

Dialogue:

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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Dialogue:

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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

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In the Autumn issue there is a typographical error on page 83 in the eighth line from the bottom of the page; the line should read: "that approach has obviously *not* stopped the growing number" (the *not* was left out).

Much of what we do organizationally, then, is scaffolding as we seek to build the individual, and we must not mistake the scaffolding for the soul. . . . We must not lose ourselves in the mechanics of leadership, and neglect the spiritual.

*Harold B. Lee
L.D.S. General Priesthood Meeting
September 30, 1967*

Leaders worthy of the name, whether they are university presidents or senators, corporation executives or newspaper editors, school superintendents or governors, contribute to the continuing definition and articulation of the most cherished values of our society. They offer, in short, moral leadership.

So much of our energy has been devoted to tending the machinery of our complex society that we have neglected this element in leadership. . . . When leaders lose their credibility or their moral authority, then the society begins to disintegrate.

Leaders have a significant role in creating the state of mind that is the society. They can serve as symbols of the moral unity of the society. They can express the values that hold the society together. Most important, they can conceive and articulate goals that lift people out of their petty preoccupations, carry them above the conflicts that tear a society apart, and unite them in the pursuit of objectives worthy of their best efforts.

*John W. Gardner,
"The Antileadership Vaccine," from the 1965
Annual Report, Carnegie Corporation of New York*

In This Issue

As this issue was going to press, news was released of presentation to the Church of eleven fragments of the papyrus scrolls from which Joseph Smith obtained the Book of Abraham in the Pearl of Great Price. *Dialogue* has obtained photographs of all eleven fragments and publishes the first part of them in this issue, as well as important information concerning their recovery and significance through interviews with Aziz S. Atiya, who helped recover them for the Church, and Henry G. Fischer, Curator of the Egyptian Collection at New York's Metropolitan Museum where they were recovered.

The relevance of Mormon doctrine and experience to what are likely the two most compelling concerns of this decade—civil rights and Vietnam—are explored in depth in this issue. Armand L. Mauss, in our lead essay, explicates the Church's position on the Negro, separating folklore from clearly established doctrines and policies, and vigorously denies, on the basis of some original sociological research, the allegation that the Church's position makes Mormons more prejudiced than others. In the Roundtable, Ray C. Hillam, Eugene England, and John Sorenson attempt in quite different ways to assess the political and moral costs of the war in Vietnam and to define responses for the future based on legitimate national interests and the dictates of a conscience informed by Mormon principles and training.

Sterling McMurrin claims that B. H. Roberts has been, since his death in 1933, a much-neglected figure in the Church. In this issue there is special attention to that great Mormon theologian and historian through Davis Bitton's review of a recent biography and also a reprinting of McMurrin's own introduction to a new publication of Roberts's *Joseph Smith, the Prophet-teacher*.

We invite readers to submit sermons they have heard or given (or would like to give) for a section that has been somewhat neglected in recent issues, From the Pulpit. In this issue, that section has a sermon on two quite different kinds of Mormons (Liahonas and Iron Rods) which was given by Richard Poll with a view to helping each kind better understand the other—and each to be better reconciled to the other in what they most deeply share. And that is *Dialogue's* wish for all its readers and for all men for the coming year.

Letters to the Editors

The Sketches of San Francisco in this section are by Paul Ellingson.

Dear Sirs:

Re: Secretary Udall's letter
The Lord has not spoken,
The Prophet is silent,
And so am I.

Alexander T. Stecker
Belmont, Massachusetts

Dear Sirs:

You wanted a Dialogue—so now you have a dialogue; almost an avalanche. And I think it's the best thing that has happened since zippers.

I don't want to enter into a defense of Mr. Udall's right to speak, even if he doesn't have his 100% attendance awards, although it seems to me that everyone has that right to speak (even as a Mormon, if he has *any* claim to being one) no matter how irregular his Church attendance. After all, we have all kinds of Mormons, even if you only count those who have "earned" their awards.

And I don't want to enter into the problems of simple, lowly, uninformed members and their rights, duties and/or responsibilities to discuss current problems with their (our) leaders, although I don't know of any of our leaders who do not welcome (some even solicit) such discussions. I must add that I have long wondered why I have never seen a solicitation in a teacher's supplement asking the user to forward his comments to the general board.

All that by way of introduction: there is an aspect of the discussion of race and Church provoked by Mr. Udall's letter, that I think deserves discussion. I boil and seethe when some members of my quorum refuse to accept home teaching assignments to the homes of our colored (Negro) members of record! And when Church members translate whatever sanction a black skin imposes within the Church into their daily lives and will not (for instance) sell a home to a man because he has a dark skin ("You've got to protect the neighborhood"), I conclude that something is amiss.



I understood President Joseph Fielding Smith to say that we—the Church—believe in *full* civil rights for every man. I firmly and emphatically believe that that pronouncement means not merely the minimum of rights that we can by referendum specify (or specify against); I believe it means the full complement of rights which I expect for myself, living in this land as the descendant of those who first came in 1630 and who fought in every war (including the short lived one in the Carthage jail) in which our people have been engaged.

There is a great day coming and there is going to be some blood spilled. I don't

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believe that that fight will be because the Church forbids the (African) Negro the priesthood, but will be rather because this Church member and that Church member (along with a lot of his neighbors who so "admire" the Church) so infringe and limit the inherent personal liberty and freedom belonging to another human being that revolution is inevitable.

And in sum, if I were dark-skinned, I'd belong to the Black Muslims. After all, they teach abstinence from tobacco and liquor; these are the important things, aren't they?

William L. Knecht
Oakland, California

are able to be in the temple when the first Negroes come for endowments."

At the time my wife and I were sealed in the Los Angeles Temple, I was also serving in the U.S. Navy. The exquisite beauty of the temple ceremony and the thoughts of my many Negro shipmates worked together in my mind to pose several questions. I wrote to Joseph Fielding Smith and later to David O. McKay in an honest attempt to understand the Church's relation to Negroes. The only reply was a very brief note from Pres. McKay's secretary stating that Negroes could not hold the priesthood.



Dear Sirs:

A combination of factors is currently focusing attention on the dissent within the Mormon Church regarding the Church's attitude toward Negroes. Indeed, the Mormon sociologist Armand L. Mauss has indicated that perhaps as many as one-third of the Church's members openly express doubts about the present Negro "doctrine" (*Pacific Sociological Review*, Fall 1966, p. 95). Recently the bishop of the San Francisco Ward has made an interesting, and perhaps significant, ruling affecting members who express doubts.

To indicate just what personal significance this ruling has had to me, I might first mention that I grew up having very little contact with Negroes. While the issue was never a pressing one to me, I remember being taught that the Church's stand was a practice, but certainly not a doctrine revealed by God. My parents both hoped that changes were just in the offing. Neither one viewed the acceptance of the Church's stand as necessary for full participation in Church activities. My mother told me several times, "I hope your father and I

I continued my study of the question and, in prayer and fasting, sought the "burning feeling." In all humility I must say that God has not inspired me to feel good about the Church's practices regarding Negroes. In fact, I have come to feel very strongly that the practices are not right and that they are a powerful hindrance to the accepting of the gospel by the Negro people.

As a result of my belief, when my wife and I went to San Francisco Ward's bishop to renew our temple recommends, he told us that anyone who could not accept the Church's stand on Negroes as divine doctrine was not supporting the General Authorities and could not go to the temple. Later, in an interview with the stake president we were told the same thing: if you express doubts about the divinity of this "doctrine" you cannot go to the temple.

At first, my wife and I were both surprised and hurt. Since then, however—while disappointed at not being able to go to the temple—we have realized that our bishop's ruling is not yet a common

one in the Church. Were a general pronouncement to this effect to be made I would worry about the fate of the Mormons who honestly feel the practice should be changed; I strongly believe that it is their dissent which will provide us with a Christian answer to the Negro Question.

Grant Syphers (Jr.)
San Francisco, California

Dear Sirs:

It is unfortunate that Vernon B. Romney and some others in their letters last issue aimed to discredit Mr. Udall as an individual rather than addressing their comments to the points he raised. This is typical of the evasiveness one often encounters from active members regarding the Church's Negro policy, along with its formidable implications (some of which were clearly brought out by Mr. Nelson and Mr. Lobb in their letters).

One cannot overlook or lightly dismiss the fact that the Church was grappling with a problem of similar magnitude toward the end of the last century. Some of the most influential leaders in that day considered the doctrine of plural marriage to be of such fundamental importance as to be irrevocable. Apostle Lorenzo Snow, in 1886, stated that the doctrine of plural marriage would not be changed, regardless of the consequences (*Historical Record*, Vol. 5, pp. 143-4). In 1884, Apostle George Teasdale stated:

"I believe in plural marriage as a part of the Gospel, just as much as I believe in baptism by immersion for the remission of sins. The same Being who taught me baptism for the remission of sins taught me plural marriage, and its necessity and glory. Can I afford to give up a single principle? I can not. If I had to give up one principle I would have to give up my religion. If I gave up the first principle of the revelations of the Lord, I would prove before my brethren, before the angels, before God the Eternal Father, that I was unworthy the exaltation that He has promised me. I do not know how you feel; but I do not fear the face of man as I fear the face of God. I fear lest when I go behind the veil and have to meet my progenitors that I should meet them as a traitor, as a man who had not the backbone to stand by the principles of

righteousness for fear of my life; or for fear of some calamity that might come upon me. How would they look upon me? How we would be condemned if we dared suggest such a thing as to say that we would give up the first principle of eternal truth! I bear my testimony that plural marriage is as true as any principle that has been revealed from the heavens. I bear my testimony that it is a necessity, and that the Church of Christ in its fullness never existed without it. Where you have the eternity of marriage you are bound to have plural marriage; bound to; and it is one of the marks of the Church of Jesus Christ in its sealing ordinances." (*Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 25, p. 21.)

Yet, when the intolerable implications of the continued practice of plural marriage were made sufficiently clear, the doctrinal change followed. Hopefully the possibility of such an adjustment still exists in our day.

Bruce S. Romney
Kinnaird, British Columbia

Dear Sirs:

I enclose the following poem in the spirit of *Dialogue's* recent interest in sex in literature.

Birdwatchers

With abruptest possible apologies to Ginsberg, Cummings,
And their ilk, and all the unsol- and ill-
icited

Punk and expunc-tuated (!) psst—

[sic] SEX and old etceteras—

Plus, of course,

Innuendoes—

It seems to me that any silly jack or jill

Who's been around a bit and, really,

Married for, say, twenty

Years or so,

Knows

A nested bird in hand is worth any number of twitterings about in the bush.

Richard Ellsworth

Brigham Young University

Dear Sirs:

. . . I was quite pleased to know that there were some Mormons over thirty interested in our activities.

As to who we are, it is very difficult to explain in a few words.

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I was born the son of a share cropper and union organizer. Most of my youth was spent following the Air Force as my father was an expert on building runways. So I really have no one place to call home. I was born in Illinois in 1932, but I adopted Utah as my home when I became a Mormon in 1952.

Though I've only lived here off and on the total of three years, I have spent an equal amount of time, off and on, in Mexico and Cuba. I'm as attached to them as any place in the world.

In 1956, I enlisted in the Green Berets along with two other Mormon boys. Soon thereafter I became involved in the Cuban Revolution. My main duties were gathering medical supplies and funds and turning them over to Jose Alvarez, Commander of the 26th of JULY-Ebor City Brigade in Ebor City, Florida. [We] then helped smuggle them over to the brigade of Americans and Canadians under the command of Major William Alexander Morgan.

The next six years of my life are mixed with many other events. For instance, I was at one time chairman of the Housing Committee for Racial Equality in Florida. In 1958, I was charged with bigamy. The charge was brought against me by Roy Baden, Sheriff of Manatee County in Florida and head of the Ku Klux Klan of South Florida. There ensued, during the next five years, a dramatic game of tag between the Right Wing of Florida and myself. Each time they caught me I would fight my way back out with a typewriter. They caught me three times during a period of 6 years and I served a total of 38 months altogether.

While in prison I became one of the founders of the Human Bond. During the period that I was an officer in it, we freed a total of 1800 prisoners outright in Florida and brought about the freedom of another 3000 indirectly throughout the South and reduced the sentences of another 6000 in the South in general.

The most famous of these was the Clarence E. Gideon case (*Gideon's Trumpet*, Random House), in which Gideon claims more for the victory than he deserves. The man who at least deserves half the credit is Al House. When the Right Wing learned of his role in the Gideon Case, Al was placed in total isolation for the re-

maining 8 years of his sentence. His age at that time (1964) was 72 years. This man deserves more credit for what happened than any other. Though he has freed many men he has nothing for himself.

As a young bandit, he robbed the Havana-Tampa Cigar Co. so many times (and shot the warden in an escape) that the Cigar Co. and the State of Florida built a special prison for him, notoriously known as the Flat Top, within the prison. They welded the door shut on him and left him there for ten years. Some time during the second year a Jehovah's Witness, feeling sorry for him, got him a Bible and some law books. How many times he must have read these I do not know, but he became a terrific lawyer. Belli and other lawyers have done no more for their fellow man. The last time I heard of Al House, he was seriously ill with pneumonia. I doubt that he will ever see free light again.



I write the above because I feel that many events in history are never known except in the circles in which they take place. And therefore whenever there is a chance to leave a record somewhere it should be taken advantage of.

Getting back to my own life: in 1963 I became the only effective commander of what was left of the 26th of JULY Brigade in Florida. Many officers of the brigade felt that we ought to become more involved in radical American politics.

I wrote to a former roommate, Steve Martinot, who was then a leading member of the up and coming Progressive Labor Movement and one of the chief organizers of the trips to Cuba in 1960, '63 and '64. In reply Steve sent Jacob Rosen, first student leader of an unauthorized group trip to China of over 100 Americans in 1958, and Eddy Lamanski, head of the Freedom House of Monroe, North Carolina, and leader of the group of students who went to Cuba in '64 to see me, and between all

of us we established the Progressive Labor Movement of Florida. I was elected Chairman of the Movement, so as you can see I was quite busy at this period inasmuch as I was still on parole and had to keep somewhat undercover.

The Alpha 66 and Artemis Revolutionary Recovery groups were making serious raids on the North Cuban coast from Florida bases, so at this time the Florida Brigade had to make some military maneuvers in International waters. At the same time, as the Progressive Labor Movement, we engaged in political dialogue with the Right Wing forces of Florida and the Cuban Exile Community, whose leadership was heavily led by fascists of the Franco variety (the minutemen of post-Castro days).

As you can see by the above, I could write a book and not have everything included.

My wife was born Ceres Munoz in 1941 in Havana, Cuba. She has lived off and on in the United States and Cuba and received the greatest portion of her education in Key West. I met her briefly when she was an eleven-year-old tomboy. At 15, she was naturalized a citizen. When she was 16 she married Hector Diaz, playboy turned revolutionary. Her husband left her when she was 17 to serve in the Revolution; she stayed home to pack bandages. After it was obvious that he was not coming back, she began to seek solace in religion and finally became a Mormon when she was 20. At 23 she became Secretary to the Progressive Labor Party of Florida, with the military rank of Captain in the 26th of JULY Movement. We were married at this time and she now pronounces her name Kiris (Latin) instead of Ceres (Greek).

We both separated from the P.L.P. in the spring of 1966 as did many of our comrades in the 26th when it plunged into a hard Marxist line, since many of us were of a variety of religions and philosophies and considered Marxism important only as an historical study of economics.

Of course, this is hard to explain to four-square meal, book-bred revolutionaries in the United States, let alone liberals and conservatives.

As to what we are now doing—we are drawing up on our experiences and edu-

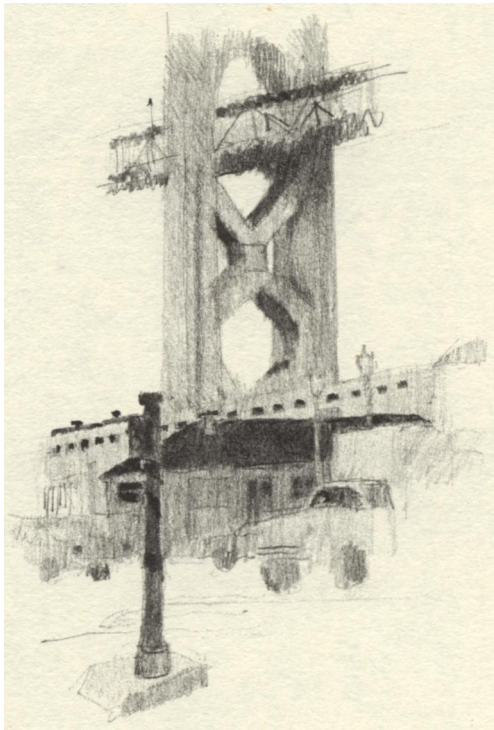
cation to try and build a hard progressive movement.

The Free Mormon Brigade will become, I hope, a hard core for future moves such as organizing a trip to Cuba for Utahns in the near future (hopefully this summer [1967]).

By this time next year we will probably have organized the American Democratic Party in Utah. It will be left of the liberal Democrats of Utah, Anti-Viet war, pro-Civil Rights, pro-Medi-Care for everyone, in short, hold up the banner of the vanguard for progress and try to keep the dialogue two sided even if we never win an election.

I hope this answers most of your questions as to who we are, why we are here and what we are going to do.

Jack and Kiris Freeman
Murray, Utah



Dear Sirs:

. . . It comes as a disappointment to me that my essay ["Morality or Empathy," Spring, 1967] should provoke no more in Brother Gwynn's mind than a Pavlovian response to swear words [Letters to the Editors, Autumn, 1967].

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I am sorry I violated Brother Gwynn's innocence. I have often wished I could live in his ideal world of black and white, but I cannot. My world is one of continually changing shades of gray.

Dialogue offers me the opportunity of viewing Mormonism from many angles, as well as expressing my own disquieting viewpoints. For this I am grateful.

Ronald Wilcox
Dallas, Texas

Dear Sirs:

I, too, have been concerned about the L.D.S. girls who marry outside the Church as well as about those who do not marry at all, but the reasons I have observed were only incidentally alluded to by Deon and Ken Price. [Autumn, 1967].

I have known pretty girls who want nothing more than to date and marry young men of their own faith, but the simple fact is that they have never been asked.

While glamour is played down in the average Church girl's upbringing, it would appear to be increasingly more appealing to the average young L.D.S. man, far more so, it would often seem, than a sweet, pleasant disposition or the more enduring "home traits" the Church works to foster.

And so often failing in his own ward, or even in his own Church, to find that eye-appealing, style-appealing allure which he knows is elsewhere, our young man goes elsewhere, and then proceeds to convert his "find" to his own faith, something which statistics show is easier for a man than a woman in a similar position to do.

Perhaps it would be more appropriate, and more profitable for the girls, at least, if a research article were prepared and published discussing why so many L.D.S. boys marry outside the Church.

Ann Fletcher
Reno, Nevada

Dear Sirs:

I chanced to read a copy of your Autumn, 1966, issue and was rather impressed with Eugene England's sermon, "That They Might Not Suffer."

I am wondering if you might send me a copy of this sermon, and if you would permit me to reproduce this on Xerox for use in classroom to illustrate what appears

to me to be representative of some of the best thought-out apologetic on behalf of Mormonism which I, to this date, have encountered.

Also, if you have someone in this area to represent this spirit and scholarship representative of *Dialogue*, I should appreciate your sending me his name and address, for I should like to discuss with him the possibility of his visit to our campus to speak in our chapel and/or classroom.

Richard H. Petersen, Chaplain
Pfeiffer College, North Carolina

Dear Sirs:

For a writer, "Mormon" or otherwise, to claim for himself such talent, such insight, such wisdom and such all-knowledge as does Samuel W. Taylor in his "Peculiar People, Positive Thinkers," and then resort to glib and unauthoritative charges and conclusions assuming to speak for "his" church, is surely not worthy of a good writer. If "Sam" has an axe to grind, I'm sure his elders will indulge him. Most, if not all, of the censure Brother Taylor alludes to is borne in the minds of self-styled writers and critics within the church. Anyone who doesn't see God, revelation and church government—and history—as they see it is immediately imperious, dictatorial or archaic. So often these members (for they make a point of loudly claiming for all to see and hear that they are members) see, with the help of their God-given right of free agency, the present day failings of "their" church and "their" church leadership while remaining, by some inexplicable miracle, completely objective, rational and authoritative themselves.

I have read, seemingly, from the beginning of *Dialogue* several authors berating the L.D.S. Church for continually apologizing for its embarrassing history and heritage, as well as its current stand on most world issues. However, it should not be concluded that much apologizing has been done, or is being done relative to this church and its stand on spiritual matters. Specific areas of this church's history deal with controversial matters. But let it be understood that private interpretation of what was and/or has been doctrinal parts and practices of this church is of no great importance. What is important is to under-

stand, in true perspective, these principles as God gave them and intended them. Plural marriage was required of those who were taught its meaning and place, and if Brother Taylor will trouble himself to obtain the facts, a true and abiding percentage participation figure may be had. And contrary to his loose supply of information, it has not been altered with time. . . .

One does not have to research far to find many human failings in the administration of God's affairs. However, it should again be pointed out that the way of life, the plan of life outlined in the gospel of Jesus Christ, is perfect. And what man is capable of judging the things of God, well? God has said, *any understanding of God will come of God.*

Brother Taylor would, I am sure, love to be one—first or not—to write, produce, direct and possibly act in a smash Broadway production involving some earthy involvement of "Mormon" Church history. Judging from what, seemingly, Broadway requires for success, something of profanity, obscenity, filth and human misery could be moulded into a hit, if for no other reason than that many Broadway goers would relish some "Mormon" dirt dished up by a "Mormon."

In the finale of his article, Brother Taylor fortifies his abuse of the forthrightness of the leadership of "his" Church by stating his stand for truth. Brother Taylor, you are so right, truth needs no defending. And here is why you and your kind will never bait the honorable men you so glibly malign into response. They won't come down to you, Sam, you'll have to hope to get up to them.

J. Maurice Clayton
Salt Lake City, Utah

The following poem was written in response to Samuel Taylor's article in the Spring DIALOGUE on positive thinkers in the Church. [Ed.]

SPECTRAL

Our ontology is the valley of death and the
cactus flower,
The fern of the highlands and the condor
winging.
We must get beyond the sleight and decor-
um
Of repartee, and among the evanescent
shades

Exhume the variety of insight that devised
belief.

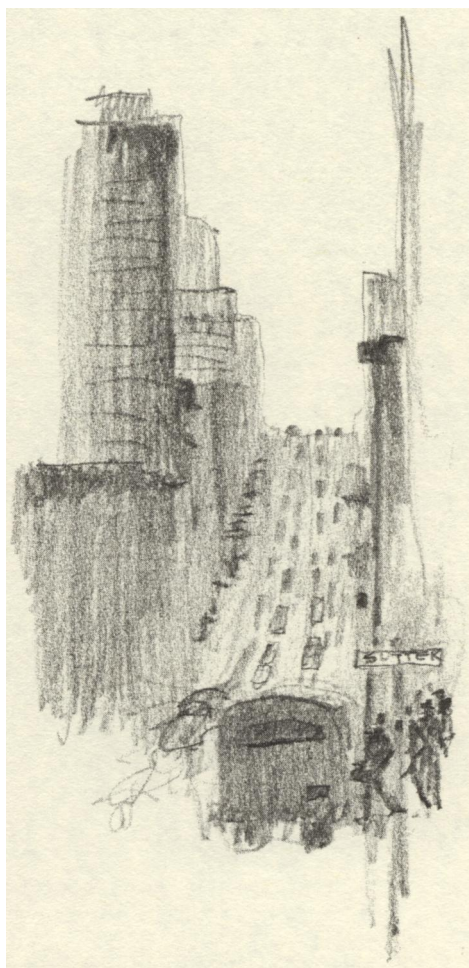
Belief extends into the valley of death, where
the sun

Spurts the flame that dips as if reaching,
Where the deep lakes fail in the platinum
light

That lies over the salt and rock, searing the
day—

Beyond Phoenix, where in the east the
mountains

Round like a condor brooding.



Out of these
We have seen the shades rising, green as the
fern
Or shimmering thin as the coloratura flame
of a flower.

Can we know them?

12/DIALOGUE: A Journal of Mormon Thought

Only as they are, revealed,
Husking the orders of tedium. Those who
have seen
The viable sky know the hand of God that
must sear
Our estimates of good for our final day.
And when,
In the censures of mind, can we teach them
sequences
Of behavior to make them rational and
easy
For our convenience?

The licking flame of the sun
In the valley of death smelts them purer
still
As they breathe dogma like the furnace of
light
When our day began.

They writhe in the purity of light
So hungering for sapience that they deny
the world
Of our variety to defend their style: inci-
pient baroque,
Heaven's reality, if you will. They polarize
their being
With light: Messier 81, the Pleiades, the
Spiral Galaxy.
And what, we may say, can be done for
them, these hardly
Practical and livid with virtue?

Their disciples of anathema
Repine in the dregs of God, wishing for
better,
Doctrine or catechism, something against
the boxed pabulum
Of this, our everyday. And they do not get
it,
Except in forays of lyrical hate.

So what can be kept
But our ritual patience?

Nothing, for the shades invest
The convolutions of human defection to
flush them of disease,
Withal as if to please.

My irony, live in the heat of the sun:
It is pure! Seek its excellence! And those
who intone
The litanies of this, our world, devise the
beetles of our past
Languishing torpidly in nooks:

Naturalisme, realisme,
Existentialisme, chancre, q.v. These, our
food.

These, our summary.

But our image, the shades maintain,

Is fire, the spectacle of diamond light under
the hammers
Of tungsten carbide flaking their violence.

All this,
And more.

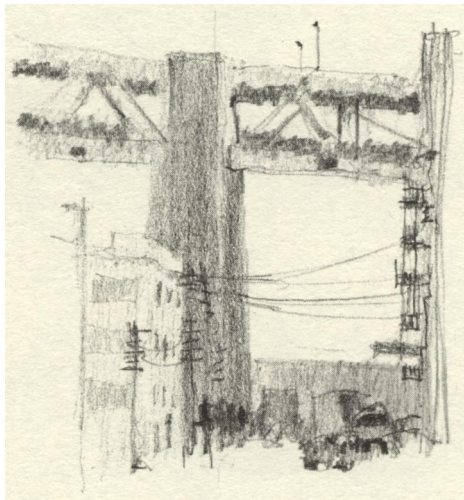
We have to admire such persistence too,
Amid disciples, in lieu of accuracy, and
somewhat
Neo-Platonistic, blue.

Oh, such eclectic good!
Enough to dazzle us with pain!

And now the law of God,
Awkward in their singing Rubaiyat, invests
us like a seminar
And pleads a case of love, enduring to the
end,
The primum mobile, a folksong wheezing
like the bagpipes
Of our minds.

They keep the ivory and gold, the goldleaf,
By our ears, the whitest light, and *try*.
Try as they will
God's will,
Now.

Clinton F. Larson
Brigham Young University



Dear Sirs:

I have just finished reading Samuel W. Taylor's article, "Peculiar People, Positive Thinkers," reprinted by courtesy of *Dialogue* in the October 1st issue of *The Saints' Herald*. Could you let me know what the subscription rate is for *Dialogue* as I would very much like to be able to read it regularly. I can assure you that my request is not in order to subscribe just to

be able to say to my Mormon friends, "See what your people say about you." You will probably guess that when I mention reading Samuel Taylor's article in *The Saints' Herald* that I am a member of the Reorganized Church. I'm interested in studying all I can about the Mormon heritage that both churches share. I would like to say that it is a wonderful thing to have a journal published outside of the sponsorship of both churches and we can really get an honest to goodness appraisal of L.D.S. history.

Mr. J. B. Stacey
Auckland, New Zealand

Samuel Taylor Replies:

It was surprising to find that critics of my little tirade in *Dialogue* ("Positive Thinkers") told me not to go to hell—as I would have told *them*—but, rather, to go to the Lord. Such a Christian reaction has been indeed humbling, a reminder that even the most positive-thinking organization man among us is essentially a good and gentle soul, of rare and precious qualities of character, which is a point I might not have mentioned, or emphasized, in building my thesis. So perhaps I should add now, if nothing else, that the Peculiar People are my people, for better or worse; if I did not care enormously for them, and for all that is involved in Mormon doctrine and culture, then I would not have become so passionately aroused.

The essential difference between me and my critics, it appears, is that they maintain that everything is perfect as it stands, or at least as ideal as humans can make it, while I say that it is a crying shame that some things aren't done a great deal better. But what we both seek is perfection; so we are in the same ball field.

I feel it necessary to mention that I cannot engage in a wrangle of personalities with those who, instead of meeting my argument, attack my character. I will readily concede that I am not nearly so truthful, devout, active or zealous as my critics, nor can I match their Church records or tithing receipts; however, this is not the point at issue. As the major thesis of my article I deplored the smothering of our creative writing talent and lamented the house-organ level of our internal liter-

ature. To refute this, my critics need only list a dozen or so of the great literary talents nurtured and brought to flower within our culture, and mention the many, many examples of brilliant literature pouring from our kept press. If I am so dreadfully wrong, that is the way to prove it, isn't it? Don't just call me a liar, demonstrate it, document it, name names. . . .

Of course, I realized, while preparing my piece, that there would be some carping over the fact that I did not in all cases name names. However, I did not set out to harpoon a handful of individuals who are not personally responsible for conditions I deplore but are only typical examples in the smothering weight of the great mass of positive-thinkers who press us into happy conformity.

I might have yielded to the impulse to give the death of the thousand cuts to some of our internal writers for publishing deliberate distortion (for example, by quoting only a portion of a primary source to prove a point, when the complete quotation would have proved exactly the opposite meaning). However, these writers are not to blame; they are simply meeting their market, as every writer must. If a managed press requires distorted myths, they must either conform or quit writing. But certainly my critics would find it enlightening to sit in on shop-talk among Mormon writers, as I have, while they frankly discussed the truth which they never would dream of putting into their works.

A most interesting commentary on my piece is that it was reprinted in the *Saints' Herald*, the magazine of the Reorganized Church, possibly used there because I pointed out that our embarrassment regarding the historical facts about polygamy had led us straight into Josephite doctrine. Regarding this, I will say that recently two of our own missionaries (whose names I will not mention) told me in all sincerity that Joseph Smith had nothing to do with polygamy—it was all started by Brigham Young. If these two elders are representative, if this is what they are taught, if this is what they preach, then certainly the ironic culmination of our policy of distortion and suppression would be that we should send some 18,000 missionaries into the field to preach Josephite doctrine, to make converts for the Reorganized Church

any time it wishes to ask them, "What do you believe?"

Samuel W. Taylor
Redwood City, California

Dear Sirs:

I have read Eileen Osmond Savdié's essay, comparing French and American politics, with dismay. Mrs. Savdié complains that the Republican and Democratic political philosophies have largely lost their meaning. I think she is wrong in implying that they ever had any, and wrong in the belief that they should.

Perhaps her worst distortion of American politics is Mrs. Savdié's five-fold categorization of it. She says that the political right is status quo oriented anti-Communism, and documents her statement by quoting from the Truman Doctrine. Evidently Mrs. Savdié needs to be reminded that the Truman Doctrine was pronounced at the very time that the Truman Administration was planning to plunge the United States deeply into the economic reconstruction of Europe. The status quo-minded phrases of the statement were an attempt to keep the military-oriented action of the Greek-Turkish Aid Program



Perhaps Mrs. Savdié is reading American political platforms too seriously. . . . She is not taking account of the historic pattern of politics in the United States made up of two major parties composed of a congeries of political alliances representing highly diverse political views. . . . For candidates often stand for something different from the platform of their party.

It is plain enough that Mrs. Savdié wants the United States to have a political system which gives great prominence to ideological or philosophical positions, and she is entitled to that view. However, I think that she should at least get straight what the situation is in the political system which she is condemning, the United States, and in the system which she prefers, the French. She is highly inaccurate about both. It is not true, as she claims, that the United States has two political machines but no political parties. Her judgment that the fault of American politics lies in the failure of the electorate to force candidates to take a stand is a meaningless oversimplification of a complex and important problem.

of 1947 in perspective so that the main effort, the economic one, would go forward as anticipated.

The political right, Mrs. Savdié says, is for maintaining "natural monopolies." When did she last read the literature of American politics? I hope it is since this term was abandoned as meaningless or inaccurate. There are other antiquarian and inappropriate references. "Trusts and monopolies" is turn of the century. "Maintaining Capitalist institutions" and "whether to nationalize industry" refer to an earlier, idiosyncratic, critical literature on American and European political economy. It is now *passé* in Europe as well as in the United States. Perhaps Mrs. Savdié needs to be informed that nationalizing industry has become something of an embarrassment as a traditional component in the party programs of European Socialists and Social Democrats.

