear responsibility for teaching the Bible in the Church, if they are inclined to underrate the observations I have made, might take a leaf from the history of Joseph Smith. He was very much of an individualist, as a number of his sayings and incidents in his life make clear. One of the latter, too little known, concerns an attempt made by one Pelatiah Brown, previously referred to in this essay, to interpret a difficult section of scripture. It appears that Elder Brown had been industriously working at the symbolism of portions of the Revelation and had produced interpretations which were so objectionable to some that he had been brought before the high council for trial. Hearing of the affair the Prophet, in a conference sermon, commented:

I did not like the old man being called up for erring in doctrine. It looks too much like the Methodists and not like the Latter-day Saints. Methodists have creeds which a man must believe or be asked out of their church. I want the liberty of thinking and believing

⁴⁸ This very remark was once made in the writer's presence by a member of an important Church committee, incidentally a man with a Ph.D. in history.

⁴⁹ Cf. Doctrine and Covenants, Section 88:77-80, 118, and the excellent comments on these passages in the *D. C. Commentary*, pp. 555 f. and 564.

as I please. . . . The high council undertook to censure and correct Elder Brown, because of his teachings in relation to the beasts. Whether they actually corrected him or not, I am a little doubtful, but don't care.⁵⁰

In conclusion I should like to reiterate what I said at the beginning of this essay. The Church has within its history and teachings much that has made it a dynamic force for righteousness and spirituality. This could be accentuated, in my opinion, by a more liberal policy in the area of biblical study and in the ways I have suggested. In providing for more freedom and more opportunity for discussion of biblical and religious matters generally, the Church would not be departing from its fundamental teachings. Instead it would be adhering more closely to them.

To justify its existence at all, any church must take as its supreme goal the ideal and practice of the *truth*. Great truths — whether of science or religion — should be available to all who seek them. If it means anything at all, “free agency,” insisted upon by the Church, means freedom to think and to act. *In no quest is freedom more to be desired than in the pursuit of the truth of scripture, for here we confront God in his supreme revelation.*

⁵⁰ *History of the Church*, V, 340, 341.

SCHOLARS AND PROPHETS

Sidney B. Sperry

Professor Snell's article, “The Bible in the Church,” leaves me with very mixed feelings. On the first page of his essay he implies that his criticisms are intended to be constructive and that he seeks only to enhance the great resources of the Church as a moral and spiritual force. But I get the unpleasant feeling that Professor Snell really looks upon the Church as a great social institution and denies the divine keys of authority that it claims rest in its prophets, seers, and revelators.

Later Snell discusses Joseph Smith's letter to N. E. Seaton, in which the Prophet is alleged to use the dogmatic or “proof-text” method in his explanations. Snell then concludes:

In these quotations from the Prophet's writings there is no thought of context or other conditioning factors. What the specific references teach, to his mind, is given in general terms and then the biblical passages are cited, usually in a lump. One may be pardoned if he suspects that this is a rather loose way of handling scripture and that there may be less or more in the quotations than the interpretations suggest.

Here is a scholar “telling off” the Prophet, who really understood the scriptures. I say this because I happen to believe that Joseph Smith knew the Bible and its meaning better than anyone in our era.

Later on in his essay, Snell quotes from the Prophet's description of Moroni's visit, during which the ancient Nephite prophet quoted from the books of Malachi, Isaiah, Acts, Joel, and other scriptures. Then he criticizes the Prophet's account in these words:

This wholesale way of handling biblical materials seems to be in defiance of all canons of interpretation, but occasionally the Prophet became a more careful exegete, dealing with particular words and phrases of scripture. Thus in Section 77:1 of the Doctrine and Covenants, he identifies "the sea of glass" of Revelation 4:6 as "the earth, in its sanctified, immortal, and eternal state." The four beasts of the next verse are figurative expressions, he writes, "describing heaven, the paradise of God, the happiness of man, and of beasts, and of creeping things, and of the fowls of the air, etc. *In view of the difficulty of ancient apocalyptic, this seems a bold venture in biblical interpretation.* (italics mine)

Professor Snell's irony does not set well with me, nor will it, I'm sure, with all Latter-day Saints who believe in the divine mission of Joseph Smith. Here is another case of the scholar "telling off" the Prophet.

A page later Snell speaks of the Prophet's independence in handling scripture and of his toleration, "but he never came in sight of the better methods of biblical study which we know today. Had he lived when the newer critical studies were becoming known in America — roughly the latter half of the last century — he would probably have been sympathetic with, if not an ardent student of, them." From these words I get the impression that Professor Snell is more in sympathy with the views of modern scholarship than he is with those expressed by the Prophet. Though I agree with Snell that the Prophet was openminded, I cannot agree that Joseph Smith would now concur with the scholarship of modern higher criticism, which, for example, denies the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and which disavows Isaiah's authorship of much of the book that goes under his name. For the Prophet to do so would mean that he would have to turn his back on large areas of the Book of Mormon which agree that Moses did write the Pentateuch and that Isaiah wrote many chapters in his book now denied to him by modern higher criticism. Not only does this Nephite record say that the Brass Plates in father Lehi's possession contained "the five books of Moses" (1 Nephi 5:11), but it even has the resurrected Savior quote Deuteronomy 18:15, 18, 19 as coming from Moses (3 Nephi 20:23). The implication that Moses had anything to do with Deuteronomy would not set well with most higher critics. And as for the Book of Mormon attitude toward the authorship of Isaiah one need only examine 2 Nephi 11:2, 8; 12:24; 3 Nephi 22; 23:1-3. It will be noticed that the Savior himself points out that Isaiah 54 came from the mouth of the great eighth century prophet. How many modern higher critics would accept this view? And it may be pointed out that if Joseph Smith had been sympathetic with what are now "critical" views of the Book of Genesis, he would have had to throw out all of the Book of Ether in the Nephite record, because it is dependent upon the Tower of Babel episode. In view of these facts, is it very likely that the Prophet would be sympathetic with Snell's "better methods of biblical study?" And how could Joseph Smith accept the results of these methods and consistently say that the Book of Mormon was the "most correct of any book on earth, and the keystone of our religion?"

But Professor Snell seems to go along with the modern "critical" views of the Bible which are so often in direct disagreement with the Book of Mormon and the Pearl of Great Price. How he can do this and believe in Joseph

Smith's divine mission is beyond me. And how Snell can so blithely disregard the careful studies of many conservative Bible scholars, both Catholic and Protestant, is to be wondered at. I have reference to such scholars as W. H. Green, E. J. Young, E. J. Kissane, J. E. Steinmueller, James Orr, and G. Vos.

Professor Snell's tendency to ignore the inspiration of the Prophet Joseph Smith is again illustrated when he discusses the Spirit which descended "like a dove" as reported in Matthew and Mark. Why didn't he refer to the Prophet's explanation of the sign of the dove (*Documentary History of the Church*, V. 261) as well as send the reader, via footnote, to a modern scholar? How does Snell know that Professor Bacon's explanation is any better than our great modern Prophet's? "Confirmed literalists should read and ponder these pages by one of America's foremost New Testament scholars [Bacon]," says Snell. At any rate, the Prophet's explanation is avoided and the scholar's accepted.

When Professor Snell discusses the Revelation of John in his essay, he clearly manifests his aversion to the Prophet Joseph Smith's inspiration concerning the authorship and meaning of the Apocalypse. The revelation in Section 77 of the Doctrine and Covenants is here completely ignored, as are comments of the Prophet elsewhere pertaining to the Book of Revelation. I think that I have shown sufficient reason for the feelings expressed in the first paragraph of this review. I feel genuinely sorry that Professor Snell's great talents haven't been turned in what, to me, would be a more fruitful direction. Now let us turn to his discussion of the status and use of the Bible in the Church.

Professor Snell contends that the Bible has declined in favor in the Church from first place to third or possibly even the fourth place among our sacred books. As evidence that the Bible became inferior in authority to the Book of Mormon the following statement of Joseph Smith is cited:

I told the brethren that the Book of Mormon was the most correct of any book on earth, and the Keystone of our religion, and a man would get nearer to God by abiding by its precepts, than by any other book.

Joseph Smith had reason to know the correctness of the text of the Book of Mormon because he had translated it, giving us a text one generation from the original. The Prophet's work on the Bible by the spirit of revelation, however, led him to say, "I believe the Bible as it read when it came from the pen of the original writers. Ignorant translators, careless transcribers, or designing and corrupt priests have committed many errors" (*D.H.C.*, VI, 57). And the Prophet had good reason to designate the Book of Mormon as the "keystone of our religion" because of its uniqueness as a voice of warning to this generation from ancient American peoples and as a special witness that Jesus is the Christ. Not only that, but notice in a revelation to Joseph Smith that the Lord speaks of the Nephite record as "my word to the Gentile, that soon it may go to the Jew, of whom the Lamanites are a remnant, that they may believe the gospel, and look not for a Messiah to come who has already come" (*Doctrine and Covenants* 19:27). For this generation at least, the Book of Mormon had functions to fill which the Bible couldn't. No wonder it was to function as the "keystone of our religion." The following words of the Prophet may also help us to understand his point of view:

Take away the Book of Mormon and the revelations, and where is our religion? We have none; for without Zion, and a place of deliverance, we must fall; because the time is near when the sun will be darkened, and the moon turn to blood, and the stars fall from heaven, and the earth reel to and fro. Then, if this is the case, and if we are not sanctified and gathered to the places God has appointed, with all our former professions *and our great love for the Bible*, we must fall; we cannot stand; we cannot be saved; for God will gather out his Saints from the Gentiles, and then comes desolation and destruction, and none can escape except the pure in heart who are gathered. (*D.H.C.*, II, 52; italics mine.)

Joseph Smith never did attempt to downgrade the authority of the Bible, but he clearly recognized its weaknesses, as we have already pointed out. Now let us point out his positive efforts to upgrade its authority and show his great love and affection for it.

Between the years 1830 and 1833 the Prophet, at the Lord's command, made a revision of the Bible by the spirit of revelation. This resulted in his putting a tremendous amount of labor into the project. Although it was never fully completed in Joseph Smith's lifetime, the result of his labors can be seen in *Holy Scriptures* as published by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Whatever Professor Snell may think of the Prophet's work, he cannot deny his sincere intent to present the books of the Bible in their original purity, thus enhancing their authority.

Additional evidence is the numerous references to the Old and to the New Testament in the first six volumes of the *Documentary History of The Church*. The great number of citations from the Bible and the many explanations offered by the Prophet must impress every reader with his interest in it. Let me present one good illustration of this at this point. In a sermon on the purpose of existence the Prophet says:

But this life is not all, the voice of *reason*, the language of *inspiration*, and the Spirit of the living God, our creator, teaches us, *as we hold the record of truth in our hands*, that this is not the case, that this is not so; for, the heavens declare the glory of a God, and the firmament showeth His handiwork [Ps. 19:1]; and a moments reflection is sufficient to teach every man of common intelligence, that all these are not the mere productions of *chance*, nor could they be supported by any power less than an Almighty hand; and He that can mark the power of Omnipotence, inscribed upon the heavens *can also see God's own handwriting in the sacred volume [Bible]*; and he who reads it *oftenest will like it best, and he who is acquainted with it, will know the hand wherever he can see it; and when once discovered, it will not only receive an acknowledgment, but an obedience to all its heavenly precepts.* (*D.H.C.*, II, 14; continuous italics mine.)

I submit that here the Prophet pays a notable tribute to the Bible.

Professor Snell cites President Joseph Fielding Smith as subordinating the Bible to the Pearl of Great Price. He points to *The Way to Perfection*, pp. 55-59, as evidence of this. I have taken the trouble of looking over these pages several times, but I certainly question Snell's logic in using President Smith's material for the purpose he does. President Smith is discussing the first revelation of the Gospel plan and uses Pearl of Great Price texts at some length because they give facts not at present found in the Bible. Here is

President Smith's own explanation for what he does at the bottom of page 55 and the top of page 56, and what he says there applies substantially to what follows in pages 57-59:

After Adam had been driven out of the Garden of Eden and was shut out of the presence of the Lord, angels were sent to him to reveal the plan of redemption. *Unfortunately our Bible, as we have it today, is very deficient in the statement of this fact. Happily the account as it was originally written by Moses has been revealed to us in the Pearl of Great Price.* (italics mine)

Is President Smith to be blamed for subordinating the authority of the Bible simply because he can't find it in the information that he needs? He clearly implies that such information was once part of the sacred volume. As a member of the Church, Professor Snell ought to rejoice that President Smith could turn to scripture containing the needed facts.

Now may I give at least one important suggestion which may help explain why Professor Snell found so many more printed pages in *The Contributor* and the *Improvement Era* dealing with the Book of Mormon than with the Bible. Ever since its publication in 1830 the Book of Mormon has been the butt of invective and ridicule from ever so many critics. Because of this fact, our Church writers have not been slow to defend the distinctive Nephite record. Numerous articles and books about the Book of Mormon have poured from the presses as a result; the end is not in sight.

Professor Snell complains about the "relatively little attention" given the Bible by Church speakers and writers. But the very genius of our Church consists in having modern prophets, seers, and revelators to meet modern needs, just as the ancient prophets, seers, and revelators mentioned in the Bible met the needs of their time. Ours is a living, not just a "Bible" Church. In our Church the nature and worth of the Bible is more generally dealt with in the classroom than in the pulpit.

Out of curiosity concerning the time and attention the Sunday Schools of the Church have paid to the Bible during the past thirty years or more, I prevailed upon my good friend H. George Bickerstaff of the Deseret Sunday School Union staff, to prepare some statistics on the topic. He and his assistants furnished many data, but space prevents me from setting forth any but a sampling from them:

A. BEFORE MANUALS WERE NAMED

Primary Department

- 1929, 1932, 1935, 1938 — all lessons on Old Testament
- 1931, 1934, 1937, 1940 — all lessons on New Testament
- 1930, 1933, 1936, 1939 — all lessons on either OT or NT
- 1942 — mostly on NT or OT themes or personalities
- 1943 — about half on NT or OT themes or personalities
- 1944 — about 37 out of 52 on NT or OT themes or personalities
- 1945 — about 26 out of 52 on NT or OT themes or personalities

Old Testament Department

- 1928-1934, 1936, 1937, 1940 — all lessons on OT with a few lessons on NT included in 1932

New Testament Department

- 1928-1933, 1935, 1936, 1938, 1939 — all lessons on New Testament

Senior Department

1942, 1944 — about 14 out of 44 on OT or NT themes or personalities

Gospel Doctrine Department

1935 — all lessons about Jesus. All except a few were based on NT

1936 — all lessons on New Testament

1945 — all lessons on Old Testament

B. NAMED COURSES

Junior Department/ Course 10

"The Life of Christ," by Kenneth S. Bennion — all lessons on New Testament
1947, 1949, 1951, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966.

Advanced Junior Department/Course 12

"The Church of Jesus Christ in Ancient Times," by Lowell L. Bennion — 25 lessons
out of 42 on New Testament, 1951, 1952, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966.

Gospel Message Department/Courses 16, 17

"Good Tidings To All People," by Carl F. Eyring — 6 lessons out of 48 on
New Testament, 1947, 1951, 1953, 1956.

"Christ's Ideals For Living," by Obert C. Tanner — based on Christ's
attributes as in New Testament, 1955, 1958, 1962, 1966.

Gospel Doctrine Department/Courses 26, 27

"The Synoptic Gospels," by Russell B. Swensen —all New Testament, 1945.

"The Gospel of John," by Russell B. Swensen — all New Testament, 1946.

"The Acts and the Epistles," by Russell B. Swensen — all New Testament,
1947, 1956.

"Teachings of the Old Testament," by Alvah Fitzgerald — all Old Testament, 1953.

"Teachings of the New Testament," by Lowell L. Bennion — all New Testament,
1954, 1961.

"Teachings of the Old Testament," by Ellis T. Rasmussen — all Old Testament,
1965.

"Old Testament Prophets," by Sidney B. Sperry — all Old Testament, 1966.

It is obvious that the Sunday Schools of the Church have not exactly been avoiding the Bible. But Snell is unfair to the Church when he refers in such an offhand manner to the part played by the Sunday School, the Mutual Improvement Association, the Relief Society, the Seminaries and the Institutes in promoting Bible knowledge. (Note also our Church colleges and Brigham Young University.) These are the very organizations in which so many thousands of our people are getting training in the Bible. I see no reason why Snell should be so pessimistic about the advancement of our people in Bible knowledge. Never in my long experience in teaching the Bible in our Church Schools (44 years) have I felt so optimistic. Never in the history of our Church have we had so many trained teachers to instruct our young people. Never in our history have we had so many experts to instruct potential teachers in the Bible, not to mention our other scriptures. From my vantage point at Brigham Young University I have been able to see the tremendous advancement we have made as a people over the last thirty-five years. To be sure, we have a long way to go, but let us keep in mind that our Church in this dispensation is still young (1830-1967). We have gone through a long, difficult pioneer period, but rapid changes are now being made in our Bible knowledge, thanks to the great changes in our Church School system.

Relative to Professor Snell's comments on the Bible being subordinated

to our other scriptures, may I say that never in all my contacts with the General Authorities have I ever found any of them consciously subordinating the Bible to the Book of Mormon or to any of the other standard works. If they think anything like I do, they see a profound unity of thought and spirit pervading the four standard works. No wonder, then, that President J. Reuben Clark and President David O. McKay may look upon them as of "equal authority in the Church." Why not leave it that way?

Now let us turn for a brief look at Snell's complaints about the use of the dogmatic or "proof-text" method in the Church. By this he means "that use of the scripture which finds in it confirmation or proof of certain teachings of the Church." In discussing the use of the proof-text method, Snell claims that his "*one objective has been to question the validity of the Biblical support claimed for certain theological teachings by our Church writers and so to lead to a better way of dealing with scripture in the interest of truth.*"

As pointed out earlier, Snell criticizes the Prophet Joseph Smith's methods of interpreting scripture. He speaks of the Prophet's errors, such as "no thought of context," "rather loose way of handling scripture," "defiance of all canons of interpretation," and the like. Then he cites similar patterns of biblical exegesis by other Church Authorities, such as Parley P. Pratt, Charles W. Penrose, B. H. Roberts, James E. Talmage, Joseph Fielding Smith, and Milton R. Hunter. To these he might have added a lot of lesser lights, including yours truly. And it might be surprising to some people to know that he could have turned to the New Testament and have added a number of very familiar names to the list, including the Savior himself. No, I'm not being facetious. The "proof-text" approach to scripture was used anciently by Jesus and his Apostles. Let me give a few examples. When Matthew tells about the return of Joseph and Mary from Egypt with the child Jesus, he indicates that it is in fulfillment of Hosea 11:1, "Out of Egypt did I call my son" (see Matt. 2:14-15). And in the same chapter (verses 16-18) Matthew asserts that Herod's slaying of the male children in Bethlehem is in fulfillment of Jeremiah's prophecy. "A voice was heard in Rama," etc. (31-15). Even a third case in the same chapter (verse 23) might be made out in which Matthew says that Jesus was to be "called a Nazarene" as "spoken through the prophets." In this case, Matthew does not name the prophets. Long after Jesus had turned out the money changers from the temple, his disciples remembered that the act of their Lord was in fulfillment of Psalm 69:9, "Zeal for thy house shall eat me up" (see John 2:13-17). When Jesus said that John the Baptist was the "messenger" spoken of by Malachi he might be said to have been using the "proof-text" method in interpreting the scripture (Matt. 11:10; cf. Mal. 3:1). Indeed, most Jewish scholars, not to mention some Christian scholars, might claim that our Lord was misusing the text in Malachi. They might say the same of the use of Isaiah 61:1-2 when he preached in the synagogue at Nazareth, his home town (Luke 4:16-19). And so I could multiply cases of the use of the "proof-text" method in the New Testament.

Now, why do I cite these cases of the use of the "proof-text" method in the New Testament? First, because in spite of our occasional errors, we are in the company of men who made scripture and, what is more important, we have faith in the guidance of two great spiritual leaders, Jesus the Christ and Joseph Smith his prophet. The apostles of our Lord and his other dis-

ciples were taught the Gospel under his direction and by the power of the Holy Ghost which came upon them. Later they recognized the true meaning of the scriptures. When Joseph Smith interpreted the scriptures he was able to do so because he had been under the tutelage of heavenly messengers and was also given the power of revelation through the Holy Ghost. Had Joseph Smith been confined to the methods of the Bible scholars of his day, how weak and pitiful would his contribution have been to our knowledge of scripture! Joseph Smith as a real prophet could understand prophecy. He gave us leads which we can exploit by study and by the power of the Holy Spirit. He taught as one "having authority from God, and not as having authority from the Scribes" (cf. Matt. 7:37, "Inspired" revision of the Bible). A historian cannot take the place of a true prophet, valuable as his labors may be in their own way.

I agree perfectly with Professor Snell that the "proof-text" approach in the Church "has led to a number of highly questionable interpretations of biblical materials," but I certainly cannot always agree with his examples. The use of the "proof-text" method in the Church is valuable for one reason because it can be checked and governed by living prophets and seers who, through reflection and by the spirit of their calling, may be able to detect the truth or error of its use under given situations. The method may also be checked in many instances by the Book of Mormon, The Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price. These scriptures, given by a modern prophet, often throw additional light on biblical texts, and have the same spirit pervading them as does the Jewish scripture. I emphasize the fact that the "proof-text" method or any other method of interpreting scripture has to be accompanied by the spirit of revelation or it may be found faulty. If a scholar in the Church has technical training in bible languages and in other relevant techniques he has a great advantage, but he must also accompany this advantage with a good knowledge of the Gospel and pray for the Holy Spirit to guide him, or he may find himself ineffective. Let me illustrate how some of our young elders in the Church have used the "proof-text" method wrongly, sincere though they may have been. One of the doctrines of our Church is that God the Father has a glorified, resurrected body of flesh and bones as tangible as man's (D. & C. 130:22). Many brethren used Genesis 18:2-8 as a passage to illustrate this truth to prospective converts, because the Lord (so they thought) ate of the meat and cakes provided by Abraham. Only a being like man could eat of the solid food, so they reasoned. Many years ago Dr. James E. Talmage of the Twelve called me into his office and asked what I thought of this common interpretation given by our elders to the Genesis passage. I frankly told him that I disagreed with it, giving my reasons why. In the first place, the whole of Genesis 18 has provided difficulties to Hebrew scholars and should be interpreted with caution. As an illustration of this fact let me quote a recent commentator:

The relation of the three men to the Lord (v. 1) is difficult. All three *angels* (19.1) may represent the Lord (see 16.7n.); thus the plurality becomes a single person in vv. 10, 13. On the other hand, v. 22 and 19 suggest that the Lord is one of the three, the other two being his attendants.

In the second place, the Hebrew word for Lord in Genesis 18:1 is different from that for "lord" in verse 3, which may simply be a sign of greeting

equivalent to "Sir"; and, interestingly, Joseph Smith in his "Inspired" revision has Abraham say to the three men "My brethren" instead of "My lord" as given in our modern translations. A Hebrew scholar can readily understand how an original "My brethren" might be changed by careless writing to "My lord."

And in the third place, the Jehovah or Lord of Gen. 18:1 who spoke to Abraham was most likely the pre-existent Savior. He it was who spoke to Moses, gave the law, and covenanted with his people Israel (see III Nephi 15:4,5). A pre-existent Savior would not partake of veal and cakes, and as for Elohim the Father, his name is not even mentioned in the Hebrew of Genesis 18. And the "lord" of Gen. 18:3 was probably a mortal being sent with authority from God. So our elders were undoubtedly wrong in their interpretation of the passage in Genesis. It was not right, therefore, to use it in their attempts to prove that God was a being of flesh and bones.

Dr. Talmage told me that he agreed with my reasoning and said that he was going to take what steps he could to discourage our elders in using the passage in the way I have described. My experience has been that our Church Authorities are always looking for solid, sensible, and reasonable interpretations of scripture, interpretations that are compatible with the basic principles of the Gospel.

Another illustration of the wrong application of the "proof-text" method by some of our Church members is their use of Amos 8:11,12 to prove that there was a "Great Apostasy" in the early Christian Church. When Amos said that the Lord would send a famine in the land, a "famine of hearing the words of the Lord," he had reference to the condition that the iniquitous people of the kingdom of Israel would shortly find themselves in if they did not change their ways. And indeed, the prophecy of Amos was fulfilled when, about thirty years later (721 B.C.), the Assyrians captured Samaria and overthrew Israel. The whole historical context of the Book of Amos shows that the prophet's words were directed to the tragic condition the people of Israel would find themselves in, and not to a great apostasy in the early Christian Church. No Latter-day Saint doubts that there was a general apostasy in the Christian Church, certainly I don't, but I do object to the use of Amos 8:11,12 as proof of the fact. Here I agree with Snell.

We see by these illustrations that the use of the "proof-text" method, even in the Church, must be accompanied by a desire on the part of the interpreter to study, ponder, and search out all available facts, or wrong conclusions may be drawn. But if occasionally errors in interpretation occur using this method, let us keep in mind that the same thing happened in the Primitive Church, as may be demonstrated in a few instances from the New Testament.

Snell cites as improper use of the "proof-text" method by our Church theologians the passage in Ezekiel 37:15-20 relating to the two "sticks," commonly interpreted as meaning the Bible and the Book of Mormon. Snell takes the common view that Ezekiel's own explanation (vv. 21-28) clearly means that the two "sticks" represent Israel and Judah respectively, which are to become "one nation." Now I agree that Ezekiel is predicting, among other things, the establishment of a united Israel, but I also think that Snell is very wrong in ruling out the possibility that the prophet is also predicting the unification of their scriptures. As the Book of Mormon says, "And it shall

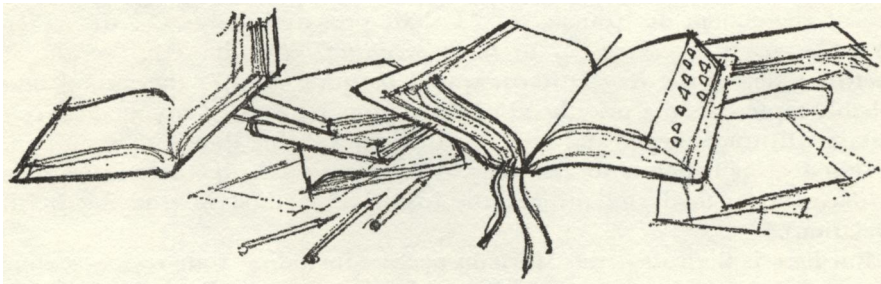
come to pass that my people, which are of the house of Israel, shall be gathered home unto the lands of their possessions; and my word also shall be gathered in one" (2 Nephi 29:14). Although I haven't the space here to justify my exegesis of the Hebrew text, I believe that a careful reading of Ezekiel 37:16-28 can enable one to understand my position. I hold that in verses 16-20 the Lord is telling Ezekiel to unite (v. 17) writings representing the scriptures of Judah and Israel and hold them up (verse 20) before the eyes of the people of the two kingdoms. Then in verses 21-28 the Lord advises the prophet to tell the people in effect that just as their scriptures are united together "before their eyes," so the two nations shall be united. Let the reader examine carefully the passage and see how reasonable my interpretation is. Verses 16-20 represent the unification of scripture and verses 21-28 the uniting of two nations. The allegory has two distinct parts, the second dependent upon the first.

I also agree with Professor Snell that when one is attempting to interpret a given passage of scripture its context and historical background should be carefully explored. We should try to obtain all of the basic facts about it that we can and then prayerfully undertake to divine its true meaning. But, unfortunately, the historical method is far from being a panacea for Bible interpretation, and one of the best proofs of its failure is Professor Snell's lame attempt to interpret for us the Book of Revelation. He gives us much summary but little or no concrete evidence for his conclusions. He admits that the Book's "setting and authorship are somewhat controversial," that "its character as an apocalypse makes its detailed interpretation often baffling," but assures us that "the Book will turn out to be, not a guide to events marking the end of the world — as fundamentalist exegetes have often made it — but a challenge to ancient Rome, with her paganism and hostility to the Christian Church, and a clarion call to Christians in the Empire to stand firm in their religion in spite of Rome and all her demonic works." But where, oh where, Professor Snell, is your proof? And how are we to know that the "fundamentalist exegetes" are really so far wrong? And notice some of the statements you make. "I shall present briefly . . . the visions and make *general remarks as to their meaning*" (my italics), "to the instructed reader of the *Revelation* it would be quite clear," "the second beast probably represents the priesthood of the national cultus," "any modern commentary will trace these," and "they point unmistakably [how?] to Domitian," etc. Finally, Snell points to authority. "We have to thank those interpreters who have understood and utilized the historical method in studying it [the Revelation]."

But here is the rub — the Mormon people, including your reviewer, don't happen to believe that either Snell or his "interpreters" have proved their point. There is too much supposition and guess work in their exegesis, not enough real proof. If one has to depend upon authority, we would rather depend upon the authority of a great prophet like Joseph Smith, than upon commentators who, sincere and useful in their way, can make no great claims to heavenly wisdom.

Snell gives confident expression that scholars know well the "setting, purpose, and general meaning" of the Book of Revelation but fails to point out adequately that many competent students differ widely from each other in their interpretation of the book. Notice this point. Snell makes much ado

about the fact that Revelation stresses the nearness of the Second Coming (22:7,20) and adds, "Curiously, this is the point which those who would make the Revelation a guide-book to the future of the present world conveniently forget." Yet, Dr. Harold Lindsell, editor of the recent Harper Study Bible (p. 1862), affirms that though Christ has not as yet returned, this fact "does not destroy the sense of imminence." Dr. Lindsell also points out the four main schemes which have been followed in the interpretation of the Revelation, not to mention the three main eschatological schemes used in the interpretation of the thousand years in Revelation 20:1-10. And some things he says would give Snell some comfort. As added evidence of the confusion evident in biblical circles anent the interpretation of the Revelation, I call attention to four books, among others, upon my desk which also provide interpretations of the Book of Revelation. Two of them, Dr. James M. Gray's *Synthetic Bible Studies*, and Dr. Mark G. Cambron's *The New Testament*, I would class as "conservative" and differ widely in many aspects from what Snell and his "interpreters" would believe. The other two, Kee, Young, Froelich's *Understanding The New Testament*, and Price's *Interpreting The New Testament*, I would class as middle of the road to "liberal" in their approach. They would please Snell much better than the first two; they certainly do not agree in many respects with the interpretations found in the books of Gray and Cambron. Now I suggest that all of these authors are sincere in their efforts to interpret the Book of Revelation with reasonable accuracy, but the fact remains that they do not see eye to eye on many important aspects of it. And if the historical method is so good, why have so many competent scholars through the ages failed to agree on how the Revelation is to be interpreted? Whatever the answer, the fact remains Snell has failed in his essay to convince us that his views of the Revelation are correct.



Let me bring this part of my discussion concerning the use of the historical method to a close by giving a good illustration of how it would mostly fail to help in the interpretation of what, to the Mormon people, would be a very important passage of scripture. This example I have referred to elsewhere. It concerns Malachi 4:5-6 and deals with the Lord's sending "Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord,"

turning “the heart of the fathers,” etc. Now rabbis, fathers, and commentators galore have given all sorts of explanations to this passage, but which is correct? Are any correct? Can the historical method decide the real meaning of the passage? I prefer to believe that it can’t; at least it hasn’t. And here is the need, say the Mormon people, for a prophet, a prophet like Joseph Smith to whom the resurrected ancient prophets came and explained the true meaning of Malachi’s important words. You may have at hand all of the pertinent historical data known to scholars about a given passage of scripture and still be unable to explain what the inspired writer meant. This happens so often, I find in my own studies, that I am always grateful when a lead can be found coming from something that Joseph Smith said, something that has the ring of truth in it. And I can’t emphasize enough the necessity in studying scripture, of exploring contexts, ascertaining all available historical facts, and of then praying for the help of the Holy Spirit. Without the help of the Holy Ghost I feel that one’s role as interpreter of the Bible will generally fail.

In the last part of his essay, Professor Snell refers to an unfortunate incident that took place at Brigham Young University in 1911, in which three professors severed their relations with the institution growing out of “their supposed religious unorthodoxy.” I wonder if Brother Snell hasn’t let this incident affect his own career to a great extent. In his book, *Ancient Israel*, and in his essay he seems clearly not to accept Joseph Smith as the inspired prophet of this dispensation, nor does he seem to accept the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price as inspired scriptures. His influence in giving “constructive criticism” to the Mormon people will be relatively nil because of his unorthodoxy, and those of us who would have loved to have taught at his side couldn’t do so for the same reason.

THE BIBLE, THE CHURCH, AND ITS SCHOLARS

Kent Robson

In Professor Snell’s article and in the response to it by Professor Sperry, one finds the work of two committed members of the Church, who nevertheless appear to differ greatly on their interpretation of the Bible. It seems obvious to me that their different means of interpretation color the discussion of the Bible and its place in the Church out of proportion to the points of objective disagreement. Particularly in Sperry’s essay, I sense an emotional reaction both to Snell himself and to his method of biblical interpretation which goes far beyond what can be justified from Snell’s true position. As an interested student of the Bible, unscratched by the nettles of interpretational controversy, I wish, therefore to try to put these two essays into perspective to see insofar as it is possible, where the areas of disagreement are and how significant they are.

Snell commences his article with some suggestive and rather impressionistic remarks concerning the relative frequency of use of the Bible in the Church. But the most these remarks are intended to show is “interest trends,” and Snell only suggests that more research on this topic would be interesting and desirable. I believe that Snell would be perfectly happy with Sperry’s explanation as to why there have been so many articles in *The Contributor*

and the *Improvement Era* on the Book of Mormon; namely, because of the multifarious attacks on the Book of Mormon. Likewise Snell will most likely be happy to see the use of the Bible in the Sunday Schools of the Church documented. Of course Sperry has not refuted Snell's suggestion that there may be a trend to use the Bible less and less. But Sperry has provided some relevant data, and it is of interest to have this question of trends raised for future study.

Nevertheless, Snell could have dispensed with the entire first section of his paper, since his main interest is not *whether* the Bible is being used in the Church, but *how* it is being used. Once this is seen, we see that a sizeable portion of Sperry's response is also more or less irrelevant, since it is addressed to the former problem.

Snell's major point is that the Bible has been used exclusively as a "proof-text," and that this method is in general a very bad one. We become angry with the Catholics, Protestants, the Jehovah's Witnesses, etc., for using the Bible as a "proof-text" and thus arriving at as many different interpretations as there are interpreters — yet we suppose that each and every Mormon may indiscriminately use this method of interpretation with impunity. Snell is right to direct our attention to this problem. There is an irrational inconsistency in the view that we can criticize our neighbors for using the same methods we use ourselves. On this point I think that Sperry and Snell are in some agreement, since Sperry as well as Snell is concerned with the dangers of the method and its results.

Before indicating where I think that Snell and Sperry disagree, let me add one further remark about the "proof-text" method of interpretation. The inherent danger of this method is most obvious when one reflects on the number of Christian denominations in the world. One reason for this great number, I suggest, is that biblical interpreters using the "proof-text" method have been able to "prove" most anything they wanted. On the other hand, the method that Snell proposes for our use, namely the historical or analytical method, has resulted in there being large areas of agreement among biblical scholars. The reason for this is clear. When a student uses the analytical method, the results of his studies are not "up for grabs." They are limited by the archaeological and historical materials with which one may quite objectively work. This is not to say that all Bible scholars agree. They do not. But the areas of agreement are wider in this kind of scholarship than they are both between the churches and between the interpreters within the churches when the "proof-text" method is relied upon.

A great deal of Sperry's response to Snell is concerned with Snell's remarks concerning the Prophet Joseph Smith. Frankly I am a bit surprised to see Sperry resorting to rhetoric and invective in his remarks rather than speaking directly to the issues. The only explanation I can think of for his remarks such as that Snell is "telling off" the Prophet is that Sperry has completely misunderstood Snell's point. Snell does not deny that Joseph Smith used the Bible, nor that the Prophet held the Bible in high esteem. In fact, Snell has high praise for the Prophet as being openminded and not dogmatic in his handling of the scriptures. What then is the point of Snell's quotations from the Prophet concerning the "proof-text" method? What Snell is doing is to plainly and simply give *examples* of the "proof-text" method. Many people will take these examples as attacks on the correctness of the Prophet's

interpretations. But the main point of listing the examples of the “proof-text” method is *not to question the interpretations*, but to *question the procedure* of using the scriptures *exclusively* in this manner. The doctrinal points raised by Snell’s examples may or may not be correct, but Snell is not essentially concerned with whether they are or not. It may well be that in some cases the scriptures quoted are indeed prophecies of the events they are used to predict, still this is inconsequential to Snell’s thesis that this is generally a poor way to use scriptures — particularly if, as is true in our time, better ways are available. A quotation from Snell will perhaps clear up the misunderstanding and put Snell’s thesis in better perspective.

In what has been said, I have had no thought or intention of calling in question Latter-day Saint beliefs as such, whether relating to future events or to doctrines. This is not my interest in this essay. *My one objective has been to question the validity of the biblical support claimed for certain theological teachings held by Church writers and so to lead to a better way of dealing with scripture in the interest of truth.* (italics Snell’s)

Now that we have Snell’s main thesis before us, we see that Sperry’s assertions that Snell is “telling off” the Prophet or that Snell does not “accept Joseph Smith as the inspired prophet of this dispensation” are really beside the point and incorrect. Furthermore, I know from personal acquaintance with Snell that Sperry’s assertions concerning Snell’s lack of acceptance of the Prophet, the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price are blatantly and cruelly false.

As I pointed out earlier, Sperry agrees with Snell that the loose “proof-text” way of handling the scriptures can be dangerous and can lead to false interpretations; witness, for instance, Sperry’s examples from his discussion with Dr. James E. Talmage, and the incorrect interpretation from Amos. But still Sperry goes on to argue that since the Prophet and the Savior used this method of Bible interpretation, the method is really all right. This sounds a little like telling a child that it is okay to play with a bomb, but not to drop it because it might go boom. My first comment about this argument is, then, that most of us are not prophets nor are we the Savior. That is one good reason for not playing with the bomb. There are still other comments that can be made about the argument. One is that the analytical method of handling the scriptures is a very recent development, first occurring in the latter part of the nineteenth century. What would be more natural than for the Savior and the Prophet to use the only method of interpreting the scriptures that was known and understood by the people of that time? Still another point: Sperry cites as an example of “proof-text” Matthew’s claim that Jesus’ return from Egypt was in fulfillment of the prophecy in Hosea 11:1. Yet what Matthew’s remark shows is not that Hosea’s prophecy refers to the Savior, but that for all of Matthew’s good intentions to make the Savior’s message palatable to the Jews by connecting the Savior with the Old Testament, Matthew has misused Hosea’s scripture. Let us read Hosea’s scripture: “When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of EGYPT.” (Hosea 11:1) Israel is the son here, and the time of the calling out of Egypt is at the time of the Exodus.¹ For the reader who is

¹ Cf. James M. Ward, *Hosea*, Harper & Row, New York, 1966, pp. 191-200, especially p. 198.

skeptical of calling the nation Israel, a son, I draw your attention to the book of Exodus, 4:21-23. Here the Lord tells Moses to say to Pharaoh, "Israel is my son, even my first born: and I say unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me." Rather than strengthening Sperry's case this example from Hosea only indicates again the danger of using the scriptures to prove whatever you want to prove. Even the writers of the Gospels were not exempt from this danger.

Where there is most disagreement between Snell and Sperry is on specific interpretations of some scriptures. But even here there are misunderstandings. For example, when Snell discusses the Spirit that descended "like a dove" as reported in Matthew and Mark, Sperry asks why Snell does not refer to the Prophet's explanation of the sign of the dove. The answer here is rather straightforward. Snell does not refer to the Prophet's account because he is here *illustrating* the "historical method" (not trying to give a definitive interpretation). In so doing, Snell may legitimately indicate what the symbol seems to have meant historically without entering the controversy as to whether the historical meaning was correctly understood by Matthew and Mark themselves. Similar remarks could be made about Snell's use of the Revelation example, which is designed not to argue for some positive interpretation of Revelation, but primarily to give a sketchy illustration of the historical or analytical method.

Let me summarize. Snell proposes a new method of handling scriptures. Sperry is in at least partial agreement with the method and sees the danger along with Snell of using the old method indiscriminately. Sperry is strongly concerned with Snell's examples from the Prophet Joseph Smith and some other Mormon writers. I suggest this concern rests on a mistake, namely, that Snell is attacking the *interpretations* given in the examples. Rather, I suggest, Snell gives *examples* of the old *method*, and then goes on to encourage the use of a new and different method. It would appear that Sperry is at least partially in sympathy with the new method, so it seems to me that Sperry and Snell are not in such essential disagreement as it might at first appear.

Both Snell and Sperry know the Bible well. Both have written books about it. Snell's book *Ancient Israel*² was commissioned by the Church through Dr. Franklin West, former Church Commissioner of Education, and the book was championed by Dr. West and used in the Institutes of the Church for some time. Sperry's book *The Voice of Israel's Prophets*³ has recently been used as the text for the Gospel Doctrine class in the Sunday School. It is, therefore, distressing to see the one writer castigating the other because of some differences in interpretation. Sperry claims to be optimistic about the use of the Bible in the Church because there are now more trained teachers, and more experts in the Church to instruct the teachers. And yet I am certain that both Sperry and Snell would agree that the main stream of biblical scholarship, much of which is valuable, has been passing the majority of members of the Church by. Here I believe that Sperry is too optimistic when he says "the Mormon people . . . don't happen to believe" such and

² *Ancient Israel: Its Story and Meaning*, 3rd ed., University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1963.