Mrs. Savdié's fifth category is the Communists. She thinks it "particularly important" that they be "recognized." I could not disagree with her more.

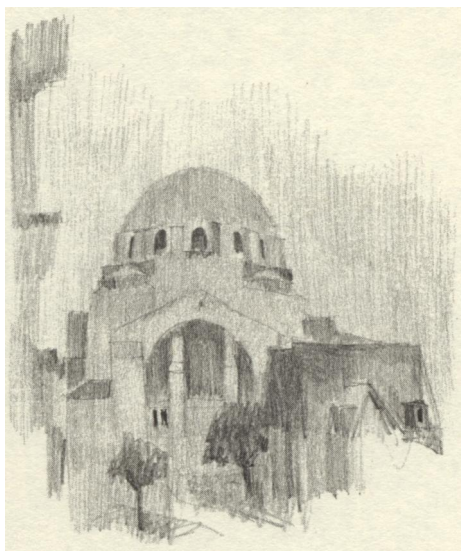
The Communist party here, as in

Great Britain, is now an insignificant component of the far left. There is a radical Left in the United States, a rather interesting and quite energetic Left. It is not the Communist party. The fact that Mrs. Savdié writes this way again raises the question: when did she last inform herself about American politics? She uses a standard rich man-poor man interpretation of American politics which does not even have the flavor of recent Leftist criticism in this country.

I do not recognize the American political system which Mrs. Savdié describes, except in the left-wing expectations of the thirties or in a narrow segment of the European press. Neither do I recognize France in her description. France, for her, is a stable political system with a radical right nicely counter-balanced by the radical left, and with the Communist Party responsible for the government's commitment to major public welfare expenditures. It is a country in which all political views and political actions that grow in the indigenous climate are substantially accepted. She is wrong about the role of the Right and the Left in France, and about the origin of public welfare; and wrong about political freedom in the Fifth Republic. There are, to be sure, glimmerings of the France I would recognize in two references, one to what I will call the French voters' sense of low political efficacy, the other to the bipolar politics which De Gaulle has produced in France. Mrs. Savdié dismisses voter alienation as exceptional. She is wrong, again. Reliable surveys show that France suffers from voter alienation more than most other developed countries do and more than does the United States.

Mrs. Savdié dismisses the sharp division of French politics into two camps as "right now," and in any case, not a situation which destroys the identity of the political parties. In contrast, she says that "in the American political party there are no segments who feel and operate together, there are only individuals with widely varying feelings and philosophies." Nothing could be further from the truth than to deny in this way the highly developed role of groups in American politics. To miss the group basis of American politics is to distort just about everything

in the system, and to leave one ill-prepared to compare political systems. Moreover, it is difficult to miss this fact. Studies about group politics were pioneered in the United States. As early as 1945 one could not be considered politically literate who was unacquainted with the published writing on this subject.



The primary function of a political system is to govern. For many of the postwar years, to say nothing of earlier periods, France has not been governed by her political parties. De Gaulle has governed it, but only by transforming the multi-party system, and at costs not inconsiderable to political expression, civil rights, and the relevancy of ideologically oriented political parties. Before De Gaulle, France was governed largely by her bureaucracy.

Mrs. Savdié is entitled to her preferences about ideological factors in politics. If she wants politics to meet philosophical standards of clarity and consistency, that is her affair. However, she cannot escape the requirement that her factual statements about ideology, or anything else, be accurate. When she tells us that France is nicely balanced between Right and Left, whereas the United States is overbalanced to the Right, I am more disturbed about the accuracy of her characterization of France than of the United States. Is she unaware of the partisan imbalances which De Gaulle brought to France? Perhaps she

is looking ahead, or backward, beyond De Gaulle.

It is particularly unfortunate that with her comparative vantage point, Mrs. Savdié identifies so few of the important problems of American politics. We have many of ominous magnitude—maybe a great many more than the French do. They are not the ones of which she speaks.

Paul Y. Hammond
Santa Monica, Calif.

Eileen Savdié replies:

... I will start by admitting that my categorization of the political positions was ill advised. I tried to qualify it, being certainly aware that a Communist might read it and say, "That's not true. I'm for supporting *any* uncorrupt government in the world," and a conservative might say, "I'm as much in favor of civil rights as the liberals." I hoped that it would be taken loosely as an indication, and I knew that it was easily attackable.

... The point is made that the Republican and Democratic parties have never had, and should not have, meaningful political philosophies. In other words, they should be the tools of the people who run them, and they have no obligations to their members. In this most unjust state of affairs, where do their political platforms come from? The fact is they do pretend to certain philosophies, ... which they do not really have.

The fact that things have been a certain way for a long time, historically, to borrow Mr. Hammond's term, does not make that way necessarily desirable. People had polio for a long time. If a candidate is in disagreement with his party, he is at a disadvantage. A political "group" can hardly be expected to give him the kind of organized support he needs to promote his ideas and win his cause. But what I find much more damaging is the fact that the thousands of scattered people who feel strongly about certain issues have no means for aligning themselves with others who feel the same way, and presenting candidates who will fulfill their obligations to their party, and thus their promises to the people. ...

I see no reason to take Truman's remarks in short-term context when they have formed the basis of American foreign policy ever

since. (See *History of the Cold War*, Vol. I, by André Fontaine, to be published in English in March, 1968 by Pantheon Books. See also *The Warfare State* by Fred J. Cook, Collier Books, 1964.) I'm delighted with Mr. Hammond's objection to my unstylish vocabulary. Can it be true that the new generation can't understand anything that isn't written in its own clichés? If it is, and I beg leave to doubt it, then I hope I was able to inspire enough curiosity in a few of them to go and find out what a natural monopoly was. And still is.

My reason for desiring that Communists be recognized is so that we can drag them out into the open and see them for what they are: people, for heaven's sake, and not dragons. When I told an old Salt Laker friend that I had friends in Europe who were Communists, his immediate assumption was that these friends were fiends and villains, and I was a fool who had allowed them to dupe me into thinking they weren't criminal and dangerous. I think he also assumed that *all* my friends were Communists. I could never convince him that I might like these people for their wit, their good humor, their intellectual integrity, their niceness. As a matter of cold, objective fact, I am as much a capitalist as he is, but he considers me a subversive. If recognizing the Communists as people with whom we can agree or disagree can improve our understanding of them, and increase the freedom of opinion in our social climate, why *not* bestow human dignity on them? Mr. Hammond is horrified at the thought. But why?

I did not say I preferred the French system to ours (I said there were certain conditions here that I would consider improvements in our political life), and I did not say the French system was stable. By "a stable political *climate*" I meant tolerance of a much wider scope of opinion among the people. I also did not say that all public welfare was the result of the work of the Communist party. I mentioned three social advances that were the direct result of their work. And I tried very hard to make it clear that I was talking about the freedom accorded to the individual by the people among whom he lives, and not that accorded by governments. I did not claim that the Fifth Republic accorded political freedom.

Certainly there are grave problems

affecting America today, and we are not solving them as fast as a nation of our wealth and efficiency ought to. When such "groups" as Americans for Democratic Action, say, reach the dimensions of political parties, and when there are enough of these parties presenting candidates so that every voter has a choice at the elections; when each person is soberly but good-naturedly respected whatever his opinions may be; when each of us has an organization through which he can direct his efforts toward the improvement of his country, then we might more quickly and effectively work together to solve our nation's problems.

Eileen Osmond Savdié
Paris, France

As the following recently-received telegram will verify, sometimes an author's response to

editorial criticism rises to the level of sheer poetry. [Ed.]

THE MOVING HAND REWRITES
AND, HAVING RE-WRIT, MOVES ON
TO POST OFFICE TONIGHT. YOU
SHOULD RECEIVE TOMORROW
SATURDAY AIRMAIL. HOPE DEAD-
LINE ALIVE ANOTHER DAY.

MY RE-WRITE MIGHT BE LESS
PICTORIAL,
BUT HEWS TO YOUR VIEWS
EDITORIAL,
WHICH VIEWS, I MIGHT ADD,
ARE REALLY NOT BAD.
IN FACT, THEY DESERVE
MEMORIAL.

Stanford Gwilliam
Orangeburg, New York





Dialogue: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

MORMONISM AND THE NEGRO:

FAITH, FOLKLORE, AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Armand L. Mauss

Armand L. Mauss, who recently became an Associate Professor of Sociology at Utah State University after five years of teaching at Diablo Valley College in California, is now completing a doctoral dissertation on "Mormonism and Urbanism" for the University of California at Berkeley. He has been a counselor in the bishopric of the Walnut Creek Ward and is presently the general secretary for Aaronic Priesthood-Adult in the Logan Fourth Ward.

It is probably a distressing turn of events for most Mormons to see the "Negro issue" replacing the "polygamy issue" as the one feature most likely to cross the popular mind whenever Mormonism is mentioned. Just when it was becoming almost respectable to be a Mormon, another skeleton is dragged out of our ecclesiastical closet for all the world to see. The world has begun to react with the equalitarian indignation appropriate to these times; particularly vocal have been the spokesmen of liberal religion, who, it would seem, have finally discovered discrimination in the churches during the last two decades.¹

The recent attention directed to the Mormon Church over this issue is, however, only partly a consequence of the new American concern for racial equality; it is largely a consequence also of the greatly increased extensiveness of the Church's encounter with the secular urban world.² The Mormon Church is now a major American denomination, whose membership is comparable to that of such "old line" denominations as the Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Congregational. Furthermore, a majority of the Mormon membership now resides in urban areas mostly outside Utah and Idaho, and for the first time in our history a prominent

Mormon has been seriously and widely considered as a presidential candidate. In the midst of such social and demographic changes, Mormons can only expect *more* confrontations over their peculiar ways with sincere, enlightened, and sophisticated non-Mormons. That is why the "Negro issue" cannot be ignored or waited out or wished away. Pending a possible change in the official Church position (a change which we may never live to see), we must attempt to *understand* that position, insofar as it can be understood, rather than apologizing for it or trying to explain it away.

It is, of course, difficult for the thoughtful Mormon to understand the Church's policy of withholding the Priesthood from Negroes, and many will probably frankly admit with me that the policy makes us quite uncomfortable, but my commitment to the religion is much too broadly based for me to become disaffected over what is, after all, a peripheral problem by comparison with the more fundamental tenets of the faith. Perhaps especially for academicians, one's intellectual life is a continuing struggle to resolve such puzzling gospel questions to some degree of satisfaction; so far, the "Negro issue" and a few others have defied resolution for me. However, in the process of pondering, while I have not as yet discovered what the scriptures really mean on this issue, I have come to some rather definite conclusions as to what they do *not* mean, a matter of even greater importance, perhaps, in the current social and political context.

If one finds the Church's policy on Negroes discomfiting, however, the "explanations" for it offered by well-meaning commentators (on all sides) are often even worse. On the one hand, we have those (conservatives?) who feel the need to "defend" the Church by "explaining" that the whole thing is somehow an unfortunate consequence of sins in the pre-existence, or of something Cain did (or Ham, or both), apparently

¹I would regard the following articles as examples of the reactions of "liberal" religionists: Donald L. Foster (an Orem, Utah, Congregational Minister), "Unique Gospel in Utah," *The Christian Century*, July 14, 1965, pp. 890 ff., in which the Mormon Church is chided for its denial of the priesthood to Negroes, and, in general, for resisting ". . . such social change and ecumenical developments as have been firing the imaginations and engaging the energies of many other American churchmen"; also, Glen W. Davidson (Department of Philosophy and Religion, Colgate University), "Mormon Missionaries and the Race Question," *The Christian Century*, September 29, 1965, pp. 1183 ff; and two *San Francisco Chronicle* articles by the Reverend Lester Kinsolving (formerly an Episcopal parish priest but now called a "worker-priest" and Religion Correspondent for the *Chronicle*): "The Mormons' Racial Doctrine," June 4, 1966, p. 35, and "Romney Ducks a Racial Issue," June 24, 1967, p. 26. Reverend Kinsolving has told me that he was an "agnostic" at the time he wrote the first of these articles.

As for my allegation that the concern shown by American churchmen about discrimination in the churches is only recent, no documentation should be needed for any informed student of American race relations. However, see for an example, Charles S. McCoy (Professor of Religion in Higher Education at Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California), "The Churches and Protest Movements for Racial Justice," in Robert Lee and Martin Marty (eds.), *Religion and Social Conflict*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964. My reference here is, of course, to *white* churchmen, as a *group*, recognizing that there were, of course, a few pioneer voices crying in the wilderness much earlier about discrimination in the churches.

²Discussed at some length in "Mormonism and Urbanism," a Ph.D. dissertation in progress by the author in the Department of Sociology, University of California (Berkeley).

quite oblivious to the Second Article of Faith, which tells us that “. . . men will be punished for their *own* sins. . . .” On the other hand, we have those (liberals?) who are manifestly embarrassed that the Church has been caught with its civil rights down, and who assure us that this Utah vestige of Jim Crow will give way, ere long, to enlightened counsel, or to picketing, or surely to George Romney’s presidential campaign. In other words, the “defenders” are tying the issue to a heritage of American biblical folklore, while the “critics” are tying it to the current civil rights controversies. *Neither* position is warranted by the Standard Works, by official pronouncements of Church leaders, or by the logic of the Church policy itself.

This paper will expand upon these observations by arguing for three propositions: (1) the actual authoritative Church doctrine on the “Negro question” is extremely parsimonious, although it is not entirely without biblical precedent, and it is not too difficult to accept if it is linked cautiously with the doctrine of pre-existence; (2) although there are, of course, scriptural references to the War in Heaven, to the curse and mark on Cain, to the curse on Canaan, and to the blackness of Cain’s descendants, there is *no* scriptural warrant for linking any of these to a denial of the priesthood; and (3) none of this has anything to do with the civil rights issue until it can be demonstrated (and not just inferred) that the Church’s internal *ecclesiastical* policy carries over, in the form of civil bigotry, into the *secular* behavior of Latter-day Saints. As part of this last argument, I shall present recent empirical sociological evidence to the effect that there is *no such carry-over*.

FAITH AND DOCTRINE

The doctrine itself, as it is set forth in the Pearl of Great Price and in occasional pronouncements by the First Presidency, is quite simple—indeed, even cryptic: people of Hamitic (i.e. African) descent may be received into the Church and participate in all activities and ordinances, *except* those requiring that the participant hold the Priesthood, for people of this lineage may not be given the Priesthood.³ In practice this has meant that although considerable Church activity and participation are still open to them, those members known to have any African Negro ancestry (no matter what their color) cannot hold the lay priesthood offices held by practically all other Mormon men, nor can they receive Temple endowments or Temple marriages. No reasons have been given in any scriptures, ancient or modern, for this proscription; the official stance of the Church leaders has been simply that the Lord has so decreed and that no change can take place in this policy until He decrees otherwise.⁴

³See Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7:8; Abraham 1:20-27; also the letter of the First Presidency of the Church, dated August 17, 1951, as reproduced on pp. 16-18 of the second part of a small book by John J. Stewart, *Mormonism and the Negro*, Orem, Utah: Bookmark Division, Community Press, 1960.

⁴The policy of the Prophet Joseph Smith himself regarding the ordination of American Negroes

If the Lord has been unwilling to provide us explanations for His judgment in this matter, the same cannot be said for Mormon theologians, whether of the scholarly or the lay variety. Understandably, a doctrine and practice seemingly so at odds with the generally equalitarian ethos of Mormonism could not go unexplained and unjustified. Although exceedingly little of an official or *ex cathedra* nature has been offered, many Church leaders and other doctrinal writers, in their private capacities, have provided explanations, ranging from the rather uncompromising "they-had-it-coming" versions of some of the brethren,⁵ to the more humane, regretful, and hopeful position of President McKay.⁶ Out of the academic world, too, have come explanations ranging from the scriptural-historical one of the very orthodox William E. Berrett to the critical American-historical versions of the less orthodox Sterling McMurrin or Lowry Nelson.⁷ Meanwhile, Mormon Sunday School teachers, priesthood quorum teachers, and seminary teachers, frequently supported by quotations from this or that unofficial Church book, have been innocent purveyors of a variety of fundamentalist folklore.

For the orthodox but thinking Mormon, the unfortunate fact is that

is difficult to establish from extant official records. On the one hand, we have the apparently authentic affidavits of Zebedee Coltrin and A. O. Smoot to the effect that the Prophet once said (in the 1830's) that Negroes should not be given the Priesthood. (These documents are reproduced in Berrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11, in the second part of Stewart, *op. cit.*) The contexts of these affidavits, however, make it somewhat ambiguous as to whether the Prophet meant to deny Negroes the Priesthood on principle, or because they were, for the most part, still slaves who would be unable to function with the Priesthood. In any case, these documents are, at best, second-hand accounts rendered in 1879, forty years or more after the Prophet was supposed to have spoken on the question. On the other hand, it is apparently well established that at least one man of known Negro ancestry, Elijah Abel, was ordained both an Elder and a Seventy under the Prophet's jurisdiction.

Whatever ambiguity there may be in these records, it is clear from the Pearl of Great Price itself (Abraham 1:20-27) that the Prophet must have known, at least from 1842 on (when the Book of Abraham was first published), that Ham's lineage could not be given the priesthood. (Elijah Abel was first ordained in 1836.) The identification of African Negroes with Ham's lineage is apparently a matter of tradition, bolstered by some evidence from Biblical scholars, and made explicit for Mormons in the letter from the First Presidency of the Church, reproduced in Stewart, *op. cit.* (See fn. 3 above.) To an orthodox Mormon, such a formal and unanimous statement by the entire First Presidency, together with the passages in the Book of Abraham, would seem to constitute sufficient grounds for regarding the denial of the Priesthood to Negroes as the revealed will of God. On such grounds, it is difficult to agree with Samuel W. Taylor that this denial of the Priesthood is based not upon doctrine, but only upon "policy." (See Taylor's letter to the Editor, *San Francisco Chronicle*, Tuesday, July 11, 1967, p. 32.)

⁵See, for example, Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Way to Perfection* (2nd edition), Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society, 1935, pp. 105-111; and Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (2nd edition), Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966, pp. 526-528. These authors are drawing upon opinions apparently held by Joseph Smith and other early Church leaders who were writing (I would insist) in their private or non-prophetic capacities. (See fn. 18 below.) See also Stewart's book, mentioned above in footnote 3, and John L. Lund, *The Church and the Negro*, Paramount Publishers (no place given), 1967. The Lund and Stewart books, both of which are valuable as collections of historical documents and opinions on the subject, are nevertheless unfortunate contributions to the literature, in my opinion, because they help to perpetuate and popularize the folk notions discussed below.

⁶See Llewellyn R. McKay, *Home Memories of David O. McKay*, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, pp. 226-231.

⁷See Berrett's pamphlet referred to above in footnote 3 (in Stewart, *op. cit.*). For the attitude of McMurrin on the subject I am relying on an article by Phil Keif appearing in the *Oakland Tribune* (California) for April 5, 1965; Lowry Nelson's position is put forth in his article, "Mormons and the Negro" in *The Nation*, Vol. 174, pp. 488 ff., May 24, 1952.



we just don't know why the Lord has directed His Church to withhold the Priesthood from those of Hamitic lineage; it is a policy that we simply accept on faith because of our general commitment to the rest of the Restored Gospel. If we want to turn to certain other gospel doctrines or scriptural precedents for possible "explanations" about this problem, we may do so, but we are on our own. For example, we might recall that under the Mosaic dispensation, there was also a connection between lineage and priesthood, and a far more restrictive one, for *only* the Levite lineage could provide the priests. Or, we might observe that if, as Luke maintains, it was God "who determined the times and places of our habitation,"⁸ then God knew He was "discriminating" against anyone born in a time (e.g. 900 A.D.) or a place (e.g. modern China) in which the Priesthood (and indeed the Gospel itself) would be just as unavailable to him as if he had Hamitic lineage. But these are not really explanations; they are only relevant precedents that perhaps might make us feel a little less uncomfortable.

The explanation which seems to have the greatest currency among Mormons derives from the rather unique Mormon doctrine of pre-existence.⁹ We have all heard it: before being born as mortals, all men

⁸Acts 17:26.

⁹In his presentation of the "pre-existence explanation," Stewart (*op. cit.*, pp. 20-36) is expressing what I have found to be the most common version. See also Joseph Fielding Smith, *op. cit.* p. 43.

lived as spirits with God in a conscious individual existence of unspecified duration, which represented a necessary phase in our eternal progression. In this pre-existent life, God made many plans and decisions relating to the creation and destiny of the earth and its inhabitants. One of the decisions He made was that certain of His children should not be eligible to hold the Priesthood during their mortal lives, and one of the ways (but only one) in which He seems to have implemented this decision was to use the Hamitic lineage for non-Priesthood holders. Notice that such a conceptualization *reverses* the cause-effect relationship which most Church critics presume, i.e., that Negroes aren't given the Priesthood because they are Negro or because they are black; my interpretation of the "pre-existence explanation," on the contrary, would hold that some are born through Hamitic lineage because they cannot hold the Priesthood. Notice also that the distinguishing trait here is lineage, not color.¹⁰

One might tentatively accept this "pre-existence explanation" without too much difficulty, as long as it stays in this simple and unembroidered form; for the doctrine does seem to have some official backing, if we are to judge by a letter from the First Presidency;¹¹ and furthermore, it seems to have a *prima facie* plausibility, given certain Mormon doctrinal premises. However, referring the problem back to the pre-existence does not help too much, for we still don't know the *reason* for the Divine proscription. A common folktale has it that those born through the "cursed" lineage somehow failed to measure up during the War in Heaven, which occurred in the pre-existence between Jehovah and Lucifer. The notion that they were "neutral" in that war has gone out of vogue, only to be replaced by the equally dubious idea that they must

¹⁰What is being set forth here, of course, is only the theory behind the actual (or presumptive) policy. The practical applications of the policy to specific cases of Hamitic lineage might be rather problematical. One wonders, for example, why the Lord permitted the ordination of Elijah Abel (and I have even heard it claimed that Church records would show Abel's sons and grandsons to have been ordained too, although I have never seen any such records or their facsimiles). One wonders also how we can be sure that all who are given the priesthood are free of even remote Hamitic lineage, especially in such ethnically mixed areas as Latin America and Fiji. I know first hand of at least one case (my boyhood friends) in which a family of completely Caucasian *appearance* was denied the Priesthood for years because of genealogical evidence of remote Hamitic (i.e. Negro) ancestry. Even appeals to the General Authorities were to no avail, until the evidence itself was impeached and finally found to be dubious. Since then, members of the family have been ordained, but *not*, it should be noted, because of a relaxation in the *policy itself*. From time to time one hears rumors of incidents that do seem to constitute relaxations or "exceptions" to the policy, but first-hand information is extremely elusive. As far as I know, there is no official specification given as to how much, if any, Hamitic lineage is permissible for Priesthood holders. Presumably, in such matters, we must rely on the pronouncements about lineage given in patriarchal blessings. In any case, I am concerned here only with trying to understand the theory and doctrine from which the policy derives. In cases of ordinations which seem to constitute "exceptions," or are otherwise questionable, it is not my responsibility to offer "explanations"; these must come, if they are to come, from the Prophets themselves, who, we must presume, know what they are doing. Nothing is to be gained, it seems to me, by nit-picking about occasional exceptions to Church policies anyway, as long as these are rare; Mormon history has many such "exceptions" (e.g. the "rebaptisms" in Brigham Young's times), which the orthodox Mormon is usually willing to accept on faith, where no understandable explanation is available.

¹¹See pp. 16-18 of Berrett, *op. cit.* (in Stewart, *op. cit.*).

have been among the "less valiant" in the War.¹² Any such notion involves the assumption (unacceptable to me) that a certain mortal condition which we perceive to be disadvantageous can be assumed to be the result of some failing in the pre-existence. Such was not necessarily the case, according to Jesus, for the congenitally blind man whom He healed,¹³ and we do not have the right, it seems to me, to assume that such is the case for any *particular* instance of unfortunate mortal circumstances. For one thing, the assumption is complicated by the question of relativity: e.g., one wonders on what possible grounds we can say that American Negroes must be paying for some failing in the pre-existence, when their mortal circumstances are infinitely superior, one would think, to those of the contemporary inhabitants of China, who hold neither the Priesthood nor much of anything else.

So far then, the following points have been made regarding Church doctrine on the subject: (a) neither the Lord nor the Church leaders have given us an adequate explanation for withholding the priesthood from the Negroes or from anyone else; we simply accept the policy on the basis of faith, a few partially relevant scriptures, and the position of the First Presidency; (b) apparent scriptural or historical precedents may help us feel a little less beleaguered on the issue, but they don't really explain anything; (c) the "pre-existence explanation" may explain a little about *how* or *when*, and it suggests that Hamitic lineage is the *result* of ineligibility for the priesthood, *not the cause*; however, (d) this explanation tells us nothing about *why*, unless we mix in a dubious and speculative theory about the War in Heaven.

FAITH AND FOLKLORE

Having seen how sparse is the official and reliable doctrine on this subject, let us now turn to examine further some of the folklore which has rushed in to fill this doctrinal vacuum.¹⁴ The story about insufficient valor during the War in Heaven, mentioned above, is only one example. Two other folktales have long been common among Mormons, both of which are also found among other Christians. Neither of them has any real basis in the Standard Works of the Church.

The first one is based upon the account in Genesis of Ham's disrespectful behavior toward his father, Noah, upon discovering the latter in a naked and unkempt condition. Among the rebukes which Ham received for his misbehavior was ". . . cursed be Canaan . . .,"¹⁵ to which many Mormons and other Christians (of a fundamentalist variety) have given the far-fetched interpretation that this curse was the origin

¹²Stewart, *op. cit.*, 32-34; also Joseph Fielding Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹³John 9:1-3.

¹⁴The Fifes have shown us that Mormon ingenuity in folklore of all kinds is second to none. (Although much of it is ultimately of extra-Mormon origin, of course.) See Austin and Alta Fife, *Saints of Sage and Saddle: Folklore Among the Mormons*, Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1956.

¹⁵Genesis 9:18-29. Canaan was a son of Ham. His implication in the incident is not explained.

of the postdeluvian Negro race and its troubles, including persecution, discrimination, and (for Mormons) the withholding of the priesthood. A tale which competes with this one for currency among Mormons (and with which it is often linked) is the one about the curse on Cain. According to this one, when Cain killed Abel he was given a "curse" and a "mark" in consequence of his murder. The "mark" was black skin, and the "curse" was that he should always be persecuted (and, by extension, not be given the Priesthood). Mormons usually corroborate this interpretation of the Biblical account with reference to our own Pearl of Great Price, where we are told that Ham's wife was a descendant of Cain, that Ham's lineage was "cursed . . . as pertaining to the Priesthood," and that a "blackness came upon" the descendants of Cain.¹⁶

These interpretations placed upon the stories of Ham and of Cain are so widespread, and so authoritatively passed on in certain Church books and articles, that many of my more orthodox friends are surprised and annoyed at my characterization of them as folklore. To such I can only point out the difference between that which is scriptural and that which is not. I am aware that some distinguished Church writers over a period of more than a century have propounded the cursed-be-Canaan and mark-of-Cain "explanations,"¹⁷ but these writers have written in their private capacities, and it is at least open to question whether they have been any more immune than the rest of us to the danger of mixing popular myths with sound doctrine. In any case, it is safe to say that their work is extra-scriptural and extra-doctrinal, and therefore not necessarily incumbent upon even the orthodox to accept. For the truth is that there is no real basis in the scriptures (Standard Works) for connecting any of these "curses" or "marks" with the denial of the priesthood to Negroes.¹⁸

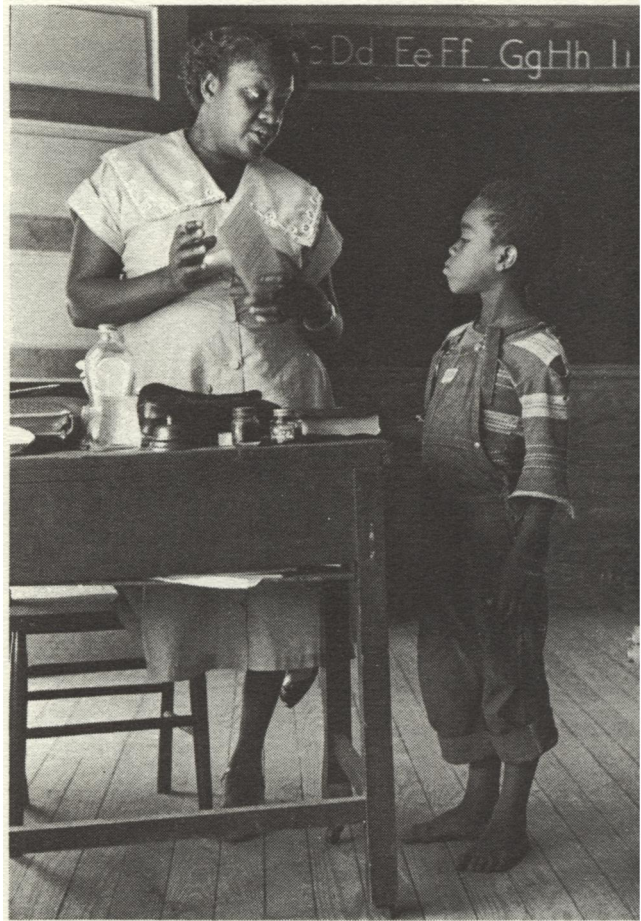
¹⁶See Genesis 4:9-15 and Pearl of Great Price, Moses 5:16-40; 7:7-22; Abraham 1:20-27; also treatment of Joseph Fielding Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-111.

¹⁷Joseph Fielding Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-111; also Berrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15 (in Stewart, *op. cit.*) provides a few examples from the writings of nineteenth century Church leaders. In using the word "folklore" here, I do not mean to say that the scriptural references themselves can be regarded as folklore, but only the *interpretation of them* which ties denial of the priesthood to skin color, or to the curses and marks on Ham or Cain.

¹⁸One of the more moot questions, especially on subjects of this kind, is the question of what is "official doctrine" and what is not. One would think that we should regard as official Church doctrine at least the Standard Works of the Church and those occasional pronouncements given by the First Presidency and/or the Twelve acting in formal and unanimous concert. Beyond that, there are many open questions, and the purport of my remarks in this paper, of course, is to deny that doctrines or opinions offered in books written by individual Church leaders, of however high callings, are binding upon the Latter-day Saints. In a lecture delivered on July 7, 1954, to Seminary and Institute teachers attending a BYU Summer Session, the late President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., dealt with this question and offered what I would regard as helpful counsel. He first referred his listeners to the Doctrine and Covenants 68:2-4, in which we are told that "scripture" is that which is spoken by those leaders who are "moved upon by the Holy Ghost," which implies, according to President Clark, that it is possible for leaders sometimes to speak *without* being so moved. Among the exact words of President Clark which bear particularly upon my contention are the following (all taken directly from this same lecture): ". . . only the President of the Church, the Presiding High Priest, is sustained as Prophet, Seer, and Revelator for the Church, and he alone has the right to receive revelations for the Church, either new or amendatory, or to give authoritative interpretations of scriptures that shall be binding on the Church. . . . Yet we must not

Let us look carefully at what the scriptures really say on these matters;¹⁹ if we take either the Old Testament or the Pearl of Great Price account of Cain's punishment, we are told very little about the "curse" and nothing at all about the "mark" except the cryptic comment that it was to protect the bearer from being killed. Nor are we given any grounds to suppose that either the "curse" or the "mark" should apply to any of Cain's descendants. To tie any of this to the fact that Cain's or Ham's lineage was "cursed as pertaining to the Priesthood" is to resort to pure conjecture. We simply don't know why Ham's lineage was chosen to carry the denial of the priesthood. Similarly, the datum given us that "a blackness came upon" some of the descendants of Cain has nothing necessarily to do with the "mark" put on Cain himself. We are nowhere in the scriptures told just what Cain's mark was, and the first mention of the "blackness" of Cain's descendants is in Enoch's time, *six generations after Cain*. (In fact, it is not really explicit that the "blackness" was even a literal blackness of the skin.)

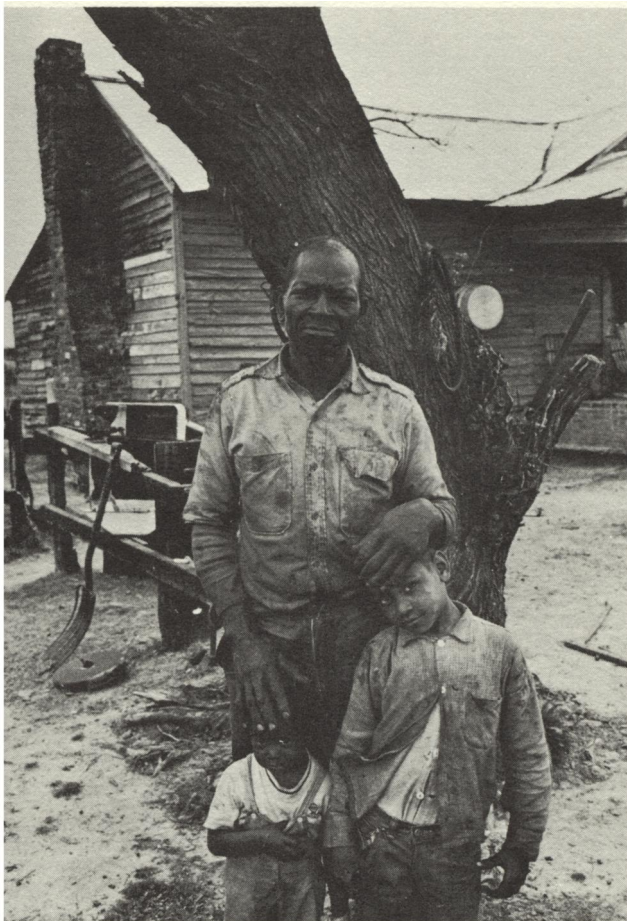
The reference to the "curse" put on Ham by Noah is no more well-founded as an "explanation" than is the mark-of-Cain theory. There is absolutely no scriptural basis for



forget that the prophets are mortal men, with men's infirmities. . . . Asked if a prophet was always a prophet, Brother Joseph quickly affirmed that a prophet is a prophet only when he is acting as such (from the *Documentary History of the Church*, Vol. V, p. 265). . . . Even the President of the Church has not always spoken under the direction of the Holy Ghost, for a prophet is not always a prophet. I noted that the Apostles of the Primitive Church had their differences and that in our own Church, leaders have differed in their views from the first. . . . When any man, except the President of the Church, undertakes to proclaim one unsettled doctrine, as among two or more doctrines in dispute, as the settled doctrine of the Church, we may know that he is not 'moved upon by the Holy Ghost,' unless he is acting under the direction and by the authority of the President. . . ." As for the critical question of how to tell when a doctrine is pronounced by a prophet or leader who is "moved upon by the Holy Ghost," President Clark suggests only a *subjective* test; i.e., in the final analysis, we can tell when our leaders are so moved only when we ourselves are so moved, which has the effect, he points out, of shifting the burden from the speaker to the hearer.

¹⁹(See scriptural references in fn. 16 above.)

assuming that anything Ham himself did was involved in the denial of the priesthood to his descendants, except, of course, as the Pearl of Great Price indicates, he seems to have married into the non-Priesthood-holding lineage.²⁰



So far, then, I think I have demonstrated that three of the most widespread “explanations” in the Church for the denial of the Priesthood to Negroes are unsupported in the scriptures of the Church and should therefore be regarded as speculation, or even folklore; these are: (a) the War-in-Heaven theory; (b) the curse-on-Ham theory; and (c) the mark-of-Cain theory. Whatever discomfiture we Mormons may feel at the lack of explanation for the Church’s doctrine and practice relating to Negroes, we should once and for all disabuse ourselves and our Church friends of these folktales. Not only do they lack theoretical viability, but they add an encumbrance of ridiculousness and superstition to a Church policy that is otherwise only enigmatic. Furthermore, and perhaps more seriously, these unscriptural tales may provide a pretext for those among us who are given to civil bigotry to rationalize it.

THE CHURCH UNDER ATTACK

At the national convention of the NAACP July, 1965, a strongly worded resolution condemning the Mormon “doctrine of non-white inferiority” was introduced by the Salt Lake and Ogden Chapters and passed by the entire convention. The solution contained many misconceptions about the actual doctrines of the Church, most of which were understandable and forgivable errors, for they had only been taken from the folklore and the unofficial opinions of well-known Church writers, which I have criticized above (e.g., that the Church teaches of “spiritual inferiority,” of “lesser valiance in the pre-existence,” etc.). One line of reasoning expressed in the resolution, however, was simply a case of gratuitous assumption and dubious logic, i.e., that the Mormon doctrine about the Negro “. . . carries over into the civil

²⁰Abraham 1:20-27.

life of Mormons . . . fosters prejudice and . . . perpetuates the contention that Negroes deserve to be the subject of disadvantaged conditions during their lives on earth. . . .”²¹ For this latter charge, no evidence was cited in the resolution, and I strongly suspect that none had been gathered, aside from vague subjective impressions of individual Negroes. Yet, the validity and saliency of the entire resolution hangs upon this unsubstantiated assumption, for only if it can be shown that the Church’s doctrine on the Negro “. . . carries over into the civil life of Mormons” can the NAACP (or any other civil organization) legitimately concern itself with quaint Mormon doctrines and practices.

This tendency to assume that the internal Church policy on Negroes is somehow connected with the civil rights issue is found, unfortunately, among critics within the Church, as well as among outsiders. Stewart Udall, for example, makes this mistake in his recent letter to the Editors of *Dialogue*, where he criticizes the Church policy explicitly in the context of a discussion of civil racial justice.²² To say “we violate the rights and dignity of our Negro brothers . . .” by withholding the Priesthood from them makes no more sense than to say that we violate the rights and dignity of our women by withholding the Priesthood from them. After all, one of the “imperious truths of the contemporary world” (which truths Udall wants us to “come to grips with”) is that discrimination on the basis of sex is just as outdated as discrimination on the basis of race, and is just as illegal, furthermore, in much of our recent civil rights legislation. So what? Even if Udall is right that the Church’s Negro policy has “. . . no real sanction in essential Mormon thought,” he has apparently forgotten that the principle of continuous revelation through the prophets *is* essential in Mormon thought; and when the day comes that Church policies unfashionable to the times are changed by “we Mormons,” or that our leaders feel they must “. . . courageously [face] the moral judgment of the American people . . .” for their inspired guidance, that will be the day that Mormonism will be just another dissipated denomination. That the Church must be open to change is a contention that probably no one will contest, and Mormonism is structurally and theologically better equipped for change than are most denominations, precisely *because* of the principle of continuous revelation. However, it is difficult to see how a committed Mormon could find any satisfaction or moral strength in watching his prophets make changes, either to satisfy Udall’s “enlightened men everywhere,” or to avoid running “. . . counter to the great stream of modern religious and social thought.” Nor will the Church be strengthened to face the modern age by Udall’s cynical implication that what *really* brings about revelation

²¹A complete copy of the final resolution is in my files. It was more or less fully described in the news media (e.g. *San Francisco Examiner*, July 2, 1965, p. 6).

²²See Mr. Udall’s letter to the Editors in *Dialogue*, Summer, 1967 (II:2), pp. 5-6. All of my quotations of Mr. Udall in this section of the paper are excerpted from the same letter. Although I have taken most of them out of their specific contexts, I think I have not distorted the sense in which Mr. Udall used any of them.

(as in the abandonment of polygamy) is the realization by Church leaders that they are “. . . unable to escape history. . . .”

However doubtful may be the validity of the efforts made by “inside” critics like Udall to tie the L.D.S. “Negro problem” to the issue of civil racial justice, these efforts are met with great interest and satisfaction by non-Mormon critics and reformers, who are anxious to help bring Mormonism up to date in its doctrines and practices. One of these is the Reverend Lester Kinsolving, who is called an Episcopal “worker-priest,” is Religion Correspondent for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and produces a couple of religion programs for radio station KCBS in San Francisco. In his *Chronicle* column last June, the Reverend Kinsolving made an invidious comparison between Udall’s recognition of a “fact of political life” and Governor Romney’s “. . . attempt to circumvent the [race] issue . . .” in maintaining that he should be judged by his own civil rights record, rather than by what people think about his Church’s doctrines.²³ Kinsolving seemed rather taken also with the apparent irony that while Governor Romney was criticizing Udall’s comments in *Dialogue*, Mrs. Romney was resigning from a private women’s club because of its policy of racial discrimination. To be consistent, Kinsolving suggested, the Romneys should also quit the Mormon Church, or at least “. . . join fellow Mormons like Udall in protesting . . . racial discrimination within [their] church.” In conclusion, the good Reverend offers us the charitable pastoral judgment that Governor Romney’s “projected image of sincerity” will be open to question until he is willing to join in criticizing his church for its racial discrimination.²⁴

Reverend Kinsolving had made similar observations during his KCBS Sunday evening program toward the end of May (1967). This program, the first in the series, was devoted entirely to a discussion of the “racial doctrines of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.” The usual format of the two-hour program calls for one or several guests appearing to discuss an issue for a half-hour or so, and then the Reverend and his guests entertain telephoned questions and comments from the radio audience. On this particular evening, however, the Reverend explained, he had been unable to get any Mormon representatives to appear on the program, in spite of many conscientious efforts to do so. In lieu of any guests in person, therefore, the Reverend, whose announced aim for the program is an “unencumbered search for truth,” proceeded to “explain” the Mormon Church’s position on Negroes by means of quotations from *Mormonism and the Negro* by John J. Stewart. Both in a phone call to the program and later in a letter to the Reverend, I strongly protested the use of such an unofficial source. My letter also attempted, without success, to disabuse the Reverend of his unsupported assumption that there is necessarily a tie between the Church’s Negro policy and the secular issue of civil rights. As for Mrs. Romney, my

²³Lester Kinsolving, “Romney Ducks a Racial Issue,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 24, 1967, p. 26.

²⁴*Ibid.*

letter pointed out, her behavior in remaining a Mormon, while quitting a discriminating club, was no more inconsistent than would be, say, the behavior of an Episcopalian (or Roman Catholic or Mormon) who might protest unfair employment practices against women while still affiliating with a church which does not let women hold the priesthood.

Reverend Kinsolving's reaction to my letter was to invite me to appear on his program July 2, 1967, when he would again deal with the "racial doctrines" of the L.D.S. Church. Also invited, to provide an "alternative view," was the Reverend A. Cecil Williams, Minister of Worship at the Glide Memorial Methodist Church in San Francisco, and a Negro. The latter's contribution, in my opinion, was surprisingly limited and restrained, except for a very brief critical comment right at the end of the program, which time did not permit me to even try to answer. Almost all of the dialogue was between the Reverend Kinsolving and myself, with rather little time given to the few telephone calls that got through.²⁵

I was given seven or eight minutes near the beginning of the program to read a brief prepared statement, but that was the only opportunity I had for an uninterrupted statement on any of the questions put to me. Some of the Reverend's questions were of an *ad hominem* nature (attacking me for "inconsistencies" or "inaccuracies" which he thought had appeared in some of my earlier papers on this subject), and still other matters that he raised seemed to me to be of doubtful relevance.

A matter of some substance which did arise, and which, in fact, was recurrent throughout the program, was the controversy over what relevance the peculiar Mormon doctrine on the Negro has to the civil rights issue. The Reverend Kinsolving, and to a lesser extent the Reverend Williams, both took the position, expressed in the NAACP resolution referred to above, that one must naturally expect Mormons to translate their Church's policy into anti-Negro secular behavior. I, of course, denied that one can reasonably make such assumptions in the absence of systematic empirical evidence, and I cited my own research (discussed herein below) as evidence contrary to their assumption. Reverend Kinsolving had read the published results of my research, and he made no attempt to impeach either my findings or my methods; he simply continued to insist (apparently ignoring my evidence) that the internal Mormon policy on Negroes was a secular civil rights issue. Aside from "common sense," the only evidence the Reverend offered was an article by Glen W. Davidson, which appeared about two years ago in *The Christian Century*.²⁶

In this article, Davidson made a number of allegations about the unwholesome pressures which Mormon leaders have exerted to prevent

²⁵The description herein of my dialogue with the Reverend Kinsolving during the July 2nd radio program is based upon my review of a tape recording of the program which is in my possession.

²⁶Glen W. Davidson, "Mormon Missionaries and the Race Question," *The Christian Century*, September 29, 1965, pp. 1183-1186.

fair employment, open housing, and other civil rights legislation from passing in Utah (and even in California). For all of these allegations, Davidson offers only hearsay as evidence, nor does he give us any idea about his "sources" of information. One example of his "evidence" for the Church's influence on civil rights bills before the Utah legislature in 1965 was the statement that "Rumor fanned speculation that the church was working behind the scenes to defeat the bills."²⁷ Davidson is free also with his judgments about people's motives and innermost thoughts, charging that many Mormon converts are joining the Church mainly because it provides them with a "sanctimonious front" for their racism.²⁸



And the ordinary Mormon can only stand in awe of Davidson's intimate knowledge of what transpires at the meetings of the Twelve and in other high Church councils. We are informed, for example, that there is "heated debate . . . within the Council of the Twelve Apostles" over the Church's stand on the race question, with Joseph Fielding Smith leading the "conservative faction" and Hugh B. Brown leading the "liberal faction."²⁹ However, by December of 1963, Davidson somehow discovers that "the leadership of the apostles' conservative faction . . . had passed from Joseph Fielding Smith to Ezra Taft Benson." The latter, of course, has a ". . . warm friendship with Robert Welch, the 'revelator' of the John Birch Society . . ." and thus Davidson ties the Mormon "Negro problem" to the right-wing conspiracy.³⁰

²⁷*Ibid.*, 1185.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 1184.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 1183-1184.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 1185.

In his “unencumbered search for truth,” the Reverend Kinsolving took several passages verbatim from Davidson’s article and read them over the air as “evidence” of the kind of Mormon secular racism that derives from the “Negro doctrine” of the Church. I was then invited to answer the charges, which I started to do point by point, although I didn’t get very far before being stopped by a series of interruptions. I tried two or three times to make the point that racism in Utah, even among Mormons, cannot be assumed to result from Mormon policies on the Priesthood, any more than anti-feminism can be assumed to result from Episcopalian policies on the priesthood. For one thing, I insisted, racial attitudes in any population are shaped in large part by such



secular social factors as education level and rural or urban origin, so that one cannot really know how much Utah racism is attributable to religion until rural Mormons are compared with rural others, poorly educated Mormons are compared with poorly educated others, etc. Apparently having difficulty with the subtleties of causal reasoning, the Reverend then asked that if the Mormons were not responsible for Utah’s backwardness in civil rights, was I suggesting that the blame should be laid to the Protestants in Utah, or, perhaps, to the Hindus? After all, I was reminded, Utah was the only state in the West by 1965 without any open housing legislation.³¹ And so it went.

WHOSE CIVIL RIGHTS?

The Kinsolving programs and articles, together with the growing volume of unfavorable publicity from critics inside and outside the

³¹This charge is, of course, inaccurate if only because of the case of California, whose voters,

Church, are all symptomatic of our failure to make clear to the world that our doctrines and policies on the Negro have no necessary bearing on secular issues like civil rights. For this gap in communication, there is probably blame on both sides. On the Mormon side, the leaders of the Church have shown a decided unwillingness to discuss the matter at all. The members at large, meanwhile, have tended to take one of three approaches to the problem, none of which has contributed much to public understanding: they have either (1) tried to avoid talking about it to non-Mormons, and then shuffled with embarrassment when "found out"; (2) tried to "explain" the Church position by resorting to unscriptural racial folklore; or (3) demanded that the Prophet change the doctrine and policy. This last approach can only strengthen the popular tendency to think that the Church policy is somehow connected to the civil rights issue, and it is therefore likely, ironically, to foster even more public misunderstanding and hostility.

On the non-Mormon side of the communication gap, there has been a regrettable, if understandable, tendency to jump to conclusions about the meaning of the L.D.S. "racial doctrines," without much effort to ascertain what the real meaning is. At its worst, this attitude is expressed in a reformist zeal reminiscent of that of our heresy-hating nineteenth century sectarian persecutors. After all, when a religious group is publicly condemned, picketed, and ridiculed because of an unfashionable doctrine that has no demonstrated social consequence, this is called religious bigotry. The fact that it may be carried on in the name of equality and brotherhood, or in such media of modern religious "liberalism" as *The Christian Century* and the Kinsolving show, does not alter the character of the calumny. Whatever happened to "civil rights" for religious minorities?

The contention that the L.D.S. "Negro doctrine" has no necessary relevance to secular civil rights or racial justice is, of course, a crucial one for the case being here advanced. Although I would argue that the burden of proof lies with those who would contend to the contrary, I would here like to discuss some empirical evidence for my own contention. Let us note, first of all, that President Hugh B. Brown has gone to some lengths in recent General Conferences of the Church to emphasize that ". . . there is in this Church no doctrine, belief, or practice that is intended to deny the enjoyment of full civil rights by any person, regardless of race, color, or creed."³² In other words, there is nothing in the *internal* ecclesiastical policy itself to warrant any kind of "carry over" into *external* civil life. In the same statement, President Brown warned that ". . . all men are the children of the same God, and that it is a

by a margin of 2 to 1, passed Proposition 14 in November, 1964. This had the effect of wiping off the books all of the "fair housing" legislation ever passed in California (one wonders how the California Mormons were able to bring *that* about!). This situation prevailed throughout 1965 and 1966, until a recent Supreme Court decision striking down Proposition 14.

³²This unequivocal statement in the April, 1965, General Conference was quoted in the *San Francisco Chronicle* for April 17, 1965. Another statement by President Brown condemning racism, this time at the April, 1966, General Conference, is quoted on the last page of *Dialogue* for Summer, 1966 (Vol. I, No. 2).

moral evil for any person or group of persons to deny any human being the right to gainful employment, to full educational opportunity, and to every privilege of citizenship. . . ." This makes it clear to Church members that there *must not* be any carry over of the ecclesiastical practice into the civil world; not only does the Church's "Negro policy" not justify secular racial discrimination, but those who practice it are clearly failing to comply with the most fundamental and elementary injunctions of the Gospel.

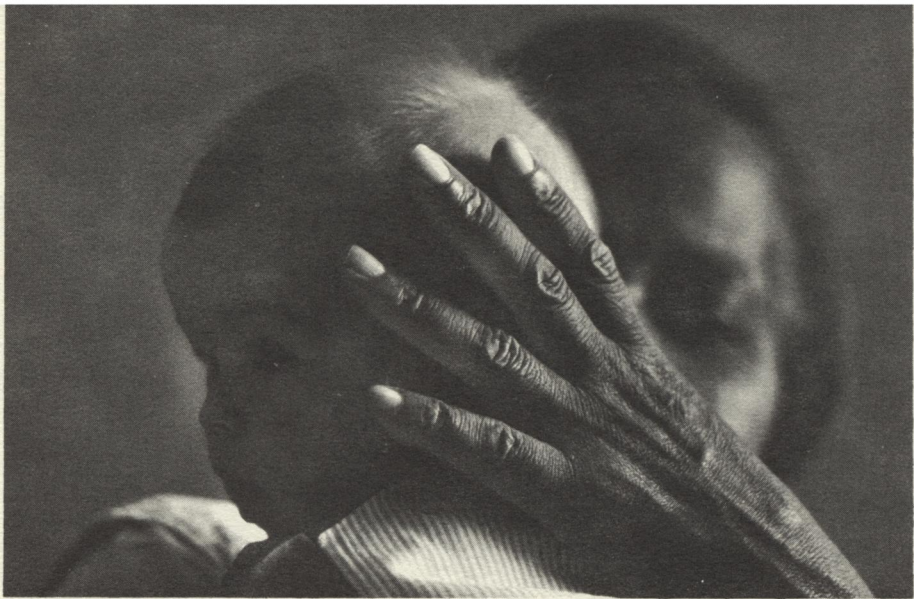
THE EVIDENCE AGAINST DOCTRINE CAUSING PREJUDICE

Just how well the Latter-day Saints succeed in complying with gospel standards in this regard is an open empirical question, and one which has been asked frequently about other denominations as well. Sociological studies on the relation between religious beliefs and race attitudes or practices are not numerous, and their findings are far from conclusive: apparently some religious beliefs "carry over" and some do not, and there are always many intervening variables. Glock and Stark, in their recent and penetrating study, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism*,³³ conclude that the relation between religious beliefs and race attitudes is clear where anti-Semitism is concerned, but not in the case of anti-Negro prejudice.³⁴ My own study, the only one I know of to deal with this question among Latter-day Saints, appears in the Fall, 1966, issue of the *Pacific Sociological Review*.³⁵ It is an analysis of survey data taken from three L.D.S. wards (congregations) in the East Bay area of California, using an adaptation of the questionnaire upon which Glock and Stark based their recent study of Catholics and Protestants in the West Bay area. My access to the Glock-Stark data made it possible to compare item-by-item my Mormon responses with those of the Catholics and Protestants in the same general area. A number of questions can certainly be raised about the representativeness of my sample, and I would refer interested readers to the paper itself for my defense of the sample. Here I might simply point out that the sample represented every home in all three wards (with a net questionnaire return of 258), and that an extensive internal study of the samples was made, as well as a study of the differences between respondents and non-respondents. All relevant sociological categories were well represented in the sample; and among the respondents there were no appreciable differences in attitude between the Utah-born and California-born, between those recently arrived from Utah (or Idaho) and those in California a long time, between those giving

³³Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism*, New York: Harper and Row, 1966. The authors review some of the literature on the subject of religion and race attitudes. See also Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, New York: Doubleday Anchor Book, 1958, pp. 420-422 and John D. Photiadis & Arthur Johnson, "Orthodoxy, Church Participation, and Authoritarianism," *American Journal of Sociology*, November 1963, pp. 244-248.

³⁴Glock and Stark, *op. cit.*, Chapter 10.

³⁵Armand L. Mauss, "Mormonism and Secular Attitudes toward Negroes," *Pacific Sociological Review*, Fall, 1966 (Vol. 9, No. 2).



different reasons for leaving Utah, or between converts and life-long members. These considerations, combined with the demographic fact that the "typical" Mormon is now as likely to be found on the Pacific Coast as in Utah, make for more confidence in my sample than might be warranted at first glance.

Six indicators of anti-Negro secular attitudes received special attention in this study. Three of these were indicators of "prejudice": (1) a belief that Negroes have inferior intelligence; (2) a belief that Negroes are immoral; and (3) a belief that Negroes don't keep up property. Three others were taken as indicators of a tendency to practice "discrimination": (4) a stated preference for segregated schools; (5) a stated preference for segregated wards; and (6) a declaration of intention to sell the home and move if Negro families moved into the neighborhood.³⁶ (Whatever questions can be raised here about the difference between "admitted" and "actual" racism can also be raised, of course, about *any* study of this kind, including the one by Glock and Stark, to which mine is comparable.)

The first level of analysis was a gross comparison between Mormons and other denominations in their responses to the above six items. (Table I in original paper).³⁷ This comparison showed that the Mormons, in spite of their peculiar doctrine on Negroes, were no more likely to give anti-Negro responses than were the Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Lutherans (whether American or Missouri Synod) or Baptists (whether American or Southern), and furthermore that the Mormon responses were very nearly the same as the Protestant averages.

The rest of the analysis (the major portion) consisted of comparisons between (or among) *Mormon* categories: first of all, Mormons were compared according to their differential frequencies of church attendance,

³⁶My distinction between "prejudice" and "discrimination" is after the well-known formulations appearing in Allport, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff. and Peter I. Rose, *They and We*, New York: Random House, 1964, Chapter 4.

³⁷The tables in the original paper have been deliberately omitted to facilitate the reading. They are, I believe, adequately summarized here and can easily be obtained from the original article by interested persons. The *Pacific Sociological Review* is available in the library of virtually any four-year college or university west of the Rockies, and often in other regions as well.

frequencies of scripture reading, and frequencies of private prayer (all considered indicators of devoutness). No consistent or systematic differences in the rate of anti-Negro secular attitudes appeared in any of these comparisons (Table II in original paper). Next, Mormons were compared according to their "orthodoxy" on certain key doctrines: the literal divinity of Jesus; the President of the Church as exclusive "prophet, seer, and revelator"; and the withholding of the Priesthood from Negroes as the will of God. A dichotomized comparison between full believers and those expressing any degree of doubt in each of these doctrines revealed some modest percentage-point differences (i.e. the "orthodox" were somewhat more likely to express anti-Negro secular attitudes), but the differences were not statistically significant even at a ten percent probability level. Furthermore, the tendency among Mormons for anti-Negro attitudes to increase with degree of orthodoxy was found to be *at least* as true for Congregationalists, Methodists, and American Baptists also (Table III in original paper).

The third kind of intra-Mormon comparison involved social and ecological variables: education, occupation, age, sex, region of origin, community size of origin, and length of time in California (Tables IV and VI). Here, for the first time, many rather large differences occurred. The incidence of anti-Negro secular attitudes varied inversely with education, occupation, community size of origin, and youth. That is to say, the likelihood of expressed anti-Negro attitudes was considerably greater among the poorly educated, the manual occupations, those of rural or small town origin, and the old—those categories known by sociologists to be prone to prejudice in *any* denomination.

Finally, some multi-variate analysis was done, in which the "orthodox" or "believers" were compared with the "doubters" (cf. the three doctrines mentioned above) within categories of education and of community size; or, in the jargon of science, with education and with community size "held constant" (Tables V and VII). In these comparisons, the differences between the "believers" and the "doubters" (in the tendency to express anti-Negro secular attitudes) greatly diminished (and in many cases disappeared entirely) with increasing education and community size of origin. In fact, among those of urban origin, the "orthodox" or "believers" were consistently *less* likely to express anti-Negro attitudes than were the "doubters" of key Church doctrines. All of this evidence led me to conclude the paper as follows:

It would seem, from a study of the data here presented, that the null hypotheses must be allowed to stand for the *religious* variables; that is, no systematic differences in secular race attitudes were to be seen either between Mormons and others, *or* between orthodox and unorthodox Mormons. In most of their responses, Mormons resembled the rather "moderate" denominations (such as Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopalian), rather than the "fundamentalists" or the sects. To be sure, Mormons *did differ among themselves* in the tendency to hold negative secular attitudes

toward Negroes, but these differences were *not* so much between the orthodox and unorthodox, or the active and inactive, as they were between the educated and uneducated, the manual and the professional, the old and the young, or the rural and the urban (as in any denomination). . . . This accords with other studies which have found socio-economic status an important determinant of attitudes toward minorities.³⁸

CONCLUSION

My plea, then to the civil rights organizations and to all the critics of the Mormon Church is: get off our backs! The Mormon leadership has publicly condemned racism. There is no evidence of a carry-over of the Mormon doctrine on the Negro into secular civil life; in fact, there is evidence to the contrary. No matter how much racism you think you see in Utah, you can't be sure it has anything to do with Mormonism. It might be related to the rural and small-town environment in much of the Mountain West (as in other parts of the country), or it might be the sickness of individual Mormon bigots, who would find some *other* way to rationalize their racism, even if the Mormon Church were without its peculiar "Negro doctrine."³⁹

Will the Mormon Church ever change its stand on the Negro? There is no reason, in either Mormon doctrine or tradition, that it could not be changed. In fact, the unique doctrine of continuous revelation makes even drastic changes less difficult than in most denominations (recall the polygamy issue). Not only is there a precedent in the Manifesto of 1890 for a change of great magnitude, but the New Testament itself gives us a perhaps more appropriate precedent in the decision to admit Gentiles into full fellowship (without circumcision), an innovation which, like the present "Negro issue," was fraught with ethnic overtones and apparently strongly resisted in high places in the primitive Church for some time.⁴⁰ Perhaps now, as then, the chief deterrent to a divine mandate for change is not to be found in any inadequacy among Negroes, but rather in the unreadiness of the Mormon whites, with our heritage of racial folklore; it is perhaps we whites who have a long way to go before "the Negroes will be ready" for the priesthood.⁴¹ One can specu-

³⁸Some of my Mormon critics have expressed disappointment in my findings to the effect that Mormons are not very different from others in the tendency to hold racist attitudes, pointing out that we can take small comfort indeed in the evidence that Mormons are no better than others in this regard. My reply to this understandable reaction is that *by comparison with the charges of extraordinary Mormon racism, which are made by most of our critics, my findings are great comfort indeed!* This would be no reason, however, for complacency; this much racist feeling in a Mormon population surely indicates the need for some religious education on the subject, which our seminaries and institutes could well provide.

³⁹Photiadis and Johnson (*op. cit.*, fn. 33) concluded that the secular variable of authoritarianism might be prior (or causal) to the *religious* variables of orthodoxy and participation.

⁴⁰Acts, Chapters 10 and 11.

⁴¹Brigham Young (quoted in Berrett, *op. cit.*, p. 14) was among those who held that no change could occur in the policy of denying Negroes the Priesthood until all the rest of Adam's

late, however, that if our missionary work ever gets going in black Africa (as apparently it almost did recently), it will only be a matter of time before at least Aaronic Priesthood leadership among Africans will be a necessity.⁴²

Whenever change comes, however, it must come in the Mormon way; that is, the integrity of the principle of continuous revelation must be maintained. Without this, and without the charisma of the "prophet, seer, and revelator," Mormonism would be without its most vital distinguishing attribute. Any perceived threat to the "due process" implied in the doctrine of continuous revelation will be resisted not only by the Church leadership, but also by the overwhelming majority of the rank and file. Consequently, agitation over the "Negro issue" by non-Mormon groups, or even by Mormon liberals, is likely simply to increase the resistance to change. This consideration might not, in the eyes of the NAACP, provide sufficient grounds for ceasing the agitation if a question of civil rights were involved; *but it is not*. No one, I take it, would suggest that holding the Priesthood in the Mormon Church is a right guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States. Membership in the Church is voluntary in the fullest civil sense: it is not a condition for holding a job, for owning property, for getting an education, for exercising the voting franchise, or for any other civil right. At the same time, there is nothing to restrain Mormons from engaging in civil rights campaigns and activities whenever conscience dictates, as indeed some have done.⁴³ So why denounce the Mormon Church for its "stand on civil rights"? To do so is not only inappropriate but is likely to have the opposite of the desired effect. Furthermore it is, in a sense, a form of religious persecution. Until it can be shown that the Mormon "Negro doctrine" has behavioral consequences in the civil world, it is just as much a form of bigotry and persecution to picket the Church Office Building as it would be, say, to picket an Orthodox Jewish synagogue because of pique at the traditional doctrine that Jews are God's chosen people!

In other words, except in cases of severely deviant or anti-social behavior, freedom of religious *belief* must not be breached, even in the name of "equality," no matter how galling a particular belief might be to non-believers, or how anachronistic it might seem to the current arbiters of modernity.

descendants had had a chance to receive it. President McKay (quoted in Llewellyn R. McKay, *op. cit.*, p. 231) seems to see no such required delay.

⁴²The now rather well known story about the Church's attempts to get missionary work started in Nigeria has been reported in various places in the news media. See, for example, the article in the "Religion" section of *Time* magazine for June 18, 1965, p. 56; the article by Wallace Turner, "Mormons Weigh Stand on Negro," *New York Times* (Western Edition) for June 7, 1963, p. 1; and Drew Pearson's column appearing in the *San Francisco Chronicle* of July 5, 1962, p. 39.

⁴³See, for example, the account by Karl Keller of his summer of civil rights activities in Tennessee, "Every Soul Has Its South," *Dialogue* 1: 2 (Summer, 1966), pp. 72-79. Governor Romney of Michigan also was widely reported in the press to have participated in civil rights marches in his state.

NEW APPROACHES TO CHURCH EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP:

BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE PERSPECTIVES

Kendall O. Price and Kent Lloyd

Kent Lloyd and Kendall O. Price, both members of DIALOGUE's Board of Editors, were both until recently on the faculty of the School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California. They are now Director and Executive Director, respectively, of Public Executive Development and Research Corporation, a non-profit educational organization. Kent Lloyd, who has a Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford, has been a bishop and is now special assistant to the Inglewood Stake President. Kendall Price holds a doctorate in Social Psychology from the University of Michigan; he currently serves as M-Men advisor in the Inglewood Stake Mutual Improvement Association.

The frontier experience of early pioneers is history; even the friendly small town atmosphere enjoyed by their children is all but gone. Today most people live in an "organizational society." In every field modern culture has produced revolutionary changes: atomic fission, vehicles to explore space, the spectacular world of synthetics, recent medical wonders that prolong life and eliminate crippling diseases, cures for both mental and social illness, constitutional democracies in many nations, and countless other achievements that characterize this dynamic world at mid-century.