³ Deseret Book Company, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1952.

such. I am afraid that most Mormon people don't know about, nor have they thought about many of the biblical problems. Hence these people can't speak at all; they simply don't have any beliefs on some crucial issues. Those who do speak are people such as Sperry, and only by defining those who disagree with him as non-Mormon, could Sperry possibly construe his voice as the one voice of the Mormon people.

I claimed that biblical scholarship has been passing Mormons by. As some substantiation for that claim, I ask where, among Mormon writers, does one hear discussion of, for example, the "documentary hypothesis (JEPD)" of the Hexateuch, in spite of the fact that the eminent Scholar Yehezkel Kaufman has called this hypothesis "the foundation of modern biblical scholarship."⁴ Likewise, where among Mormon writers does one hear the slightest mention of the "Q" source in a discussion of the synoptic gospels, i.e., Matthew, Mark, and Luke of the New Testament. The origin and development of the New Testament Canon has been largely ignored by Mormon writers in spite of the crucial role these investigations play in a discussion of several basic issues. I choose to believe that this disregard of biblical scholarship is not an indication of fear and insecurity vis-a-vis certain cherished beliefs, but rather reflects only a lack of knowledge among the members of the Church. But if it is ignorance we are facing, then qualified and committed men such as Snell and Sperry should be expending their most diligent efforts to enlighten us. There is obviously much to be done, and I hope this Roundtable will only serve as a springboard for at least some work in this direction.

We Mormons are, in some ways, in a unique position regarding biblical study. For we have "modern day scriptures" and recent pronouncements by prophets acting in their capacity as prophets. Our position regarding the scriptures must be one where our final views are consistent with these recent scriptures. But this does not mean that we must cling "for dear life" to outdated traditional views that are simply no longer tenable. My suggestion is that there is a viable and defensible middle ground in which we must, in some cases, change our interpretations in order to make them consistent with all of the data, even the latter-day scriptural ones. Old dichotomies are frequently much too simple.

One example should illustrate my point. One dichotomy received from tradition is concerned with the documentary thesis alluded to above and says we must either believe that Moses wrote the Pentateuch as we have it today, or that Moses didn't have anything to do with writing it, that it was solely the work of later Hebrew writers. Let me discuss the latter view first. Almost no biblical scholar will claim that Moses had nothing to do with the Pentateuch. Archaeology has confirmed the historicity of much of the Exodus account. Most scholars believe that the record as we have it in the Old Testament today contains ancient materials, which may very well have been written in part by Moses. Yet a vast majority of biblical scholars concur in the view that Moses did not write the whole of the first five books of the Old Testament as we have them today. There are strong reasons for this view, and for a discussion of them I refer the reader to H. H. Rowley's paper-

⁴ *The Religion of Israel*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960.

back book *The Growth of the Old Testament*.⁵ Before we investigate the other side of the dichotomy, let us sample further the viewpoints of some of the best and most recent writers on the documentary hypothesis. John Bright in his *A History of Israel*⁶ writes: "The documentary hypothesis still commands general acceptance, and must be the starting point of any discussion," and "Awareness of this [modern archaeological discoveries] has, to be sure, forced scholars to no general abandonment of the documentary hypothesis." I have already mentioned Kaufman's remarks above. Let me add one more statement from Kaufman. "Several of the conclusions of this theory [the documentary hypothesis] may be considered assured. To this category belongs the analysis of the three primary sources—J,E,P, and D—with their laws and narrative framework."⁷ The authority for this view could be vastly multiplied. To name a few, W. F. Albright, Martin Noth, the latest H. H. Rowley books, the writers in D. Winton Thomas's (ed.) book *Documents from Old Testament Times*, the writers in the J. Phillip Hyatt (ed.) volume *The Bible in Modern Scholarship*, the writers in G. Ernest Wright's (ed.) book *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, W. Zimmerli, *The Law and the Prophets*, and C. A. Simpson in his *The Growth of the Hexateuch in the Interpreter's Bible*, could all be marshalled in defense of the documentary thesis. There are a few dissenters, but they are few and far between, and generally represent institutional interests, such as the Catholic Church.

I claimed above that the other side of the dichotomy is the view that Moses wrote the five books of the Pentateuch exactly, or almost exactly as we have them today. In view of the evidence given by the scholars mentioned above, we must "search our souls mightily" if we are to continue to hold to this view. But is there any other choice for Mormons? For doesn't the Book of Mormon say in 1 Nephi 5:11 that the records taken from Jerusalem contained the "Five books of Moses?" Yes, we agree that the Book of Mormon does say that, but it doesn't say which five books of Moses the Nephites had. The books they had contained prophecies, a genealogy, and a record of the Jews, but still these books do not need to be identical with what we call today "the five books of Moses." Perhaps they contain only the materials handed down from Moses that were used in later writing today's text, as the scholars above might claim. Or might not we suppose that when Joseph was translating, he came across "books of Moses" and knowing there were five in our own Bible, added in the "five" himself. Perhaps, however, there were only two or three books.

I am not interested in defending any of these possibilities here. I think we must keep open the possibility that the scholars are mistaken. But I also think that we should keep open the possibility that our traditional Mormon interpretation is mistaken. Again I hope that men like Sperry and Snell as well as others will assist us in advancing beyond the superficial to a deeper understanding of the scriptures. Surely we do need to "Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me" (John 5:39).

⁵ Harper & Row, New York, 1963, pp. 15-46.

⁶ The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1959, pp. 62-63.

⁷ Op. cit., p. 155.

Sylvia Ruth

*VILLANELLE
FOR OUR ELDER
BROTHER*

give shouting that he swallowed up the moat.
(the serpent he devoured and siphoned in)
and that he steered the river with no boat.

give singing that he made our dusk, a float.
(our night become a sphere where days begin)
give shouting that he swallowed up the moat.

give thanking that he challenged the moist throat.
(one, bribed by sleep, who made of him no kin)
and that he steered the river with no boat.

give thinking that he ventured without rote.
(became a boarder in the hostile inn)
give shouting that he swallowed up the moat.

give silence that he sees them split his coat;
divide his flesh, his blood debate, and grin.
and that he steered the river with no boat.

death is undying through the antidote;
flesh made unflesh becomes as primal skin.
give shouting that he swallowed up the moat,
and that he steered the river with no boat.

Clinton F. Larson

HOMESTEAD IN IDAHO

I

“Solomon? Since I talked with him I’ve thought
Again about trying to make a go of it
In Idaho. As I say, this rainy weather
In Oregon is looking better and better to me.
The first time I met him, it was in Al’s Bar,
Down the street. Five years ago, I think.
Well, you know, Al keeps a friendly place,
One where you don’t mind stepping in
And acting neighborly. And, there he was,
Down at the end of the bar. I noticed him
Because he was shaking, folding and unfolding a clipping.
‘You from these parts?’ I said. With all this space
In the West, it doesn’t hurt to close it up
Whenever you can. He said, ‘Well, no, not really,’
And kept folding and unfolding the clipping and looking
Down at his hands. When he stopped, I could hardly
See it, his hands were so square and big,
Like the farm work of his time. Besides, he took
His hat off, and you could see the white skin
Of his head, particularly near the part,
Where his hat took a settled, permanent place.
But his face had lightened to a buckskin color.
He had the look of a farmer who had seen a lot
Of land that needed working. Then it rose
From him. ‘I suppose you would say from Idaho.
I wanted to homestead there,’ he said. ‘I tried it
Last year, or was it then? Not much money
To start with, but my wife Geneva and I and our children
Found our place. It seemed a thousand miles
From nowhere, at least two weeks east from here.

I built a cabin from the boards I had brought
Along.' Geneva said, 'Solomon, we can make it,
But we need money for spring. Go back to Tamarack
And leave us here.' Then I told her how I felt.
But she said, 'We can make it with the provisions we brought.
Go back, Solomon. By spring, we'll have a start,
Then a barn by those trees, cows grazing there,
And a house like we've wanted, beside a stream.'
Well, the way she looked, her eyes imploring,
And her soft brown hair, and her hope, how could I
Say no? So off I went, Geneva waving to me
Until I was out of sight. It was the hardest thing
I have ever done to look around and see
Where I was going. I worked at Tamarack
Autumn and winter, numb from wondering
How they were, all alone out there, and wanting
To get back to them. April finally came,
And I loaded the wagon with everything we needed,
Dresses and dry goods, shoes and ribbons besides.
I travelled as hard as I could, considering the horses,
And kept looking and looking for smoke far off
In front of me, coming from the chimney,
To tell me I was near. But I never saw it.
He looked again at the clipping in his hands,
Smudged and yellow, and said, 'When I got there,
It looked like autumn and winter had never left,
The snow still hanging on the roof, the door
Open, nothing planted, nothing done,
And then I went inside, to see the dusty cribs
And Geneva, still against them . . . and the floor
Red and dusted with shadows. And I was here,
Trying for money so we could get started . . .
I couldn't stay out there.' And he looked at me
As if pleading for help, then down into his hands,
Unfolding and folding the clipping as if by doing it
He could wear out his sorrow."

II

The colors of the sun against the hills
In the evensong of life, and yet another
Year had gone. The colors crept down
Like frost and the glory of God, intermingling
In them night and day. All was over
When the family saw them, over like the evening
Wind. In the meadows and clusters of pines
It whispered to the edge of the sullen earth,
In the seethe of knowing, under the shaken plume
Of knowledge. Solomon and Geneva saw
The land cut, as it were, for them, a place
For them between the great divide and the sea.

There, he said in the voice of conscience, there
Is our home, or the hope of it. Geneva,
Can it be that home if we settle here?
A half of a year will make it ours if we stay,
She replied in the moment of seeing him
As she wished him to be. And then in resolve,
Let me stay the winter with the children
While you work in Tamarack, and so
It was out, the only way of keeping
The land. Where in the flicker of grey is death,
The wandering light, release? I want this home,
She said, in the tolerance of a breath, and I
Shall stay. Where is the imperious will but fast
Against the land that holds them? To Tamarack,
He said, bright as possession, like the coin having
Mastery. There is my knoll where home
Shall be, not this cabin of our duration
As we should not be, itinerants in hope of more.
A winter more, she said, and it is ours,
The gaze of meadows, the water and soil
Urgent for grain, the quiet sky, and the light
Lazy as spring. Our home! And I shall keep it,
Winter through, she said as if it were no winter,
But a day of rest. And then beside him, their children,
Or in his arms, awake to happiness. The future
Declined from that day and would not rest,
But as a bole of pain grew into that tower
Of resolve and broke it easily, sacred
As a sacrifice. He said, then think of me
In Tamarack, and turned to what he needed
Away from home. Geneva? The subtle portrait
On a stand beside a bed. The wisps
Of hair she flicked to clear her face, brown
As the veil of earth, eyes quizzical as worry,
But light as a soft morning, her body lithe
And restless, supple to the rule of God.
And Solomon? A name like a fetish he tried
To honor, but not as a patriarch, more
Like a seer: angular as a fence or cross,
Bending as he seemed to fit, concern
Like an agony to please, a burden
To his clothes that could not shape themselves,
And altogether like the square largeness
Of his hands. Together, they kept the cabin
Like a tidy loom where they would weave
The colors through their bright fidelity.
Their children? Hard to presuppose or know,
But theirs. Such small alliances, wont
To shimmer with translucent light, a guess
Of women that might have been, of course like her,

Or him, as others might suppose, not they.
She whispered what he might take, advice
Hanging from her words like surety.
And he, the slight concerns of food and health
Like the hundreds of miles that would intervene,
And for safety the gun and knife in a drawer,
Nearby. Then the wood for winter near the door,
Neatly stacked, and provisions in the loft
And ready. What else? What else but land
Beyond their vision, the canyons, and peaks like clouds
In the thin blue haze, and time. He turned, ready,
Holding her with one arm, as he pulled
His horse from grazing to the suggestion of the miles
Ahead, and leaned to kiss his children, and then
Away, easily in the saddle, gazing back at her,
The children, cabin, everything diminishing
As he moved, and he waved, and they, in the slow
Desperation of goodbye. He could not turn forward
For seeing them there, until they were taken from view
By a vale beyond their meadow sinking into darkness,
And they were gone. From that time on he pieced
The events of time together like fragments he could not
Understand, though the evidence impaled the past
Like needles dropping suddenly through his inquiry.
There must have been a disturbance beyond the door,
And she left the cabin with the gun on her arm,
The sharp wind of October against her frailty
Where she shivered in the grey dusk. The rising
Wind, then the thunder over the plain that shook her.
She went into the darkness of a shed, wildly
Gazing. Then the severe and immediate rattle
Behind her, and the strike behind her knee, the prongs
Of venom there that made her scream. Now
The whirling thoughts for Solomon or help
From anywhere. Bleed the poison out.
Go slowly, she told herself, and bleed the poison
Out. Stumbling to the cabin, she opened the door
In the glaze of fright and found the drawer that held
The knife. She sat, livid against the lightning.
To find the place to cut. Nowhere to see,
Behind and under, but she felt the red periods there.
A piece of kindling for a brace, a cloth
For tourniquet. She took the knife and swept it
With her hand. But the chickens in the shed.
They must not starve. A few steps back
To the shed, and she emptied a pail of grain
And opened the door. As she moved, she held
The stick of the tourniquet numbly against her leg.
Slowly, slowly to the cabin, then wildly in
To seize the knife. She held it against her leg

And with a gasp twisted it in. But too deep!
The blood pulsed against her hand, again,
Again, no matter how tightly she twisted the stick
To keep it in. It spread on the rough floor
As she felt herself weaken, the waves of blackness
Before her eyes. The children! What will happen
To them? she cried to herself. The lamp flickered
At the sill. What good is the need and planning now?
Tears for dust. The girls will starve to death
In the clatter of the wind, and the light of afternoon
Will carve through their fallow loneliness.
They will lie here and cry for food, and no one will hear.
The waning fire, the gusts at the filming window.
Solomon! Forgive me! What can I do?
What else can I do? She took the gun again
And turned it to the crib, propping its weight.
She looked at them as they slept, arms lightly
Across each other. You will be with me,
She whispered to them. The trigger once, then again,
The flat sounds walling her against the error
That they would live beyond her careful dying.
The gun fell from her. She crawled to the bed
In the corner and, taking her finger, traced
In blood on the white sheet, "Rattlesnake bit,
Babies would starv—" and the land fell away
Beyond her sight, and all that she was collapsed
In an artifice of death that he afterwards saw.
Solomon!

Reviews

Edited by Richard Bushman

Most Mormons have never heard of Joe Hill, the I.W.W. song-writer, or of the furor that his execution in Utah caused. The review essay in this issue tells the story and questions the merits of a recent book that revives the old stories of business and Church complicity in his death.

THE "LEGEND" AND THE "CASE" OF JOE HILL

Vernon H. Jensen

The Case of Joe Hill. Philip S. Foner. New York: International Publishers, 1965. 127 pp. \$.95. Vernon Jensen is Professor of Industrial and Labor Relations and Associate Dean in the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University. He is the author of two books on the nonferrous metals industry.

Legends often live on simply because believers like them. Some people like them so much they want to prove them. Legends may have their origins in real situations and may have relationships to some facts, whereas all the facts would serve to discredit them. This is the status of the "Legend of Joe Hill."

Perhaps because of certain writings and disclosures in recent times,¹ which have cast doubt upon the legend, or upon certain key elements in it, believers have felt called upon to defend it. The most ambitious has been Philip Foner's book. He not only tries to prove the legend but, in great detail, strives to demonstrate that the legend is true in all its parts, that Joe Hill was the victim of a colossal frame-up by certain elements in the business

¹ Wallace Stegner, *The Preacher and the Slave* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1950); Vernon H. Jensen, "The Legend of Joe Hill," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, April 1951, pp. 356-366.

community of Utah (mainly the "copper barons"), the Mormon Church, and the government of the State of Utah.

Joe Hill was a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, an indigenous radical labor organization which gained notoriety, roughly in the period from 1905 into the early 1920's, through its revolutionary image and militant challenges to the social and property institutions of our society and



to the conservative labor movement, that is, the American Federation of Labor. Although not exclusively active in the Western states, many of the most notable events associated with the organization centered in the West. People in Western communities found the revolutionary speeches of I.W.W. soap-box orators offensive and abhorred the direct action techniques used in struggles with the employing classes. Mormons were no less alarmed and disturbed than people in other communities. A local headquarters maintained in Salt Lake City undoubtedly was disliked, and members of the revolutionary organization were considered "undesirable citizens" by the Mormons as well as by others. Nevertheless, these attitudes do not

prove, as the legend asserts, that a conspiracy existed to send Joe Hill to his death. Because Dr. Foner restates the old charges implicating the Mormon Church, both his book and the facts warrant some attention.

THE CASE

Dr. Foner starts with Joe Hill (Joseph Hillstrom, born Joel Hagglund) when he was an I.W.W. song writer, touches upon his version of labor troubles in Utah, recounts the murder of John G. Morrison and his son in their grocery store on Saturday night, January 10, 1914, in Salt Lake City, gives an account of the arrest of Joe Hill and the preliminary hearing, and contends that Hill was found guilty before his trial. In much greater detail he treats the trial, the defense campaign, the appeal to the State Supreme Court, the appeals to the Board of Pardons, the interventions of the Swedish Minister, and the intercessions of President Woodrow Wilson. In the final chapters the funeral, the repercussions, and conclusions follow in staccato fashion.

The prodigious canvass of materials and the numerous references can be deceiving to the unwary. What is lacking and what is sorely needed is an unprejudiced review of all the documents and all the evidence. Reporting done without loaded words, without slanted adjectives, and without innuendos is a must for any publication purporting to be based on research. But starting with a theory of sinister machinations, Dr. Foner sets out to prove a story. The preconceived end of this work is its greatest defect.

Because of my earlier account of events,² including evidence not published before which demolishes the central point in the legend, I have come in for certain criticisms by Foner. To reveal the nature of his presentation and to give any serious student a better basis for judging the truth, various of his criticisms of my article on Joe Hill warrant special rebuttal. Foner says he does not see how I could say, "From a legal standpoint it is clear that Hillstrom had a proper trial." It is a little annoying that I am taken out of context; what I said in the next sentence reveals more fully my judgment of the trial: I said it was a poor one. But this is not my major objection. The most amazing aspect of Foner's treatment of this sentence of mine is that twice he had Judge Hilton, Joe Hill's attorney during the appeal stages — and certainly one of Foner's heroes in the episode, say the same thing I said. For example, Foner reviews the major points made by Judge Hilton before the Board of Pardons. Note this sentence: "The evidence was insufficient to warrant conviction: *the trial was legal, but the outcome was unjust*" (p. 66; italics supplied). Foner also quotes a statement of Judge Hilton to the Swedish Minister to the United States, W. A. F. Ekengren, asserting that it would be "a waste of time and money and energy to any att[orne]y to endeavor to set aside the conviction . . . for any technical irregularity or insufficiency of any kind" (p. 85; italics supplied). It is also of interest that Foner cites one of Ekengren's statements as follows: "I have read the case of Hillstrom in the Pacific Reporter and must state as my opinion that while the *procedure might have been perfectly regular* the evidence on which the State bases its case seems too weak to warrant execution of capital punishment" (p. 73; italics supplied).

The important aspect about our legal system which Foner does not discuss in making judgments about the trial of Joe Hill is the importance of *procedure* to the preservation of the integrity of government by law. In a different context he might be the first to insist upon it. In recent times its importance has been demonstrated time and again, for example, in a whole range of cases involving convictions of Communists under a variety of statutes, a multitude of other civil rights cases, and even with respect to criminals (or alleged criminals) where actions against them have been set aside for procedural lapses. It should be obvious that the "rule of law" cannot survive without the preservation of the integrity of procedure. Procedure, therefore, is basically more important than substance, as important as that is, because there can be no assurance of the substantive law without rigorous ob-



²"The Legend of Joe Hill," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, April, 1951, pp. 356-366. It may be also that I am made into a "straw man" who needs to be discredited because of my other publications: *Heritage of Conflict — Labor Relations in the Nonferrous Metals Industry up to 1930* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1950); *Non-ferrous Metals Industry Unionism, 1932-1954, A Story of Leadership Controversy* (Ithaca, New York: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1954).

servance of procedure. This was one of the issues running through all the appeals made in Joe Hill's behalf and was the thing which bound the Supreme Court in the State of Utah. You have to ignore this to find any fatal defect in the action of the State Supreme Court. But Foner can find only prejudice and sinister machinations.

While one can argue that it was a poor system to have had the Supreme Court judges on the Board of Pardons, the plain fact is that the Board of Pardons did almost everything possible to set the conviction aside, but Hill would not cooperate. No one knew this better than Judge Hilton and Foner allows him to say it (pp. 67, 82).