The high specialization of organizational knowledge that has made these achievements possible, however, has placed the modern executive in a demanding role. It becomes increasingly difficult to lead complex organizations that create these advances without the technical knowledge and skills of the professionally qualified administrator.¹

In this rapidly changing organizational society modern churches face challenges to develop more effective ways of carrying their message. One challenge facing The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints today is that of maintaining the principle of lay leadership while still working

to secure the highest organizational effectiveness. A major response to this challenge has been the recent Correlation Program of the Church, that has focused significant executive responsibility on ward and stake priesthood leaders. It seems appropriate, also, that stake leaders would take a leading role among Church administrators in high level executive leadership development of the kind described in this article.

Stake presidents are busy laymen who preside over the 443 major administrative units of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Success in their businesses or professions stamps them with the executive ability that, when combined with their dedication and a calling to Church service, qualifies them for this unusual responsibility. Although they function without Church salary and therefore live between two demanding worlds—competitive professional activities and busy Church schedules—a group of those stake presidents in the Los Angeles area recently demonstrated their concern for effective Church leadership by accepting an invitation to participate in an executive development seminar. Improving executive performance is also an interest of the General Authorities of the Church; a member of this governing body also accepted an invitation to participate in the seminar experience described in this article.

Recent behavioral science research findings indicate that increased organizational effectiveness can be accomplished in four major ways: (1) by modifying the organization, as in the new correlation program when the priesthood executive committee was created on the ward level; (2) by program coordination so that duplication is reduced and activities are channeled through a single unit, as illustrated by the use of the home teacher as the primary representative of the bishop; (3) by utilization of new technology, as with the Church's widespread application of micro-filming and data processing techniques in genealogy work; and (4) by improving the performance of personnel within the organization through better methods of recruiting, selecting, and training Church missionaries, teachers, and executives.

Emphasis on improving the performance of personnel is consistent with the most central concept of the plan of salvation regarding the worth and dignity of all men. The Church program is designed to provide opportunity for individual development through participation in teaching and leadership positions. People selected for Church leadership positions usually have demonstrated their faith in the Church by living

This article has been adapted from *The Church Executive: Building the Kingdom through Leadership Development*, by Kent Lloyd, Kendall O. Price, V. Dallas Merrell, and Ellsworth E. Johnson (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1967).

¹Formal training in administration is now being provided by professional schools of business, public, and educational administration for both younger, full-time students anticipating careers in management and older, experienced executives who return to the campus for exposure to the latest discoveries in behavioral and management science. Further evidence of professionalization is the mushrooming of management associations such as the American Management Association, the American Society for Public Administration, and the American Society for Training and Development and of management journals like the *Public Administration Review*, the *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *Personnel Administration*, and the *Harvard Business Review*.

the principles of the Gospel, thereby entitling them to the inspiration necessary to carry out the responsibilities of their office. In addition, most of today's ward and stake administrative positions are filled by leaders who reflect previous educational achievement or related professional experience. Thus, to meet the expanding needs of a dynamic Church organization most leadership positions will continue to require people with both demonstrated commitment to Latter-day Saint values and an increasingly high level of technical skills.

Short-term training of lay leaders for specific assignments has characterized the program of the Church since its restoration. Examples of this training include the School of the Prophets, the new Priesthood Correlation Program, recently initiated foreign language training of missionaries at Brigham Young University, teacher training classes, genealogy workshops, and portions of the annual B.Y.U. Education Weeks. Not to be confused with training which attempts to develop skills is the single orientation session given to officers and teachers as they assume their new responsibilities in ward and stake positions. Orientation is usually concerned with information found in manuals and handbooks regarding rules and procedures, authority relationships, required reports, and physical facilities and equipment. An auxiliary or priesthood leader in the Church who complains that those working with him are failing to perform their job effectively may himself be partly responsible, having provided only a brief orientation session in place of an adequate training program. By contrast, the focus of the seminar reported here is on improving organizational effectiveness through executive leadership development involving behavioral science² approaches to L.D.S. Church administration.

DEVELOPMENT AND UNIQUE FEATURES OF THE SEMINAR

In preparing the program described in this article, most of the existing executive development programs in the United States were surveyed. The majority of traditional programs can be characterized by such limitations as: (1) lack of adequate evaluation of program effectiveness; (2) focusing almost exclusively on changing the participants' skills and knowledge, with little attention to changing their values and attitudes; (3) the "smorgasbord" effect, in which various speakers present lectures or lead discussions coordinated superficially by title but not by content; (4) insufficient funds and little time set aside for careful planning of the program and post-session writing and reporting of the results; (5) too much emphasis on training exercises which, while requiring the trainees to participate, are not meaningful in themselves; and (6) little or no discussion by participants of related research findings in the management and behavioral science literature.

Although church and other voluntary organizations have been among

²Behavioral science is concerned with the application of scientific methods and approaches to human behavior, and when used in this article has reference to psychology, social psychology, sociology, and political science.

the last to engage in executive development, their needs might be among the most acute, because the voluntary and part-time executive often has limited time and resources. He has, at the same time, critical need for highly developed social skills and a broad range of information about interpersonal relations, groups, organizations and communities. There is a good deal of evidence that Latter-day Saint bishops and stake presidents have performed remarkably well in their duties, which may be due partly to the inspiration of their calling and partly to their ability to apply to their Church roles knowledge and experience gained in their professional activities. Nevertheless, it appears reasonable that inspired, talented Church executives with executive leadership development will perform more effectively than equally inspired and talented Church executives without such opportunities.

These points, together with the greater Church-wide emphasis now being placed on implementing the correlation program, convinced stake presidents serving on the Brigham Young University California Center's advisory Executive Committee that the time had come to utilize Center resources in exploring these executive training needs and, if possible, to develop a pilot seminar program for demonstration purposes.

As finally presented, the Church Executive Leadership Seminar was characterized by these eight features: (1) only chief executives, in this case stake presidents, who agreed to attend all sessions and complete seminar assignments personally were admitted as participants; (2) a behavioral science perspective on management rather than traditional business administration or theology constituted the focus of the seminar, although each participant contributed practical illustrations from his own Church administrative experience in ways that enriched all discussions; (3) a three-phase plan was utilized—the first devoted to building support between consultants and the executive committee of stake presidents, the second devoted to the seminar itself, and the third phase including evaluation and compilation of results into a final report of activities; (4) an evaluation of the effectiveness of the program was made, including before-after measures of participants' values, attitudes, skills, knowledge, and behavior, which could be used for possible modification of future programs; (5) most presentations were made by the authors, thus providing program continuity and eliminating the "smorgasbord" pattern so common in executive programs; (6) there was emphasis on re-examination of basic values and attitudes of participants rather than providing mere information; (7) an attempt was made to capitalize on the capacities and resources of individual group members and the spontaneous development of insights and ideas, thus enabling the seminar to move according to its natural rate of group development rather than according to a highly structured pre-plan; and (8) a teaching approach was used in which it was assumed that effective learning most frequently occurs in non-lecture situations, such as group discussions, workshops, outside reading assignments, role playing, management exercises, sensitivity training, and field experiences in the community.

SEMINAR CONTENT AND DYNAMICS

Operationally, the seminar was divided into six weekly sessions averaging eight hours of instruction and activities each, for a total of forty-eight hours. It was organized without the benefit of a university appropriation or the official sponsorship by the Church or some other organization. Funds to defray expenses and administrative overhead had to be obtained through fees of \$175 collected from the participants. Inasmuch as the fees had to come from personal funds, or very limited local Church resources, the program was operated on a small budget, which affected the methods used to elicit participation.

As participants, stake presidents were expected to achieve the following objectives during their experience together:

- (1) to obtain *knowledge* about administrative behavior and procedures and the applications of behavioral science to management problems facing Church executives;
- (2) to acquire greater *skills* in interpersonal relations, creative use of executive time, reading, learning techniques, and scientific research;
- (3) to build better Church and personal *relationships* with other L.D.S. stake officials, community leaders, and behavioral scientists;
- (4) to participate in developing and *authoring* part of a seminar report analyzing administrative problems facing local Church executives.

The content of the seminar focused on two general areas—philosophy and ethics of management and behavioral science perspectives on management. In addition, participants developed two written papers in which they applied seminar materials and perspectives toward plans for more effective administration of ongoing Church programs in the Los Angeles area.

On Friday evening, February 11, 1966, the seminar officially opened with a two-day session at a local conference center, where participants registered and were introduced to the authors and each other in ways that began breaking down the usual barriers between individuals. Several exercises were designed to build the trust among participants necessary to effectively utilize group processes in the weekly sessions which followed. Ground rules and expectations of homework and other assignments were established, the over-all plan of the seminar was explained, and evaluation questionnaires were administered. The following morning, participants were introduced to basic concepts of values from a philosophical, scientific, and personal point of view, following which the use of time was examined. Basic foundations of pluralism, pragmatism, and problem solving were discussed, along with concepts from the philosophy of science, and the relationship of these approaches to modern executive decision-making in Church organizations was examined.

During succeeding Saturdays, specific content dealing with behavioral science research on management was presented on four levels of analysis. The first dealt with research findings on the individual and his interpersonal behavior, including such concepts as identity, attitudes, motivation, perception, learning, creativity, interaction, and communication.

The discussion and assigned readings dealing with the second level—group relations—included such concepts as conflict, reference groups and norms, leadership, and group problem solving. The third level dealt with organizational behavior—including recruitment, selection, training, use of organizational authority and power, formal structure, program effectiveness and strategies of planned change. The fourth level focused on such topics as community values, decision-making, current social issues, special interest influences and activities, and the nature of community power and politics.

Midway through the seminar a special field exercise called “Operation Empathy” was conducted to allow the participants to gain new insights into how others feel by acting out another’s role. This field exercise began about 4:30 P.M. on Saturday afternoon, when members of the seminar visited the “Skid Row” area of Los Angeles, where they purchased \$3.50 worth of used clothing from local merchants. After returning to the University of Southern California’s Civic Center Campus, they changed their clothes and took on the appearance of lower class residents.

On this occasion, a special guest, Father Llewellyn Williams, a Negro Episcopalian minister from the Watts-Compton district, reviewed the history of the Negro poverty area before the 1965 riot in Los Angeles. During the discussion that followed, Father Williams complimented the Church on its activities, criticized its stand on the Negro question, and challenged its members to demonstrate community leadership by getting involved in two of the most critical social issues of our time—poverty and race relations. A number of participants took issue with his stimulating comments and observations in the exciting interchange which followed.

After the presentation by Father William the participants returned to the Skid Row area to mingle with people on the street for a short time and to visit one of the “Rescue Missions” in the area, where they participated in a religious service—singing gospel songs and listening to a fiery sermon. After the service participants joined about two hundred others in the simple meal that was offered. In discussions following this experience, many of the participants agreed that “Operation Empathy” had challenged their beliefs about the poor and the culture of crime and poverty.

SEMINAR EVALUATION

A major weakness of traditional professional education programs is the failure to scientifically evaluate their impact on participants. It should be stated at the outset that our attempt to evaluate the impact of this seminar was not altogether successful from a rigorous scientific point of view. Nevertheless, the attempted evaluation resulted in four significant outcomes which can only be outlined in this article. First, the questionnaires administered at the opening session of the seminar gave insights which were invaluable in helping the authors adapt the seminar to the

particular needs of the participants, and yielded information about the personal values of L.D.S. Church leaders in Southern California. Second, the before-after measures gave an indication of changes in values which occurred during the seminar. Third, a critique by participants and consultants gave some idea of the strengths and weaknesses of the program, along with recommendations for future seminars. And fourth, some indicators of behavior change in several participants were reported a number of weeks after the completion of the seminar.

During the first evening five instruments were administered to the participants, including a social background questionnaire, a time distribution questionnaire, the "Survey of Interpersonal Values" by Gordon, the K² "View of Man" survey of values by the authors, and a balanced Authoritarian Personality (F) Scale.

Social Background Questionnaire. This included information about the background of the participants, their parents, and their spouses, with particular attention to occupation, education, religion, and extra-professional activities such as voluntary organization work, hobbies, and reading (books, magazines, and newspapers). Results showed that each of the stake presidents read a daily newspaper and a weekly news magazine, about half read a professional journal, and most read the usual Church-related publications. Their reading of books indicates a preference for religious, historical, and professional publications, with almost no attention to fiction, other non-fiction, or works dealing with social issues of the day.

Time Distribution Questionnaire. Each participant was asked to write out in detail the schedule of a typical week. Results showed that these Church leaders averaged fifty hours on their jobs, twenty-eight hours in Church work, ten hours with their families, three hours on self-development and about one hour in local community activities.

Survey of Interpersonal Values. This instrument by Gordon was selected from the variety of attitude instruments available to measure individual values toward support, conformity, recognition, independence, benevolence, and leadership. A comparison of their scores with a variety of other male groups, including physicians, Air Force Academy cadets, gifted high school students, and general adults, indicates that relatively high value is placed on *benevolence*, the desire to share with others and help the unfortunate. Though their scores on *leadership* are slightly higher than the "general adult" category, they are substantially lower than other groups who, like the stake presidents, hold positions of authority over others, such as "department managers" and "infantry lieutenants." They value *independence* less than other groups, even less than groups like the military, whose occupations restrict their personal lives; however, during the six-week seminar there was a statistically significant increase in affirmative attitudes toward this value. Participants also had a comparatively high score on *conformity* when compared with others, and as a group were about average in their need for *support* and *recognition*.

Authoritarian Personality Scale (Balanced F). This widely-used six-point

scale was designed to measure interpersonal attitudes toward authority. The higher the score the more the person tends toward being conventional, submissive toward moral authority, and inclined to punish people who violate conventional values. When corrected for religious bias, the average score for stake presidents was 4.2 and dropped significantly during the seminar to 3.6, a lower score than that of most non-religious leaders with comparable organizational responsibilities.

K² View of Man Scale. This scale was recently developed by identifying major historical and philosophical ideas on the nature of man and society, and adapting them for use in research. There was general consensus by the stake presidents that man was both good and responsible, but less agreement that he was unselfish and rational. They also took a basically conservative position in favor of order, stability, and free enterprise in contrast to innovation and government regulation. Finally, they leaned slightly toward protection of private property as contrasted to protection of civil rights.

SATISFACTION AND BEHAVIORAL INDICATORS

In addition to these attempts at more objective evaluation, a satisfaction survey was taken which showed the usual enthusiastic support for any program in which participants have invested time and money. One unsolicited letter from a participating stake president, however, does show some behavioral changes resulting from the seminar:

The results of a "creative hour" indicate the following changes in my behavior:

- (1) I find the use of such an hour a tremendous help and a great timesaver in planning. The use of such an hour is very spotty at the moment but I am determined to find the time to use it regularly.
- (2) I find the 'use of time' is becoming less of a problem through use of the material taught in the course.
- (3) We have changed the High Council meeting schedule and reporting and accounting procedures to allow for improved communication and understanding between High Council and Stake Presidency.
- (4) I find myself considerably more sensitive to the individual leader, his background, personality, and problems.

A second more personal example has been observed by the authors: a participating stake president has taken these steps during the six months since the seminar was completed:

- (1) he has successfully completed the Evelyn Wood's Reading Dynamics Program and now reads over one thousand words per minute with high comprehension;
- (2) he has appointed a special committee of women to study L.D.S. girls and their marriages to non-members in the area, using certain techniques of survey research;
- (3) he has appointed a behavioral scientist as his special assistant

for executive training of stake high councilmen and ward executives; and

(4) he has sponsored and financed an overnight two-day executive leadership seminar for all six ward bishops and Melchizedek Priesthood leaders at an educational conference center. Subject matter dealt with behavioral science management techniques and methods of improving performance in Church correlation programs and activities at the ward and stake level.

IMPLICATIONS

Several implications can be drawn from our experience with the Stake Presidents' Executive Leadership Seminar:

(1) Of the classic ways of improving organizational performance by changing organization, programs, objectives, technology and personnel, the first four are largely initiated by the General Church Authorities, whereas improving personnel has been traditionally largely a local responsibility.

(2) Changing people for improved performance can be undertaken in two major ways—by physically replacing the officer or teacher in the organization, or by improving his performance through training.

(3) Executive development is no substitute for inspired leadership; however, when combined they complement each other in ways that lead toward more effective performance.

(4) There are three basic approaches to executive training: orientation sessions in which organizational programs and procedures from official manuals are reviewed for operating personnel; the human relations approach which emphasizes participant satisfaction, novel training techniques, and methods of reducing interpersonal conflict; and the behavioral science leadership development approach characterized by behavioral science research findings related to management, changes in personal values and skills, the use of group-oriented teaching processes, and research evaluation of program effectiveness. The Church Executive Leadership Development Seminar described in this article demonstrates the utility of this third approach.

(5) Most local leaders are not professionally qualified to conduct this behavioral science approach to training, even though they may be highly qualified in terms of their Church commitment and observance of Church standards.

(6) There are in the local organizations individuals who are qualified as professionally trained behavioral scientists with interests in training, who have demonstrated their loyalty to the Church in positions of teaching and administrative responsibility.

(7) Local Church authorities have long recognized the value of using other professionally trained experts such as lawyers, accountants, businessmen, physicians, skilled craftsmen, and musicians where their talents are useful—behavioral scientists also should be recruited and called wherever their talents can be helpful to the Church.



THE FACSIMILE FOUND:

THE RECOVERY OF JOSEPH SMITH'S PAPYRUS MANUSCRIPTS

The L.D.S. Church has received part of a collection of papyrus manuscripts which had generally been presumed lost for more than 100 years. These eleven papyri, presented to the First Presidency by New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art and now being examined at Brigham Young University, include the drawing Joseph Smith published as Facsimile No. 1 of the Book of Abraham in the Pearl of Great Price, as well as other drawings which are much like certain figures in Facsimiles No. 2 and No. 3 and others referred to by Oliver Cowdery as part of the "Book of Joseph." DIALOGUE has through independent sources obtained photographs of all eleven papyri and a copy of the accompanying letter of sale by Emma Smith Bidamon; some of these are reproduced in connection with the following interviews: first, Glen Wade, a member of the Church who teaches electrical engineering at the University of California at Santa Barbara, reports on his efforts to find out about the rumored existence of the papyri over the past six months and on a conversation he recently had with Professor Aziz S. Atiya of the University of Utah, who helped recover the papyri. Then there follows the transcript of an interview with Dr. Henry G. Fischer, Curator of the Egyptian Collection at the Metropolitan Museum where the papyri have been since 1947, conducted by Norman Tolk, Lecturer in Physics at Columbia and a member of DIALOGUE's Board of Editors, and three other interested Mormons from the Manhattan Ward: Lynn Travers, an editor and free-lance writer for Harcourt, Brace and World and president of the YWMIA; George D. Smith, Jr., an investment counselor and instructor of the Mutual Study Class; and F. Charles Graves, a graduate student in educational administration at Columbia and first counselor in the ward bishopric.

A CONVERSATION WITH PROFESSOR ATIYA

Dr. Aziz S. Atiya, the discoverer of the famed *Codex Arabicus* and a number of other archaeological treasures of antiquity, regards his finding of the Joseph Smith papyri as one of his most gratifying experiences. It was in the latter part of May,

1966, when Professor Atiya was doing research for his new book, *History of Eastern Christianity*, that he made the discovery. A member of the Coptic Church (Egyptian Christian Church) and a careful student of its ancient history, he was checking through files of papyrus manuscripts at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art in search of Coptic material. He came upon eleven papyrus sheets which instantly held his attention. The writing was hieroglyphic and hieratic, dating back to the era 500 B.C. to 1000 B.C. and obviously having no bearing on his research, but nevertheless, something caught his eye. The first of the eleven sheets, somewhat fragmented and with portions missing, contained a vignette showing three figures: a man on a couch, a standing man nearby, and a bird in mid-air. Dr. Atiya immediately recognized the original of Facsimile No. 1 in the Pearl of Great Price.

I recently spent a delightful afternoon at Professor Atiya's house near the University of Utah campus, and heard him describe his experience. I had previously expressed interest in his find and he had invited me to pay him a visit. Mrs. Taza A. Peirce, executive secretary of Salt Lake City's Council of International Visitors, was invited also, and we enjoyed the gracious hospitality of Dr. and Mrs. Atiya as we discussed the details of what had happened.

Dr. Atiya explained that it was the standing man in the vignette which had first attracted his attention (see page 49). The original head was missing, but the damaged papyrus sheet had been glued to a sheet of nineteenth century paper and a drawing of a head had been penciled in. It was this fact and the appearance of the head which caused Dr. Atiya to realize that he was looking at one of the Mormon papyri. Although not a member of the Church, Dr. Atiya for many years had cherished his Latter-day Saint friends and is well informed about Church beliefs. He is aware of the history of the papyri and their relationship to the Book of Abraham in the Pearl of Great Price and is acquainted with the three facsimiles.

It took little time to verify the authenticity of the find. The file containing the papyrus manuscripts also contained a letter signed by Emma Smith Bidamon, widow of the Prophet, showing that Joseph Smith was once their owner.¹

The Metropolitan Museum was certainly aware not only of the existence

¹Following is an exact copy of the letter:

Nauvoo City May 26/56

This certifies that we have sold to Mr. A. Combs four Egyptian Mummies with the records of them. This Mummies were obtained from the catacoms of Egypt sixty feet below the surface of the Earth. by the antiquaritan society of Paris & forwarded to New York & purchased by the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith at the price of twenty four hundred dollars in the year eighteen hundred thirty five they were highly prized by Mr. Smith on account of the importance which attached to the record which were accidentally found enclosed in the breast of one of the Mummies. from translations by Mr. Smith of the Records. these Mummies were found to be the family of Pharo King of Egypt. they were kept exclusively by Mr. Smith until his death & since by the Mother of Mr. Smith notwithstanding we have had repeated offers to purchase which have invariably been refused until her death which occured on the fourteenth day of this month

[signed]

L.C. Bidamon

Nauvoo

Hancock Co. Ill May 26

Emma Bidamon

Joseph Smith

[pencil:] former wife of Jos. Smith

[pencil:] son of Jos. Smith

of these papyri in their files, but, because of the letter, that they had a connection with the Mormon Church. Why then did it take so many years for these fragments to come to the attention of the Church? We can only assume that the Museum did not understand their intrinsic value to Mormonism. Dr. Atiya did.

Dr. Atiya obtained photographs of the material in the file and returned to his home in Salt Lake City. He immediately got in touch with his good Mormon friend, Taza Peirce, and told her in confidence what he had discovered. A few days later the two of them met with President N. Eldon Tanner and the photographs were displayed. Later, the photographs were sent to Brigham Young University for inspection by Professor Hugh Nibley, who confirmed that the papyri were from the Mormon collection.

Dr. Atiya felt strongly that this collection, having such significance to the Church, should now be back in the hands of the Church. He was aware that arranging for a transfer of ownership might involve delicate negotiations and that he could play a role in bringing about such a transfer. His approach included avoiding publicity at all costs. Only Mrs. Peirce had been told of the actual location of the papyri, and she kept the secret well. In the course of the next year and a half, Dr. Atiya made seven trips to New York City and numerous telephone calls to the museum. He first suggested to museum officials that an exchange of gifts might be appropriate, the Church giving to the museum an object of art and antiquity in return for the papyrus pieces. The museum officials soon agreed that the proper home for the collection was with the Church and that even an exchange of gifts would be unnecessary. Nevertheless, the negotiations took substantial time. Finally, in September, 1967, Professor Atiya received a letter from Dr. Henry G. Fischer, Curator of the Egyptian Collection of the museum, agreeing to the transfer. At mid-day on Monday, November 27, 1967, in a special ceremony at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art the eleven papyrus pieces, along with the letter, were presented to President Tanner as a gift of the museum to the Church.

In addition to the papyrus itself, Dr. Atiya pointed out that the paper on which the papyrus had been mounted might also be of interest to Church scholars.² All eleven pieces originally had been part of a papyrus roll. The roll had been cut into separate pieces by the Prophet, or by an associate, and glued to the paper. Professor Atiya said there were notes in Joseph Smith's handwriting on three of the paper sheets. Presumably, Joseph Smith had also made the penciled sketch of the head on the standing figure in the first vignette. The notes on the paper included a mapped area and a citation of townships.

Taza Peirce told me that the collection of eleven pieces is by no means all the

²This refers to a previously unknown map of Nauvoo on which Joseph Smith apparently mounted the pieces of papyri. T. Edgar Lyon, Research Historian for Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., feels that recovery of this map may be one of the most valuable results of obtaining the papyri. [ed.]

papyri the Church initially owned. It is believed that thirty pieces were originally cut from the roll. Nineteen therefore are still missing and remain out of Church hands.

The papyri were initially found with a group of Egyptian mummies which the Prophet purchased from Michael H. Chandler in 1835 in Kirtland, Ohio. Joseph Smith stated that the papyri contained the writings of Abraham and of Joseph. From the papyri he proceeded to translate the set of scriptures known as the Book of Abraham in the Pearl of Great Price. Although the Church continued to possess the papyri for some years after 1835, eventually they were lost and were thought by historians to have been destroyed in the Chicago fire.

The possible existence of the papyri has been a matter of speculation for some time. At a meeting I attended in the Tustin Ward Chapel of Santa Ana, California, on August 11, 1967, Professor Hugh Nibley stated that the papyrus text for the Book of Abraham and the Book of Joseph were not destroyed in the fire but were still in existence. He indicated that he personally did not know their location or ownership but that he was quite certain of their preservation. In a later conversation, Henry Lutz, Professor Emeritus of Egyptology at the University of California, suggested to me that Dr. John A. Wilson of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago might know something about the papyri. I wrote a letter of inquiry to Professor Wilson and received the following reply:

The University of Chicago
The Oriental Institute
August 31, 1967

Professor Glen Wade
Department of Electrical Engineering
University of California
Santa Barbara, California 93106

Dear Professor Wade:

In my book, *Signs and Wonders upon Pharaoh* (University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 38, I wrote:

"Nine years after these pieces had been bought, there was an attack on the Latter-day Saints in Nauvoo, Illinois. . . . the Egyptian pieces were carried off to a museum in Chicago, according to the story. When the great fire swept that city in 1871, these texts with their curious history were allegedly destroyed."

As I had originally framed that statement, I did not use the words "according to the story" and "allegedly." I followed the published account. Then I was told verbally and in confidence that they were still in existence, recently bought by an American museum from a private source. I have been asked not to reveal their present location, and I have to keep my word on that. Thus I cannot suggest to you how you can secure more definite information.

Sincerely yours,
[signed]
John A. Wilson
Professor of Egyptology

JAW/es

Whether or not Professor Wilson was referring to the pieces later discovered by Dr. Atiya, I do not know. I suspect he was. If so, the American museum to which he referred was the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. The private

source was Edward Heusser, who sold the pieces to the museum in 1947. Edward was the husband of Alice Heusser, a daughter of a housekeeper of a Mr. A. Combs, who in 1856 bought the papyrus from Emma Smith Bidamon. The letter signed by Emma, which Dr. Atiya discovered with the eleven papyrus pieces, noted the sale of the papyrus to Mr. Combs.

Eleven pieces of the original collection are now safely in the hands of the Church. Some nineteen others may still be in existence. It is possible that some or all of the remaining pieces will eventually be located and acquired by the Church.

AN INTERVIEW WITH DR. FISCHER

DIALOGUE: *On Monday, November 27, 1967, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City presented a number of documents to President N. Eldon Tanner of the First Presidency, who accepted them on behalf of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. What were these documents? Could you describe them for us?*

FISCHER: There are eleven documents. In addition, there is a letter of presentation from the family of Joseph Smith. The documents in question are fragments of funerary papyri; that is, fragments of long scrolls containing texts intended for the benefit of the deceased and placed in the dead man's tomb. I would say that the dimensions of these fragments vary from the size of a large envelope or large post card to three times that size. Furthermore, one of these fragments actually can be identified as the original document from which Joseph Smith copied the drawing which is called "Facsimile No. 1," found in the Pearl of Great Price. Since the illustration is incomplete, this assumption can be verified very exactly. That is to say, the part that's missing in the original scroll fragment, and that had been sketched in by hand, corresponds to Joseph Smith's reproduction in the Pearl of Great Price.

DIALOGUE: *Then you feel that, in the case of Facsimile No. 1, the part of the scroll fragment that is missing now was also missing at the time Joseph Smith had this document in his possession?*

FISCHER: I think that it is in just about the same state as when he owned it.

DIALOGUE: *Is there any evidence for the supposition that all these fragments came from the same original scroll?*

FISCHER: They certainly belong to more than one scroll and probably as many as four. Although there are several fragments from the same scroll.

DIALOGUE: *Would you comment on the size of the scrolls?*

FISCHER: You mean the size of the original scrolls? Well, I am not sure. They could have been quite long. How long? Perhaps fifteen feet; scrolls like these are even longer in some cases. They vary in length and as you can see, these are small fragments of rather long documents.

DIALOGUE: *Do you think Joseph Smith cut up parts of the original scrolls into these pieces?*

FISCHER: No, I doubt if he cut the documents. I think that they came to him in this fashion. I doubt very much if he cut them up.

DIALOGUE: *Would you elaborate on the evidence that these manuscripts were those actually possessed by Joseph Smith?*

FISCHER: There is first of all the letter from the family of Joseph Smith. We have given the Church this letter. It states that the mummies and record had been owned by Joseph Smith. The letter is signed by three people, Joseph Smith's son, Joseph Smith, Emma Smith Bidamon, and her husband L. C. Bidamon. We have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the letter. It rings true. Furthermore, these papyri were mounted on pieces of a map which relates to the area and the time when Joseph Smith lived in Illinois. And there is the point, too, that one of these documents does correspond exactly to one of the illustrations in the Pearl of Great Price, and it is absolutely certain that this is the same papyrus. As I've said, the part that's missing corresponds to the restorations made by Joseph Smith. And that really clinches it. Facsimile No. 1 is also a very good copy, a very accurate copy, as far as the section preserved is concerned.

DIALOGUE: *I have been told that there was some writing on the margins of some of the papyri, or at least on the material that the papyri were mounted on. Was this writing done by Joseph Smith?*

FISCHER: There is some writing on the maps but this may not be in his own hand; perhaps he simply took a map done in pen and ink and used that for mounting. I think that's what you have in mind. There's some other writing, but we don't know just what it pertains to; there's perhaps a genealogical table or something of that sort. These writings don't have any immediate relation to the papyri, however, they were just on pieces of paper that were reused for the mounting. They might be of interest in indicating the time and the place of Joseph Smith's study of the papyri. Quite possibly they are of some historical interest in terms of Joseph Smith's life.

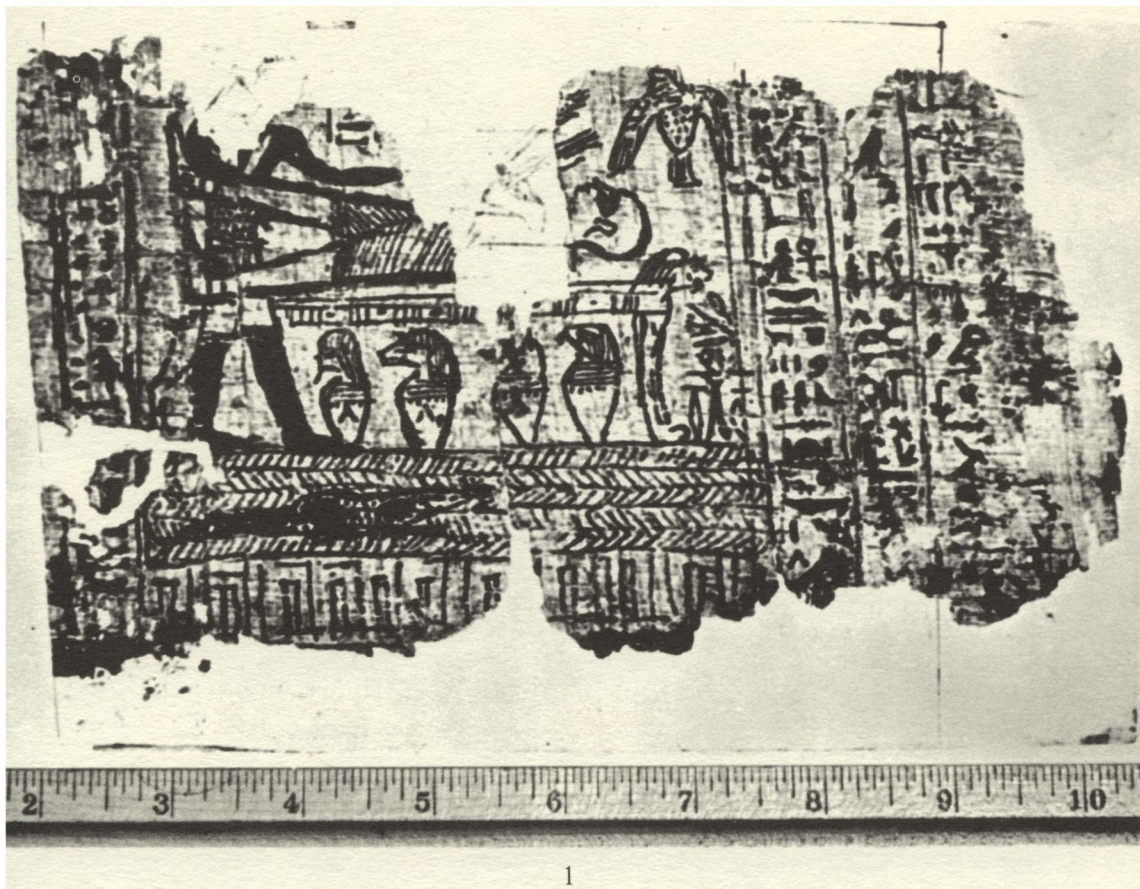
DIALOGUE: *How did these manuscripts actually come into the possession of the Metropolitan Museum?*

FISCHER: Our first knowledge of them goes back to 1918 when our first curator, Dr. A. M. Lythgoe, was shown these fragments by a Mrs. Alice Heusser, a woman who lived in Brooklyn. I think that must be the way you pronounce her name (he spells it out). Her mother had been housekeeper to a person named Combs, and Combs had bought them from the family of Joseph Smith. It is that sale which is mentioned in the letter I referred to. On the death of Mr. A. Combs, they were left to Mrs. Heusser's mother. One of our staff members, Dr. Ludlow Bull, had maintained an interest in these records; in about 1946 he tried to find out where they were and they were offered to us by the widower of Mrs. Heusser, Mr. Edward Heusser. We acquired them then in 1947. Of course, we knew because we had the letter too, what the relevance was to the Mormon Church.

DIALOGUE: *You were aware at that time, in fact, even in 1918, that it was relevant to the Church; however, you did not at that time contact anyone who was associated with the Mormon Church?*

FISCHER: Frankly, we didn't know what the Mormon Church's wishes were. It wasn't until we discussed the matter with Professor Atiya, who teaches in Salt Lake City at the University of Utah, that we had a possibility of finding out how they

On the facing page we have reproduced (1) the original papyrus from which Joseph Smith took "Facsimile No. 1," (2) the first published copy, printed from a woodcut by Reuben Hedlock in the *Times and Seasons*, Vol. III, No. 9 (March 1, 1842), and (3) the somewhat different version used in contemporary copies of the Pearl of Great Price (dating from 1876). [ed.]



1

TIMES AND SEASONS.

"Truth will prevail."

Vols. III. No. 9.] CITY OF NAUVOO, ILL. MARCH, 1, 1842. [Whole No. 45.

A FACSIMILE FROM THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM.
NO. 1.



EXPLANATION OF THE ABOVE CUT.

- Fig. 1.—The Angel of the Lord.
2. Abraham, fastened upon an Altar.
3. The Idolatrous Priest of Elkenah attempting to offer up Abraham as a sacrifice.
4. The Altar for sacrifice, by the Idolatrous Priests, standing before the Gods of Elkenah, Libnah, Mahmachrah, Korash, and Pharaoh.
5. The Idolatrous God of Elkenah.
6. The " " " Libnah.
7. The " " " Mahmachrah.
8. The " " " Korash.
9. The " " " Pharaoh.
10. Abraham in Egypt.
11. Designed to represent the pillars of Heaven, as understood by the Egyptians.
12. Raukeeyang, signifying expanse, or the firmament over our heads; but in this case, in relation to this subject, the Egyptians meant it to signify Shaumau, to be high, or the heavens; answering to the Hebrew word, Shaumahyeem.

2

A FACSIMILE FROM THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM

No. 1.



EXPLANATION OF THE ABOVE CUT.

- Fig. 1. The Angel of the Lord. 2. Abraham fastened upon an altar. 3. The idolatrous priest of Elkenah attempting to offer up Abraham as a sacrifice. 4. The altar for sacrifice by the idolatrous priests, standing before the gods of Elkenah, Libnah, Mahmachrah, Korash, and Pharaoh. 5. The idolatrous god of Elkenah. 6. The idolatrous god of Libnah. 7. The idolatrous god of Mahmachrah. 8. The idolatrous god of Korash. 9. The idolatrous god of Pharaoh. 10. Abraham in Egypt. 11. Designed to represent the pillars of heaven, as understood by the Egyptians. 12. Raukeeyang, signifying expanse, or the firmament over our heads; but in this case, in relation to this subject, the Egyptians meant it to signify Shaumau, to be high, or the heavens, answering to the Hebrew word, Shaumahyeem.

3

felt about it. Then it became possible to transfer the documents from us to them.

DIALOGUE: *At what time did Dr. Atiya become aware of the existence of the scrolls?*

FISCHER: I would say about a year ago. We know him well; he is a gentleman we have been associated with through the American Research Center in Egypt and so on. He had come to our department and was looking for illustrations for one of his books. This matter came up in the course of giving him this help. We knew, since he worked in Salt Lake City and was acquainted with leaders of the Mormon Church, that he might very tactfully find out how they felt about it. So we simply informed him about this in confidence, and I think he handled the matter very nicely.

DIALOGUE: *There was a period of approximately one year between the time Dr. Atiya became aware of the scrolls and the Church acquired them. We would be interested in learning what sort of research Dr. Atiya and others did to verify that these scrolls were authentic, and that indeed they were the ones that were associated with Joseph Smith. Was Dr. Atiya involved in research of this nature during that year?*

FISCHER: I don't know. I imagine that he simply passed on photographs to the Church leaders, and then they could see for themselves. I think the two points, the letter and the illustration in the papyrus that was reproduced by Joseph Smith in the Pearl of Great Price just clinched the matter beyond all doubt. I think they were immediately convinced on the basis of the photographs.

DIALOGUE: *The DESERET NEWS press release described some of the documents as in their words "conventional hieroglyphic and hieratic Egyptian funerary texts;" Would you elaborate on this?*

FISCHER: I think that probably the Church will try to establish exactly what these texts are. We know for a certainty, however, that they are parts of several copies of the Book of the Dead. The texts probably vary in date, but most of them are pretty late in terms of ancient Egyptian history. The spells in these texts would insure the welfare of the dead man in the next world. They provide a means of getting there, give him certain powers in the next world, and so on.

DIALOGUE: *So these particular scrolls, referred to in the DESERET NEWS, are very similar to other scrolls that may be in the Museum's possession.*

FISCHER: Yes, that's right. There are many, many copies of these texts. Of course, a very beautiful example would be of great interest to us, and we do normally have some fine examples on display. Let's say that these fragments are reduplications in that sense. Such reduplications are of interest to specialists in funerary text but are not useful to us in terms of our exhibition.

DIALOGUE: *Are manuscripts of this sort characteristic of a particular time period in Egyptian history?*

FISCHER: They go back to a custom that we first know of from the Old Kingdom, the earliest of the three greatest periods of Egyptian history, the time of the

The manuscript reproduced on the facing page apparently includes the drawings Oliver Cowdery referred to in a letter to William Frye concerning the papyri which appeared in *Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (December 1835), p. 236. Joseph Smith had reported that "one of the rolls contained the writings of Abraham, another the writings of Joseph of Egypt"; in discussing this record of Joseph, Cowdery said, "The serpent, represented as walking, or formed in a manner to be able to walk, standing in front of, and near a female figure, is to me, one of the greatest representations I have ever seen upon paper. . . . Enoch's pillar, as mentioned by Josephus, is upon the same roll."

Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, likely Sumerian or Akkadian, running vertically down the left margin of the tablet.

Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, located at the top center of the tablet, above the first illustration.



Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, located at the top right of the tablet, to the right of the first illustration.

Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, located to the right of the first illustration, below the top right text.

Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, located in the middle section of the tablet, spanning across the width of the tablet.



Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, located to the right of the second illustration.

Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, located in the lower middle section of the tablet, above the third illustration.



Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, located to the right of the third illustration.



Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, located in the bottom right section of the tablet, to the right of the bird illustration.

Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, located at the very bottom of the tablet, below the bird illustration.



The manuscript reproduced here contains a drawing (lower right hand corner) very similar to Figure 3 of Facsimile No. 2 of the Book of Abraham. Other papyri contain figures similar to Figure 6 of Facsimile No. 2 and to Figure 2 of Facsimile No. 3.

Fragment of an ancient text in a cuneiform script, likely Akkadian or Sumerian. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the fragment. The script is highly stylized and difficult to decipher due to the fragmentary nature of the original source.



pyramids. In the burial chambers of the pyramids of the late fifth and sixth dynasty, and the eighth dynasty, too, you have texts insuring the king's access to the next world, and his welfare there. The practice of using texts for this purpose was later taken up by private individuals, as well as the king. They were carved on the inside of coffins during the Middle Kingdom, the next period, from about 2,000 B.C. onwards. Then about 500 years later a different practice developed as the Egyptians changed the form of their coffins to the anthropoid forms (shaped to look like a man) that most museum-goers are familiar with. Instead of carving or painting the texts on the inside of the coffin, they put the texts on rolls of papyrus and then rolled the rolls up and put them with the dead man.

DIALOGUE: *Were the scrolls that are in the possession of the Church found in that form?*

FISCHER: Well, we don't know exactly the circumstances, but we would assume that from other cases.

DIALOGUE: *So you would place the origin of the scrolls sometime after 1500 B.C.?*

FISCHER: A good deal after, I believe. I wouldn't want to say exactly what the date was. I think the dates vary somewhat, but some of the texts probably come down to the very end of ancient Egyptian history not too long before the time of Christ; others may be earlier. I must concede that I am not an expert on that question. I haven't dated them that precisely myself.

DIALOGUE: *Is it possible to date papyri using the carbon-14 method?*

FISCHER: I don't think so. In the first place, to make the test, you have to consume a considerable amount of the papyrus. In this case, you would have to use so much of it that you would have nothing left. And then when you make that sort of test, you often arrive at results that are fuzzier than could be established by other means, such as by paleography and so on.

DIALOGUE: *Are there other possible methods for dating papyrus?*

FISCHER: Paleography is one means; the style of writing might be analyzed. Someone who is expert on such fragments would know at a glance that it belongs to a definite period, and that sort of judgment would be your best indication. These fragments could be compared with others that have well established dates, and there are many papyri that could be used for this type of research. I am sure that we could arrive at a pretty accurate date if such a comparison were made. It would be a good possibility for the Mormon Church to pursue.

DIALOGUE: *Could you give us more details about the burial traditions of the period associated with these texts?*

FISCHER: Originally, the king alone had the right to obtain access to an existence beyond this one. Eventually his right was transferred to other persons. The Egyptians generally provided for their existence in the next world in a variety of ways. They didn't depend solely on any one of them. They tried to build a tomb that would last. They would mummify the body to try to guarantee its permanence. They would try to insure that offerings be perpetuated. In earlier times, they would put reliefs into the tomb, depicting life as they knew it. They hoped, and expected too, that in this way they would continue their existence. They used many different methods but they were all directed to the same result. Throughout Egyptian history the emphasis is increasingly on the religious aspect of this sort of insurance. There was more and more reliance on the magical spell, on the religious text; some of

these texts pertain to spiritual matters while others are more material and concrete; they vary tremendously in character.

DIALOGUE: *Is there any possibility that these burial customs were flexible enough that an Egyptian might bury with the dead certain writings that had family significance? In some parts of our country today, for instance, people bury the text of the gospel of St. Matthew or the thirteenth chapter of Corinthians, because they were particularly close to them in life. Is there any counterpart to that in this period of history?*

FISCHER: No, I don't think so, because these texts from the Book of the Dead were put together specifically for the purpose of burial; therefore, the Egyptians already had exactly what they needed. They would not have thought of another means.

DIALOGUE: *Could you characterize the type of language or method of writing used on these papyri?*

FISCHER: It is the Egyptian language, a language related to both the Hamitic and Semitic families of languages. In a religious text there is usually a tendency toward archaic phraseology and orthography. In such cases, the writers go back to early texts and try to preserve the early phases of the language. The writing is in some cases a kind of book-writing, done with pen and ink in a style that approximates hieroglyphs; in other cases it is more cursive, and the forms are more abstract. That sort of writing we call hieratic. You find both kinds in these fragments.

DIALOGUE: *You mentioned that these texts would be copied from one generation to the next. Would the copyist keep the same type of figures or characters from generation to generation? In other words, would a text be written the same way three hundred years after it had first appeared?*

FISCHER: Well, there are some variations, of course, but there is also great continuity, as you suggest; that is to say, you would find similar vignettes from one scroll to the next, continuing over a great number of years.

DIALOGUE: *There was then a great stability in the form of the writing, over many centuries?*

FISCHER: Very much so.

DIALOGUE: *So this particular type of scroll might have been placed in the tombs of other mummies at different periods of time?*

FISCHER: Yes, but the scroll would generally mention the specific individual; in some cases a scroll might be written with blanks left in it for the name to be filled in when the scroll was purchased. In other cases a papyrus was inscribed expressly for an individual. You can say theoretically that a given scroll would be applicable to any person; but generally it was attached to an individual through the use of his name. That would be rather important to the person who possessed the particular scroll.

DIALOGUE: *You may not want to respond to this, but is it unusual for a scroll of this nature to be buried with an Egyptian, since this scroll pertains to someone whom the Mormon Church purports to be Abraham who is associated with the area of Palestine?*

FISCHER: I think that's a question for the Mormon Church to answer.

DIALOGUE: *Is it common to have had many copies made of the parts of the Book of the Dead?*

FISCHER: The Book of the Dead itself is a compilation of texts. Now, the compilation might vary from one papyrus to another, but you could expect certain chapters to be regularly included.

DIALOGUE: *You mentioned that the translation of such works as these would not be difficult.*

Does this suggest that, unlike other ancient languages, the Egyptian language did not evolve in any marked sense?

FISCHER: There certainly was change, but, as I said, when it comes to religious texts there is a tendency to use the classical language, as the Roman Catholic Church has used Latin for many years. The same tendency is found in many religions. In Islam, the Arabic of the time of Mohammed is used for prayer.

DIALOGUE: *I'd like to ask one clarification question. Was it in 1918 that the Museum acquired the papyri?*

FISCHER: We didn't acquire them until 1947. As I said before, the curator of our department was shown these documents in 1918. Many years afterwards, another member of our department, Dr. Bull, asked the family whether they still had them. Finally, he found out that the husband of Alice Heusser was still alive, and the husband sold them to us. But that wasn't until 1947. Then, a year ago, we made contact with Professor Atiya. It took us a little time before I was able to correspond with him. Subsequently, we put this matter before the director and our trustees. As you know, we had a change of directorship. I think that as museums do things, we acted with reasonable speed.

DIALOGUE: *Is this a standard practice to give such documents to interested private institutions such as the Church?*

FISCHER: I am glad you asked that question, since, technically, we have not given the documents to the Church. As far as the Church is concerned, it is a gift, of course, but it was made possible by an anonymous donation which covered the cost to the Museum. We have not set a precedent for giving away an object; we cannot be in that position.

DIALOGUE: *Would you say that the Church does not have complete ownership? Is there a way by which these documents could be called back?*

FISCHER: No, absolutely not. They are a gift from the Museum, but the gift was made possible because of an anonymous donation from a friend of ours.

DIALOGUE: *Does the Metropolitan Museum have a photographic record of all of these documents, including the letter?*

FISCHER: Yes, we do.

DIALOGUE: *Does the Metropolitan Museum plan to publish information on these scrolls?*

FISCHER: No, we are going to leave that to the Mormon Church. I am sure they are going to publish these texts in such a way that they can be studied eventually. I don't think they ought to be pressed. This is their prerogative. We have given them that prerogative along with the documents.

Roundtable

VIETNAM

*Participants: Ray C. Hillam
Eugene England
John L. Sorenson*

The responsibility to make an intelligent and moral response to the threat or fact of war is always a heavy and difficult, but unavoidable, one—perhaps more so now than ever before. In this Roundtable three men who share a common faith but quite different backgrounds and opinions attempt to face that responsibility. Ray Hillam, an associate professor of political science at Brigham Young University, just returned from a year as a Fulbright-Hays Professor in Vietnam; Eugene England, who is teaching Literature and Theology at Stanford University and is Assistant Director of the L.D.S. Institute there, is a managing editor of DIALOGUE; John Sorenson, a member of DIALOGUE's Board of Editors, was trained in anthropology at UCLA and taught at Brigham Young University before engaging full-time in industrial research (in the course of which he has done extensive work on Vietnam).

VIETNAM: A NEW ALTERNATIVE

Ray Cole Hillam

I

Since returning from Vietnam in July, I have become aware of an increased polarization of opinion in the United States on a solution to the war in Vietnam. To a large extent, this polarization is a result of what I prefer to call the “crusades” of the “usurpers” vs. the “abdicators”—the “usurpers” being those who see value in the continued Americanization of the war, and the “abdicators” being those who seek immediate withdrawal. Both are aptly called crusaders because they tend to base their arguments upon moral propositions. The “crusading usurpers” argue that it is immoral not to step-up the war against Communist aggression, while the “crusading abdicators” argue that we should extricate ourselves from an immoral war. Neither group hesitates to simplify the complex issues that are involved, nor alter the facts and issues to justify a position.

Assumptions of the Crusaders

The “crusading usurpers” argue that we should step-up our involvement. In

effect, they reject President Kennedy's statement: "It is their war. They are the ones who have to win it or lose it . . . the people of Vietnam." The war cannot be won, according to the "usurpers" unless we take firm control of the situation.

The "crusading abdicators" feel that we should withdraw from the war either because "we can't win," or because we should never have become involved in the first place. They assume that withdrawal will bring an end to the war, as far as we are concerned, and that the Vietnamese will be better off without our presence.

Each group argues that only by following its proposals can we terminate the war, salvage our tarnished prestige, and retain the values of a democratic society.

Critique of the "Crusading Usurpers"

The "crusading usurpers" are undermining the role of the Vietnamese in the South and encouraging the escalation of the air war in the North. Some Vietnamese in the South refer to our presence as the "new colonialism." A Vietnamese officer, with whom I was closely associated, said: "Many of us feel that we are without honor—mercenaries of the Americans." "Some of us," confided another, ". . . would prefer to fight the enemy but we have been pushed aside by the better armed Americans." Many of my students at the University of Saigon were convinced that the outcome of the war was up to the Americans. This trend toward Americanization is occurring in both the pacification and the military effort. Due to lack of local leadership, the problems of communication, and the pressure from Washington for immediate results, some frustrated Americans are tending to become supervisors rather than advisors.

Some "usurpers" demand that the war be escalated, particularly in the North. General Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is apparently convinced that with proper escalation in the North, the war could be terminated within a very few months. The fact is, however, thus far bombing has neither reduced the infiltration of supplies and manpower into the South nor produced negotiations. An increased effort against the North, including a blockade of Haiphong Harbor, would not seriously hinder an estimated 300,000 Viet Cong guerrillas in the South who could obtain continued support from China and Russia through Laos and Cambodia. Also, an invasion of North Vietnam, even assuming that China would remain aloof, would only magnify the size and duration of the present war. If necessary, Ho Chi Minh and his government would return to the rugged terrain of North Vietnam, Laos, and South China from where they fought the French years ago.

Critique of the "Crusading Abdicators"

The "crusading abdicators" are also vulnerable in their assumptions about the war. They have proposed few, if any, concrete programs for withdrawal; they simply declare that we should "pack up our bags and go home." Many feel that President Johnson or his successors can or will withdraw, thus grossly underestimating the persistent nature of the President and the real nature of our extensive commitments in South Vietnam and neighboring countries.

The "abdicators" give no evidence that war would end even if we did withdraw. Other states in Southeast Asia are plagued by Hanoi and Peking supported insurgent movements, and a Communist victory in South Vietnam could only

give impetus to other "wars of liberation." Moreover, Ho Chi Minh has clearly stated his intention to promote such wars in Laos and Cambodia as well as South Vietnam. Also, a Communist victory in South Vietnam would give credence to the Peking line of active revolution as opposed to Moscow's policy of "peaceful co-existence."

Hanoi feels that we can be defeated in Washington just as the French were defeated in Paris; the cries of the "abdicators" have hardened their resolve and have thus prolonged the present magnitude of the war. An immediate withdrawal would not necessarily end the war, bring security to Southeast Asia, or terminate our involvement, but rather would result in further wanton destruction in both South Vietnam and in other Southeast Asian countries.

The Present Situation

Prior to the spring of 1964 the Viet Cong were making substantial gains in the South; indeed, they were rapidly evolving from guerrilla to conventional tactics—the final phase of their "protracted war." Our military build-up after the Gulf of Tonkin incident has curbed, and in some areas even reversed, this evolution. There are indications that the Viet Cong are having difficulty replacing men in their battalion-size conventional units, many of which have been decimated by allied troops. North Vietnamese conventional units have likewise been soundly beaten, except near the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) where they are constantly putting pressure on the U.S. Marines. The commitment of more than 500,000 U.S. personnel, with all their modern advantages such as vertical envelopment and superior firepower, has prevented the insurgents from taking the conventional offensive necessary to complete the final phase of their strategy. With this massive involvement, the enemy cannot possibly win a military victory.

On the other hand, the allied forces are also having problems. Despite the military pressure, which has accounted for an estimated 250,000 enemy dead since 1961, it is also estimated that over the past two years, the insurgents have increased their total manpower by 65,000. They now number about 300,000 men who are armed with modern weapons, including flamethrowers, rockets, and heavy mortars. They have been able to carry on their guerrilla war practically unabated because of the genius of their organization—the infrastructure.

The infrastructure is a complex network of vertical, horizontal, and parallel structures designed to enmesh the population and retain commitments—to mobilize and manipulate the masses. When men, supplies, assassinations, ambushes, or mortar attacks are needed, it is the infrastructure which arranges them. The infrastructure finances its activities by taxing the peasants, exacting tolls at road-blocks, and by wresting fees and taxes from all levels of business—from the Saigon prostitute and street vendor to the large plantation owner. Until the power of this infrastructure is undermined, there is little hope for a satisfactory solution in Vietnam.

The present Saigon government is beginning to show some signs of political progress. A year and a half ago, the Thieu-Ky regime was barely able to survive Buddhist riots. However, since that time, the Vietnamese have been able to elect a constituent assembly, draft a constitution, hold reasonably free elections with fairly broad participation, and elect and inaugurate a new government. Conse-

quently, the Saigon regime is increasing its admittedly meager aura of legitimacy. Even though military men are still very much in control, the military has kept its promise to return to elected rule. While there are some indications that its programs are winning more acceptance among the populace, the Saigon government, nevertheless, is precarious at best and would most likely collapse without our support.

It is unlikely that there will be negotiations before the U.S. presidential elections in 1968. Hanoi is obtaining more support from its allies and places great significance on, and derives much hope from, the bitter divisions developing in our country on Vietnam policy. Hanoi's hopes for the victory of a peace candidate in 1968 and Washington's unwillingness to make any meaningful concessions at the present time point to at least another year of continued struggle before meaningful negotiations can be undertaken.

This effort to criticize the "crusaders" who have polarized the issues and done injury to a constructive approach in Vietnam, is based on two assumptions: (1) further escalation of the war will not bring meaningful results; and (2) given our commitments and the magnitude of our involvement, we will not withdraw. Four additional assumptions have been made: (1) the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese forces in the South cannot win militarily; (2) the primary enemy is not North Vietnam, but the Viet Cong infrastructure and insurgent forces in the South; (3) the strength, morale, and legitimacy of the present Saigon government is precarious but improving; and (4) negotiations with Hanoi and the Viet Cong are unlikely until after our Presidential elections in 1968. In view of these assumptions, I wish to outline a possible solution to ending the war, while at the same time, achieving our original objective of defending the South from aggression.

II

The termination of the war can best be achieved through the isolation of the enemy in South Vietnam. While the Viet Cong cannot be entirely eliminated, they can be rendered less effective by denying them their resources. This would require more effective restriction of the infiltration of men and supplies from North Vietnam and reducing the local sources of supplies, manpower, and popular support in the South.

Restrict Infiltration

The current strategy of interdiction is clearly insufficient. In recent months, infiltration has been so great that the enemy actually has been able to escalate its military effort in the South. The apparent futility of the present strategy is reflected in the admission of the South Vietnamese Defense Minister, Lt. General Cao Van Vien, that bombing in North Vietnam cannot stop infiltration. The main problem is the enemy's infiltration routes and base areas in Laos and Cambodia; until this problem is resolved, infiltration will continue. The Defense Minister believes that the war will last another twenty or thirty years unless the infiltration of men and supplies through these two countries can be halted.

Negotiations, a suggested alternative to bombing in North Vietnam, would also be no guarantee against infiltration. Hanoi would continue to prosecute the war in the South even while negotiating. For example, the southern branch of

the Lao Dong party (Communist) has been instructed not to deviate from, or delay, the original goals and strategy, even in the event of negotiations with the Americans. North Vietnamese General Nguyen Van Vinh, who directs the war in the South, has declared that it is possible that the North will conduct negotiations while the South continues to fight, and that the South will participate in negotiations and fight at the same time.

The infiltration of huge quantities of supplies and an estimated 5,000 to 7,000 men per month must be physically reduced. I feel this can best be achieved through a system of fortified barriers located south of the Demilitarized Zone extending from the South China Sea across South Vietnam and Laos to the Mekong River, and at strategic points along the border which South Vietnam shares with Laos and Cambodia. We should redeploy our military effort along these barriers and implement tactical rather than strategic interdiction. Instead of carrying the war to the North, we must concentrate on "closing" the access routes to the South. This will not stop infiltration altogether, but it is more apt to reduce the flow than our present effort. Our role should focus on protecting South Vietnam from infiltration rather than seeking a solution through escalated air power in the North.

This system of fortified barriers should be established before the advent of negotiations. Since negotiations are unlikely until after the American presidential elections, we have approximately one year for implementation. As the barriers are erected we could de-escalate and possibly stop the bombing in the North without any serious adverse consequences. Also, cessation of the bombing would bring increased pressure on Hanoi to negotiate.

Local Resource Control

More significant to the enemy apparatus than infiltration from the North is the availability of support in the South. The locally recruited hamlet and village cadre, who provide the necessary link between the hard-core leadership and the masses, are the backbone of the enemy infrastructure. It is through these cadre, who in many cases have their own political base, that the enemy is able to secure the recruits and supplies necessary to carry on the war.

The apparatus has demonstrated its ability to fatten itself on our economic and military assistance intended for the Saigon government, to recruit an estimated 5,000 to 7,000 men per month in the South, to acquire huge quantities of rice, to purchase medical supplies in the larger cities, to carry out an effective system of taxation, and to indoctrinate and intimidate the population. All of these activities can and must be restricted. For example, a food denial program, backed by an effective pacification program, should be devised and initiated immediately.

In South Vietnam there are a multitude of programs, many of them sound, which have not been integrated into an overall national policy. A recent step toward this integration is the Revolutionary Development (RD), another term for revitalized pacification. RD is an integrated military and civil process to restore, consolidate, and expand government control so that "nation-building" can succeed. It consists of coordinated military and civil actions to free the people from enemy control; to restore public security; initiate political, social, and economic development; extend effective government authority; and win the support of the

people, even many within the enemy's infrastructure. It is designed to be a comprehensive, balanced, and integrated approach to provide security and to transform South Vietnam into a free, viable, and enduring society. In concept, it ties together all sides of the struggle; military, economic, political, and social. As a result, the marginal man (middle cadre) of the infrastructure becomes the most significant target.

I observed the pacification program in Tuyen Duc Province of the Central Highlands over a ten-month period. It was very noticeable to me that there was increased contact between the government and the rural population, that extensive rural construction was being undertaken, and improvements were being made in the economic, social and political well-being of the people. However, in many areas, pacification has not been this successful. For instance, it was recently announced in the *Saigon Post* that the Khan Van Hamlet, just miles from Saigon, has been pacified again for the fifth time. There are conflicting statistics on the number of hamlets brought under government control through the RD pacification effort. All admit the figures are small, demonstrating that while RD is sound in theory, it is not moving along as well as it might. A U.S. provincial representative in a Delta province (who had been in Vietnam for several years) was enthusiastic about the new approach, although he admitted it would take close to ten years before he could effectively pacify his province at the present rate. "At least," he said, "we have the answer to pacification, but do we have the time?"

Sending 59-member teams who have had three months of intensified training on matters of security and rural development into the hamlets for six months or longer should be viewed as only part of the RD effort. The pacification of the rural hamlet must be followed up with the presence of a legitimate and interested government.

While the Thieu-Ky regime has made some significant achievements in the past, its greatest challenge lies ahead. The resettlement of hundreds of thousands of refugees, the rehabilitation of tens of thousands of Hoi Chanh's (Viet Cong who have rallied to the government), reshaping a huge military establishment which is perhaps more a drain on the economy than a contribution to the war effort together with the administration of the pacification program are some of these challenges. The problems of corruption within the government and armed forces and of rampant inflation also have yet to be resolved.

Since the newly elected government remains essentially a military regime, Thieu and Ky could build public confidence by transferring some political power to qualified civilians, particularly in those provinces where there is little Viet Cong pressure. For instance, the military Province Chiefs of Tuyen Duc and other provinces which are relatively secure should be replaced by civilian administrators.

We need to assist the Vietnamese to get their house in order. This means returning to our advisory role and to a program of defending the South from the North. The South Vietnamese must be encouraged to take the initiative against the Viet Cong, militarily as well as in the field of pacification. The responsibility for creating a viable society must be placed squarely on the Vietnamese. It will require time and patience, but if we are to succeed in our original objectives of defending South Vietnam from aggression during its period of

revolutionary transition, we must return to being “supporters” rather than “usurpers” or “abdicators.” This is the true moral position because the goals are honest and the means to achieve them are realistic.

THE TRAGEDY OF VIETNAM AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MORMONS

Eugene England

I could conceive of no greater tragedy than for the United States to become involved in an all-out war in Indochina.

Dwight D. Eisenhower (1954)

In the final analysis it is their war . . . We can help them, we can give them equipment, we can send our men out there as advisors, but they have to win it—the people of Vietnam—against the Communists.

John F. Kennedy (1963)

I don't believe that anyone in the government of South Vietnam or our own government believes that the addition of U.S. ground combat troops in South Vietnam . . . would favorably affect the situation there. That situation is one that the South Vietnamese themselves must solve.

Robert McNamara (1964)

We don't want to get tied down in a land war in Asia. . . . We are not about to send American boys nine or ten thousand miles away from home to do what Asian boys should be doing for themselves.

Lyndon B. Johnson (1964)

In 1961 I completed a voluntary tour of duty as an officer in the United States Air Force. I had experienced an emotional rebirth of my patriotism as a missionary in American Samoa—seeing first hand a contrast with the advantages America had achieved, but also seeing the fine effects that U.S. efforts to teach and help were having on that “underdeveloped country.” When I went home it seemed right, despite my family obligations and already delayed educational goals, to take my turn in the cold-war defense of my country against militant communism, and I became an Air Force officer at the main West Coast overseas staging base for tactical fighters.

Occasionally, in 1960 and 1961, as events in Laos and Vietnam seemed especially ominous to the Pentagon, I was alerted and stood ready to move out with a support unit if American forces were committed to battle. Now, six years later, I find myself, despite (or actually because of) an enduring and growing love for America and her traditional values and contributions to the world, deeply alienated from the policies and practices of my government, unwilling to fight in its war in Vietnam, and convinced that the military establishment, which helped educate me and to which I once belonged, is the chief danger to American freedoms and moral values—and perhaps those of the world.¹

¹It should be clear at the beginning that what I must say in this essay in no way implies a criticism

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The change is easy to explain, if not to defend. Partly in response to the continual appeals and challenges of Church leaders,² I have tried to understand the communist movement and the history of America's response to it, as well as the religious and moral bases in the Christian tradition and the Restored Gospel for opposing communism and for waging war. Looking at the evidence as objectively as possible has led me to conclude that however useful our initial policies for containing communism (including creation of a huge military establishment) and our promotion of a dogmatic anti-communism to justify those policies, the policies and the dogmatism are now obsolete, have led us into actions that violate traditional American and Mormon concepts of a just war, and are leading us increasingly into a fixed posture of destroying freedom in the name of freedom and waging continually escalated war in the name of peace.