FELLOW WORKERS:

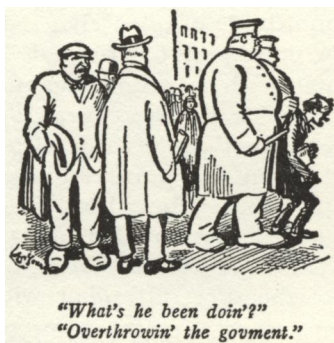


Foner's treatment of the testimony of Merlin Morrison is instructive as to his basic method. When it serves Foner's purpose to do so he discredits Morrison (pp. 19, 30). When the testimony can help Foner it is used to make his case. There are a number of unfounded assertions and conclusions based on nothing but a preconceived theory and strong emotion. For example, Foner asserts that the "jurymen did not render their verdict impartially" (p. 54). What is the evidence for this assertion? Apparently it is only because they did not find for an acquittal. It may be said that if

Judge Ritchie had instructed the jury differently on how to handle circumstantial evidence, as Foner insists he should have, it is possible that Hill would not have been convicted. Yet this would not have proved he did not commit the crime. It is a well-known fact that it is difficult to convict criminals, but this does not establish their innocence.

The key disclosure in my article is the substance of an interview I had with Dr. Frank McHugh in July, 1946. Foner goes to great pains to discredit Dr. McHugh, who had treated Joe Hill for his gunshot wound, and to depict him as a hostile witness. Unless he can make his case here, he loses an essential link in the chain of his story.

The circumstances under which I became acquainted with Dr. McHugh's role in the Joe Hill case are particularly significant. I had only recently decided to do research on unionism and labor relations in the nonferrous metals industry, although for a number of years while at the University of Colorado I had been interested in the subject and had read quite widely. Early in 1946 the first post-war dispute in the industry had begun, and the Secretary of Labor had appointed a fact-finding board, which held hearings in Denver.



One of the members of this board was Judge James H. Wolfe of the Utah State Supreme Court, with whom I already had a passing acquaintanceship. When the Regional War Labor Board was established in 1943, we needed a public representative from Utah. I had suggested Judge Wolfe's name, only to discover that the employer members of the board vetoed the choice on the ground that "he would be just another vote for labor." Obviously he was no "labor baiter." When I told him in Denver in April, 1946, of my research plans, he asked me what I was going to do with Joe Hill. I said I did not know but was aware that there were plenty of stories about how he was "framed." He gave me a word of caution and said: "Before you finish with your research go to Dr. Frank McHugh, when you are in Salt Lake City, and tell him I sent you. He has some very important information." At the time, I had not realized that a doctor still practicing in Salt Lake City had treated Joe Hill for his gunshot wound. Naturally, I looked him up, and because Judge Wolfe had sent me Dr. McHugh gave me his story. The information which he supplied directly contradicts Foner's case and yet seems trustworthy, despite Foner's objections, because McHugh shared Foner's sympathy for Hill.

THE STORY

The best way I know to present a reader a perspective with which to judge the value of Foner's presentation is to retell some aspects of the story.³ At about 9 p.m. on January 10, 1914, two men with red bandana handkerchiefs over their faces entered John G. Morrison's grocery store at 778 South West Temple Street. The grocery man and his two sons, Arling, age 17, and Merlin, age 14, were alone; no customers were in the store. Merlin Morrison was the only eyewitness, and he testified that two men came in and said, "We've got you now," and opened fire, killing his father and brother. Merlin's recollection of what the two men said led the police to the belief that the killings were motivated by revenge. The elder Morrison had been a member of the Salt Lake City police force some seven years earlier.⁴ The revenge motive led to a wide-spread hunt for Frank Z. Wilson, who had just finished a penitentiary term following an arrest in which Morrison, as a police officer, had taken part.

The boy's recollection later gave the I.W.W. and Hill's attorney a basis for contending that the killings were motivated by revenge and that, therefore, Hill could not possibly have been implicated. He had no reason for desiring revenge. It is a fact that twice before, within a period of a few months, the store had been robbed, and Morrison kept a loaded pistol handy. It might also have been that the boy misheard and that, upon entering the store for the purpose of robbery, the two men had said, "We've got you covered." As their plans were thwarted they fired to defend themselves and fled without accomplishing their purpose. Merlin said his father was shot first and that, as the men were rushing from the store, one of them was shot by Arling, who had secured his father's pistol. One of the men then turned and shot Arling. A trail of blood was traced southward from the store to a

³ What follows is drawn from my previous article, cited above. Permission has been granted by the editor of the *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* to reuse materials contained in it.

⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 11, 1914, p. 1; January 12, 1914, p. 1.

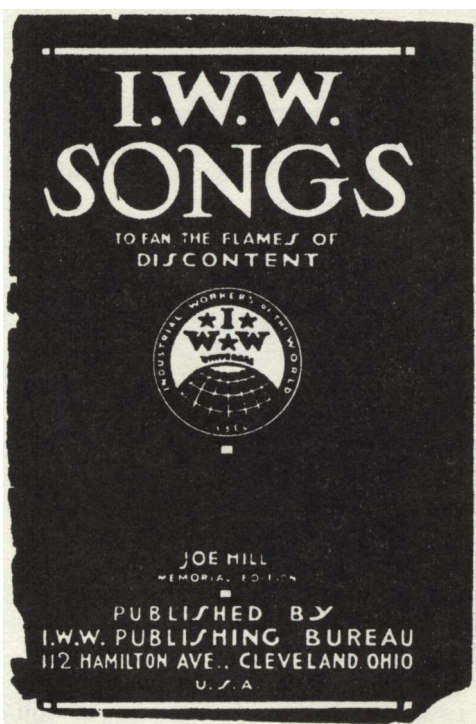
ditch near the corner of 12th South (now 21st South) and 1st West, near the Denver and Rio Grande railroad tracks, where the trail was lost.⁵

At 11:30 that night Joe Hill appeared at the office of Dr. Frank McHugh at 14th South (now 33rd South) and State Street, about two and one-half miles from the scene of the homicide, seeking treatment for a gunshot wound in his left side. Dr. McHugh was then a member of the Socialist Party and had met Hill on a previous occasion. The wound looked serious, and it was apparent that Hill had lost a lot of blood and had walked a considerable distance. Hill explained that he had received the wound in a fight over a woman; that he was as much to blame as the other fellow; that to protect the woman he would not reveal her name; and that he would like to keep the matter private. When his wound was dressed, he was sent to the Eselius home in Murray for recuperation.⁶

The next day Dr. McHugh was out in the country on a difficult confinement case and did not get an opportunity to see the newspapers until the following morning. As soon as he read the headlines of the killing of Morrison and his son, he surmised that Hill might have been involved. Thereupon he visited the Eselius home to see Hill, who, when confronted, said, as nearly as Dr. McHugh could remember, "I'm not such a bad fellow as you think. I shot in self-defense. The older man reached for the gun and I shot him and the younger boy grabbed the gun and shot me and I shot him to save my own life." He also added, "I wanted some money to get out of town."⁷

Dr. McHugh immediately went to Sheriff Peters of Murray and told him of treating Hill. He advised the sheriff that Hill had a pistol, was a cool fellow with lots of nerve, and might shoot it out if the sheriff tried to take him. He then emphasized that he was going to give Hill a shot of morphine, which he needed in his treatment, and suggested to the sheriff that an investigation

could then be made. Apparently Sheriff Peters arrived too soon, for when he entered Hill appeared to make a move for his pistol. As he did so, Sheriff Peters shot him through the hand and then placed him under arrest. Hill later said he threw his pistol away after leaving Dr. McHugh's office on his way to Murray, but it was never recovered. It is of some interest also that



⁵ Ibid., January 11, 1914, p. 1.

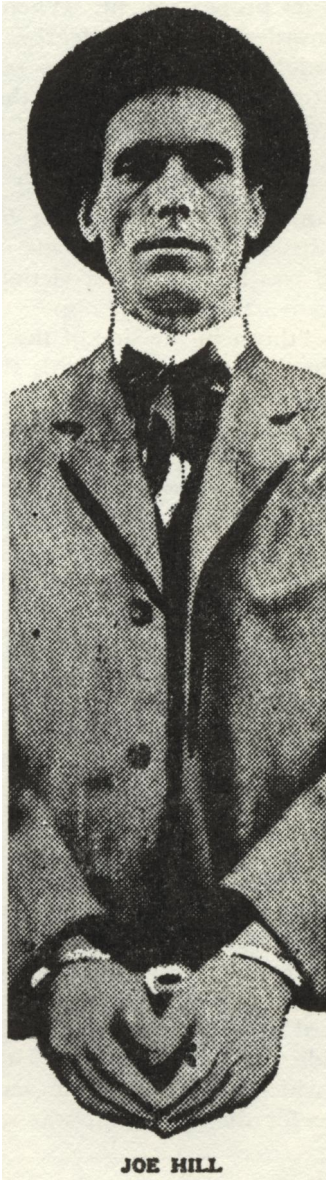
⁶ Ibid., January 14, 1914, p. 1; State vs. Hillstrom, 150 *Pacific Reporter*, 935.

⁷ Conversation with Dr. Frank M. McHugh, Salt Lake City, July 17, 1946; also, letter from Dr. McHugh, January 26, 1948.

Hill's close friend, Otto Applequist, was last seen at the Eselius home at 1:15 Sunday morning, January 11, a short time after Hill was brought there from the doctor's office. He was never seen again.⁸

Hill was brought to trial in June. When the State was halfway through its case, he suddenly stopped the proceedings and discharged his attorneys, announcing that he would handle his own case. This unusual occurrence came at a most crucial point in the trial. One of the most damaging witnesses was testifying. The court could not leave Hill without counsel, and the judge appointed the attorneys as "friends of the court." After the noon recess, an attorney, Soren Christensen, appeared and asked that his name, at the request of the defendant and his friends and at the special request of an attorney in Denver, Judge O. N. Hilton, be entered as counsel for the defendant. From then on, with Hill's consent, all three attorneys represented him.⁹

From a legal standpoint it is clear that Hill had a proper trial. But from the standpoint of his defense, the record built in the court was a damaging and poor one. This was partly a matter of his own doing. At the same time, perhaps a more alert counsel could have parried the most damaging questions by the district attorney. The emphasis placed upon the inadequate defense



was originally designed to win a new trial. Afterward the attempt was made to prove Hill had been made a victim of malicious injustice. Judge O. N. Hilton of Denver, who handled cases for the I.W.W. and for the Western Federation of Miners, handled the appeal for Hill.

Dr. McHugh was called as a witness. As a Socialist and a disbeliever in capital punishment, he did not want to see Hill executed. Considering the information given by Hill as confidential and privileged and not wishing to harm him, Dr. McHugh divulged only the information directly requested of him. When asked what explanation of the wound Hill had given him the night Hill received treatment, Dr. McHugh repeated the "protected woman" story. He was never asked whether Hill had given any other explanation of his wound, and he left the witness stand without divulging what Hill had told him at the time of the second visit.¹⁰

⁸ *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 16, 1914, p. 1.

⁹ *State vs. Hillstrom*, 150 *Pacific Reporter*, 935 *et passim*.

¹⁰ Conversation with Dr. Frank M. McHugh, Salt Lake City, July 17, 1946.

Hill repeatedly refused to testify in his own behalf, beyond reiterating the explanation that he had received his wound in a quarrel over a woman. In this story he was never caught in a contradiction. It is obvious that the evidence introduced against Hill was circumstantial, although highly convincing. If an error was made, it was an error of judgment on the part of the jury. It was the jury's function to determine the credibility of the evidence and to assign to it its proper weight. When on June 27, 1915, the jury found Hill guilty of murder in the first degree, making no recommendation for leniency, which might have produced a sentence of life imprisonment, it sealed his fate. It was mandatory upon the court to sentence him to death, and he was sentenced to die on October 1, 1915.¹¹

It was not until after Hill was sentenced that the I.W.W. really attempted to exert much influence. In April his friends had sought financial aid for him by appealing to the organization. A request for funds was printed in *Solidarity*, the I.W.W. publication. Note was made of Hill's songwriting, but it was also stated that Hill was being made a victim of a "conspiracy of the Utah Construction Company, the Utah Copper Company, and Mormon Church," because he was a "thorn in the side of the master class." The space allotted and the location in the newspaper reveals that this appeal for funds was a modest one.¹² Whether any money was sent is doubtful. No other news item is found in *Solidarity* until the end of the trial. Probably no direct assistance was given until Judge Hilton came into the case. The local attorney who came into the court proceedings toward the end of the trial had been enlisted by Virginia Snow Stephens, daughter of a former president of the Mormon Church. After the trial, however, the I.W.W. rose to the occasion. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn visited Hill in his cell. The I.W.W. press claimed that Hill was being "railroaded" to prison. In mid-July, when plans for an appeal were being made and the problem of funds was a tough one, Hill wrote to his attorney, Judge Hilton, saying, "I am afraid we'll have to let it go as is . . . because I cannot expect my friends to starve themselves in order to save my life." He was sincere when he concluded by saying: "If circumstances are such that nothing can be done, I want to thank you for what you have already done for me. And you can just bet your bottom dollar that I will show this gang of highbinders that are operating here in the name of Justice, how a Man should die."¹³

The I.W.W., however, came through with funds, and Judge Hilton approached the appeal with the intention of showing that the constitutional safeguards prescribed to assure a fair, impartial, and unprejudiced trial had not been met. He argued that, because guilt had not been proven beyond a reasonable doubt and because a motive had not been established, the court should have been convinced that the verdict should not stand and that the sentence should be set aside.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the Utah Supreme Court could find no legal basis upon which to set aside the verdict. If the defense was poor and if the case made for the defendant was weak, it was, nevertheless,

¹¹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 28, 1915, p. 1; *Solidarity*, July 11, 1914, p. 1.

¹² *Solidarity*, April 18, 1914, p. 2.

¹³ *Solidarity*, July 31, 1915, p. 3.

¹⁴ "Judge O. N. Hilton in the Joe Hill Case," *International Socialist Review*, September 1915, pp. 171-172.

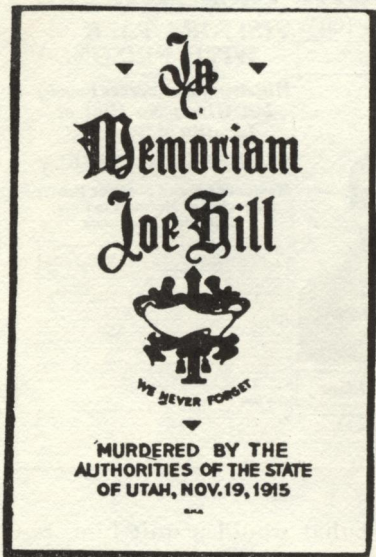
that they preferred that the judge ask the questions, but again Hill said he had nothing more to say. Then the judge suggested that a five-minute recess be taken to give Hilton and Christensen, Hill's attorneys, a chance to see if they could not prevail upon him to talk further; but Hill could not be moved. Said he, "I don't need to consult with anyone. I am a man. I know my own mind. I know what I want to do." Afterwards one of his attorneys remarked: "It seems that he wants to be considered a martyr." Even *Solidarity* pointed out that "Hill thinks he is a martyr," and that he was dying for "improvement of fair trials in Utah for workers."¹⁵

Judge Hilton pleaded that the Board had the power to release Hill in the same way that the Governor of Georgia had released Waldo Frank in a famous case. In that instance, as in this one, nothing amiss in the court record could be developed, but it was obvious that a poor and a weak trial had been the basis of the conviction. Hilton reiterated his conviction of Hill's innocence and emphasized that circumstantial evidence in a homicide case is always most dangerous and should never be the basis for a conviction.¹⁶ The Board, however, still begged for the evidence which Hill pledged that he would produce if given a new trial. It even went so far as to promise Hill that if he would divulge the woman's name to the warden, who would make a secret investigation, and if his story proved to be true, a full pardon would be granted, and the warden would forever keep the name secret. He stubbornly refused, and the board could do nothing but deny his plea.

nothing but deny his plea.

The case then took on an international aspect. W. A. F. Ekengren, Swedish Minister to the United States, although advised by O. W. Carlson, Swedish vice consul in Utah that he had examined the record and that Hill had been given a fair trial, appealed to the White House for a stay of execution. The day before the scheduled execution President Wilson asked for a postponement. Thereupon Governor Spry granted a reprieve until the next meeting of the Board of Pardons. Although the Board again begged Hill for something upon which to act, nothing new was developed at the October 16 meeting. Accordingly, the Board again denied the plea. Thereafter President Wilson sent a second request for a postponement, but Governor Spry rejected it in a sharp letter.

On the morning of November 19, 1915, Hill died before a firing squad. The night before he sent two telegrams to Bill Haywood, the dynamic leader of the I.W.W., the first of which read: "Goodbye Bill. I will die like a true blue rebel. Don't waste any time in mourning — organize." The other read:



¹⁵ *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 19, 1915, pp. 1, 12; "Joe Hill to the People of Utah," *International Socialist Review*, October 1915, p. 222; In re Hilton, 158 *Pacific Reporter*, 693 et passim.

¹⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 19, 1915, pp. 1, 12.

"It is 100 miles from here to Wyoming. Could you arrange to have my body hauled to state line to be buried? Don't want to be found dead in Utah."¹⁷

Edward Rowan, secretary of the I.W.W. local, said: "Authorities of this state will have reason in the near future to remember that they took Joe Hill out at sunrise and shot him." Oscar Larson, who was active in the I.W.W. organization and who later became active in the local Communist group and was deported to Sweden in the middle 1930's, bitterly attacked the Mormon Church.

At the request of Bill Haywood the body was sent to Chicago, where a funeral was arranged in the West Side Auditorium. Three thousand persons crowded into the building. Two or three times that number, who could not get in, stood in the streets. A quartet dressed in overalls sang I.W.W. songs composed by Hill. Judge Hilton traveled from Denver to Chicago to speak at the funeral. Without a doubt Judge Hilton gave the greatest individual boost to the growth of the legend about Joe Hill. He described "the brutal murder of a martyr to the cause of revolution," and spoke to the crowd in great detail about the proceedings before the courts and the Board of Pardons. "He was condemned," said Hilton, "not for what he did but because he refused to gratify the curiosity of the officers as to the place and circumstances of his wound." In summation, he declared: "You can now see the particulars wherein the trial was unfair, and that some influence was brought to bear upon the Supreme Court to persuade it into an attitude of hostility toward Hill. I do not say this was done by direct influence other than the imponderable and undefined but always present and dominating fear of the Mormon Church, and that the views expressed by the Supreme Court are in consonance with the views of the Church."¹⁸

Bill Haywood and big Jim Larkin gave impassioned, revolutionary talks. Emblazoned on a huge banner was the message: "In Memorium, Joe Hill, We Never Forget. Murdered by the authorities of the State of Utah, November 19, 1915." The body was cremated and small packets of the ashes were sent to each state, except Utah, and to various countries throughout the world. On May Day, 1916, they were distributed with quiet but touching ceremony.¹⁹

THE LEGEND

The morning after the execution of Hill, the *New York Times* in an editorial worried that his execution might "make Hill dead more dangerous to social stability than he was when alive." This was an inference which had substance. The *Times's* presumption that "there will grow up in the revolutionary group of which he was a prominent member a more or less sincere conviction that he died a hero as well as a martyr,"²⁰ was prophetic even if not wholly accurate, for the I.W.W. did not intend to let Joe Hill

¹⁷ *International Socialist Review*, December 1915, pp. 328-331.

¹⁸ For making this and other charges against the Mormon Church and because of other statements, spoken and written, Hilton was called before the courts in Utah, and, in a trial which brought up most of the details of the Hill case, he was disbarred (In re Hilton, 158 *Pacific Reporter*, 693).

¹⁹ Ralph Chaplin, "Joe Hill's Funeral," *International Socialist Review*, January 1916, pp. 400-405; *Solidarity*, December 4, 1915, p. 1.

²⁰ November 20, 1947, p. 12.

drop from sight. They knew the value of the incident and used it. When the I.W.W. faded away in the early 1920's as an organization and the Communists began to rise as the spokesmen for the extreme radicals, Joe Hill found new sponsors. The ludicrousness of this is not always apparent to the casual observer. The truth, however, is that the I.W.W. philosophically stands poles apart from the Communists. True, a few who were "wobblies" shifted ground and later appeared in the Communist camp or became its followers. But the vast majority of the I.W.W. could not make the jump. As believers in the value of the individual and in the integrity of his personal being, they had built an organization without strong central authority, which allowed freedom to the individual member. The "wobblies" hated authoritarians in any form. Joe Hill of the I.W.W. would never voluntarily have kept company with Communists. He would have rebelled at "the line," the Party, and the authoritarianism.

Joe Hill was not a prominent labor leader even in the I.W.W. He did not organize the Utah construction workers as has been claimed, nor did he win any strike there; no strike was ever won in Utah in those days. Further, it is difficult to see how the "copper barons" could have been involved in the case. They had the labor situation in hand. They had put the powerful Western Federation of Miners out of effective operation within the area in 1912. No I.W.W. threat of any consequence confronted them, although there was considerable street speaking in Salt Lake City at the time.