I have become convinced by my study and the response in my deepest feelings that we have already suffered a moral defeat in Vietnam that no victory can compensate for and that we have inflicted damage to a whole people that no rebuilding effort can atone for. Perhaps we have also inflicted a wound on ourselves—on our sources of moral power as an “ensign to the nations” and on our sense of that purpose—that nothing can heal. Perhaps we have lost, or abdicated to the “experts” who compulsively lead us on, our power to repent. I can write this only because I have faith that we have not—that we still have the resources to change our perspective, even to gain some compassion and meekness, some essential new maturity for the trials ahead, from our first national experience with repentance. We can yet avoid the future which faces us if we persist unchanged.³

on my part of the ability, or courage, or good intentions of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam—or approval of various violent or sensationalist forms of opposition to the war in this country. Those matters are irrelevant to this discussion. The character and dedication and suffering of our soldiers do not sanctify the war nor validate the reasons we send them out to die; and the reprehensible and self-defeating actions of certain demonstrators do not defile all attempts for peace nor invalidate my reasons for opposing the war.

²See especially Elder Ezra Taft Benson's address in October Conference, 1966, counselling Latter-day Saints and others listening, on the authority of President David O. McKay, to study communism in all available ways so that we could understand the nature of its threat and be able to oppose it effectively.

³Theodore Sorenson, former Special Counsel to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and a man who knows whereof he speaks, recently described the future we face if we cannot change:

What concerns me now is the prospect of an endless war in which the original issues (to say nothing of the Vietnamese people) will have long been forgotten, in which each gradation of American escalation will continue to be offset by more troops from the North and less help from the South. What concerns me is the prospect of a frustrated, aggravated, bitterly divided America, irritated at its increasing isolation from the world, unable to accept its inability to bring this upstart to heel, under growing pressure from a growing military establishment, consequently pouring in more men, bombing out more targets, and finally, in desperation, mining or blockading the Haiphong harbor or even invading the North by means of a permanent excursion across the demilitarized zone or an “Inchon-type” landing behind the front line. Then the entry of Chinese and possibly Russian “volunteers” will be a very real threat and possibly . . . an inevitable fact, as inevitable as the fact that their entry will lead eventually to a world-wide nuclear war. The tragic irony of it is that all this could happen without our advancing one single step nearer to our original goal of a terror-free South Vietnam.

“The War in Vietnam, How We Can End It,” *Saturday Review of Literature*, October 21, 1967, p. 19.

MORMON TEACHINGS ON WAR

The primary source of the principles which tell me we are wrong and of the challenge and guidance for change has been the Mormon tradition, its scriptures, and the counsel of its modern prophets. But L.D.S. teachings suggest that the Gospel resources for decisions about social and political issues will tend to be general rather than specific: we do not find pronouncements by President McKay on the war in Vietnam that do our thinking and make our decisions for us. In order that we as free agents can learn to mature in the use of our ability to make judgments and decisions, the Lord teaches us correct principles through his prophets and the verifying power of the Holy Ghost in our consciences and lets us govern ourselves.

Mormons hold fundamental allegiance to Christ as the Son of God and affirm as binding upon them his teachings in favor of peace—his insistence on the ideal of loving the enemy and returning good for evil. In addition, a basic L.D.S. concept is that of a just war. L.D.S. scriptures define such war in purely defensive terms, with a tendency toward pacifism if anything. That is, the options open to a Mormon in the face of war seem to range from controlled participation (with responsibility to avoid war's vindictiveness and bloodthirstiness)⁴, *in certain narrowly defined types of war*, to non-participation despite the consequences. The Book of Mormon records a number of stirring calls to arms when the cause is just (Alma 46, 53, and 60-61), but it justifies a people's engaging in war *only* on certain clear conditions: "for they were not fighting for monarchy or power but they were fighting for their homes and their liberties" (see Alma 43:45-47).

The most moving description of the pacifist ethic I have seen anywhere is in Alma 24, which tells of a group of converted Lamanites who covenant with God "that rather than shed the blood of their brethren they would give up their own lives." They "took their swords and all the weapons which they used for the shedding of man's blood and . . . buried them up deep in the earth." When they were attacked they were true to their covenant, even though many of them were massacred; but, without ignoring the high costs, the account gives powerful evidence that this ethic that most Christians affirm but are afraid to try really *works*: the attackers were in turn moved to repentance and threw down their weapons "for they were stunned for the murders which they had committed and they came down even as their brethren, relying on the mercies of those whose arms were lifted to slay them." There is, of course, no suggestion that conversion to the Gospel in itself requires this kind of covenant, but the prophet giving the account clearly views those who were conscientiously capable of such an ethical choice (made without explicit direction from their religious leaders but based on principles they had taught them) with great admiration: "Thus we see that when these Lamanites were brought to believe and to know the truth they were firm, and would suffer even unto death rather than commit sin. And thus we see that . . . they buried

⁴In a remarkable statement at the beginning of the General Conference of April, 1917, about the time the U.S. officially declared war on Germany, President Joseph F. Smith spoke powerfully against the tendency of Americans to allow patriotism to lead them to madness in time of war, exhorting the Saints to retain their full sense of brotherhood with the Germans living in this country, and admonishing those called forth to fight in the war to "do it with an eye single to the accomplishment of the good that is aimed to be accomplished, and not with a bloodthirsty desire to kill and to destroy."

the weapons of war, for peace.” I am not suggesting there is any *easy* way to transfer that experience to Vietnam or to the nuclear confrontation, but the teachings of Christ and the Book of Mormon bear witness there *is* a way if we care enough to find it. The ethic portrayed in that Book of Mormon experience stands in judgment over all that Mormons do.⁵

But a less extreme ethic stands as much in judgment upon us and is wholly sufficient to condemn America’s actions in Vietnam. In L.D.S. General Conference, April, 1942,⁶ President David O. McKay said there are conditions when entrance into war is justifiable in defense against an opposing force:

... such a condition, however, is not a real or fancied insult given by one nation to another. When this occurs proper reparation may be made by mutual understanding, apology, or by arbitration . . . nor is war justified in an attempt to enforce a new order of government, or even to impel others to a particular form of worship, however better the government or eternally true the principles of the enforced religion may be.

The question that I, as a Mormon, have had to answer is whether the U.S. involvement in Vietnam is a *defensive* war, reasonably to be construed as fighting for our own homes and *our* liberties or in response to an aggression *by one country on another*—or whether, on the other hand, it is being waged in an attempt to enforce a new order of government that we prefer. And, as a Mormon, I cannot escape the judgment of my Church’s teachings if I do not face that question personally, with a conscience informed by prayerful thought and study, and take responsibility for the implications of my answer. Like other Americans who so self-righteously, even blithely, condemned the Germans at Nuremburg, I cannot allow myself to take refuge by shifting moral responsibility to the laws of my country or the orders of my leaders; we have judged Eichmann as guilty as those who commanded him and made the laws that, however immoral, he felt as a good functionary he must obey. As a Mormon, I come from a tradition (however obscured by an extreme shift to overweening patriotism in this century) that rejects Stephen Decatur’s “My country, right or wrong” as blasphemous idolatry—as worshipping a nation in place of God. I affirm strongly a belief in being

⁵Brigham Young makes a statement which is nearly as pacifist in its implications:

Our traditions have been such that we are not apt to look upon war between two nations as murder; but suppose that one family should rise up against another and begin to slay them, would they not be taken up and tried for murder? And why not nations that rise up and slay each other in a scientific way be equally guilty of murder? “But observe the martial array—how splendid! See the furious war horses with the glittering trappings. Then the honour and glory and pride of the reigning king must be sustained, and the strength and power and wealth of the nation must be displayed in some way; and what better way than to make war upon neighbouring nations under some slight pretext?” Does it justify the slaying of men, women, and children that otherwise would have remained at home in peace, because a great army is doing the work? No! The guilty will be damned for it. (*Journal of Discourses* 7:137.)

The 98th section of the Doctrine and Covenants seems to teach as the highest ethic extreme forbearance in the face of offense by an enemy—to the point of leaving retribution entirely to the Lord unless He directly calls His people into battle (which is certainly not the case in Vietnam!).

⁶Quoted in Jerreld L. Newquist, *Prophets, Principles and National Survival* (Publishers Press, 1964), p. 475. This book contains a large selection of statements by General Authorities on the war and foreign policy.

"subject to kings, rulers, magistrates and in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law": I cannot be an anarchist. But I must have higher loyalties than man's laws and governments—to principles, to conscience, to God. In our modern efforts to be accepted into American society as good and loyal citizens we cannot purge entirely from our Mormon memory the words of Apostle Rudger Clawson, when, having persisted in polygamy after the Supreme Court upheld laws against it, he was being sentenced for unlawful cohabitation: "I may much regret that the law of my country should come in contact with the laws of God, but, whenever they do, I shall inevitably choose the latter."⁷

A Mormon cannot escape that ultimate loyalty, which must judge the present situation and his response to it. My judgment of our war in Vietnam, based on that loyalty and applying the principles that derive from it to a careful study of some of the best-informed analyses of our actions, pro and con, is that our actions deny those principles and deny that ultimate loyalty—and we must change. We have been fighting to establish and maintain (and now to expand and *gain* a popular mandate for) a minority anti-communist class, not for any legitimate national interest and not against a foreign aggressor but against the will of the majority of the people of Vietnam, whose traditional loyalty, based more in nationalism and anti-colonialism than international communism, was earned by Ho Chi Minh and the local village polity he established in the 40's. This is the judgment of an increasing number of qualified students of the evidence.

PERSISTING IN A MISTAKE

I do not claim there is unquestionable evidence that the war is not a defensive war, but that is not necessary. The burden of proof is on those who claim our war is just to justify the killing and destruction—and they have failed. Only a few hours reading in references such as those I will suggest below is enough to show that what we increasingly feel in our hearts is true, that the issues in Vietnam, political and moral, are *at least* much less clear cut than those of any other war we have been engaged in in our time. And even if we take the most charitable possible view of the claims of our government, the issues still remain so terribly ambiguous—the area of decision so gray—that we have no right to the black and white decision to destroy Vietnam as we are doing on the basis of those claims. It is only our moral lassitude that allows us to go on. And the solution for that is passionate concern and willingness to change.

But what might move us to take responsibility for changing ourselves and others—our very nation? How can we, with our feelings dulled rather than exacerbated by having front row seats at the war on TV, and by the genteel despair of much of our press and our government leaders which leads us to believe that

⁷Quoted in Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (Deseret Book Co., 1966), p. 599. Mormons must also be guided to less than absolute loyalty to government by Section 134 of the Doctrine and Covenants, which asserts that "[God] holds men accountable for their acts . . . in making laws and administering them" and also that "all men are bound to sustain and uphold the respective governments in which they reside" *as long as they are provided by those governments with certain conditions*: "While protected in their inherent and inalienable rights." If "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are inalienable rights, then certainly the right not to take another's life or liberty or opportunities for happiness—unjustly—is also inalienable. It would then seem that right must be insisted upon—through the legal means of conscientious objection where possible—by those Mormons who are convinced a war is unjust.

events are too large for us and that escalation, even to world destruction, is beyond our power to stop—how can we be pricked in our hearts to the point of godly sorrow and move to act intensely in accord with what we say we believe? It can only happen if we take time to re-examine our principles, look clearly at the best information, and then unflinchingly judge our actions and intentions by our principles—and face the consequences.

Nearly anyone who reads much at all in the growing literature on the history of Vietnam and the U.S. involvement there, as I have said, soon becomes, at the very least, doubtful. As even the popular press, which for so long failed in its responsibility to the American public, has exposed our moral and political failures, support for the war has dropped the past two years from nearly 75% to evidence in a recent Gallup poll (October, 1967) that for the first time more Americans are convinced that our involvement in Vietnam was a mistake (46%) than that it was not (44%).

And yet this growing plurality who are convinced that we have made a mistake seem unwilling that we should change our ways now. Our *pride* keeps us from facing the failures in ourselves that caused the mistake and *changing*. As Arnold Toynbee pointed out in his commencement address last June at the University of Utah, Americans are now saying, "We have never lost a war, and we are determined not to lose this one, come what may." I agree with him that "this seems . . . to be a morally inadequate reaction to the responsibilities of a citizen of one of the two atomic powers in this atomic age." In our hearts we know we are wrong, and yet our "honor," our need to "save face," prevent us from seriously considering those difficult, humbling alternatives that could lead to peace. Instead, we seem to think that persisting in a mistake with redoubled energy will somehow correct the mistake.

THE MIRAGE OF PACIFICATION

One of the chief deterrents to the clear thinking and feeling that *might* lead to change is our enthusiasm about the good our soldiers and civilian advisers are doing or could do in the "other war." That enthusiasm (and relief about what seems a more congenial role for our consciences) blinds us to the fact that, as much as any part of the war and therefore as wrong in principle, the "other war" is an effort to subvert the village-level party government established by Ho Chi Minh—a form of government which through successful land reform and effective organization achieved majority sanction over twenty years ago and has since maintained itself in most of Vietnam despite the French and Diem and us.

In the first essay in this Roundtable, Ray Hillam described the present form of that organization—the National Liberation Front "infrastructure":

The apparatus has demonstrated its ability to fatten itself on our economic and military assistance intended for the Saigon government, to recruit an estimated 5,000 to 7,000 men per month in the South, to acquire huge quantities of rice, to purchase medical supplies in the larger cities, to carry out an effective system of taxation, and to indoctrinate and intimidate the population.

He then, as part of his "new alternative," assumes that "all of these activities

can and must be restricted.” Of course they must if we are ever to “win” the war, but on the basis of what principles do we have the *right* to restrict them? They have represented a significant gain over the past for most of the peasants,⁸ and the various alternatives that have been offered by Diem and subsequent regimes, viewed as charitably as possible, are no better in *their* activities and are often worse. Diem (quite wittingly) and we (often unwittingly) have directly aided the remnants of exploitive colonialism—especially absentee landlordism—through our “pacification” programs. In the Mekong delta, where the Viet Minh polity actually placed the land in the hands of the peasants for the first time, Diem’s “land reform” program returned the land to the Saigon landlords who were then to sell it to the peasants—but having no funds the peasants were reduced to serfs again, charged much more in rents and taxing by the new government than by the Viet Minh. (Money given by the U.S. to buy this land for the peasants has in most cases not reached them.) We have recently seen on CBS News Reports the absentee landlords moving in to take over as our soldiers kill and are killed to “pacify” parts of the Delta and “free” the land from the Viet Cong. Meanwhile, the draft age youth of this privileged class—the “Saigon cowboys”—roam the streets of the capital in their Vespas. This is the new order of government we are killing and destroying in order to enforce. And we wonder why, after all the cost and cruelty, a large majority of Vietnam’s villages remain unpacified, and—as Hillam admits—many villages are reported pacified for the third, or fourth, or fifth times. Hillam reports the statement of a U.S. provincial representative that “it would take close to ten years before he could effectively pacify his province at the present rate.” The ultimate irony perhaps is that Hillam and many other Americans place their hopes for speeding up that process in the newest model of Diem’s disastrous “strategic hamlet” program—Revolutionary Development. That program’s newness and relative success are precisely related—as Mary McCarthy’s book and recent CBS documentaries have shown—to the fact that Major’s Be’s RD teams have adopted the uniforms, the revolutionary terminology and purposes, and the very means of the Viet Cong infrastructure! There must be some moral *reason* for Hillam’s program to expand the control of a government that he admits is essentially a military regime plagued with “corruption . . . and rampant inflation” in place of the NLF infrastructure—a reason other than our preference or our definition of it as the “enemy.” On the contrary, in waging fantastically destructive war on a small, underdeveloped country in order to supplant one conspiratorial “apparatus” with another that is, if anything, more corrupt and less efficient we

⁸Joseph Alsop, who could hardly be accused of being pro-communist, described that village organization in 1955:

I would like to be able to report—I had hoped to be able to report—that on that long, slow canal trip to Vinh Binh (Mekong Delta) I saw all the signs of misery and oppression that have made my visits to East Germany like nightmare journeys to 1984. But it was not so.

At first it was difficult for me, as it is for any Westerner, to conceive of a Communist government’s genuinely “serving the people.” I could hardly imagine a Communist government that was also a popular government and almost a democratic government. But this is just the sort of government the palm-hut state actually was while the struggle with the French continued. The Vietminh could not possibly have carried on the resistance for one year, let alone nine years, without the people’s strong, united support. (*The New Yorker*, June 25, 1955; quoted in Scheer, *op. cit.*, p. 47.)

are “enhancing our honor” and “fulfilling our responsibility” to men by proving unequivocally that might makes right.

I think we can persist only because we have not taken time or cared enough to face the implications of what we are doing; even when we admit we have made mistakes, we have not been willing to face the errors in our own perceptions and attitudes that have caused the mistakes. Instead we have reached almost desperately for new justifications—an escalation of goals to go with our other escalations. As Indonesia has thrown off Communism, Burma remained peaceful, and Cambodia rejected our “protection” despite its long border with South Vietnam,⁹ no longer is the original domino theory seriously discussed, even by our own government, and the chief popular justification for the destructive war has become the hope that we are thus protecting our opportunity to rebuild Vietnam as a “democracy.”

Our position was epitomized in a guest editorial written by Bayard Hooper for *Life* magazine (July 7, 1967) after he had visited Vietnam. He said he felt each day like he was “on an emotional pendulum, swinging between exhilaration at the panoply of U.S. presence [there] and despair at the slow pace of its effects.” After describing that paradox in detail he concluded:

. . . The emotional pendulum stops dead center. “A fool lies here who tried to hustle the East,” wrote Kipling, and we are attempting something even more audacious. We are trying to change its immemorial ways and shape them toward our own.

To believe that we will succeed requires, finally, an enormous act of faith—a faith that will have to be sustained (though not at the present level) for perhaps 15 or 20 years. We are entered into the brawling, corrupt arena of history, where the neat rules of a stable Anglo-Saxon society don’t apply. Do we belong here? Do we belong on the moon? Do we wish to shape history, or be shaped by it? Our presence is an act of faith.

For the American public that act of faith—that we have the right and the ability to shape Vietnam, to “change its immemorial ways” toward our own, according to our will—remains adequate justification, despite our doubts, for what we are doing in Vietnam.

⁹A contradiction to the periodic statements by our government that other leaders in Southeast Asia support our policies and see us as a bulwark against communism is the recent statement by Prince Sinahouk in connection with Mrs. John F. Kennedy’s visit to Cambodia: “The prince expressed support for the Viet Cong and North Vietnam and called the American battle against them misguided. . . . The prince disclaimed any new rapprochement with communist China, but said recent disagreements concerning Chinese support of Cambodian communism evidently have been cleared up. He described Cambodia’s relations with Peking as very close—as long as his nation’s sovereignty and integrity are respected. The U.S. is on the wrong road. She says she is fighting communism. What kind of communism? I think that the U.S. is afraid of the communists of China, but she is trying to destroy the communists of Vietnam, which is not the same thing at all. The U.S. is trying to destroy the nationalists in Vietnam, who are actually the last barrier against Chinese encroachment. Ho Chi Minh is the real representative of the Vietnamese people. We will continue to support Ho Chi Minh and the national liberation front [Viet Cong] in their fight against you.” (Quoted from the AP report, November 4, 1967.)

REALPOLITIK

But our government, which knows better than the public how badly the pacification is going (or possibly has had this in mind all along), has escalated our goals again in a recent statement (October 13, 1967) by Dean Rusk that our true purpose in Vietnam is to thwart Red China's supposed global ambitions—to contain militant Chinese Communism: "A billion Chinese soon will be armed with nuclear weapons"; they have proclaimed "a militant doctrine of the world revolution and [are] doing something about it."

Earlier evidence that, behind a public justification based on reluctant involvement through moral responsibility to Vietnam and Southeast Asia, our leaders are engaged in calculated, visionary, and extremely dangerous power politics with Russia and Red China, was documented by John McDermott in *The Nation*, February 13, 1967, in an essay titled "Vietnam Is No Mistake." He asserts that the current myths propounded by our government and existing in the popular mind that our interest is in *containing* communism and maintaining a balance of power with it are not even faintly true. We are not using the blatant rhetoric of John Foster Dulles, but it seems we are just as determined as he to *cripple* communist power and "roll it back," and are willing to sacrifice Vietnam in order to produce divisions between Russia and Red China and embarrass them because of their inability to produce a victory for their Vietnamese allies. He says, "The administration is quite consciously destroying Vietnam and its people in order to gain a marginal advantage elsewhere. This is a rational choice, not a mistake or a miscalculation." If that is true, and the evidence is strong, including those recent remarks of Dean Rusk, then the American people have been grossly misled, and are indeed betrayed into the tragic situation Eisenhower feared—a land war in Asia which China and Russia may not be able to win but certainly will not let us win; and we face a continuing war with the immense reserves of North Vietnam and then Red China, which will, in the fifteen to twenty years Hooper talks about, bleed us to death if it does not lead to nuclear war.

And all this on the basis of little if any overt aggression by Red China—certainly less than we have committed in our own sphere of influence, to say nothing of our threatening actions in China's. Chinese armies have not yet stepped over her ancient boundaries. (As much as we might deplore her actions in Tibet, she has more *right* to claim Tibet by force than Israel does Palestine—and much more right by virtue of previous possession and immediate threat to her own borders to used armed force in Korea or India or even eventually Vietnam than we have had in Guatemala or Cuba or the Dominican Republic.) How can we be so paranoid about Russia's aggressive intentions when we were willing to risk nuclear war to deny Russia nuclear weapons on our borders after we had *already* put them on hers—or be shocked at China's belligerence now that we are putting them on *hers* in Vietnam and Thailand? We have an amazing double standard that will continue to thwart our efforts for peace and understanding until we change.

The outrageousness of Rusk's position is perhaps more clear if we remember that such a tenuous justification, based on taking literally another country's propaganda rather than its actions, was used by Hitler to attack Poland, could be used by China to attack us (on the basis of our *actions* as well as our words), by Canada to attack France ("*Vive Quebec Libre*"), or by any country to attack just about any

other country—because they *might* some day be a threat to them. Actually, we don't even have the moral courage to confront our imagined threat directly, by attacking China; instead we have made Vietnam expendable to our fantasies.

These two goals, the forceful rebuilding of a country's politics and economy and village life according to our own desires of what they should be and preventive attack based on a speculative fear of possible future danger to our national interest, if not obviously outrageous, are extremely questionable by any standards of a just war; they can in no case be used to justify the outrageous destruction and suffering we are directly responsible for in Vietnam.

THE BASES OF DECISION

In such a situation, *no one* can escape the responsibility to do some reading in basic sources.¹⁰ If he does that reading, he will see that Vietnam has a history of nearly 400 years of civil war between the North and the South and that we have entered into merely one phase of that war with a single-minded anti-communism that seems to make us incapable of understanding either the war or possible solutions to it. And he will see that Vietnam has a history of at least a thousand years of resistance to the power of China which still motivates its leaders and its people (even those who call themselves communists take pride in that history of resistance), and our interference is having the general effect if anything of forcing the country more and more into the power of Red China.

He will see evidence, that, however good our original intentions for trying to aid the government in South Vietnam (which we in effect established ourselves)

¹⁰The most up-to-date and responsibly documented history and critical analysis of the war is probably Theodore Draper's *Abuse of Power* (Viking, 1967). But there are many other source books of varying length and emphasis: Robert Scheer's *How the U.S. Got Involved in Vietnam*, a report to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions made in 1965, is especially interesting because of its use of interviews with those involved in this country and in Vietnam to reveal how the Diem government misled and manipulated both the American public and its leaders to achieve the support which led to our escalating involvement; Bernard B. Fall's *The Two Vietnams, A Political and Military History* (Praeger, 1965—an excellent, balanced work by one of the best informed scholars and first-hand witnesses (he was recently killed by a land mine in Vietnam), brings the special perspective of a Frenchman who fought as a guerilla against the Germans and who knows the whole bitter heritage of his and our countries' attempts to defeat a similarly dedicated force of guerillas in Vietnam. David Halberstam's *The Making of a Quagmire* (Random House, 1965) is a Pulitzer prize-winning report of events in the early 60's, especially during the fall of the Diem regime; Jean Lacouture, *Vietnam: Between Two Truces* (Vintage, 1966) gives another valuable non-American perspective and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Bitter Heritage* (Houghton Mifflin, 1967), is a well-written history and presentation of an alternative "middle course" to our present policies.

For an analysis in depth of attempts at negotiation see *The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam* (Fawcett, 1966), by F. Schurmann, *et al.*, or a shorter, more up-to-date account in Theodore Draper's "Vietnam, How Not to Negotiate" in the *New York Review of Books*, May 4, 1967. The best sourcebook for essays pro and con and the essential documents involved, such as the Geneva accords and various position statements by the U.S., the N.L.F., and Hanoi, see *The Vietnam Reader*, (Vintage, 1966) edited by Marcus J. Raskin and Bernard B. Fall. The most powerful indictments of the U.S. position, on both moral and practical grounds, are to be found in the American Friends Service Committee Report, *Peace in Vietnam*, in *Vietnam: Crisis of Conscience*, (Association Press, 1967) by Robert McAfee Brown, Abraham J. Heschel, and Michael Novak, and in Noam Chomsky's essays in the *New York Review of Books*, "The Responsibility of Intellectuals" (February 23, 1967), Frank M. Trager's *Why Vietnam?* (Praeger, 1966) is one of the few non-governmental sources supporting the Administration's policies. For a penetrating and disillusioning account by a first hand observer of our much heralded "other war" see Mary McCarthy's new book, *Vietnam*. And finally, perhaps the most devastating reading one can do is merely a systematic review backwards in time in the public press of the disparity between reported actions and results and our government's earlier plans, promises, and expectations.

to maintain itself, we have failed to stimulate that government to sufficient social reforms for the achievement of legitimate political stability and control, and as a substitute have escalated our military involvement until we are truly aggressors in what was originally a revolution against the repressive regime we supported and then a civil war when North Vietnam came to the aid of the NLF. He will be reminded that there is no legal basis anywhere for calling North Vietnam and South Vietnam separate countries and thus no moral basis for condemning the involvement of North Vietnam as "aggression," especially after we had blocked the intent of the Geneva accords that there be nationwide elections to reunite the country in 1956, an intent which the North fully supported because it had good cause to expect to win them—and which we blocked for the same reason. But our own state department does not even *claim* the involvement of North Vietnam aid on any significant scale until 1960, after *we* had been involved on a very large scale with personnel for six years and with economic and military aid for fifteen. When the North Vietnamese sent in their first troops (about 400), late in 1964, the U.S. already had over 20,000 troops. (Today there are at most 100,000 North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam and approximately 500,000 American troops.)

Thus the North Vietnamese legitimately feel that they are fighting on the side of their countrymen in South Vietnam against a white neo-colonial power—our own America!—whose actions are described in this way by a South Vietnamese, "You have always managed to back the wrong men here, the ones whose only qualification is being anti-communist, the ones who think like you because they have been rich enough to spend most of their lives in the West, and who will lose the most if the Viet Cong wins. They are not Vietnamese, except their faces" (quoted by Malcolm Browne in *The New Face of War*). As Robert F. Kennedy reminds us in his book, *To Seek a Newer World*, the successive governments of South Vietnam have been and are "largely made up of, or allied with, a privileged class to whom it seems that the war is not worth winning if the price is the sacrifice of their land, wealth, and power." It seems clear that the effect of our fighting is to enforce such governments on the people of Vietnam.

And there is evidence that we are using such a questionable end to justify increasingly questionable means: In our escalation of the war—in our turning to military solutions in our frustration at political failure—we have produced a situation in which civilian casualties are much more numerous than military ones. Our bombing and our search and destroy operations on South Vietnam villages are reported to cause (and it seems likely, given the techniques required¹¹) at least six civilian casualties for every "enemy" casualty, and some reports place the ratio

¹¹Our own experts say a military superiority of about ten to one is needed to win—that is, to root them out one by one—against guerillas who can merge into the populace and who have significant civilian aid such as they do in Vietnam (it would take just one friendly civilian to give away a Viet Cong ambush or troop location or supply dump, but in most areas that one man is lacking). Since they know the American public will not commit the two million men needed for such a victory, our leaders have substituted massive firepower—B-52's with saturation bombing, napalm, village leveling—which does not discriminate civilians from guerillas because it *cannot*. As a result, we alienate the civilian population even more and increase the source of guerilla strength—an impossible dilemma which explains why we are not winning any victory that matters. The "victories" at places like Dak To, where we kill and are killed by the hundreds to "gain" a useless hilltop through our superior fire power without affecting in the least the Viet Cong control of the populace, and the

as high as thirty to forty civilians treated in hospitals as a result of U.S. military operations for every one wounded by the Viet Cong. In this self-righteous “liberation” of the people of South Vietnam we have sustained a war in which possibly a million of these Vietnamese have been killed and we have been the major party in creating the most devastating and permanently freedom-destroying by-product of war—millions of hungry, homeless, landless, and therefore helpless refugees, only part of which are afforded the questionable hospitality of the new Revolutionary Development Centers.

A little reading will provide evidence that we have responded to the brutality of our enemy by participating in (and condoning by our presence) torture, degradation, and murder of prisoners and mutilation of enemy dead—as well as the brainwashing of captives and civilians who are suspected Viet Cong,¹² and that we have turned some of the richest areas of the world into wastelands through our defoliation of the countryside to deny the enemy cover and food.

There is in the readings impressive evidence that the Viet Minh village polity I described earlier is at least as viable and more legitimate than the alternatives that have been offered or enforced by Diem or his successors. There is evidence that Ho Chi Minh, who built that polity throughout Vietnam while he led his people in revolution against the French and in the fight against the Japanese in World War II, is rightly recognized throughout Vietnam as the father of his country.¹³ The evidence cannot be ignored that in aiding the totalitarian Diem against all who opposed him (most of whom were not communists) until he tore apart the fabric of Vietnamese society;¹⁴ in protecting and supporting a succession of totalitarian successors from the same minority ruling class; in subjecting Vietnam to mounting destruction; and in putting our faith in the newest in a long series of attempts at pacification which have largely failed—that in doing all this

“panoply of U.S. power” at bases like Danang, which cannot improve in the least the security of a village a mile away, are part of a terribly destructive war that the U.S. has created and is winning—but that is totally irrelevant. Our generals go on vainly predicting the end of the war in a year or so (as they have done each year for many years and as Westmoreland just did again) because they are blind to the relevant war.

¹²For first hand evidence from soldiers themselves see Glenn Mudson, ed., *Letters from Vietnam* (1966) or see photographic evidence in Felix Greene’s *Vietnam! Vietnam!*—or merely the increasing admissions in the public press.

¹³In 1945, Ho Chi Minh declared his country independent and, in the preamble to that declaration of independence, said this, “All men are created equal . . . and they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights. Among them are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” He looked to the U.S. as example and champion, which was clearly the role intended by President Roosevelt, but, in the initial ignorance and confusion of the new Truman administration, at Potsdam Vietnam was returned to the French. In the following years, in response to the growing anti-communist hysteria in our country, the U.S. committed itself to involvement in France’s reinvasion, so that by 1954 when the French were defeated we were supplying 80% of the economic costs of the war. If we had offered patience and aid to Ho Chi Minh—in full recognition that he was a communist—rather than twice betraying him after he had won his country, he would quite likely have been able to forge a united Vietnam into the strongest kind of buffer against Chinese expansion—an independent, neutralist leftist state much like Burma, constituting no threat to Red China and none to us. Our failure of mind and heart during the cold war is epitomized in our having turned that man into a bitter enemy, while preserving Batista and Diem (and now the colonels who are destroying the freedoms of Greece) as our friends.

¹⁴See Douglas Pike, *Viet Cong, The Organization and Techniques of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam* (M.I.T., 1966).

we are enforcing a new order of government in violation of all Mormon standards for a just war. And that we are in the process *increasing* the real dangers of communism.

DELUSIONS AND CONSEQUENCES

Why have we persisted in such a course? The answer may tell us what we must now change. As I have tried to understand communism and our response to it I have come to these conclusions:

Our dogmatic anti-communism, based in fear rather than knowledge, has led us to persist in a delusion that the war is essentially an act of aggression from North Vietnam, controlled by Peking as part of some international communist conspiracy for world conquest, and that the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam, motivated only by such aggressive intentions, can be bombed, burned and starved into submission and a settlement that will "end the war." This overlooks thirty years of determined struggle against Japan, France, and the U.S. by a people who are fired with crusading zeal through a unique combination of communism and their own indigenous nationalistic desires and hatred of colonialism. They quite probably would not give up if Kosygin, Mao, Ho Chi Minh, and even their NLF leaders wanted them to, and we are in serious trouble as long as we persist in thinking that all such popularly supported guerilla wars can be started and stopped by ambitious communist leaders in Russia and China. Supporters of our policies claim that we must win in Vietnam to discourage those leaders from starting "wars of liberation" elsewhere. *We* are the fools—tragic fools—if we believe communist masterminds are such incredible fools as to be sitting around waiting on the results in Vietnam. The results are already in. What more could they want to win in their supposed thirst for world domination than to tie up a quarter of our national budget and seriously strain our manpower, to cause immense disruption in American society and destroy its reputation abroad. If communist leaders had the power and will to start such wars as the one in Vietnam, they would immediately start four more—say Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, and India—and we would be *finished*. But they cannot, because the insurrection in Vietnam is unique in its integration of communism with popularly-based nationalism and social revolution—an integration we have helped to force by neglecting to understand or support anything to the left of the loudly anti-communist ruling class.

Conditions which tend to make inevitable some kind of communist involvement in any truly representative government in Vietnam (one which will therefore not be constantly revolted against as all American-chosen regimes have been) do not exist in other South East Asian countries. Malaya and the Philippines (and more recently Indonesia) have defeated communist insurrections because the overwhelming majority of the people supported an anti-communist (though leftist) central government, and Red China was prevented from all-out support (assuming she wished to give it) by her unwillingness to risk a run-in with U.S. power residing in the Seventh Fleet—over something *not in her own vital national interest*. This last is important to a consideration of Burma, which has a 1000-mile border with China and has been neither subverted nor invaded. In fact, China has settled her border disputes largely to Burma's advantage and refused to give open support

to left-wing attempts at insurrection (which have failed therefore because of the leftist central government's popular support) in a situation where she *could* have interfered with little risk of having to confront U.S. power. It seems that this is because Burma has remained strictly neutral, has refused to be a site for U.S. bases or to align with the U.S. through SEATO, and therefore constitutes no threat to China's *national* interests. Conversely, Thailand is in growing trouble partially because she *has* harbored American military buildup threatening to China. *Of course*, China would hope to see Thailand subverted—for precisely the same reason that we have tried to subvert Cuba, to the point of invasion and the risk of world destruction; measured by our own standards for ourselves, China's restraint has been remarkable.

It is quite possible that *our* actions, since they have destroyed the economic and social strength of all of Vietnam and increasingly threaten the legitimate national interests of China, are the major *encouragement* to the subversion of South East Asia.

As a result of our actions we have lost credibility and moral prestige throughout most of the world. In our immature concern to sustain the world's confidence in our ability to fight (though no one doubts we could obliterate Vietnam) we have destroyed a much more important confidence in our ability to understand and to use judgment and restraint. We have neglected our traditional role as an *example* of revolution against unrepresentative or exploitive government and misused the power and wealth and opportunity we have had available to solve the great freedom-destroying problems of poverty, prejudice, and ignorance in our own country as well as abroad.

Through its actions our government has lost the moral confidence of an increasing number of its own citizens, something no free government can endure without. This is James Reston's description of what has happened.

The Johnson administration said it was not seeking a military solution to the war, and it is now obviously seeking precisely that. It said it was there merely to help a legitimate government defend itself, and it has ended up by replacing a military clique that is not a government, not legitimate, and is not really defending itself.

Even when allowances are made for the uncertainties and moral ambiguities of warfare, the guile of this Administration, exercised in the name of high and even noble principle, is hard to match. It was not going beyond the Seventeenth Parallel in Vietnam, but went beyond. It was merely going to respond to enemy attacks on its bases, but it went over to the offensive. It was not going to get involved in a major war on the Asian land mass, but it did.

The President was not even faithful to his bad resolves, he said he would not negotiate, but then offered to do so, and spoiled that by refusing to negotiate with the major elements of the enemy he faces. He has not merely misled his enemies but his friends. His old colleagues in the Congress have not forgiven him yet for tricking them into support of a blank check defense of all Southeast Asia under circumstances they could not possibly oppose. . . .

A great deal [hangs] on whether the American people can trust the

pronouncements of their Government, whether they can remain united on purposes they understand and respect, whether the allies believe Washington really wants a compromise settlement in Vietnam, or merely a surrender on its own terms. . . . There is certainly little faith here in the official spoken word.¹⁵

Perhaps the most discouraging if not frightening discrepancy in our government's public claims is in the area of negotiations. A compilation of instances supported by publicly available evidence shows quite clearly that our government has consistently responded to peace feelers from the other side with military escalation or verbal rebuff, and that our government refuses to deny or explain these facts. Our government has deliberately created the impression of willingness to negotiate unconditionally, and yet its constant falling back on previously unstated conditions (such as its inability to detect "serious intent" on the part of the other side) has destroyed *at least five* documented opportunities for meaningful negotiation—most recently in January and February of 1967, when, over-confident of military victory, we refused negotiation on terms that we had said before we would accept. (See Robert F. Kennedy's analysis of this in the November, 1967, *Look* and Theodore Draper's essay "How Not to Negotiate," *op. cit.*)

And we have moved in the direction of decreasing our own precious freedoms and moral sensibility as we have been party to the brutalities of guerilla war and mass bombing and experienced increasing frustration at home. More dangerous perhaps than the threat of a resurgent McCarthyism, or the totalitarian tendencies revealed in such recent actions as General Hershey's directive to draft boards to punish those who oppose the war by inducting them, is the conditioning of America to increasing and continuous brutality.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MORMONS

It may be that our country, this chosen land, has already failed the great destiny promised it in the Book of Mormon—if its people obeyed the God of this land, Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace; it may be that men like Paul Goodman are right and our country has become "like a conquered province," with rulers diabolically opposed to the popular will, or leaders and "experts" who are immobilized by past mistakes and can do nothing but persist in making things worse.

Some are saying the time has come for revolution, but I do not believe that time has come. The Constitution may be already hanging by a thread, but there is still real, meaningful work to be done which can lead to new understanding—to

¹⁵*New York Times*, July 1, 1966. The list of discrepancies between statements by our government and the facts might continue: our leaders invoke our nation's respect for law and condemn the civilly disobedient as a shame to America, but these same leaders have manifestly violated the Geneva Accords (which, regrettably or not, we verbally assented to), the U.N. Charter (which is the supreme law of our land and demands that any member nation submit its case to the U.N. *before* taking military action), and in the judgment of some competent authorities have violated our own Constitutional provisions governing the waging of war; we were not bombing Hanoi or civilian areas—but Harrison Salisbury went to Hanoi and found that we *were* (and we have already forgotten the shock that caused a year ago as we have become inured to falsehood); we were not using bases in Thailand—but reporters found we *were*. Some cynics say the way to gauge what the administration is doing or is about to do is by the volume of denials. If so, we can confidently assume that McNamara was kicked upstairs to give greater freedom to the militarists and can predict that we will soon invade North Vietnam.

reconciliation in our own country, and to policies that can lead to peace abroad. But such things are impossible without our truly facing the *causes* of our tragic errors and opening ourselves in meekness to the changes that must be made.

There are particular strengths from the Mormon tradition and its prophetic voices to help us reconsider our own attitudes and to move ourselves and others toward repentance. We Mormons have been particularly outspoken about freedom and against communism. We need to think through the way we speak out much better than we have done. What does it mean for us to pick up the popular rhetoric about defending freedom in Vietnam, giving it our own special force, when we support a regime which closes newspapers critical of it and passes laws condemning as traitors liable to execution those who speak out in any way for peace or negotiation with the communists? There is absolutely no evidence that any of the minority governments we have supported in South Vietnam have been less repressive or more conducive to freedom (measured by *any* criteria) than Ho Chi Minh's government in North Vietnam. How can we be so arrogant as to subject people to killing, to destruction of crops, to mass deportation, all of which certainly are freedom-destroying in the extreme, in an attempt to force them to choose the version of despotism we favor rather than the communist version. We certainly have the right personally (and possibly the moral responsibility) to choose to be dead rather than to be red, but we have absolutely no moral right to make that choice for millions of other people, to tell them that it is better for them that we kill them, or put them in what amounts to concentration camps, or insist that they be under a regime which allows little or no political freedom, rather than that they be communists—or even more leftist than we prefer.

Many Mormons have been in the forefront of militant anti-communism in this country. Much of this has been insensitive to changes that have taken place in communism in the last fifty years. We need to reconsider why we continue to clamor for policies that work against the very underlying principles which justify anti-communism in the first place. We need to realize that communism is in part what we make it—through our responses, our actions, our ability to offer alternatives. But our responses have most often encouraged the very conditions which produce communism and have forced communistic countries, which in our time have begun to separate into nationalist groupings, to cling to each other for support in the face of our militance, and to cling to their own dangerous paranoia and militance. We need to change.

But what can we do? We must read and then think through the available evidence in terms of the principles that motivate us in our feelings about other men and our sense of the meaning of life in this world with the rest of God's children. And we must take time to search in our hearts for the patience and meekness that can allow for change. As Arnold Toynbee reminded the commencement convocation at the University of Utah, the chief of our sins is pride, a special temptation for Americans, with their special kind of nationalism, and perhaps for Mormons, who have an extra dimension of nationalist fervor lent by the Book of Mormon scriptures¹⁶ and a twentieth century emphasis on patriotism.

¹⁶That is, when those scriptures are *misunderstood* to imply that America is a chosen land because we have been given special favors rather than special responsibilities.

Toynbee also reminded us that Americans have a special proclivity for the sin of impatience. The tendency of Americans to tragically underestimate what is involved in Vietnam was revealed in the quote from Bayard Hooper earlier, in part of which he almost off-handedly compared our efforts in Vietnam to our race to the moon. As Toynbee pointed out, America's impatience was particularly useful in the nineteenth century in the battle to conquer a new continent—working against *non-human* nature. But the great problems America faces now require it to deal with *human* nature, with other children of God who have their own agency and values, and as Toynbee says, in this situation “the man of action's impatience is no virtue at all. On the contrary it is a failing that leads one into making those mistakes that can be worse than crimes.” We must have the courage to break with our ancestors' impatience, to understand that changing the minds and hearts of the Vietnamese is not the same thing as going to the moon, and not amenable to the same impatient, inhuman use of power—military or political. Mormons, perhaps above all others, ought to understand, with their doctrine of free agency, the impossibility as well as immorality of forcing a new government, a new polity on a people, “no matter how superior that government may be.”

Without succumbing to illusions about the honor or intentions of militant forms of communism, we must still be deeply ashamed that we can do little other than copy, or outdo, its own immoral methods in opposing it. If the Gospel of Jesus Christ means anything it means that there are resources other than retaliation and mass destruction for dealing with what we oppose. We must insist on the patient and longsuffering use of these resources rather than allowing ourselves to give in to the garrison mentality of a powerful military establishment or to accept the rhetoric of the Air Force's morally and pragmatically bankrupt doctrine of “victory through airpower” (which amounts to destruction of the populace's will to fight by destruction of the populace).

Those with lingering doubts about the *barbarity* of that doctrine and the damage it has done our nation's moral perceptions should read Lewis Mumford's “The Morals of Extermination,” in the October, 1959, *Atlantic Monthly*, which documents how, slowly surrendering to its own military leaders, America turned from abhorrence at the German practice of bombing civilians in the beginning of World War II to retaliation in kind, and finally to acceptance without a qualm of the obliteration of Dresden and Berlin and Hiroshima. Anyone with lingering doubts about the *ineffectiveness* should ponder the following “prophecy”¹⁷ by former Commander of the Strategic Air Command, Thomas S. Powers, which was published early in 1965:

Let us assume that, in the fall of 1964, we would have warned the communists that unless they ceased supporting the guerillas in South Vietnam, we would destroy a major military depot in North Vietnam. Through radio and leaflets, we would have advised the civilian population living near the depot of our ultimatum and of the exact time of our attack so that civilians could be evacuated. If the communists failed to heed our warning and continued to support the rebels, we would have gone through with the threatened attack and destroyed the depot. And if this act of

¹⁷*Design for Survival*, pp. 224-225.

“persuasive deterrence” had not sufficed, we would have threatened the destruction of another critical target, and if necessary would have destroyed it also. We would have continued this strategy until the communists had found their support of the rebels in South Vietnam too expensive and agreed to stop it. Thus, within a few days and with minimum force, the conflict in South Vietnam would have been ended in our favor.

Just after this statement was published, on February 8, 1965, American jets began the bombing of North Vietnam which has continued, essentially without letup, for *nearly three years*. Such prophets continue to guide our policies in Vietnam and greatly influence, if they do not determine, the kind of country we are building at home.

As Mormons we could do no better in turning from such false prophets to true than to reflect carefully on the following statement of the First Presidency in 1946 against Universal Compulsory Military Training (quoted more fully in the Autumn, 1967, *Dialogue*, p. 164):

We shall give opportunity to teach our sons not only the way to kill but also, in too many cases, the desire to kill, thereby increasing lawlessness and disorder to the consequent upsetting of the stability of our national society. God said at Sinai, thou shalt not kill. . . .

By creating an immense standing army, we shall create to our liberties and free institutions a threat foreseen and condemned by the founders of the republic, and by the people of this country from that time till now. . . .

By the creation of a great war machine, we shall invite and tempt the waging of war against foreign countries, upon little or no provocation; for the possession of great military power always breeds thirst for domination, for empire, and for a rule by might not right. . . .

Should it be urged that our complete armament is necessary for our safety, it may confidently be replied that a proper foreign policy, implemented by an effective diplomacy can avert the dangers that are feared. What this country needs and what the world needs, is a will for peace, not war.

That impressive example from the rich Mormon heritage of prophetic judgment on the moral implications of social and political issues gives detailed and passionate foresight into the subsequent twenty years of various forms of military conscription and the formation of what Eisenhower named (in warning against its “disastrous rise of misplaced power”) the “military-industrial complex.”

Truly, what this country needs is a “will for peace.” We have not seriously tried non-military solutions to the threat of communism. Those solutions require a frame of mind different from the one we have allowed to lead and condition us—a non-military frame of mind, which can only emerge if the military power is put in its proper place and we can find the strength to turn with some seriousness to the ways of the Prince of Peace, to rationality instead of fear, to patience instead of vindictive impulse, to meekness instead of arrogance.¹⁸

¹⁸A good measure of the comparative strength of our faith in the power of the means taught by Christ to bring peace, as opposed to the ways of force and retaliation, is our expenditure on armaments

SOLUTIONS AND TRAGIC PRIDE

I insist that, as so often happens in current discussion of the war, no reader has the right at this point to say, "Yes, but what is your *solution*," satisfied that because I cannot come up with such a "solution," my indictment is not valid. This is a bit like saying that it is not valid to indict man on moral grounds for trying to injure or kill his wife unless one can also provide solutions to his marital problems. There *are* solutions—perhaps too many of them. The greatest danger to the world and to the American soul may very well be that now it has become almost the popular thing to do to admit we have made some mistakes in Vietnam and to then offer a "solution" (see, for instance, recent articles and editorials in popular national magazines, such as Theodore Sorenson's in the *Saturday Review* and Robert Kennedy's in *Look*, and the first article in this Roundtable); we will be tempted to choose a solution that allows us to persist in our delusions—rather than to find the creative energy to truly change our ways. Most of these solutions allow rationalization rather than moving us to repentance, and, even if they were workable (and most are not because they underestimate the will of those opposing us) they are immoral if they do not face the strong possibility that the will we oppose was, if it is not still, the majority will in Vietnam. If, as a nation, we again allow our moral judgment to be numbed by militarism, as it was in the vindictive insistence on unconditional surrender and the acceptance of mass bombing in World War II, we face a long succession of Vietnams—which is horrible enough to contemplate without the added assurance that they will lead inevitably to nuclear war.

As we consider (as Mormons and Americans) whether this is a time for outrage and change or a time for despair or passive going-along-with-things, it is important to recall this prophetic denunciation by President J. Reuben Clark:

... as the crowning savagery of the war, we Americans wiped out hundreds of thousands of civilian population with the atom bomb in Japan, few if any of the ordinary civilians being any more responsible for the war than were we. . . . Military men are now saying that the atom bomb was a mistake. It was more than that; *it was a world tragedy*. . . . And the worst of this atomic bomb tragedy is not that not only did the people of the United States not rise up in protest against this savagery, not only did it not shock us to read of this wholesale destruction of men, women, and children, and cripples, but that it actually drew from the nation at large a general approval of *this fiendish butchery*.¹⁹

President Clark's was almost a lone voice during the moral lethargy following WWII, when America capitulated to decisions influenced by a growing militarism, and despite the vigor of the condemnation the Mormon people have not been vigorous in following its lead. If we take at all seriously our presumed role as a saving remnant in this chosen land, we must find the means *now* to have sufficient faith unto repentance—faith enough in our principles and the counsel of our leaders to try them. We must lead out in condemning the chief sin that besets modern

of many times the amount we spend on positive means for waging peace. We lack the courage to seriously try what we continually say we believe.

¹⁹General Conference, October, 1946. (Italics in text.) Quoted in Newquist, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

America—the sin of pride in our might and in our innocence. Our war in Vietnam has literally taken on the dimensions of a Greek tragedy; we have become over-reachers, blindly committing ourselves to tasks beyond our right or capacity and persisting against all reason and experience, presuming to play God in a faraway land when we have not yet learned to be human in our own country.

If peace is to come and is not to be followed by a succession of Vietnams, we must lead out in helping America break through the fearful mask of popular anti-communism to see where the real problems lie behind the labels. We must follow the lead of President David O. McKay in perceiving our real enemies and values:

No matter how excellent [Nazism, Fascism, Communism, or Capitalism] may seem in the minds of their advocates, none will ameliorate the ills of mankind unless its operation in government be impregnated with the basic principles promulgated by the Savior of Men. On the contrary, even a defective economic system will produce good results if the men who direct it will be guided by the spirit of Christ.

Actuated by that spirit, leaders will think more of men than of the success of a system. Kindness, mercy, and justice will be substituted for hatred, suspicion, and greed. There is no road to universal peace, which does not lead to the heart of humanity.²⁰

Only when we gain that perspective can we find solutions.

I know the issues are more complex than I have had space to indicate—*why* we got so terribly involved despite our good intentions, *what* the communists have done or would do if we were not there, *how* we could possibly leave after committing ourselves so thoroughly in words and actions. But I must absolutely reject the plodding fatalism infesting our country now—that comes from perceiving the complexities and surrendering in despair to the same old ways. We must have a change of mind—a new perspective and will for peace that can release us from the limitations of those old ways of thinking—and *then* solutions will come. We can *create* solutions in such an atmosphere. *Of course* we cannot just withdraw from Vietnam; our responsibilities are too great to the country whose economy and countryside and common life we have helped despoil—and to the privileged class we have sustained who would most surely receive little mercy from a communist government. But we cannot just go on. No expert has been able to demonstrate that a military “solution” is possible short of our own version of Hitler’s final solution of the Jewish problem—complete obliteration of the peninsula. And the political “solutions” of the kind Hillam has championed require that we go on for ten or fifteen or twenty years paying 20,000 American lives and perhaps 100,000 Vietnamese lives per year for the privilege of destroying one “infrastructure” and replacing it with another not demonstrably different in appearance, principles, or effects.

There are possible efforts toward solutions that have not yet been tried (such as stopping the bombing, unconditionally, or bringing in an international body with absolute power to arbitrate or encouraging those leaders in South Vietnam,

²⁰General Conference, October, 1944. Quoted in “Statements on Communism and the Constitution by President David O. McKay” (Deseret Book Co., 1967) p. 9.

who on the basis of the recent election appear to represent a majority of the voters and who believe they can work out their problems with the communists if America will leave Vietnam to the Vietnamese, etc.). They have not been tried because they require risk, willingness to admit mistakes, love, daring, new vision, mercy instead of vindication, reason instead of retaliation, more concern for saving lives than saving face, serious belief, that is, that the principles taught by the Savior have meaning and might work. But those solutions lie on the other side of repentance and not within the narrowly reasoned madness of the experts who rationalize the ambiguities and the refusal of most of us to take responsibility. That repentance is our only hope and the only good that can be salvaged from the tragedy of Vietnam.

VIETNAM: JUST A WAR, OR A JUST WAR?

John L. Sorenson

Insurgent warfare in Vietnam has been a research subject for me since 1962.¹ From the first the complexity, the muddiness, the ambiguity of the situation was both impressive and depressing. Most of the time I have been ambivalent toward the U.S. position there, never enthusiastic about it. Now Eugene England's caricature of the war has forced me to distill out the essence of my position.

A detailed exposition of that position would be most desirable, but time is scarce, deadlines loom, and *Dialogue* is not the place for such a lengthy treatment, anyway; only for "a draft, nay but the draft of a draft," as Herman Melville put it.

England is wise in proposing that "we take time to re-examine our principles, look clearly at the best information, and then unflinchingly judge our actions and intentions by our principles—and face the consequences." Doing so, it appears that he and I disagree on what "our principles" are, that what he takes as "best information" I believe to be twisted or false at scores of points, and that we arrive at vitally differing judgments of the consequences. Hillam's position, by implication, is nearer mine, so I will comment but little on his paper.

WHOSE PRINCIPLES?

At several points England follows the view which has become common in the Church in recent decades which identifies Mormons as thoroughgoing Americans and binds the burdens of the country on the Saints' backs. Since most members are indeed Americans this position is unavoidable to a degree, but it was not always so. In the first fifty years or so of our history the bond was far lighter, even to the point where other political arrangements looked more promising to us.

While we (who reside here) are indeed required to uphold the U.S. government, as will be shown below, we are few and need not assume more than proportionate responsibility for American policies which happen to be evil. Our prime responsibility is to build the Kingdom of God, not to drag the U.S. or the world,

¹This paper in no way represents the views of any of the sponsors of that research.

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protesting, into the millennium by the scruff of its neck in order to act out our "saving remnant" role.

By "our principles" as a standard to judge the Vietnam war I mean the values laid down in the restored gospel, not American values as such.

"OUR PRINCIPLES"

What does God intend man's relation to governments to be? Doctrine and Covenants 134 teaches that he "holds men accountable for their acts in relation to them" for "the good and safety of society." Men's beliefs may not "prompt them to infringe upon the rights and liberties of others," nor to "justify sedition nor conspiracy." Governments are to make laws and administer them in equity and public interest." The "safety of society" and men's "defending . . . their government" may require armed forces to be maintained and wars to be fought.

The individual whose conscience, which is properly inviolable as far as *belief* is concerned, leads him to *action* in defiance of the laws gets little encouragement either from the principles already mentioned or from the command: "Let no man break the laws of the land, for he that keepeth the laws of God hath no need to break the laws of the land" (Doctrine and Covenants 58:22).

England's logic is that "If 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' are inalienable rights, then certainly the right not to take another's life or liberty or opportunities for happiness—unjustly—is also inalienable." His problem, it seems to me, is with "unjustly." He assumes that it remains for the individual alone to judge whether another should be deprived of his life. Nephi was faced with that problem as he bent over the unconscious Laban. His problem was solved when he came to realize² that God judges justly and may command men to be the executors of his judgment: "The Spirit said unto me again: Slay him. . . . Behold the Lord slayeth the wicked to bring forth his righteous purposes" (1 Nephi 4:12-13). If, then, war is unjustifiable sometimes, how do we know when? That is the essence of England's, and all mankind's, dilemma.

The fundamental revelation on this question is Doctrine and Covenants 98, of which England says it "seems to teach extreme forbearance in the face of offense by an enemy." Indeed it does so, however, only up to a point. Of the patriarchs we are told, "I, the Lord, would give unto them commandment, and justify them in going out to battle against that nation, tongue or people, and I, the Lord, would fight their battles, and their children's battles, and their children's children's, until they had avenged themselves on all their enemies, to the third and fourth generation. Behold, this is an ensample unto all people, saith the Lord your God" (vs. 36-38). Instead of England's pacifistic interpretation, I see here the unchangingly just God Jehovah who commanded the extermination of the Canaanites—and the Christ who drove out the wicked from the temple in righteous anger.

Alma 24 tells the touching story of the people of Ammon who vowed not to kill again even at the expense of their lives. The poignant account seems to me to carry a message quite different from what England draws from it. As individuals those martyrs showed great faith, but read on. Had it not been for someone else,

²O.W. Holmes felt that "The great act of faith is when man decides that he is not God."

Nephites (and later their own children, with the parents' consent), to protect them by force of arms, they would have been exterminated. It is not God's intention in these days that his people be exterminated, thus in the wicked world as it exists now, arms have to be borne.

Consequently it is mischievous and damaging to the society we live in for England to justify conscientious objection to military service "by those Mormons who are convinced a war is unjust." Rather should he expect them and urge them to shoulder their protective burden with the rest of their fellows "for the good and safety of society." The logic that allows each person free choice on each action to be undertaken by and for society lays a foundation for anarchy. ("If ye are not one, ye are not mine.")

Elder John A. Widtsoe addressed the issue of just war during World War II. His explanation is both wise and relevant:

A war can be called just, only when waged against sin and for the victory of truth; when it battles for the preservation of the principles which make up the plan of salvation, then warfare is righteous. If it is waged to defeat the attempt to enslave men under tyrannical rule, it becomes a war against sin. Such a war should be supported by all who love right above wrong; by all who adhere to the right of free agency, for which the heavenly battle was fought, long ago.

If it be desired to test the righteousness of a war, compare the issues with those of the divinely formulated plan for human happiness. No other test is needed. The standards are all there.

In such a spirit, with such understanding, the soldiers who go out from this Church must go into battle. They are fighting sin; they are fighting for truth; no quarter can be shown the opposing side. The soldiers of the enemy, whether willing or not, represent a sinful, destructive cause. They must be defeated at any cost, even that of their lives. Sin cannot be looked upon "with the least degree of allowance" (D&C 1:31). The opposing army must be viewed as a cause, not as a group of men.

The cause must be uppermost. The individual must recede in importance, until the cause for betterment has triumphed. Soldiers of a righteous cause, whether the warfare be great or small, must fix their attention upon that cause, and with determination fight for it. The fate of the enemy as individuals must be set aside in the battle for principle. If right wins, as it must and will, the enemy and all humanity will be blessed. . . .

Nevertheless, though sin can be given no quarter, nor those who seek to impose sin upon others, yet the soldier must recognize that the sinner, as an individual, remains a child of God, subject to repentance and the Lord's eternal mercy. Since he represents a sinful cause, it may be necessary to use against him the only weapons he recognizes, even though it means his destruction. The coin of Caesar is his; we must render it to him to win the Lord's cause. Yet we may hope and pray that on the endless, eternal journey, he may find his way to salvation. . . .

Usually, the best way to love our enemies is to keep the truth from being trodden into the ground by those who are led by evil, designing

leaders. Make truth and right triumphant, and love will bear rule among men. There is no other way.

All need to learn that love, as all other virtues, must be exercised with wisdom and in a common-sense manner. Hysteria and emotional outbursts . . . are not expressions of love, but of diseased conceptions of the right manner of loving our fellow men.³

"THE BEST INFORMATION"

The inimitable Louis Armstrong's recent observation as he told of Chicago in the '20's, should be taken to heart by more of the writers on Vietnam: "But hell, Man, I got to tell it like it was! I can't go around changing *history*!" England's picture was constructed from sources which more often than not come from axe-grinders. It is as though he had set out to learn about the "Danites" in Church history, but had read little except the shrill sensationalists on the one hand or *Essentials of Church History* on the other.

Most of his authorities know something about international affairs or U.S. history or some such academic topic,⁴ but none of them know much about the Vietnamese people. Even astute Bernard Fall, perhaps because of his French background, rarely looked beneath the surface of History, with a capital H.

Notable by their absence from mention are Joseph Buttinger's classics, *The Smaller Dragon* and *Vietnam: Dragon Embattled* (2 volumes), anything by P.J. Honey on the North, Hickey's *Khanh Hau* (the only serious work on a village), Vo Nguyen Giap's or Truong Chinh's doctrinal volumes, *Reporter* magazine's *Why Vietnam?*,⁵ or the State Department's white papers, not to mention the tedious but enlightening FBIS transcripts of Radio Hanoi and Liberation Radio.

Even more crippling to understanding than the sources consulted is the approach, shared by nearly all writers in our language,⁶ which describes Vietnamese phenomena in terms such as "free," "Junta," "country," "class," "despotic," and so on. The reader's response usually is, "Ah, now I begin to understand," when in fact, from that point on he understands less than before.⁶ It is this cultural semantic barrier which makes almost meaningless a useful debate about "the facts" on Vietnam between two Americans.

Mormons may appreciate a little of the difficulty of cross-cultural translation of the kind I am talking about by listening to a philosopher try to explain Mormon theology to other philosophers in their technical jargon.

WHAT IT ISN'T LIKE IN VIETNAM

To point out the overstatements, oversimplifications, and plain errors which I find in England's indictment of what has happened in Vietnam is impossible here. It is only feasible to warn the pondering reader of both our pieces to beware by suggesting a few of the traps.

³John A. Widtsoe, "Should a Soldier Love His Enemy?" *Evidences and Reconciliations*, (Bookcraft, Salt Lake City, 1943, 272-274.

⁴But some! Mary McCarthy's qualifications on any count are negligible, and General Ky might write on linguistics as well as Noam Chomsky on Vietnam.

⁵Frances FitzGerald's article in the August, 1967, *Atlantic* is a dramatic exception.

⁶"Ignorance," says J.K. Feibleman, "is not the lack of knowledge but the possession of false knowledge."

First, let me make clear that among the fictions on Vietnam are those which have poured forth from the State Department and the Defense Department. To be sure, there is a good deal of truth in what those agencies and the President have said, but as with an old-fashioned encyclopedia article on the Mormons, the separation of fact from fancy is almost impossible to a casual reader.

So with Brother England. Much of what he says has elements of truth in abundance. The problem is with the residue.

Ho Chi Minh was a wily, brave, intelligent agent who played to perfection the ruthless life-and-death game of plotting against both the French and his every possible rival. That he "earned" control of Vietnam thereby seems, however, an odd way to state his case to the right to govern. Nor is there any positive evidence that U.S. aid extended to him at any point in his career would have deflected him from his communist course.⁷ The gamble might have been worthwhile in 1945 when there was little to gain with the French, but Monday morning quarterbacking is no more profitable in foreign affairs than in football.

Strictures about how despotic the South Vietnamese governments have been are also overplayed. At the worst of the Diem regime (1962-63) large numbers of political opponents were jailed or silenced, but considering the lack of a tradition of law and the newness of the government, some would say that it was noteworthy that more extensive repression was not practiced. Subsequent regimes have been among the world's least-efficient police states, almost to the point of comic opera. In fact, given the chameleon-like adaptability for which the Vietnamese are famous and the nepotism and "corruption" with which the entire country is laced (even known Viet Cong collaborators enjoy impunity under certain conditions), no adequate picture of conditions is conveyed by referring to "little freedom." "Feudalistic" would come only a shade closer. Even reading Terry and the Pirates helps little to suggest to Americans how richly the Vietnamese scene varies in those areas of life which *we* speak of using concepts like "power," "loyalty," "freedom," etc.

The "village polity" has not been destroyed by a malicious U.S./Saigon imposition, nor was such an entity "established" by Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh. Traditionally villages (particularly in the north and the central coast portions of the country) conducted their own affairs in conscious isolation from such central government as existed. As the isolation of the villages has broken down over the last century under French, then Viet Minh, Saigon and American influences, an inevitable decay has occurred in the old system of village power arrangements, as in all other villages in the world during modernization. In fact, the Viet Cong have "imposed" even more fully on traditional power forms, and more modernized

⁷Fall's encapsulation of Ho's career is a valuable corrective to the "Ho-is-just-a-nationalist" believers. The man became in 1920 a "*founding member* of the French Communist Party, ten years before he was to found, in turn a Communist Party in his homeland. From then on, his careers as an international agent of Communism (he was to work successively for the French Communists; Russia; China; the Comintern in Europe, China, and Southeast Asia; and, finally, his own country's Communist apparatus) and as a Vietnamese 'nationalist' were to be so completely intertwined as to fool all but the most penetrating observers. . . . In actual fact, he has always been a dedicated Communist with Vietnamese reactions. . . . The fact that this was not understood by naive outsiders was certainly not his fault; his career as a Communist has been on record since 1920." (*The Two Vietnams. A Political and Military Analysis*, Rev. ed., Praeger, New York, 1964, 91.)

North Vietnam has incorporated its villages far more fully into national life through the Party apparatus.