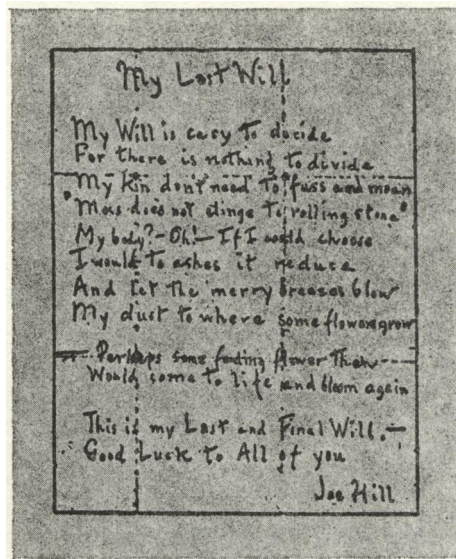
How the Mormon Church, through its officials, could have been involved is also unclear. True, it had no place within the realm of its activities for labor unions — certainly not for the I.W.W. — and many of its leaders held, and perhaps voiced on occasion, the prevailing unsympathetic attitude toward unions. Morrison, the murdered grocer, was not a Mormon. He had been associated with the old Liberal Party, which was in political power when he became a police officer. This party operated in opposition to the "Church" influence in politics, and the Church had no particular interest in Morrison. The justice of the peace who committed Hill to jail in the first instance, Harry Harper, was a Mason. The judge at the trial was M. L. Ritchie, a vestryman at St. Mark's Episcopal Church. Not one of the three Supreme Court judges, C. J. Straup, J. Frick, or W. J. McCarthy, was a Mormon. The district attorney and the attorney general were not Mormons. The jury was composed of six Mormons and six non-Mormons.

It is true that there was a high degree of emotional hysteria toward the I.W.W. as an organization. But the I.W.W. was really injected into the case only *after* a legal, albeit inadequate, trial had been conducted. It is not disclosed by the record, either in the district court or the Supreme Court, that Hill was a member of the I.W.W. It was not alluded to, nor is there any evidence that the jury had knowledge of the fact. The truth seems to be that the I.W.W. made capital of a situation once they had a martyr. They knew how to dramatize events and to turn them to advantage for propaganda in the work of organizing.

In spite of the fact that Joe Hill was not an important labor leader in his life, and even though he probably never was at Bingham or other mining camps, he has been at many of them in the years since 1915. The legend about him has lived and has carried an appeal because workmen really have felt mistreated and oppressed. It has been easy for them to believe that Joe

Hill was a victim of injustice, for his case has been a reflection of injustice felt by workers everywhere. That such a legend could grow and be so powerful is a sad commentary on our industrial relations practices, for such a legend feeds on the real despair and frustration of workers.

If one were really looking for martyrs, one could be found. The unsung martyr of unionism in Utah is E. G. Locke, for some time the secretary of the Bingham Miner's Union of the Western Federation of Miners, who was effectually blacklisted in Salt Lake City until the tight labor market of World War II made it possible, in his declining years, for him to get his first steady job as an elevator operator in a small hotel. His wife had to go to work in the intervening years to support the two of them. No one has bothered to make him a hero. The I.W.W. would not have done so, because he was opposed to them. No one cared. Without much doubt he suffered more than anyone else who served in a labor organization in Utah.



CONFUSION, U.S.A.

Joseph H. Jeppson

"Anarchy, U.S.A." is a film produced and distributed by the John Birch Society.

Joseph Jeppson teaches history at the College of San Mateo (California) and is a member of the *Dialogue* staff.

The John Birch Society is showing a film around called "Anarchy, U.S.A." I saw it at a meeting of Young Republicans at the College of San Mateo on January 10, 1967.

The point of the film is that there is a substantial connection between Communism and Civil Rights demonstrations. Although Communists may indeed have taken part in such demonstrations, I could find no evidence of it in the film. Nor could I find any information in the film to support its assertion that the Algerian Ben Bella was a Communist. The film said that Castro had once told people that he (Castro) was *not* a Communist, but that later he told them he *was* one. Then Ben Bella is shown saying that he is not a Communist (leaving the viewer to infer that he must be one too). Finally, Martin Luther King is shown shaking hands with Ben Bella, and is quoted as saying that he (King) isn't a Communist either. Richard Nixon is shown with Castro, but there seems to be no indication that Nixon is a Communist, because he never says that he is not.

One picture shows men marching along abreast with Castro, locking arms. The next sequence shows Civil Rights demonstrators marching abreast, with arms locked. I suppose the idea here is that people who lock arms are Communists. The film exposes the viewer to riots in various places in the world, some of which were undoubtedly connected with the activities of Communists; but I could find no rational connection between such riots and Civil Rights demonstrations.

Whoever made the film was probably unaware that the "black belt" in the South is not a phrase of recent origin, but refers to the cotton belt. The "region derives its name from the black soil which is prevalent [there] in contrast to the red clays to the north and south" (Cochran, et al., *Concise Dictionary of American History*, p. 99). The film implies that "black belt" is a name for a new country of Negro Communists — the "black" referring to skin pigmentation. A similar distortion occurs when the film implies that a Castro slogan "Venceremos!" (which probably means "Let's Win") was translated into English by Negro Communists and set to music as "We Shall Overcome." Actually the music is an old *Baptist hymn* called "I'll Overcome."

Two Negroes in the film speak against Civil Rights. They are persons who once embraced Communism, but saw the light and returned to condemn it. One, a little old lady, tells such a pat story that the viewer suspects she might have picked it up at Birch headquarters. The other is a poor fellow with no teeth. He appears so ignorant and imperceptive that one begins to wonder if he was drummed out of the party for giving it a non-progressive image and that was when his feelings were hurt. Anyway, the crucial thing about the two renegades is that their testimonies did not make the crucial connection between Civil Rights movements and Communism, except to say that such demonstrations make Communists happy.

But then, doesn't every sort of disturbance in our society make Communists happy, including conservative opposition to the Civil Rights movement?

The film reiterated again and again a five-point Communist "take-over" system. Then it said at one point that the Communists say things over and over until people believe what is repeated. Well, I didn't believe in the five-point system no matter how many times it was flashed on the screen. The film said that Communists identified virtuous causes with "bad smells," which, in my opinion, was what the film itself did with the Civil Rights movement by identifying it with Communism.

The film spent much time concentrating on mutilated bodies of people killed in Algeria. I suppose the point was to scare viewers into believing that Negro rioters might mutilate their bodies, as part of a world-wide Communist plan to carve up bodies.

The thing that *did* move me in the film was the depiction of Negroes marching and swinging, singing "We Shall Overcome." I felt a real kinship with them and their cause, and I empathized with their ministers who cheered them on to strike out for equality. All of this was very inspirational. But I suspect that it was not this message that the editors of the picture wished to put over.

I rather think they wanted the viewer to see something despicable in something beautiful. They wanted to place a Communist context on even the most praiseworthy aspects of the Civil Rights movement.

The film appealed to people with Negrophobia. It gave them an excuse to claim that their discrimination was not racial, but political. Would you want your daughter to marry a Communist?

TALE OF A TELL

Ellis Rasmussen

The Source. By James A. Michener. New York: Random House, 1965. ix + 909 pp. \$7.95. Ellis Rasmussen, Assistant Professor of Religious Instruction at Brigham Young University, recently authored a Sunday School manual on the Old Testament.

The title of the book is appropriate: It is the name of a certain fictional mound or tell — layers on layers of rubble left by successive inhabitants who clustered near a typical water-source in Palestine. From it the Semitic people who lived there took the name of *Makor*, meaning a "well-spring" or "source." The tale of the mound's excavation forms the narrative framework of the book. Though the tell and its story are fictional, they typify much that is true. The stratified debris and artifacts discovered at the imaginary mound are typical of real archaeological discoveries in that cradle-land which has been the source of many of our concepts, beliefs, principles, practices — and problems!

The fifteen novelettes about fifteen levels of dwellers at Makor in this rather large volume (909 pages) carry throughout the long spans between cultures one major theme: Judaism, like the layers of strata at Makor, has grown by assimilating both divine and human elements, with periodic accretions and deletions as the times demanded. Delivered now to present Jewry both in the Diaspora and in Israel, this heritage must either be wisely adapted and employed again or ignored at the peril of its heirs.

But then, doesn't every sort of disturbance in our society make Communists happy, including conservative opposition to the Civil Rights movement?

The film reiterated again and again a five-point Communist "take-over" system. Then it said at one point that the Communists say things over and over until people believe what is repeated. Well, I didn't believe in the five-point system no matter how many times it was flashed on the screen. The film said that Communists identified virtuous causes with "bad smells," which, in my opinion, was what the film itself did with the Civil Rights movement by identifying it with Communism.

The film spent much time concentrating on mutilated bodies of people killed in Algeria. I suppose the point was to scare viewers into believing that Negro rioters might mutilate their bodies, as part of a world-wide Communist plan to carve up bodies.

The thing that *did* move me in the film was the depiction of Negroes marching and swinging, singing "We Shall Overcome." I felt a real kinship with them and their cause, and I empathized with their ministers who cheered them on to strike out for equality. All of this was very inspirational. But I suspect that it was not this message that the editors of the picture wished to put over.

I rather think they wanted the viewer to see something despicable in something beautiful. They wanted to place a Communist context on even the most praiseworthy aspects of the Civil Rights movement.

The film appealed to people with Negrophobia. It gave them an excuse to claim that their discrimination was not racial, but political. Would you want your daughter to marry a Communist?

TALE OF A TELL

Ellis Rasmussen

The Source. By James A. Michener. New York: Random House, 1965. ix + 909 pp. \$7.95. Ellis Rasmussen, Assistant Professor of Religious Instruction at Brigham Young University, recently authored a Sunday School manual on the Old Testament.

The title of the book is appropriate: It is the name of a certain fictional mound or tell — layers on layers of rubble left by successive inhabitants who clustered near a typical water-source in Palestine. From it the Semitic people who lived there took the name of *Makor*, meaning a "well-spring" or "source." The tale of the mound's excavation forms the narrative framework of the book. Though the tell and its story are fictional, they typify much that is true. The stratified debris and artifacts discovered at the imaginary mound are typical of real archaeological discoveries in that cradle-land which has been the source of many of our concepts, beliefs, principles, practices — and problems!

The fifteen novelettes about fifteen levels of dwellers at Makor in this rather large volume (909 pages) carry throughout the long spans between cultures one major theme: Judaism, like the layers of strata at Makor, has grown by assimilating both divine and human elements, with periodic accretions and deletions as the times demanded. Delivered now to present Jewry both in the Diaspora and in Israel, this heritage must either be wisely adapted and employed again or ignored at the peril of its heirs.

The long history of Canaan-Israel-Palestine is well characterized, through necessarily selective, and is generally harmonious with biblical and archaeological information. The reader should know, however, that the author's explanations for certain events are not necessarily the only ones. The identification of the early Hebrews with the Habiru, for example, is not the best attested scientific hypothesis concerning Hebrew beginnings — and certainly is not superior to the biblical explanation.

Moreover, Michener has not restricted himself, as an historian would, to conservative reconstructions of the life-stories of the peoples who laid down the artifacts. Sometimes fictional pseudo-history is used to typify processes by which known historical phenomena have occurred. The impact of Joktan and his clan of Habiru (with their monotheism and their moral ways) possibly resembles the impact of Abraham upon the Amorite people. The intrusion of "the old man and his God" suggests what the intrusion of Jacob and his extended family would have meant to the Canaanites. A minstrel of David's time creates songs like some of the Psalms; the prophetess Gomer utters some prophecies like those of Jeremiah and insists upon some principles of behavior like those of Ezra. All of these differ somewhat from their biblical counterparts, but by reconstructing the various conditions out of which such events could have arisen, Michener helps make the real Bible stories come alive. The engineering of Makor's tunnel to gain access to vital water when under siege plausibly suggests how the siloam tunnel of eighth century Jerusalem (Hezekiah's time) could have been constructed. Or a certain Makor rebel around 167 B.C. illustrates what the father of the famous Maccabees could have been like. The long monologue by a fictitious associate of Herod the Great helps explain the fearful tyranny of that historical terror. And the actions of an actual personage, Josephus, at fictional Makor quite satisfactorily characterizes that enigmatic Jewish "patriot" of Roman times.

These bits and snatches from Jewish history are well selected and well depicted and will be particularly illuminating to non-Jewish readers. Hints as to how the Talmud was compiled will help account for its place in Judaism. The episodes dealing with persecutions by Islam and the Christian Inquisition (although the massacres by Crusaders are somewhat oversimplified) may shed light on some motives and movements of modern Jewry and perhaps even prepare the reader to comprehend the most horrible holocaust of all at Auschwitz. Similarly, the examples of Jewish struggles to live in the Pale and in the Ghetto, the hints about the rise of Zionism, and the excellent characterizations of Israel's present immigrant populace, assembled by Zionism and moved by persecutions, all help to clarify the saga of Jewish survival through the centuries, culminating in the rise of modern Israel.

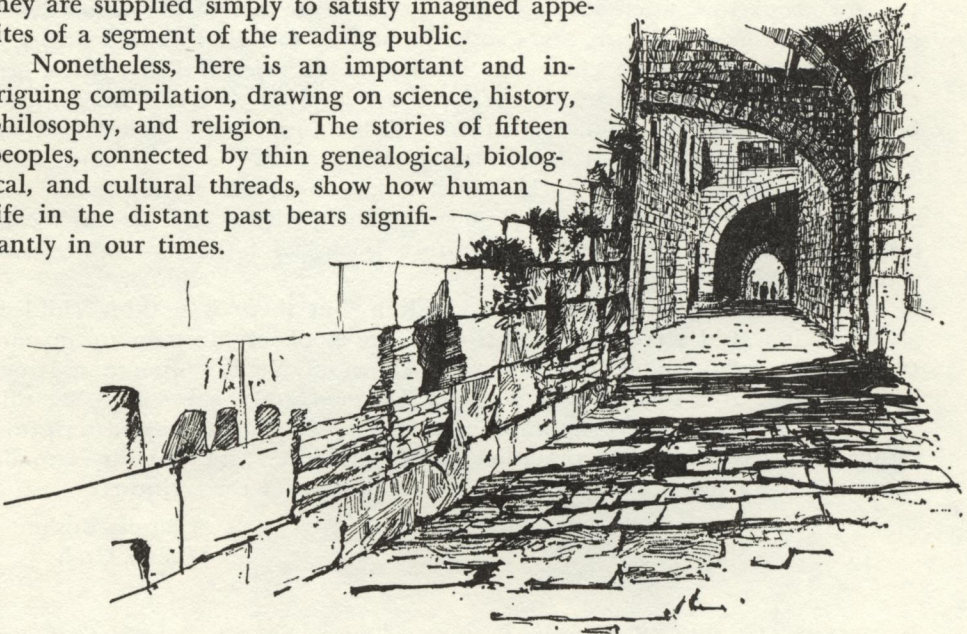
Michener's major characters, a Christian, a Moslem, and a Jew, engage in dialogue about the excavation at Makor and interact with others who are involved: a Jewish-American contributor of funds, hard-headed and practical *Kibbutzniks*, and arrogant *Sabras*. Protagonists of the "two Israels," the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews, debate their positions. These encounters dramatize the reasons for the tortured British postures during the Mandate period as well as illuminating problems still plaguing Israel today. Michener merits the commendations he has received from Jewish reviewers who feel that he has done better than most Jewish writers on these same themes.

Mormon readers will be least impressed with his depiction of the rise and

development of the Judaeo-Christian religions. The interactions of various religious systems are rather well presented, and the author perceptively speculates on the origins of certain widespread nature myths, fertility cults, and their propitiatory practices. But Michener's portrayal of the rise of "revealed" religion as seen in the nature and content of the communications of "El" or "El-Shaddai" or "Jahweh" will probably repel those who know of God's revelations to Adam, Enoch, Abraham, Moses, and the Prophets. The fictitious dialogues between El and Zadock or between Jahweh and Gomer strike one as petty imitations of the revelations recorded in the Law and the Prophets, the Gospels and Epistles, or the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants.

Perhaps the most objectionable feature to many intelligent readers will be Michener's frequent insertion of sexual-sensual scenes, with descriptions in more than sufficient detail. Some of these may be justified as conceptualizations of the fertility-cult rituals of Canaanite times which so sorely tempted, and often attracted, Israelite votaries. Others seem gratuitous and without significance as characterizations of peoples or times, and one suspects that they are supplied simply to satisfy imagined appetites of a segment of the reading public.

Nonetheless, here is an important and intriguing compilation, drawing on science, history, philosophy, and religion. The stories of fifteen peoples, connected by thin genealogical, biological, and cultural threads, show how human life in the distant past bears significantly in our times.



SHORT NOTICES

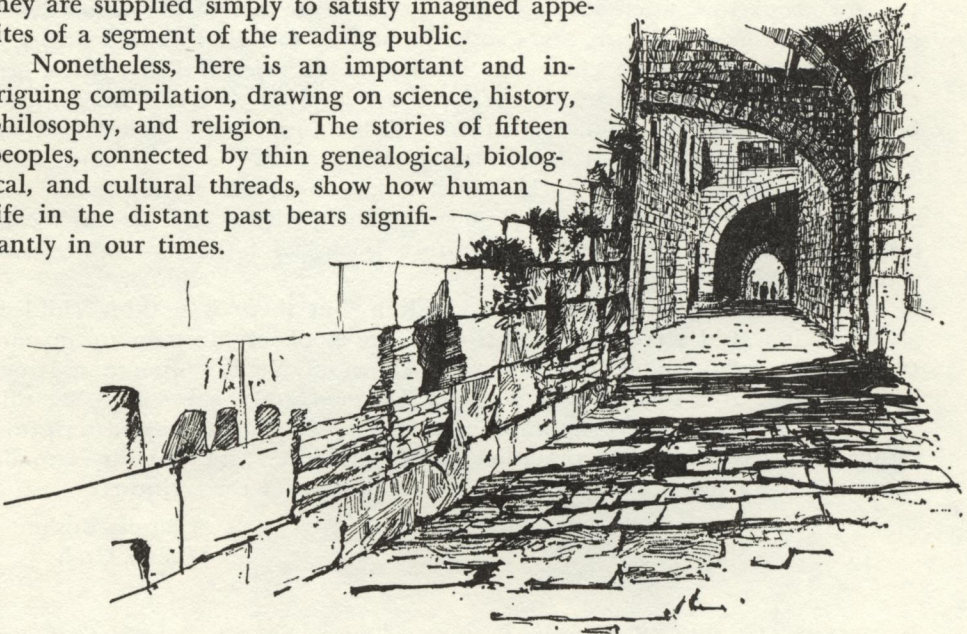
The Book of Mormon Story. An Adaptation by Mary Pratt Parrish. Illustrations by Ronald Crosby. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1966. 221 pp. \$6.95.

This handsome book was published in time to be placed under many Christmas trees. Hopefully since that time it has been accomplishing its single purpose — "to prepare [the reader] to read, to enjoy and to understand the Book of Mormon." In line with that aim the book has several unique and attractive features: the scriptural language of the original text remains and many scriptures have been left intact; the major characters of each of

development of the Judaeo-Christian religions. The interactions of various religious systems are rather well presented, and the author perceptively speculates on the origins of certain widespread nature myths, fertility cults, and their propitiatory practices. But Michener's portrayal of the rise of "revealed" religion as seen in the nature and content of the communications of "El" or "El-Shaddai" or "Jahweh" will probably repel those who know of God's revelations to Adam, Enoch, Abraham, Moses, and the Prophets. The fictitious dialogues between El and Zadock or between Jahweh and Gomer strike one as petty imitations of the revelations recorded in the Law and the Prophets, the Gospels and Epistles, or the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants.

Perhaps the most objectionable feature to many intelligent readers will be Michener's frequent insertion of sexual-sensual scenes, with descriptions in more than sufficient detail. Some of these may be justified as conceptualizations of the fertility-cult rituals of Canaanite times which so sorely tempted, and often attracted, Israelite votaries. Others seem gratuitous and without significance as characterizations of peoples or times, and one suspects that they are supplied simply to satisfy imagined appetites of a segment of the reading public.

Nonetheless, here is an important and intriguing compilation, drawing on science, history, philosophy, and religion. The stories of fifteen peoples, connected by thin genealogical, biological, and cultural threads, show how human life in the distant past bears significantly in our times.



SHORT NOTICES

The Book of Mormon Story. An Adaptation by Mary Pratt Parrish. Illustrations by Ronald Crosby. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1966. 221 pp. \$6.95.

This handsome book was published in time to be placed under many Christmas trees. Hopefully since that time it has been accomplishing its single purpose — "to prepare [the reader] to read, to enjoy and to understand the Book of Mormon." In line with that aim the book has several unique and attractive features: the scriptural language of the original text remains and many scriptures have been left intact; the major characters of each of

the ten sections are introduced by drawings and short descriptions; and the book itself, generously illustrated with color plates and pencil sketches, is a pleasure to read and look at.

The Book of Mormon Story is an adaptation of the original rather than stories or excerpts from it. The narrative follows the framework of the scriptures very closely, cutting sharply the prophecies, theology, and long speeches, but retaining every bit of action. In fact, while the spiritual aspect of the book is certainly not slighted, an effort is made to portray the Book of Mormon as full of exciting drama. "Its heroic deeds and daring adventures are unsurpassed in any book . . . Its heroes are strong and vigorous physically . . . mighty men who . . . are magnified by the Lord and do super-human tasks while yet human." The appeal is clearly to those who have found romance in classical mythological figures or today's caped crusaders.

Ronald Crosby's memorable illustrations also emphasize the heroic concept of the characters. The color plates feature men of noble visage and physique; Jesus appears to be nine or ten feet tall in relation to his people. The lush coloring of scenes bathed in green and golden light accentuates the story book romanticism. Hampered by our ignorance of the visual detail of Book of Mormon culture, Mr. Crosby has chosen to follow Arnold Friberg's lead and to depict some characters similarly. His wicked King Noah, for example, glowers from beneath the same green plumes at the same white-bearded, bare-chested Abinadi that Mr. Friberg previously painted. Conventions develop by perpetuating strong characteristics, and perhaps King Noah will henceforth be a stock character, known by his green plumes and cheetah skins, just as angels are known by their wings. Mr. Crosby's conceptions will likely be adopted for future books, and the developing conventions will be interesting to watch.

I think of this book mainly for children, but there is nothing childish about it; it would serve well to introduce the Book of Mormon to anyone. Investigating adults who become bogged down in Nephi's quotations from Isaiah will be able to read *The Book of Mormon Story* painlessly. Yet this approach to the Gospel is a pure one because the book is abridged scripture rather than someone's interpretation of Mormonism. Mrs. Parrish is to be commended for her honest and readable adaptation of the scriptures.

Claudia Bushman
Provo, Utah

Mormons and the Discovery of Gold. By Norma Baldwin Ricketts. 2nd ed., Placerville, California: Pioneer Press, 1966. 43 pp.

Originally written at the request of the "historian of the State of California" as a souvenir booklet, this monograph (2nd edition) is concerned with the part played by several Mormons in the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in 1848. In order to provide the setting for this important event, the author reviews the life of John Sutter to 1840 and summarizes the course of early Mormon history, including the murder of Joseph Smith; the voyage of the ship *Brooklyn* to California carrying Mormon colonists under the leadership of Samuel Brannan; the call and march of the Mormon Battalion; the founding of the Mormon colony of New Hope (near present-day Modesto); Brannan's trip to meet Brigham Young and his pioneers in 1847; the dis-

charge of the Battalion; the events leading to the employment of some of the Mormon soldiers by John Sutter; and, finally, the details of the discovery of gold.

The last part of the booklet contains brief biographical sketches of the men who participated in the discovery of gold, lists of the Battalion members, and a brief bibliography. There is no documentation.

The story is told as a dramatic narrative with considerable skill. Much of it has been told before in greater detail by H. H. Bancroft, Paul Bailey, and by the reviewer in his Ph.D. Dissertation, so perhaps the principal contribution of the author is that she has made it available to the public in booklet form accompanied by some interesting pictures.

The accounts of the discovery of gold and the people involved are quite accurate, although the author repeats Bancroft's undocumented story of the "salting of the Tailrace with gold" to surprise Captain Sutter. Marshall, the non-Mormon foreman at the mill, is given credit for actually discovering gold, and Brannan's role in spreading the news is correct. Unfortunately, when the author deals with the earlier background material, she is on less familiar ground and repeats several errors that are gradually becoming part of the Mormon tradition. For example, she states that "on February 4, 1846, the first Mormon pioneers, under Brigham Young crossed the Mississippi's ice and plunged into the unknown West" (p. 4). Actually, Brigham Young did not leave until February 15th; the ice did not freeze until February 24th, and the West was not exactly unknown at that time! The conception of the exodus from Nauvoo as a disorganized flight under immediate threat of extermination is implied with such statements as "persecuted on all sides, beginning on February 4, 1846, the Mormons were driven out of Nauvoo, . . . with the choice of either fleeing their homes and the community or being massacred" (p. 3), and "his followers were in dire circumstances having left their belongings in Nauvoo when they fled" (p. 5). This picture of a mob pursuing the Saints to the river's edge and the miraculous freezing of the river just in time to help the Saints escape as portrayed in the motion picture, *Brigham Young*, should be corrected before it becomes a sacred myth and the basis of testimony.

Despite the errors and excessive dramatics, the booklet tells the basic story of the gold discovery in a very readable way and will, no doubt, be a source of satisfaction and pride to many Church members. It is to be hoped that if a third edition is published, the author will do her homework on the facts of early Church history and will submit her work to other students of the subject for corrections and suggestions. She might also consider lengthening the title to read "Mormons and the Discovery of Gold in California."

Eugene F. Campbell
Brigham Young University

AMONG THE MORMONS

A Survey of Current Literature

Edited by Ralph W. Hansen

As we came to mid-1966 the scarcity of new publications which would be of interest to our readers gave this author some concern as to whether our survey of current literature would have enough substance to warrant inclusion in this issue. Opportunely a new title, *Are You Mormons "Ignoramuses?"* came to our attention and we realized that even if no other Mormon works were published this year (1966) it would not be an entirely lost year. Stephen G. Morgan asks the rhetorical question regarding Mormon intelligence (Salt Lake City, Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., \$3.95) in an apparent effort to jog us into increased missionary activity. As a prelude to further examination of the year's literary output we might repeat Brother Morgan's question: "Are You Mormons 'Ignoramuses?'" The reader is invited to press on and come to his or her own conclusion.

The Church has continued to receive its share of national attention, and to capitalize on this potential market of readers two noteworthy books appeared in 1966. Robert F. Mullen's *The Latter-day Saints: the Mormon Yesterday and Today** (Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, \$5.95) is the work of a sympathetic non-Mormon and has been well publicized in Church publications. This might be said to be a "company book." On the other hand a work not listed in the *Church News* is Wallace Turner's *The Mormon Establishment** (New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., \$6.00) in which the author hands the Church bricks with his bouquets in a penetrating analysis of current Church affairs.

Biographical studies were particularly numerous this year, culminated by a reprint of the standard *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, Western Epics, Inc., \$5.00). In alphabetical order the biographies are: *Melvin J. Ballard: Crusader For Righteousness* (Bookcraft, \$3.50); *George Brooks, Artist in Stone* by Juanita Brooks (St. George, Utah, published by the author); *Oliver Cowdery: The Man Outstanding* (not an outstanding effort) by Joseph Hyrum Greenhalgh (Phoenix, Arizona: Chico Press, 1965, \$2.50); *John Hunt — Frontiersman: Stories and Life Sketches of John Hunt, His Wives, Mother, and Daughter* by Nattie Hunt Rencher (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, \$5.00); *J. Golden Kimball†* by Claude Richards (Bookcraft, \$3.95); and Albert R. Lyman, *The Edge of the Cedars; the Story of Walter C. Lyman and the San Juan Mission* (New York: Carlton Press).

President McKay is the subject of a limited biographical study by his sister Jeanette McKay Morrell, *Highlights in the Life of President David O. McKay†* (Deseret Book Co., \$4.95). While on the subject of President McKay,

* Previously reviewed in *Dialogue*.

† To be reviewed in this or a forthcoming issue of *Dialogue*.

may we call your attention to a record produced by R. Don Oscarson for the B.Y.U. Communications Service Division. *The Voice of a Prophet* represents four of President McKay's discourses selected from tape recordings of his numerous addresses at General Conference and at B.Y.U. Devotional Assemblies (33 $\frac{1}{3}$ speed disc; no price information available at press time).

Subjects of additional biographies are *B. H. Roberts, A Biography*† by Robert H. Malen (Deseret Books, \$2.95); *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder** by Harold Schindler (University of Utah, \$7.50); *George Romney and Michigan** by Richard C. Fuller (New York: Vantage Press, \$2.75); *Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet** by John J. Stewart (Salt Lake City: Mercury Publishing Co., \$4.00); and Brigham Young, one of eight men whose lives were subject to a study by Jonathan Hughes in *The Vital Few** (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., \$6.95).

On the Utah scene Leonard J. Arrington has published his study *Beet Sugar in the West: The History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891-1966*† (Seattle: University of Washington Press, \$7.50); and Frank H. Jonas came out with a little volume on the late Douglas Stringfellow, *The Story of a Political Hoax*† (University of Utah Institute of Government). Of parochial interest are Mabel Harmer's *Our Utah Pioneers* (Deseret Book, \$2.95) and W. A. Raynor's *The Everlasting Spires; The Story of the Salt Lake Temple** (Deseret Books, \$2.95).

I am not sure the following work can be considered even parochial, but having taken a great deal of interest in Utah's neglected mining history while residing in fair Zion I feel constrained to mention *Nuggets From Mammoth* by Bessie Berry Toone (available from the author, Mammoth, Utah, \$3.50). If Mrs. Toone has included the stories I heard from the area's "old-timers" her book will be entertaining and enlightening. For those living far from home two recent (1965) centennial volumes may touch a responsive chord. *Memory Book to Commemorate Gunnison Valley's Centennial, 1859-1959* (available from Lamar H. Stewart, Gunnison) and *Our Own Sevier, Centennial History, 1865-1965* (Sevier County Commissioners, \$7.50) continue the excellent Utah tradition of publishing local history.

Of theological interest are James R. Clark's third volume of *Messages of the First Presidency* (covering 1885-1901, Bookcraft, \$4.50); Roy W. Doxey, *Zion in the Last Days* (Salt Lake City: Olympus, \$1.25) — Zion is Missouri and this work concerns itself with the expulsion and what must happen before the return; Gerrit de Jong, Jr., *The Gospel Today*† (Deseret Book, \$4.95); L.D.S. Institute of Religion, Logan, Utah, *The Annual Joseph Smith Memorial Sermons*† (2 volumes covering the addresses of 1943 through 1962); Truman G. Madsen, *Eternal Man*† (Deseret Book, \$2.00); Blaine R. Porter, *The Latter-day Saint Family, A Book of Selected Readings*† (Deseret Book, \$4.95); and W. Cleon Skousen, *The Fourth Thousand Years*† (Bookcraft, \$6.95). Not included in this survey were several new items on the Book of Mormon, i.e. an adaptation, a digest, and a chronology.

On the minus side of the ledger are three books critical of the Church for a variety of reasons. *I was a Mormon* by Einer W. Anderson (London: Oliphants, \$2.95, previously published in the U.S.) and *Meeting the Mor-*

* Previously reviewed in *Dialogue*.

† To be reviewed in this or a forthcoming issue of *Dialogue*.

mons: A Study of the Mormon Church in Scotland and Elsewhere by J. Roy Paterson (Edinburgh: The Home Board of the Church of Scotland, 5s) are no doubt reactions to proselyting activities in Great Britain. The Paterson book is an answer to Mormonism after its "sudden" appearance in Scotland. What else is new, Roy? The Order of Aaron is in print again with a doctrinal book, *Purified as Gold and Silver* by Blanche W. Beeston (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, \$.95).

Reprints and new editions were also substantial last year and include some significant titles formerly unavailable or available only in expensive trade editions. Reprints are *Desert Saints* by Nels Anderson (Phoenix, \$2.95); Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Nebraska, \$2.40); Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District* (Harper Torchbooks, \$2.45); Wallace W. Elliott, *History of San Bernardino County, California* (from the 1883 edition, Riverside, Calif.: Riverside Museum Press, \$12.00); Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict* (Yale, \$1.95); and Henry Inman, *The Great Salt Lake Trail* (from the 1898 edition, Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1966, \$8.75). A new edition of Stanley B. Kimball's *Sources of Mormon History in Illinois, 1839-48* . . . † (Southern Illinois University) is now available. Related to Kimball's work is a new study, *A Bibliography of Illinois Imprints, 1814-1858* by Cecil K. Byrd (University of Chicago Press, \$12.50). Byrd's work describes the products of Mormon presses in Illinois. A second edition of David E. Miller's *Hole in the Rock* also came out in 1966 (University of Utah, \$5.50).

Paperbacks and pamphlets produced three interesting titles, two of which were written by Ezra Taft Benson. Elder Benson's theme in *Strength for the Battle* (Bookcraft, \$.25) and *Internal Threat to the American Way of Life* (Bookcraft, \$.35) is political rather than theological. Bookcraft has also published Fletcher B. Hammon's *Geography of the Book of Mormon* (\$.60).

Works of fiction consist of three titles this year, Gordon J. Allred's *Valley of Tomorrow* † (Bookcraft), Paul Bailey's story of Chief Walker and the Mormons, *Hawk of the Mountains* (Westernlore Press, \$5.95), and John C. Murdock's *Under the Covenant: A Story of the Mormons* (New York: Vantage, \$7.50).

Perhaps by now the reader (as well as this writer) wishes that the bibliographic outpouring of the latter half of 1966 had not been so voluminous. Have courage — for we approach the end of our new book shelf with a look at works broadly concerned with the Great Basin. William H. Goetzman, *Exploration and Empire* (New York: Knopf, \$10.00); W. Eugene Hollon, *The Great American Desert, Then and Now* † (Oxford University Press, \$6.00); Howard Roberts Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912; A Territorial History* (Yale, \$10.00); John Upton Terrell, *War for the Colorado River*, 2 vols. (Glendale, Colorado: Clark, \$17.50) all have the same thing in common — they cannot avoid the part played by Mormons in the evolution of the American West.

* Previously reviewed in *Dialogue*.

† To be reviewed in this or a forthcoming issue of *Dialogue*.

HUGH NIBLEY: A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Louis Midgley

The name Hugh Nibley has become common coin of the Mormon realm. The household quality of the name in part depends upon the frequency with which his work appears in the *Improvement Era*. Since 1948 he is exceeded in regularity in the *Era* only by Beneficial Life. With the passing of B. H. Roberts, Nibley more than anyone else has assumed the role of defender of the Faith and the Saints. In some ways his many appearances in the pages of the *Era* have actually harmed his reputation in certain circles within the Church. Sometimes his work is rejected because he has become known as "Church writer" or he is discounted as merely an "apologist" for Mormonism. However, those who hold such opinions are not always aware of the extent of his contribution, most especially to scholarly journals, but even in the *Era* and other Church magazines, as well as those various other forms that reach primarily the Mormon audience. (Why is it, incidentally, that Deseret Book Company and Bookcraft do not list their titles in *Books in Print*?)

Nibley has surprisingly wide interests and remarkable capacities for originality; he is an indefatigable researcher, an adroit and witty writer (*The Mythmakers* is the only book I know with a funny table of contents). His craftsmanship and style as a writer, coupled with his knowledge and industry, have made him a powerful and sometimes biting social critic and defender of the Gospel. He really believes that the Gospel is true and has dedicated himself to its defense. He is singularly well equipped for his role in Mormon intellectual life. He regularly employs Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, French, Russian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Coptic and even English in his research.

He has published five books and two pamphlets. The pamphlet, *No Ma'am, That's Not History* (1946), marks his entrance on the scene as an apologist. This pamphlet is a short, witty reply to Fawn Brodie. The second pamphlet, Nibley's lecture entitled *Writing and Publication in Graduate School* (Mimeographed, 1966, by the Brigham Young University Graduate School) contains his reflections on the scholarly enterprise and the state of scholarship in Mormon circles. The books are more substantial: *Lehi in the Desert and The World of the Jaredites* (1952), which in a somewhat different form appeared as two series in the *Era* between 1950 and 1952; *The World of the Prophets* (1st ed., 1954; 2nd ed., 1962), a series of radio talks given over KSL; *An Approach to the Book of Mormon* (1st ed., 1957; 2nd ed., 1964), which was originally a priesthood lesson manual; *The Mythmakers* (1961), a very amusing and significant effort to show the confusion in the ranks of the early critics of Joseph Smith; *Sounding Brass* (1963), a satirical reply to Irving Wallace's popular "story" of Brigham Young and Ann Elisa (wife number whatever-it-was). In the near future Nibley will publish his long-awaited study of the historicity of the Pearl of Great Price. This promises to be his best scriptural study.

However, Nibley's most significant and impressive publications are not those generally known by Mormons but essays and articles published in scholarly journals and most readily known and available to specialists (and this means, for the most part, people outside the Church).

Journal Articles:

- 1942 "New Light on Scaliger," *Classical Journal*, XXXVII (1942), 291-295.
- 1945 "Sparsiones," *Classical Journal*, XL (1945), 515-543.
- 1949 "The Arrow, the Hunter, and the State," *Western Political Quarterly*, II (1949), 328-344. A study of the role of the marked arrow in ancient statecraft; his first essay on the origin of the state.
- 1951 "The Hierocentric State," *Western Political Quarterly*, IV (1951), 226-253. His second important study of the origin of the state.
- 1953 "The Unsolved Loyalty Problem: Our Western Heritage," *Western Political Quarterly*, VI (1953), 631-657. An examination of the problem of loyalty in the 4th century, with obvious significance for our own time.
- 1955 "Do History and Religion Conflict?" in *Great Issues Forum*, Series 2 (Religion), No. 5 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1955), 22-39.
- 1956 "Victoriosa Loquacitas: The Rise of Rhetoric and the Decline of Everything Else," *Western Speech*, XX (1956), 57-82.
- 1959-60 "Christian Envy of the Temple," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, L (1959-60), 97-123, 229-240. A long study showing the various reactions of Christian theologians to the destruction of the Temple.
- 1961 "The Passing of the Church: Forty Variations on an Unpopular Theme," *Church History*, XXX (June 1961), 131-154. He presents forty different arguments for the apostacy in the lead article of the journal of the American Association of Church Historians. The readers will be interested in two letters commenting on Nibley's argument. See Hans J. Hillerbrand, "The Passing of the Church: Two Comments on a Strange Theme," *Church History*, XXX (1961), 481-482; and a defense of Nibley by R. M. Grant, "The Passing of the Church: Comments on Two Comments on a Strange Theme," *Church History*, XXX (1961), 482-483.
- 1965 "Qumran and the Companions of the Cave," *Revue de Qumran*, V (1951), 177-198.
- 1965 "The Expanding Gospel," *Brigham Young University Studies*, VII (1966), 3-27. An examination of Gospel themes in the literature of the ancient world.
- 1966 "Evangelium Quadraginta Dierum," *Vigiliae Christianae*, XX (1966), 1-24. A study of the tradition of the secret teaching of Jesus in the forty days after his resurrection.
- 1966 "Tenting, Toll, and Taxing," *Western Political Quarterly*, XXIX (1966), 599-630. A third important study of the state in history and pre-history.
- "Jerusalem and the Christian Church," to appear in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

Articles in the Improvement Era:

- 1948 "The Book of Mormon as a Mirror of the East," Vol. 51 (April 1948)
- 1948-49 "Baptism for the Dead in Ancient Time," IE, Vol. 51-52 (Dec. 1948-April 1949)
- 1950 "Lehi in the Desert," IE, Vol. 53 (Jan.-Oct. 1950).

- 1951-52 "The World of the Jaredites," IE, Vol. 54-55 (Sept. 1951-July 1952) .
1953 "The Stick of Judah and the Stick of Joseph," IE, Vol. 56 (Jan.-May 1953)
1953-54 "New Approaches to Book of Mormon Study," IE, Vol. 56-57 (Nov. 1953-July 1954)
1955 "The Way of the Church," IE, Vol. 58 (Jan. 1956-Dec. 1957)
1956-57 "There Were Jaredites," IE, Vol. 59-60 (Jan. 1956-Feb. 1957)
1959 "Mixed Voices," IE, Vol. 62 (Mar.-Nov. 1959)
1961 "The Liahona's Cousins," IE, Vol. 64 (Feb. 1961)
1961 "Censoring the Joseph Smith Story," IE, Vol. 64 (July-Nov. 1961)
1964 "Since Cumorah," IE, Vol. 67-68 (Oct. 1964-Dec. 1966)

Articles in the Instructor:

- 1953 "Columbus and Revelation," Vol. 88 (Oct. 1953), 319f.
1956 "More Voices from the Dust," Vol. 91 (March 1956), pp. 71ff.
1963 "The Dead Sea Scrolls, Some Questions and Answers," Vol. 98 (July 1963), pp. 233ff.
1965 "Early Accounts of Jesus' Childhood," Vol. 100 (Jan. 1965), pp. 35ff.



Notes and Comments

Edited by Joseph Jeppson

LSD FOR LDS?

E. Marshall Chatwin, who has served as a missionary and member of a bishopric for the L.D.S. Church, is currently Director of Guidance at Monterey (California) Peninsula College; LeGrand Woolley, M.D., has served as a member of his L.D.S. Stake High Council and is practicing pediatrics in Monterey.

Psychedelics or hallucinogenic drugs have been used in natural forms for at least 3,000 years. Due to the recent discovery of LSD by Dr. Albert Hofmann, and to some extent to the sensational press reports concerning the effects of the drug, ministers, divinity students, movie stars, housewives, high school and college students, as well as psychologists, medical doctors, and addicts, have taken psychedelics in the past several years. Reaction to the drugs by those adventuresome enough to take a "trip" (a psychedelic experience), as well as by those hearing and reading of others' experiences, has been intense. Those of the beat generation find in the use of LSD something which finally "turns them on." Many persons see in the psychedelics the possibility of opening up new avenues of awareness heretofore unavailable to mankind. Timothy Leary, a leader of a group called IFIF (International Federation for Internal Freedom), suggests a new commandment: "Thou shalt not prevent thy fellow human being from changing his consciousness if by doing so he does not create harm or danger to others."¹ Some have suggested the use of LSD to solve world ideological differences.

¹ Richard Alpert and Sidney Cohen, *LSD* (New York: New American Library, 1966), p. 21.

On the other hand, there are those who are very disturbed at the apparent widespread use of psychedelic drugs, the irresponsibility of those involved, the potential danger of mental disturbance to the individual user and the implications of a society of "acidheads."

What is LSD?

To put LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide) into more of an historical perspective let us look back some years to the various uses to which many drugs have been put. It is a truism that for most of us life is hard and cruel, at least some of the time. Today much distress is less on a physical basis (starvation, pestilence, etc.) than on an intellectual or spiritual basis. In the Orient the use of opium as an escape from the realities of an oppressive existence is well chronicled in literature. The use of coca leaves in South America to relieve suffering in the high altitudes is almost as well documented. Alcohol in diverse forms and derivations is found in practically every society; it is possibly the oldest tranquilizer in use today. Our ancestor Noah caused some trouble when he "imbibed too freely" and slept naked in a drunken stupor. For certain Indian groups in Mexico, as well as in the sacraments of the Native American Church, the use of psychedelics in the form of certain mushrooms has taken on religious significance. The Spanish conquistadores outlawed the rites of the sacred mushroom in Mexico, but this did not stop the practice. It continued on with Roman Catholic symbolism made part of the ceremony. Christ replaced the thunderbird as the object of worship in the ritual. Many things have been used over many years by many people to mitigate life's blows. And, perhaps, today's distress is more one of alienation than of abject poverty.

Some have felt that "St. Anthony's fire" was none other than the effects of eating rye contaminated with ergot, a fungus. Two gross effects were noted in this ergotism: gangrene of the extremities (with all the fiery pain that St. Anthony is reported to have suffered) and convulsions. From this historic chemical, ergonovine, an alkaloid drug useful in obstetrics, is derived. Further chemical treatment of this alkaloid results in LSD. (We are assured it takes more than a knowledge of high school chemistry to effect this synthesis.)

In 1943, Dr. Albert Hofmann, of Basel, Switzerland, was working with lysergic acid and its derivatives. Inadvertently he ingested some of the chemical. "In the afternoon of 16 April 1943 when I was working on this problem, I was seized by a peculiar sensation of vertigo and restlessness. Objects, as well as my associates in the lab, appeared to undergo optical changes. I was unable to concentrate on my work. In a dream-like state I left for home where an irresistible urge to lie down overcame me. I drew the curtains and immediately fell into a peculiar state similar to a drunkenness, characterized by an exaggerated imagination. With my eyes closed, fantastic pictures of extraordinary plasticity and intensive color seemed to surge towards me. After two hours this state gradually wore off."²

Dr. Hofmann's experience occurred when he ingested 250 micrograms ($\frac{1}{4}$ of a milligram). This is now known to be an heroic dose. It has been

²L. Goodman and A. Gilman, *Pharmacological Basis of Therapeutics* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), p. 205.

calculated that 2 pounds of LSD is adequate to give every man, woman, and child in greater New York a "trip." The drug is colorless and tasteless. It can be put into a cube of sugar and so administered. A handkerchief can be impregnated with a solution of LSD and then cut in appropriate sizes for chewing by users. It can be taken in a beverage such as coffee or with vodka (which is considered to be a readily available preservative for the chemical).

Why the attraction to LSD experience?

One way to look at why individuals seek the psychedelic experience is in terms of personal construct theory.³ In the context of this theory, the basic reason for anyone taking LSD is as an experiment. It is seen as an experiment through which the individual anticipates a greater extension and definition of his psychological system. It is a way in which the individual aims to enhance his mental constructs to allow greater understanding, prediction, and control of the events to which he addresses himself. The specific experiments being conducted by the LSD participants are varied and unique. One person may take a "trip" because he feels he has experienced most of life's ordinary offerings and that through his familiarity they have become meaningless. Anticipating the possible construction of a new or revised meaning to existence he embarks upon a new adventure, a "trip" with LSD. Another may feel life so chaotic that attempts to order it are fruitless. For this person LSD may be an experimental escape from a futile rather than a humdrum existence. Out of the LSD experience, but in terms of his personal constructs, the individual seeks to extend and define himself in various ways to give more meaning to life, to be "turned on," to be "in the know," to be considered courageous, or rebellious, or conforming, or lost, or a million other reasons which only an analysis of the personal constructs of the person could reveal.

Study of those with adverse reactions (severe anxiety, depression, hallucinations or paranoid reactions) has suggested that the person with already loosened construction, that is, the person who has difficulty in making accurate predictions about his world, is most likely, through the added disorienting and loosening caused by the LSD experience, to be "triggered" into a full-blown psychotic reaction. From this one can infer that many of those drawn to the LSD experience shouldn't "travel." At present not enough research has been done to predict who will suffer an adverse reaction. The disorienting effect to the point of psychopathology with prolonged use of LSD is attested to by several authorities.⁴

What are the effects of this drug?

There are few effects that can be measured objectively. The subject's eyes are dilated and there seems to be an increased alertness. All the rest of the effects are psychological and subjective. For example, the mood changes (now crying — now laughing), the euphoria, the distortions and hallucinations, the auditory hallucinations (rarely), and the confusion of thought

³ George Kelly, *The Psychology of Personal Constructs* (New York: Norton, 1955).

⁴ M. Fink, et al., quoted in *Journal of American Medical Association*, CXCVIII (1966), 658.

processes — all are reported by the user. And, interestingly, the user knows these are hallucinations, that these are drug-related, while a psychotic person cannot make this distinction. The LSD effects are related to those of mescaline (from the mescal button), peyote (a cactus used by certain American Indians in religious rites), Sominex (popularly advertised on TV to induce sleep), morning glory seeds, and even nutmeg.

Of interest in talking about LSD is the frequent use of superlatives (either pro or con) in referring to the experience, e.g., "It permits you to see, more clearly than our perishing mortal eye can see, vistas beyond the horizons of this life, to travel backwards and forwards in time, to enter other planes of existence, even . . . to know God."⁵ It is no wonder that, with such an extravagant metaphysical appeal as this, many will seek "wisdom in a pill."

While some have described their "trips" in ecstatic terms, there are those whose "visions" were less than beautiful and "mind expanding." "I kept a journal while on the drugs. Later I read it and it was horrible. People were tearing each other apart. Also, I felt I was reading the worst pornography I had ever read."⁶

It is obvious that such a potent drug can be a valuable tool for investigation of the workings of the mind. At first, it was thought by some that here was a tool which could produce schizophrenia at will. But these hopes have not been realized. For reasons not germane to our discussion this model LSD psychosis has been shown not to be schizophrenia. However, the investigation of the use of LSD with noncommunicative psychotics, in patients terminally ill with cancer, in alcoholics, etc., has been rewarding and deserves further study. But it is for carefully trained scientists under carefully controlled conditions and not for a "lark" or a "trip."

In this latter connection, it is well to mention that experience has shown that the uncontrolled, irresponsible administration of LSD has been productive of severe complications. While no lethal dose has been known, there have been several deaths of people on "trips." One person, in an ecstatic moment of delusion that gravity had no effect on him, threw himself out of an upper-story window to a sudden death. Another "traveler" was restrained by friends from throwing himself in front of a subway train. Another took the drug just once, only to come into the university health clinic several days later complaining of hallucinations and acute panic. It took several weeks of hospitalization and psychotherapy to restore his equilibrium.

In 1965, a case of adverse LSD reaction at the University of California at Los Angeles neuropsychiatric institute was rare. In 1966, such cases represented twelve per cent of the patient load. Similar increases have been reported in other parts of the country.

What are the similarities of LSD experience and religious experience?

At the turn of the century William James reported, "I know more than one person who is persuaded that in the nitrous oxide trance we have a genuine metaphysical experience." He himself reports the achievement of an

⁵D. L. Farnsworth, quoted in *Journal of American Medical Association*, CLXXXV (1965), 878.

⁶Ibid.

experience of oneness, with all contrasted species being soaked up and absorbed into one being.⁷

Aldous Huxley, Alan Watts, Timothy Leary, and many others report mystical experiences of religious significance through the use of LSD. The sincerity of some of the reports of the religious aspects of LSD is questioned by a reporter to a recent conference on LSD in San Francisco: ". . . It was indicated by Timothy Leary that the resort to religious symbolism in LSD discussions was largely done to overcome middle class resistance to the drug, his feeling apparently being that no one could object to anything that was set against a religious background."⁸

A study, reported in the *Psychedelic Review*, showed that when volunteer divinity students were given psilocybin in a three hour private devotional service, nine out of ten reported a religious mystical experience as rated by independent judges. Only one of the reported experiences of the ten students in the control group was rated as a religious mystical experience.⁹

It appears that the mental ruminations and thought patterns present in any one psychedelic experience seem to depend on the personal mental constructs or expectancies one brings to the setting. These constructs also influence perceptions during the LSD sessions. For example, Sidney Cohen comments on studies where he and his assistant deliberately altered their attitudes toward the subjects. When the experimenters were friendly the subjects reported seeing ". . . beautiful patterns of warm reds and yellows and felt quite euphoric. When my co-worker and I went over in the corner and whispered, many of them became suspicious, the colors they saw turned toward pasty green or dark purple, even our faces became threatening and diabolical."¹⁰ Those anticipating a religious experience may unconsciously promote a religious context, as well as interpret the experience in terms of religious significance. The interpretations and conclusions drawn from the events of the "trip" are thus perceived and structured in terms of one's personal mental constructs which have been built up through a myriad of previous experiences and interpretations. The key to whether or not the LSD experience is a religious experience rests, perhaps, with the expectancies and interpretations of the experience.

For the Latter-day Saint there may be an exception. The prime religious experience expected of the adherents to the Church is the gaining of a testimony of the truthfulness of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. This experience is described as a feeling of surety or certainty of the validity of the Gospel. If this state of certainty is construed to be such from the events of a feeling state inherent in one's emotional experiences, then the LSD experience and the testimony experience are quite similar. On the other hand, if the testimonial source is transcendental to oneself, if it is from the Holy Ghost, then the two experiences are vastly different. Of course, God could use the LSD

⁷ William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: New American Library, 1958), p. 298.

⁸ Caspar Weinberger, "The Law and the Psychedelic Experience," *The Advocate* (Monterey, California, Dec. 1966), p. 8.

⁹ Timothy Leary, "The Religious Experience: Its Production and Interpretation," *Psychedelic Review*, III (1964), 325-326.

¹⁰ Richard Alpert and Sidney Cohen, op. cit., p. 30.

experience as a means of revelation. This, however, would be an unusual departure from the traditional revelatory avenues and, besides that, carries with it certain untoward results.

Why not use LSD as a vehicle for a type of religious experience?

Probably the most significant reason for not adopting the practice of taking LSD for religious experience, is that the avenues for religious experience are already defined and available for earnest seekers of these experiences without the inclusion of drugs as stimuli. If the Lord wished to use this means of religious awakening, He would no doubt make his will known through traditional revelatory avenues. For "toughminded" Latter-day Saints this reason is necessary and sufficient for not involving oneself with LSD for metaphysical purposes. The "tender-minded" however may like further dialogue. Widespread debasement of LSD practices makes any person or group who uses LSD or condones its use immediately suspect. Laws in some states prevent use of psychedelics except for members of the Native American Church who legally use peyote as a religious sacrament. There is evidence that those most attracted to the use of the psychedelics are often venturesome to the point of irresponsibility. Such adherents without discipline, often seeking only the consequences of the here and now, would introduce such dissident elements within the Church as to radically change or destroy it.

The use of LSD even in a structured setting with selected participants and knowledgeable "guides" does not guarantee satisfactory results for all participants. As already mentioned, many experiences would be heavenly, some would no doubt be hellish, and others nauseous. At present, there is no way of knowing beforehand the direction the stream of consciousness may take in the untrammelled state of psychedelic experience.

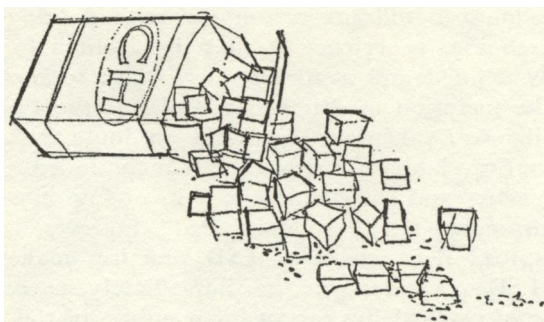
In discussing drugs which can affect the mind, either by clouding consciousness or otherwise altering it, Mormons have an acute interest. We are reminded of the verse, "In consequence of evils and designs that do and will exist in the hearts of conspiring men in the last days. . . ."¹¹ This has a poignancy today when so many are seeking "wisdom in a pill." In this context, a quote from Brigham Young is of interest, wherein he says, "The constitution that a person has should be nourished and cherished; and whenever we take anything into the system to force and stimulate it beyond its natural capacity, it shortens life." This statement made in 1859, in the Tabernacle in Salt Lake City, has a modern sound to it.

It should be of more than passing interest to note that Sigmund Freud was averse to taking drugs. While suffering much pain in his later years, due to advancing incurable cancer, he would at the most occasionally take a dose of aspirin. "I prefer to think in torment than not to be able to think clearly," he once told Stefan Zweig.

In conclusion, although the psychedelic experience may be construed as having religious significance, we believe that there are other satisfactory avenues for religious experience outside of the drug approach. Most authorities do not favor the use of LSD without close scientific supervision. Some of the initial hopes for LSD as a psychotomimetic agent have not turned out

¹¹ *Doctrine and Covenants*: 89:4.

as anticipated. Even so, most authorities agree to the vast and almost unexplored potential of the psychedelics toward the unlocking and understanding of higher mental processes, including metaphysical experience, if used in a controlled experimental setting.



HOW TO BE A MORMON SCHOLAR

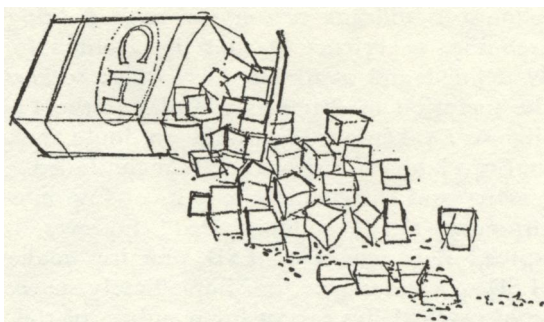
Samuel W. Taylor is a professional writer of fact and fiction. Three of his books are HEAVEN KNOWS WHY, FAMILY KINGDOM, and I HAVE SIX WIVES (not autobiographical). He is a member of the Redwood City (California) L.D.S. Ward and correspondent for the CHURCH NEWS.

While I have never hoped to qualify as a Mormon scholar, after reading three issues of *Dialogue* it dawned on me that to become one of this select group wasn't really hard at all, if you follow just two simple rules.

The first rule is to employ the word "milieu" at the earliest possible moment in your article, then sprinkle it in throughout the remainder of the piece. Of course it goes without question that you never will use a simple word when a big one can be made to fit, for instance, "historiography" rather than "history," but the key word is "milieu." This is sort of a password among the clan, and its use lets them know immediately that you are one of the boys.

The second rule, if you would take your place among this brainy milieu, is that you must somehow or other drag into your piece a reference to Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History* and lambast its inaccuracy. As item after item in the three issues contrived to do this, I was as puzzled as when, a few years back, I attended a writers' conference in the Deep South. The first lecture I attended was a scholarly discussion of the historiography of the Southern novel. Suddenly in the middle of it the speaker paused, took a sip of water, and then launched into a furious tirade about damn Yankees and the Republican party. This was greeted by wild applause, after which the speaker took another sip of water and resumed his discourse on the Southern novel. As one speaker after another over a period of a week somehow contrived to denounce Yankees and Republicans during discussions of the short story, the fact article, poetry, biography and other aspects of the writing craft, I finally realized that this was an obligatory type of regional

as anticipated. Even so, most authorities agree to the vast and almost unexplored potential of the psychedelics toward the unlocking and understanding of higher mental processes, including metaphysical experience, if used in a controlled experimental setting.



HOW TO BE A MORMON SCHOLAR

Samuel W. Taylor is a professional writer of fact and fiction. Three of his books are HEAVEN KNOWS WHY, FAMILY KINGDOM, and I HAVE SIX WIVES (not autobiographical). He is a member of the Redwood City (California) L.D.S. Ward and correspondent for the CHURCH NEWS.

While I have never hoped to qualify as a Mormon scholar, after reading three issues of *Dialogue* it dawned on me that to become one of this select group wasn't really hard at all, if you follow just two simple rules.

The first rule is to employ the word "milieu" at the earliest possible moment in your article, then sprinkle it in throughout the remainder of the piece. Of course it goes without question that you never will use a simple word when a big one can be made to fit, for instance, "historiography" rather than "history," but the key word is "milieu." This is sort of a password among the clan, and its use lets them know immediately that you are one of the boys.

The second rule, if you would take your place among this brainy milieu, is that you must somehow or other drag into your piece a reference to Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History* and lambast its inaccuracy. As item after item in the three issues contrived to do this, I was as puzzled as when, a few years back, I attended a writers' conference in the Deep South. The first lecture I attended was a scholarly discussion of the historiography of the Southern novel. Suddenly in the middle of it the speaker paused, took a sip of water, and then launched into a furious tirade about damn Yankees and the Republican party. This was greeted by wild applause, after which the speaker took another sip of water and resumed his discourse on the Southern novel. As one speaker after another over a period of a week somehow contrived to denounce Yankees and Republicans during discussions of the short story, the fact article, poetry, biography and other aspects of the writing craft, I finally realized that this was an obligatory type of regional

patriotism required of all true believers below the Mason and Dixon line. Unless you let the audience know your heart was pure, it wouldn't respect your ideas on literature. And as one Mormon scholar after another zeroed in on Fawn Brodie it became self-apparent that this was the scholar's method of bearing his testimony, without which no Mormon's article is worth consideration. By blasting Brodie's book you show that you are thinking right, because Mrs. Brodie was unchurched for the writing of it and delivered to the buffetings of Satan; but you maintain your high intellectual objectivity by referring only to its inaccuracies.

While I have no objection to the bearing of testimony, I must object to this second convention of Mormon scholars. It just isn't cricket, to my mind, to single out this one book for criticism without comparing it with other Mormon books written about Joseph Smith, and evaluating *their* accuracy. Of course no Mormon dares do this. So in my opinion if the scholar is unable to be intellectually honest on this subject, he should avoid it entirely rather than to shoot a sitting duck. It is not quite sporting to buffet someone only after she has been safely delivered to the buffetings of Satan (doesn't that put you in bad company?) while studiously avoiding criticism of a great body of writing about Joseph Smith by Mormons that is characterized not by accuracy but by adulation.

In any such comparison, Mrs. Brodie's book would come out very well. It was not inaccuracy that raised the Mormon ire, but her documentation of that which we didn't wish to believe. And then, of course, she made the fatal mistake of calling Joseph Smith insincere. In doing this, I think she must have been greatly influenced by the fact that at the time her book was in preparation the code of James Strang's diary had at last been broken. Strang, who led off one of the splinter groups from Nauvoo, was an opportunist who kept a diary filled with pious bromides, and then put into code private thoughts which reveal that he embraced religion purely as a way to power. Mrs. Brodie's thesis was that Joseph Smith began this way, but grew into the full stature of a prophet; unfortunately, she didn't have evidence such as the diary of Strang to support it, and disaster befell her. But except for this thesis, I am sure that her book can hold its own very well for accuracy with other Mormon books on the subject, and certainly should not be singled out of the pack on this account.

In his "answer" to the Brodie book, *No, Ma'am, That's Not History*, Hugh Nibley spends considerable time lauding Eduard Meyer's *Origin and History of the Mormons* and the author himself, whom Nibley calls, "The most learned man who ever made a study of the Mormons, and one of the best-informed men who ever lived." Nibley continues, "At the end of the last century the great tradition of European scholarship in the grand style culminated in the person of Eduard Meyer." Yet, curiously, the very passage in Meyer's book which most excited Nibley's admiration was not quoted at all but was condensed into a capsule. The full quotation follows:

The opponents of the Church have often raised a question as to how the absurd tales of the Book of Mormon, and the foolish revelations of the Prophet, which contradict all reason, could be literally accepted as God's communication to man; the question further expresses incredulity that Smith's followers could have deluded themselves by believing in their Prophet's divine calling in view of his human weak-

nesses and the crimes which he committed. The answer which they offer is decisive and irrefutable. The Bible also contains numerous stories which are as absurd as those of the Book of Mormon if they are to be literally accepted — and such circles, whether Mormon or Gentile, admit of no other interpretation. But God's ways are not those of man, and a human scale of values may not be imposed upon His actions; man shall rather humble himself and accept the divine will and its manifestations as such, without exalting his own intelligence. This is completely correct: the journey of the Jaredites to America in miraculous enclosed boats, led by God, is no more absurd than the literal story of the Flood. Anyone who can believe the story of Daniel, the Apocalypse, or the battles described in Chronicles, and many other such tales, can accept the Book of Mormon without the slightest difficulty. And looking at the moral scruples of Smith, there is again no problem for the believer. Assuming that all of the accusations brought against him *are* true, does not the Bible tell of grave sins and misdeeds committed by Abraham, Moses, David and Solomon, men who were nevertheless chosen prophets of God? Solomon, who even fell away from God, and introduced the worship of idols into Jerusalem? Did not Peter deny the Lord, and dispose of Ananias and Sapphira, and become the rock upon which Christ wished to build his church? God chooses whom He will, without having to give an account of Himself; apparently, as these stories teach, He has a predilection for sinners and criminals. Thus, all reproaches made against Smith's character can cast no suspicion upon his inspiration. He remains the chosen instrument of God, who chose him as His mouthpiece. Herein lay the main strength of the Church, and the secret of the powerful propaganda which it exerted; in its midst was a genuine Prophet, from whom the living word of God resounded, a steady source of advice for every contingency which might arise, and a fulfillment of the ancient Biblical prophecies which others vainly sought to discredit. [English translation published by University of Utah Press (1961), pp. 98-99.]

PSYCHOSEXUAL IDENTITY AND THE MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIP

C. Jess Groesbeck, M.D., is in his second year of residency in psychiatry at Letterman General Hospital in San Francisco. He is married (four children) and serves as an L.D.S. stake mission president.

When Sigmund Freud introduced the idea that sex played a greater part in man's development than had traditionally been thought, it caused an impact on every area of human knowledge. The impact was probably greatest in the area of the understanding of the psychosexual role development of man and woman and its relationship to love (with its immature manifestations).¹ Later psychiatrists and psychoanalysts have also elaborated and developed important

¹ Sigmund Freud, *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex, The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, translated and edited by A. A. Brill (New York, 1938), p. 553-604.

nesses and the crimes which he committed. The answer which they offer is decisive and irrefutable. The Bible also contains numerous stories which are as absurd as those of the Book of Mormon if they are to be literally accepted — and such circles, whether Mormon or Gentile, admit of no other interpretation. But God's ways are not those of man, and a human scale of values may not be imposed upon His actions; man shall rather humble himself and accept the divine will and its manifestations as such, without exalting his own intelligence. This is completely correct: the journey of the Jaredites to America in miraculous enclosed boats, led by God, is no more absurd than the literal story of the Flood. Anyone who can believe the story of Daniel, the Apocalypse, or the battles described in Chronicles, and many other such tales, can accept the Book of Mormon without the slightest difficulty. And looking at the moral scruples of Smith, there is again no problem for the believer. Assuming that all of the accusations brought against him *are* true, does not the Bible tell of grave sins and misdeeds committed by Abraham, Moses, David and Solomon, men who were nevertheless chosen prophets of God? Solomon, who even fell away from God, and introduced the worship of idols into Jerusalem? Did not Peter deny the Lord, and dispose of Ananias and Sapphira, and become the rock upon which Christ wished to build his church? God chooses whom He will, without having to give an account of Himself; apparently, as these stories teach, He has a predilection for sinners and criminals. Thus, all reproaches made against Smith's character can cast no suspicion upon his inspiration. He remains the chosen instrument of God, who chose him as His mouthpiece. Herein lay the main strength of the Church, and the secret of the powerful propaganda which it exerted; in its midst was a genuine Prophet, from whom the living word of God resounded, a steady source of advice for every contingency which might arise, and a fulfillment of the ancient Biblical prophecies which others vainly sought to discredit. [English translation published by University of Utah Press (1961), pp. 98-99.]

PSYCHOSEXUAL IDENTITY AND THE MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIP

C. Jess Groesbeck, M.D., is in his second year of residency in psychiatry at Letterman General Hospital in San Francisco. He is married (four children) and serves as an L.D.S. stake mission president.

When Sigmund Freud introduced the idea that sex played a greater part in man's development than had traditionally been thought, it caused an impact on every area of human knowledge. The impact was probably greatest in the area of the understanding of the psychosexual role development of man and woman and its relationship to love (with its immature manifestations).¹ Later psychiatrists and psychoanalysts have also elaborated and developed important

¹ Sigmund Freud, *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex, The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, translated and edited by A. A. Brill (New York, 1938), p. 553-604.

insights in this field; two of them are Erik H. Erikson and Erich Fromm.² The significance of some of these insights has relevance to the revolutionary theological contributions of Mormonism to this same area, particularly to the psychosexual roles of man and woman and their function in the marriage relationship.

Psychoanalyst Erich Fromm has formulated a theory of love and psychosexual development as follows. The basic condition of man is being alone, separate, and estranged from others, as well as himself. This condition of separateness arouses anxiety, anxiety of such intensity that he would become insane if he could not reach out and unite himself with others and the world outside. The process whereby this union is achieved most satisfactorily is through love. Fromm then sees man's deepest need as that of overcoming his aloneness and separateness by union with others through love. However, it is in the experience of love, as opposed to intellectualization, that this union is effected most completely. In addition to this universal, existential need for union, Fromm feels there is a more specific biological union of masculine and feminine polarity as a model for union via love. Biologically *each* man and woman has both masculine and feminine hormones; the man has predominantly masculine but also feminine ones, and the woman vice versa. In each individual there must be a delicate balance maintained for normal functioning. Man, according to Fromm, also has this masculine-feminine polarity *psychologically*. That is, each normal male has those qualities or character traits of masculinity and femininity (masculine greater than feminine) in his psychological make up just as he possesses hormones biologically — the female, of course, vice versa. The masculine traits are those of penetration, guidance, activity, discipline, and adventurousness; and the feminine traits are productive receptivity, protection, realism, endurance, and motherliness. Thus each man and woman must find union of his or her masculine-feminine polarity, both biologically and psychologically, *within* the self to be a mature, healthy, functioning individual. As this is achieved, he or she can reach out to *another person* of the opposite sex and find union in love. In this relationship of "becoming as one," the man contributes the masculine elements, and the woman the feminine. Here, the biological model of sexual intercourse is a prototype. As in that act, man and woman become "one flesh," they do so psychologically in their emotional relationship. This concept of masculine-feminine polarity is expressed in the ancient myth that originally man and woman were one; that they were cut in half; and from then on each has been seeking for the lost female part of himself in order to reunite with her.³

There are many parallels between Fromm's concept of psychological man and Mormonism's doctrine of spiritual man. Mormon doctrine states that one's sexual identity (i.e., male or female) is part of the basic structure of man's eternal being. Masculine-feminine polarity could be said to exist in a spiritual sense as well as psychological and biological sense. Mormon writings explain that in the "pre-existence," individual spirits were male or female.⁴

² Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York, 1963), pp. 48-108. Erich Fromm, *The Art of Loving* (New York, 1962).

³ Fromm, *Ibid.*, pp. 8-38. I have summarized these pages in this paragraph.

⁴ Wendell O. Rich, *Distinctive Teachings of the Restoration* (Salt Lake City, 1962), pp. 106-109. Orson Pratt, *Journal of Discourses, XIX* (Liverpool, England, 1879), 281.

And the Doctrine and Covenants (76:22-24) notes that the inhabitants of worlds are begotten *sons* and *daughters* unto God. The highest goal of man, as seen in Mormon theology, is partaking of exaltation in the Celestial Kingdom of God, wherein man becomes as God. But a man or woman alone cannot achieve this. They must "partake of Celestial marriage for time and eternity" with each other to become as "one flesh," and the most important attribute and privilege of "Godhood" is begetting spiritual offspring.⁵

The husband-wife relationship, then becomes the central relationship in the Plan of Salvation. And achieving the optimum implies fulfilling one's masculine or feminine role in every sense of the word. Scriptures from the Bible are used by Mormon writers to develop the concept of an ideal marriage relation. For example, in Ephesians 5:21-32 Paul compares the relationship of husband and wife with that of Christ and His Church. Just as Christ is Head of the Church, so the husband is head of the wife. The implications of this analogy are that if one understands all that goes into the relationship of Christ to His Church, he will have an idea of the ideal marriage relation between husband and wife. In I Peter 3:1-7, Peter further describes the ideal husband-wife relationship. The man is head of the woman; he directs and leads in the spirit of love. The woman is in subjection as wife and "weaker vessel" with a "meek and quiet spirit," who is of "great price in the sight of God." In other words, it may be said that this is how man and woman express their masculinity and femininity in the marriage relation — the man leading and the woman following.

If the order in the relationship between Christ and His Church were inverted, that is, the Church became Head over Christ, confusion and chaos would result. This, in fact, is the Mormon claim of what occurred with the passing of the Savior and His Apostles. The Church lost its direction from the Head and began to direct its own course. This is known to us as the "Great Apostasy." Likewise, if the relationship between husband and wife were inverted, and the wife took over the husband's role and vice versa, confusion and chaos would ensue in the marriage and family organization. Children would grow up in confusion about their roles, and the whole family structure would be undermined. This would follow because of the fact that children learn to be adults (hence husbands and wives and fathers and mothers) by identifying with their parents (i.e., boys with their fathers and girls with their mothers). If they have no adequate models, the Plan of Salvation, according to Mormon theology, could not be carried out successfully.

That the above inversion of husband-wife roles occurred and was a significant factor in the Great Apostasy from Christ's Church is the theme of a little known discourse on marriage purportedly given by the Prophet Joseph Smith.⁶ Though there is less than certainty as regarding its authorship, re-

⁵ See Bible, Gen. 2:24. See Doctrine and Covenants 132:12-25.

⁶ "A Little Known Discourse By The Prophet Joseph Smith," from the biography of Warren and Amanda Smith (unpublished). I have not seen the original account but only an alleged copy of it. It is significant, though, that this account is almost the same as a portion of a larger treatise on marriage supposedly put forth by Joseph Smith over the name of Udney Hay Jacob, an early Church member (See Udney Hay Jacob, "An Israelite, and a Shepherd of Israel; An extract from a manuscript entitled The Peacemaker, or the Doctrines of the Millennium," Nauvoo, Ill., 1842. Joseph Smith is listed as printer. See also Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (Knopf, N.Y., 1960), pp. 298-299. Though there is still

regardless of its origin the thesis is revolutionary in emphasizing a different than traditional view as to causes of the Apostasy from Christ's Church. That is, inversion of the roles of husband and wife destroyed the Patriarchal Order and hence undermined the whole family organization. As a consequence, according to the discourse, the change of formal doctrines and ordinances followed. Most importantly, the discourse reveals the consequences in marriage when the appropriate psychosexual roles were not adhered to.

The problem of masculine-feminine role inversion is also one of the significant problems of our own time. It can be said to be part of the "identity crisis" that social observers have noted. Vita S. Sommers wrote "Problems of identity constitute the most serious and distinctive psychological disorder of our time, in the opinion of many social scientists, including psychoanalysts." Greenson, one of the major contributors to the understanding of this problem, has gone so far as to call it "the American disease."⁷

More specifically, role inversion in marriage can be evidenced in the changed concept of equality. Whereas equality originally meant that since man and woman are basically and qualitatively different, each should have full opportunity to express his or her masculine or feminine role (100-100 relationship). The concept has now come to mean "50-50" in carrying out marriage tasks. This implies that men and women are "equals" because they aren't different any more.⁸ This form of equality is defended in the name of "fairness" as well as efficiency and convenience. Brigham Young stated that ". . . evil is inverted truth, a correct principle made an evil use of."⁹ This Mormon theological concept of evil could be applied to the situation of marriage role inversion; for the sake of "equality" (or sameness), man and woman sacrifice their appropriate psychosexual roles for "fairness," and efficiency and convenience, in marriage.

Inversion of psychosexual roles in parents is a significant factor in the development of homosexuality. During the critical years from three to seven, children begin to learn their role mainly from the parents of their own sex. If this is disturbed, it is an important factor in a homosexual orientation in the child. For example, a boy can become so anxious in close relations with

a questionable issue regarding origins, I feel the discourse and doctrine on marriage most likely came from Joseph Smith. I have studied the larger Jacob treatise as well as Brodie's comments and would, in general, agree with her interpretation that the doctrine was, at least, put out "under his auspices." Another source is found on pages 146-147 of the *Confessions of John D. Lee*, 1880 ed. (Modern Microfilm, Salt Lake City, 1965): During the winter, Joseph, the Prophet, set a man by the name of Sidney [Udney] Hay Jacobs, to select from the Old Bible such scriptures as pertained to polygamy, or celestial marriage, and to write it in among the people, to pave the way for celestial marriage. This like all other notions, met with opposition, while a few favored it. The excitement among the people became so great that the subject was laid before the Prophet. No man was more opposed to it than was his brother Hyrum, who denounced it as from beneath. Joseph saw that it would break up the Church, should he sanction it, so he denounced the pamphlet through the *Wasp*, a newspaper published at Nauvoo, by E. Robinson, as a bundle of nonsense and trash. He said if he had known its contents he would never have permitted it to be published, while at the same time other confidential men were advocating it on their own responsibility.

⁷ Vita S. Sommers, "The Impact of Dual-Cultural Membership on Identity," *Psychiatry, Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes*, XXVII (Nov. 1964), 332.

⁸ Fromm, *Art of Loving*, pp. 14-16.

⁹ Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, III (Liverpool, England, 1855), 156-157.

a domineering, castrating mother, that relations with *all* future women arouse such intense anxiety that he has an incapacitating fear of the opposite sex, and thus cannot relate in a mature heterosexual fashion. Homosexuality can be the secondary reaction and outcome. Also, if a father is too weak and ineffectual, the boy is left confused as to how one should be a male. This too can contribute to a homosexual orientation.¹⁰ Parental role inversion is only one factor in the complex problem of homosexuality, of course, but it is a significant one.

Another consequence of masculine-feminine role disturbance is in the "Don Juan" type who claims he "needs more than one woman for a lover." He feels it is because he is "more masculine" than other men. Psychiatrists have pointed out that these individuals are unsure of their masculinity and hence need to continually "prove" it to themselves and others. It is because they have tenuous and insecure masculinity that they become "woman conquerors."

Role inversion is no more clearly evidenced than in the dress and fashion of men and women today. At times it is difficult to know which is which when boy and girl walk down main street in the 1960's. If this phenomenon had only to do with fashions and clothes, it possibly could not be considered so significant. However, it mirrors a far deeper and more fundamental change in male-female relationships in our time.

Today, many women dominate men or men put themselves in subjection to them. A psychoanalyst summarized the situation as follows:

Bettelheim, in a recent article, states that our attitude toward sex has affected the young female more than the male. Our educational system fails to prepare the girl for life since she is reared "in contradiction." Education fosters thinking and acting for one's self, but femininity is couched in terms of passivity, ". . . without clearly understanding her own nature, she does not know where and when to be feminine and where or when to be equal."

A common resolution of the dilemma is control and domination of the man, even as woman herself feels dominated by him. She may also turn to her child for vicarious gratification. Maintenance of the analitic (i.e., excessive dependency) relationship prevents the male from attaining his full maturation and stature. Thus the female thwarts the male as she herself feels thwarted by him in full realization of her femininity. In the absence of a strong and satisfying father (husband) figure, the growing child is overwhelmed by maternal indulgence. Only a strong father and husband can help the child attain maturity, because he both sets the example for identification and averts the impulses of the mother to infantilize the child. The father's role is of greatest importance in disengaging the son from an engulfed relationship to his mother.

Carl Jung, the world famous psychiatrist, said the following upon observing marriage customs in Kenya and Uganda:

¹⁰ Irving Bieber, et al., *Homosexuality: A Psychoanalytic Study of Male Homosexuals* (New York, 1965).

¹¹ Frances Hannett, "The Haunting Lyric," *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, XXXIII (1964), 265-266.

I had the feeling that the confidence and self-assurance of [the wife's] manner were founded to a great extent upon her identity with her own wholeness, her private world made up of children, house, small livestock, shamba and — last but not least — her not unattractive physique. . . . I asked myself whether the growing masculinization of the white woman is not connected with the loss of her natural wholeness. (Shamba, children, livestock, house of her own, hearth fire) ; whether it is not a compensation for her impoverishment; and whether the feminizing of the white man is not further consequence. The more rational the polity, the more blurred is the difference between the sexes.¹²

Psychosexual role inversion has been seen as an increasingly important problem to the General Authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.¹³ One of the fundamental objectives of the Priesthood Correlation Program is to “help fathers to comprehend and to properly implement (the teaching of the Gospel) in their own homes among the members of their own families.”¹⁴

In conclusion, then, an attempt has been made to focus on the psychosexual roles of man and woman in the marriage relation. Insights and parallels were drawn between the writings of psychoanalysts and various doctrines and concepts of Mormon theology. Various examples of inverted and/or disturbed manifestations of this relationship were cited. A fitting conclusion to this subject comes from Brigham Young:

But the whole subject of the marriage relation is not in my reach, nor in any man's reach on this earth. It is without beginning of days or end of years; it is a hard matter to reach. We can tell some things in regard to it; for intelligent beings to be crowned with glory, immortality, and eternal lives. In fact, it is the thread to which runs from the beginning to the end of the Holy Gospel of salvation — of the Gospel of the Son of God; it is from eternity to eternity.¹⁵

¹² Carl Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (New York, 1963), pp. 223-264.

¹³ Stephen L. Richards, “The Father and the Home,” *The Improvement Era* (Salt Lake City, June, 1958), 409-411. Spencer W. Kimball, “Keep Mothers in the Home,” *Era* (October, 1963), 1071-1074.

¹⁴ *Melchizedek Priesthood Lessons, 1965* (Salt Lake City, 1965), p. 1.

¹⁵ Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, II (Liverpool, England, 1854), 90.

We are very grateful in the Church and in this great university that the freedom, dignity and integrity of the individual is basic in Church doctrine as well as in democracy. Here we are free to think and express our opinions. Fear will not stifle thought, as is the case in some areas which have not yet emerged from the dark ages. God himself refuses to trammel man's free agency even though its exercise sometimes teaches painful lessons. Both creative science and revealed religion find their fullest and truest expression in the climate of freedom.

. . . I hope that you will develop the questing spirit. Be unafraid of new ideas for they are the steppingstones of progress. You will, of course, respect the opinions of others but be unafraid to dissent — if you are informed.

Now I have mentioned freedom to express your thoughts, but I caution you that your thoughts and expressions must meet competition in the market place of thought, and in that competition truth will emerge triumphant. Only error needs to fear freedom of expression. Seek truth in all fields, and in that search you will need at least three virtues: courage, zest, and modesty. The ancients put that thought in the form of a prayer. They said, "From the cowardice that shrinks from new truth, from the laziness that is content with half truth, from the arrogance that thinks it has all the truth — oh God of truth deliver us."

*Hugh B. Brown
Brigham Young University
March 25, 1958*

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

CHANGE OF ADDRESS FOR SUMMER

The next issue of *Dialogue* (Summer) will be mailed by May 15 and reach you before school is out; the following issue (Autumn) will not be mailed until after September 15. Therefore, do *not* send us a summer change of address unless (and until) the change is permanent. Students and teachers should try to send us their school address (if it is new) by September 15.

BACK ISSUES

A limited number of issues 1 (reprints), 3, and 4 are available at \$2.50. Issue number 2 (Summer, 1966) is sold out, but those interested should write (send no money) so that we can reserve copies in case there is a reprinting. If you have not received by this time back issues you have ordered in the past, please notify us immediately with full details.

COMING SOON IN DIALOGUE:

Samuel Taylor on "peculiar people and positive thinkers," the dilemma of the Mormon writer.

Kenneth R. Hardy, Stephen L. Tanner, and Arvo Van Alstyne on the role of church and state in defining and controlling "pornography."

Armand L. Mauss on Mormonism and the Negro — faith, folklore, and civil rights.

Douglas Wilson on prospects for the study of the Book of Mormon as a work of American Literature.

Martin Hickman on Hyrum Andrus's *Liberalism, Conservatism, and Mormonism*.

George Boyd on Truman Madsen's *Eternal Man*.

OPEN HOUSE FOR SUBSCRIBERS

On Friday evening, April 7, from 8:30 until 11:00 p.m., all subscribers and friends are invited to meet members of the Board of Editors and Editorial Staff at a reception in the Presidents' Room of the Hotel Utah in Salt Lake City.