England's statement that "There is absolutely no evidence that any of the minority governments we have supported in South Vietnam have been less repressive or more conducive to freedom (measured by *any* criteria) than Ho Chi Minh's government in North Vietnam" cannot be allowed to pass without comment. First, in a developing nation, and perhaps in any, one looks in vain for other than a minority government, unless it has been imposed by force and so maintained long enough, as in the North, that few conceive of any alternative and so "support" the regime by default. Second, the assertion reveals more of a lack of knowledge about the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—North Vietnam—than of knowledge about the South.⁸

The destructiveness of the war has been emphasized also. Yet some reporters have been struck with the opposite, the degree to which life in Vietnam seems not to be disturbed directly by the war activities. Some particular areas have been hit long and often, but usually those are precisely where there is good reason to conclude that the Viet Cong own the zone and benefit from the population. Survey data have shown that in many places villagers blame the Viet Cong's presence for drawing U.S. and South Vietnamese attacks rather than blaming our side; the many refugees, it should be noted, flee their homes to come to areas of U.S. control, almost never to the other side. Nor is defoliation so bad or so widespread as implied by England.⁹ Areas so treated can usually be replanted almost immediately, while much of the area affected is thinly populated.

In fact, some assert that not only is the current war the most humane in history considering its scale, but that the Vietnamese population, made stoic by culture and a history of deprivation and exposure to the ravages of nature, feel less subjective distress at the war than many American observers do.

The last factual point there is space to consider in this section is the claim made often by the U.S. government that the war in the South is to a large degree originated at Northern instigation and carries on, thanks to assistance from the DRV. Bombing of the North has been justified as necessary to stop that flow of help. To the contrary, opponents of U.S. policy hold that the North has had little or nothing to do with the war in South Vietnam, that it is essentially an internal affair there.

There is little question that the rebellion began with Southern personnel and developed largely using local resources. North Vietnam did not give substantial aid in personnel and supplies (financing is another thing) until around 1962. Nevertheless there is thorough documentation of the fact that command of the movement and various forms of aid, small in volume but crucial, always came from across the 17th parallel. In the early years the infiltrators were all southerners, communists who had gone north after the Geneva Agreement, where they had spent the intervening years in training. By 1967 the cadres, the organiza-

⁸The remedy could begin by reading chapters 8 and 9 of Fall's *The Two Vietnams*.

⁹Incidentally, the Nephites and Lamanites together found that food denial was the only successful method they could employ against their guerillas (3 Nephi 4:18-22). The whole episode with the "robbers" contains instructive parallels to Vietnam and the other so-called liberation wars today, not the least of which is the brazen propaganda approach of Giddianhi (3 Nephi 3:2-10).

tional backbone of the Viet Cong, were as often as not actual North Vietnamese, and major DRV army units were operating over as much as one-half of the South. Whether the chicken of sizable aid from the North came before or after the egg of U.S. escalation of forces is academic. Both trends were clear well in advance, and each influenced the other to come to pass.

The National Front for the Liberation of Viet Nam (NFLVN or NFL) has been strictly a front in which the People's Revolutionary Party (Communist Party) has always maintained exclusive control, acting for the parent Lao Dong (Communist) Party of the North. The Viet Minh had been run as a front for that party in the identical manner during the war against the French.

U.S. bombing of the DRV has never made more than slight sense as a way to reduce the trickle of aid moving southward, but it has had some potential strategic value as a way to exert leverage on the Hanoi leaders in hopes that they would signal their Viet Cong compatriots to stop the insurgency. (There are those who suspect that another reason for the bombing was to allow the Air Force and Navy to "get into the act" and share in the modernization which the war was allowing the Army to carry out.) Some insurgency could undoubtedly continue in the South even if the Northern leaders decided to end support, but the probable effect would be effectively to stop the conflict, just as the Greek rebellion stopped in 1948 when the Yugoslavs closed their border to the insurgents. That the DRV will make any such change in policy as a result of our military action, no matter the level, is vanishingly slight, however, for they seem dedicated.

OUR (AMERICAN) ACTIONS AND INTENTIONS

Let us examine first American aims in World War II, as a classic case. Most reasonable citizens would agree that they were two-fold: (1) to defend the nation in an immediate sense, in response to attack, and (2) to help re-shape a world in which American values and goals, a number of them shared broadly in the Western world, had been seriously threatened or attacked by totalitarian powers acting by means we considered intolerable.

Our actions in prosecution of the conflict were mostly destructive. Our authorized representatives had shot, stabbed, burned, corrupted, and smashed their way through scores of lands to the destruction of the bodies and souls of millions by the time the culminating atomic bombs were dropped on Japan. War was, and is, hell.

Did our tactics betray our intentions? Generally, no. L.D.S. prophets firmly supported the necessity to defend ourselves in whatever way was necessary to defeat the enemy. Along with most of us who were directly involved in the war, they lamented the pain, suffering, depravity, and death which resulted, but the end justified the means, broadly. Of course, some of the agony could have been avoided by individual or group decisions at various points without seriously hindering the outcome. Those responsible for that unnecessary pain, as is true in time of peace, must bear their own responsibility before God for it. I believe it was in this sense that President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., condemned the use of the bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, for he had already approved the larger enterprise of the war many times.

In Vietnam our forces have used firearms, bombs, napalm, chemicals, torture,

lies, bribery and many more techniques in the prosecution of the war. But the horror of some observers at any particular one of these strikes me as somewhat absurd when other methods to the same end are accepted as kosher. Unless war is to be fought with marshmallows, people will be hurt and die. For the individual who finds himself on the battlefield, the only moral question open is the state of his conscience. If he uses no more of his destructive power than is reasonable in support of his cause and the protection of himself and companions, then his conscience should be free from guilt—though not of godly sorrow for the victims and for the necessity in which he is caught.¹⁰

We do not know the necessities of the situation in Vietnam, usually. It is exceedingly difficult to judge how much violence is required when on the scene; for those at a distance it is impossible.

Intermediate between the actions of men in the field of conflict and broad national intentions (the latter will be discussed below) is the problem of strategy. In Vietnam, even supposing that our goals are virtuous, are we pursuing the lines of action most likely to reach those goals? Should we be shooting anyone at all or, say, only sending money and schoolteachers, or perhaps diplomats?

I am convinced that American decision-makers have seriously erred in the past in choosing Vietnam strategies. Ray Hillam's article indicates one of these possibilities and at times in the past there were even more options. They were all basically "soft" (political, social, economic) rather than "hard" (military). With sufficient foresight the U.S. probably could have acted, between 1956 and 1958, or by 1961 at the latest, to bring about conditions within South Vietnam which would have made its viability very likely. Ngo Dinh Diem was no more difficult to deal with than Syngman Rhee in South Korea, yet see the genuine progress which our persistence and patience have helped bring about in the latter country. Yet there are points of no return, and by 1963 our policy-makers had let the opportunity slip by, through their lack of understanding of the nature of insurgency and of Vietnam. From that point on we were left no course but large-scale military action¹¹ if we were to keep the country from falling into the communist sphere.

Was that so important, England, in effect, asks? In his view U.S. policy has been dominated in recent years by "single-minded," "dogmatic and unthinking anti-communism." Were there alternatives? Was this a mistaken policy?

Anti-communism was a policy forced upon us by the realities of history, geopolitics, and the will to survive. It does no good denigrating the idea now without appreciating the circumstances in the late 1940's which crystallized it. In the absence of a well-articulated ideology in the U.S. at that time to back up our highly-pragmatic foreign policy which was developing in the face of Russian expansion, the equivalent of ideology had to be developed. Anti-communism, the

¹⁰Compare the situation of Mormon, the military leader, as told in his portion of the Book of Mormon.

¹¹The growing military influence in the United States, which President Clark warned about and which concerns England—and me—undoubtedly has played a part in shifting policy in Vietnam to harder and harder options. While we all owe a debt of gratitude to those who undertake the burden of defense of the nation on our behalf, the danger remains that the military's self-fulfilling prophecies, as in the anticipation of future war with China which their spokesmen are voicing, will increasingly channel our action. That we may already be irredeemably along the road to a war society is now hauntingly proposed in the "Orwellian Hoax," *Report from Iron Mountain on the Possibility and Desirability of Peace* (Dial Press, 1967).

result, rapidly took on the institutional trappings—myths, heroes, scapegoats, ritual, etc.—necessary to make it manageable and stable.

Many of us decry the excesses to which some of our friends have been carried by accepting uncritically this entire institutional apparatus as though it were revealed from God. Nevertheless the anti-communist thesis has been basically sound as a basis for American policy abroad for years. Despite the need to rephrase the content of this rationale in recent years, as the communists have themselves shifted position slightly, it remains an important element in the American and Mormon view of the world. President McKay has said: "The position of this Church on the subject of Communism has never changed. We consider it the greatest satanical threat to peace, prosperity, and the spread of God's work among men that exists on the face of the earth." A Franco or a Somoza or a Duvalier may actually be more repugnant to our feelings than a sage communist leader such as Krushchev, but they are more or less isolated in miserable little enclaves doomed by geopolitical realities to constitute dangers only to their own people. The communist bloc is fundamentally different.

What distinguishes the bloc is their aggressive expansiveness based on Marxist-Leninist ideology combined with the geopolitical position and resources to maintain the threat. To be sure, there are encouraging evidences of disputes in their camp, but the Vietnam war has made evident that it is still a dangerous camp. And the North Vietnamese leaders are camp followers, whether reluctantly or willingly.

Those leaders have made explicit that the Vietnam conflict is a test of the concept of "wars of national liberation." To fail that test, the U.S. would be exposing many places to spurred insurgency—Laos, Thailand, Malaya, Cambodia, Burma, India's Assam, the Philippines, Indonesia. All these have movements watching the test with great interest. Perhaps the domino theory is not discussed much anymore, as England says, but its more sophisticated forms remain valid.

Meanwhile, in our own country the costs of the war—not just in dollars and lives—threaten serious consequences of a different kind. But that is another matter, requiring discussion somewhere else.

THE CONSEQUENCES

1. America has made many mistakes in Vietnam and, in a sense, has asked for the trouble it is in there by blindness in times past.

2. Nevertheless the consequences of defeat or withdrawal would be too grave to permit. We must ensure that South Vietnam becomes and remains a viable nation until its people are strong enough to choose without duress the course of action they prefer in relation to their Northern brothers.

3. South Vietnam's friends must share military duty with her to protect her; however, there is no such thing as "a military solution" to the war. Military action should be reduced as soon as possible to the lowest level which the real, not the myth-labelled, danger demands. Bombing of the North could be abandoned immediately with little hurt to our cause.

4. The U.S. should not intervene in other insurgencies with military force except under emergency conditions where all else has failed.

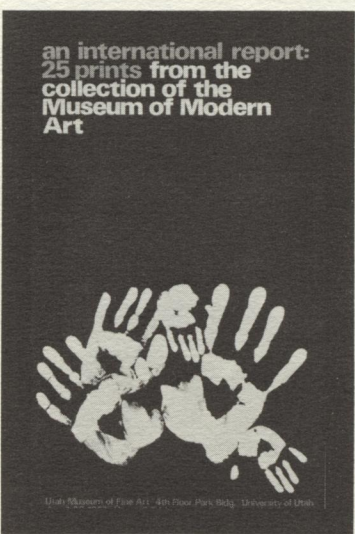
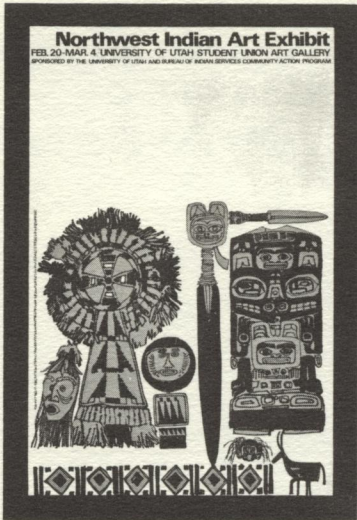
5. Church members have a general obligation to see the U.S. responsibilities through in Vietnam, but also to work for peaceful solutions to similar problems as far as that is possible in the future.

6. The world is in such a state that decisions regarding future U.S. action to meet communist or other inflammatory challenges will require greater wisdom than our leaders have shown in this case. Miscalculations can prove disastrous, given the increasingly complex national and international situations in which old decision rules are inadequate. We thank Thee, oh God, for a prophet. Help us understand his words.

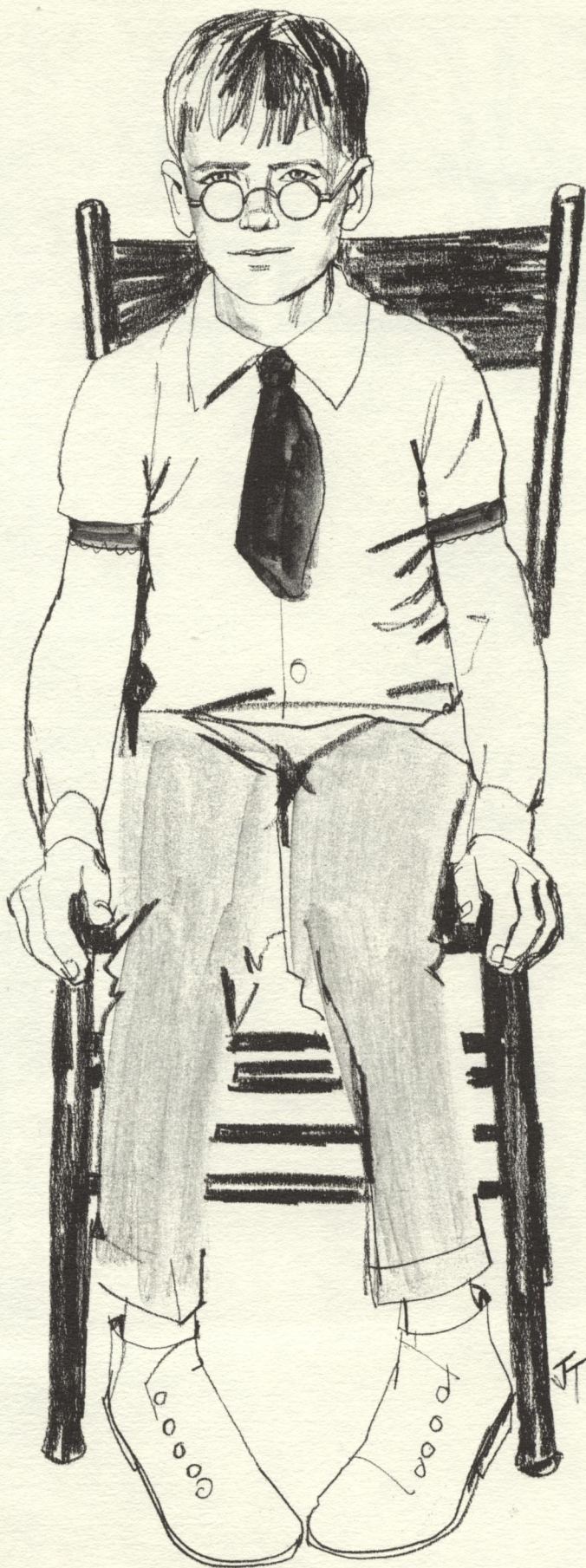


Guest Artists



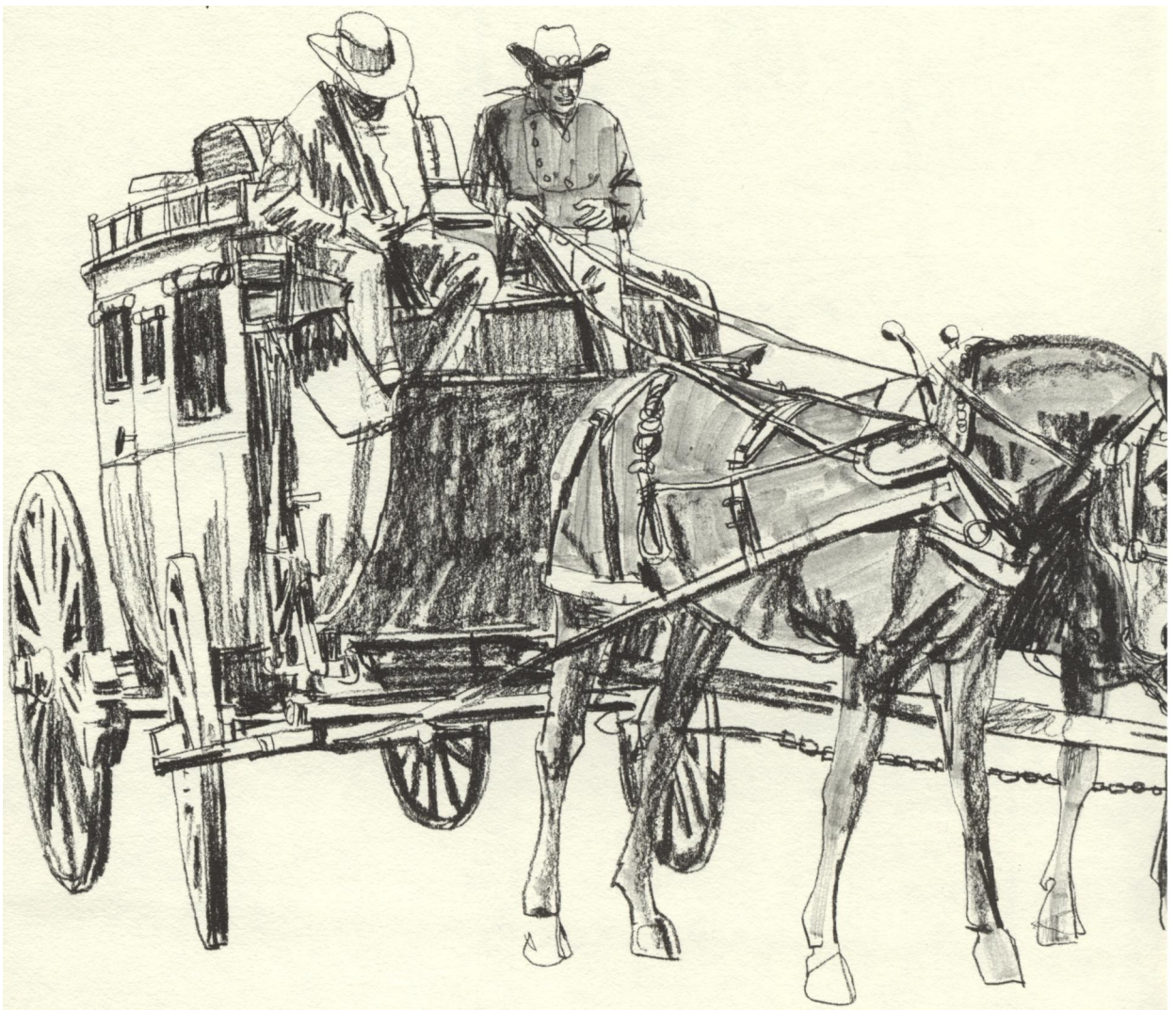
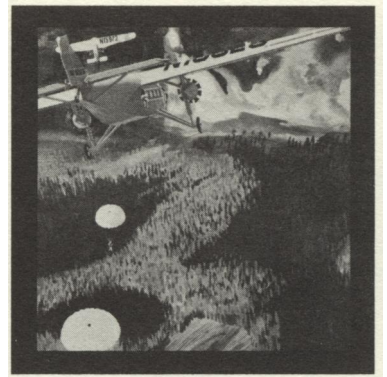
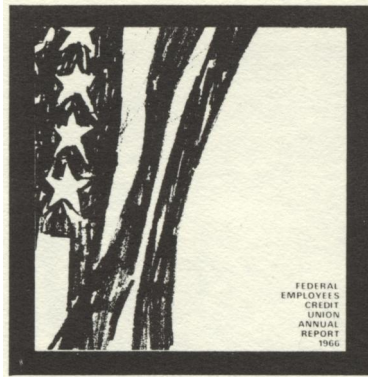


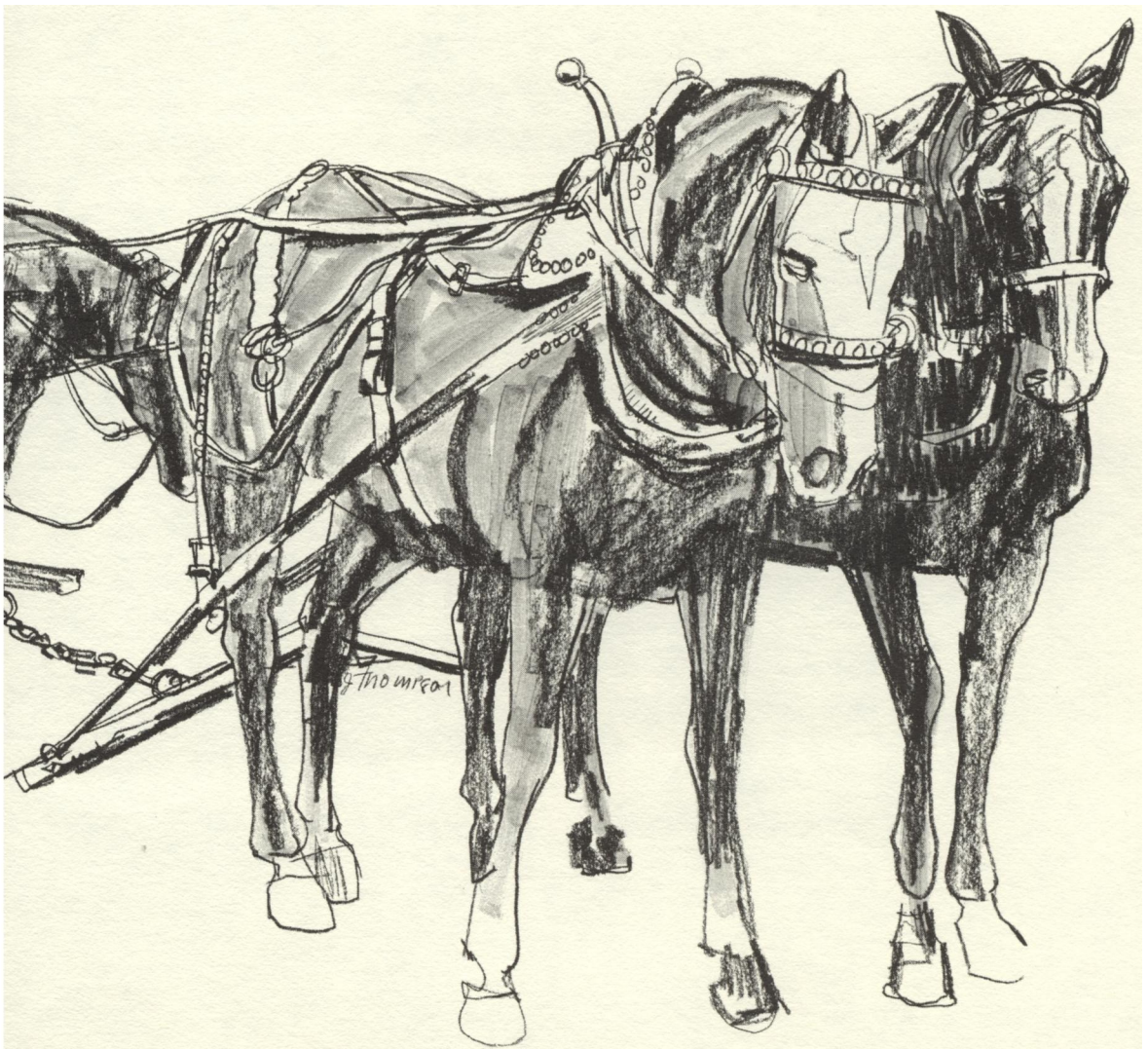
The variety of commercial and graphic art shown on these pages indicates the versatility of this team of young artists. Jerry Thompson studied at the Art Center College of Design in Los Angeles. His wife, Sherry, received her training at Brigham Young University.

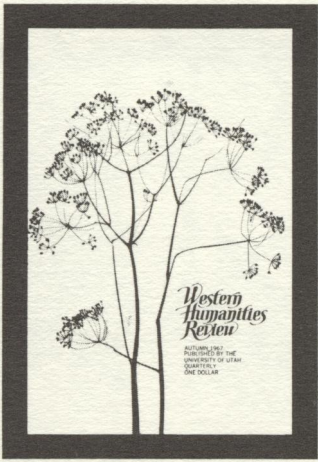
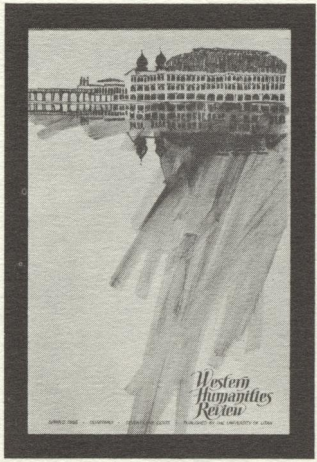


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From the Pulpit

WHAT THE CHURCH MEANS TO PEOPLE LIKE ME

Richard D. Poll

Richard D. Poll, who gave the following sermon in the Palo Alto Ward sacrament meeting in August, 1967, is Professor of History and Political Science and Associate Director of the Honors Program at B.Y.U., where he serves on a stake high council. His specialties are Civil War and contemporary U.S. history and the Utah Territorial phase of L.D.S. history; he has published articles and reviews in several journals, including PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW and the UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

A natural reaction to my title—since this is not a testimony meeting in which each speaker is his own subject—might be, “Who cares?” For who in this congregation, with the possible exception of my brother, Carl, are “people like me”? I have a wife and daughter present who find me in some respects unique. And I am sure there are students at Brigham Young University who *hope* that I am unique. By the time I have finished there may be some among you who will share that hope.

Yet I have chosen the topic because I believe that in some important respects I represent a type of Latter-day Saint which is found in almost every ward and branch in the Church. By characterizing myself and explaining the nature of my commitment to the Gospel, I hope to contribute a little something of value to each of you, whether it turns out that you are “people like me” or not.

My thesis is that there are two distinct types of active and dedicated Latter-day Saints. I am not talking about “good Mormons” and “Jack Mormons,” or about Saints in white hats and pseudo-Saints in black. No, I am talking about two types of *involved* Church members who are

here tonight, each deeply committed to the Gospel but also prone toward misgivings about the legitimacy, adequacy, or serviceability of the commitment of the other.

The purpose of my inquiry is not to support either set of misgivings, but to describe each type as dispassionately as I can, to identify myself with one of the types, and then to bear witness concerning some of the blessings which the Church offers to the type I identify with. My prayer is that this effort will help us all to look beyond the things which obviously differentiate us toward that “unity of the faith” which Christ set as our common goal.

For convenience of reference, let me propose symbols for my two types of Mormons. They have necessarily to be affirmative images, because I am talking only about “good” members. I found them in the Book of Mormon, a natural place for a Latter-day Saint to find good symbols as well as good counsel.

The figure for the first type comes from Lehi’s dream—the Iron Rod. The figure for the second comes also from Lehi’s experience—the Liahona. So similar they are as manifestations of God’s concern for his children, yet just different enough to suit my purposes tonight.

The Iron Rod, as the hymn reminds us, was the the Word of God. To the person with his hand on the rod, each step of the journey to the tree of life was plainly defined; he had only to hold on as he moved forward. In Lehi’s dream the way was *not easy*, but it was *clear*.

The Liahona, in contrast, was a compass. It pointed to the destination but did not fully mark the path; indeed, the clarity of its directions varied with the circumstances of the user. For Lehi’s family the sacred instrument was a reminder of their temporal and eternal goals, but it was no infallible delineator of their course.

Even as the Iron Rod and the Liahona were both approaches to the word of God and to the kingdom of God, so our two types of members seek the word and the kingdom. The fundamental difference between them lies in their concept of the relation of man to the “word of God.” Put another way, it is a difference in the meaning assigned to the concept “the fulness of the Gospel.” Do the revelations of our Heavenly Father give us a handrail to the kingdom, or a compass only?

The Iron Rod Saint does not look for questions, but for answers, and in the Gospel—as he understands it—he finds or is confident that he can find the answer to every important question. The Liahona Saint, on the other hand, is preoccupied with questions and skeptical of answers; he finds in the Gospel—as he understands it—answers to enough important questions so that he can function purposefully without answers to the rest. This last sentence holds the key to the question posed by my title, but before pursuing its implications let us explore our scheme of classification more fully.

As I suggested at the outset, I find Iron Rods and Liahonas in almost every L.D.S. congregation, discernible by the kinds of comments

they make in Gospel Doctrine classes and the very language in which they phrase their testimonies. What gives them their original bent is difficult to identify. The Iron Rods may be somewhat more common among converts, but many nowadays are attracted to the Church by those reasons more appropriate to Liahonas which I will mention later on. Liahona testimonies may be more prevalent among born members who have not had an emotional conversion experience, but many such have developed Iron Rod commitments in the home, the Sunday School, the mission field, or some other conditioning environment. Social and economic status appear to have nothing to do with type, and the rather widely-held notion that education tends to produce Liahonas has so many exceptions that one may plausibly argue that education only makes Liahonas more articulate. Parenthetically, some of the most prominent Iron Rods in the Church are on the B.Y.U. faculty.

Pre-existence may, I suppose, have something to do with placement in this classification, even as it may account for other life circumstances, but heredity obviously does not. The irritation of the Iron Rod father confronted by an iconoclastic son is about as commonplace as the embarrassment of the Liahona parent who discovers that his teen-age daughter has found comfortable answers in seminary to some of the questions that have perplexed him all his life.

The picture is complicated by the fact that changes of type do occur, often in response to profoundly unsettling personal experiences. The Liahona member who, in a context of despair or repentance, makes the "leap of faith" to Iron Rod commitment is rather rare, I think, but the investigator of Liahona temperament who becomes an Iron Rod convert is almost typical. The Iron Rod member who responds to personal tragedy or intellectual shock by becoming a Liahona is known to us all: this transition may be but is not necessarily a stage in a migration toward inactivity or even apostacy.

My present opinion is that one's identification with the Iron Rods or the Liahonas is more a function of basic temperament and of accidents than of pre-mortal accomplishments or mortal choices, but that opinion—like many other views expressed in this sermon—has neither scriptural nor scientific validation.

A point to underscore in terms of our objective of "unity of the faith" is that Iron Rods and Liahonas have great difficulty understanding each other—not at the level of intellectual acceptance of the right to peaceful co-existence, but at the level of personal communion, of empathy. To the Iron Rod a questioning attitude suggests an imperfect faith; to the Liahona an unquestioning spirit betokens a closed mind. Neither frequent association nor even prior personal involvement with the other group guarantees empathy. Indeed, the person who has crossed the line is likely to be least sympathetic and tolerant toward his erstwhile kindred spirits.

I have suggested that the essential difference between the Liahonas

and the Iron Rods is in their approach to the concept “the word of God.” Let us investigate that now a little.

The Iron Rod is confident that, on any question, the mind and will of the Lord may be obtained. His sources are threefold: Scripture, Prophetic Authority, and the Holy Spirit.

In the Standard Works of the Church the Iron Rod member finds far more answers than does his Liahona brother, because he accepts them as God’s word in a far more literal sense. In them he finds answers to questions as diverse as the age and origin of the earth, the justification for capital punishment, the proper diet, the proper role of government, the nature and functions of sex, and the nature of man. To the Liahona, he sometimes seems to be reading things into the printed words, but to himself the meaning is clear.

In the pronouncements of the General Authorities, living and dead, the Iron Rod finds many answers, because he accepts and gives comprehensive application to that language of the Doctrine and Covenants which declares: “And whatsoever they shall speak when moved upon by the Holy Ghost shall be scripture, shall be the will of the Lord, shall be the mind of the Lord, shall be the word of the Lord, shall be the voice of the Lord, and the power of God unto salvation” (68:4). This reliance extends to every facet of life. On birth control and family planning, labor relations and race relations, the meaning of the Constitution and prospects for the United Nations, the laws of health and the signs of the times, the counsel of the “living oracles” suffices. Where answers are not found in the published record, they are sought in correspondence and interviews, and once received, they are accepted as definitive.

Third among the sources for the Iron Rod member is the Holy Spirit. As Joseph Smith found answers in the counsel of James, “If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God. . . .,” so any Latter-day Saint may do so. Whether it be the choice of a vocation or the choice of a mate, help on a college examination or in finding “Golden Prospects” in the mission field, healing the sick or averting a divorce—in prayer is the answer. The response may not be what was expected, but it *will* come, and it will be a manifestation of the Holy Spirit.

Implicit in all this is the confidence of the Iron Rod Latter-day Saint that our Heavenly Father is intimately involved in the day-to-day business of His children. As no sparrow falls without the Father, so nothing befalls man without His will. God knows the answers to all questions and has the solutions to all problems, and the only thing which denies man access to this reservoir is his own stubbornness. Truly, then, the person who opens his mind and heart to the channels of revelation, past and present, has the iron rod which leads unerringly to the Kingdom.

The Liahona Latter-day Saint lacks this certain confidence. Not that he rejects the concepts upon which it rests—that God lives, that He loves His children, that His knowledge and power are efficacious for salvation, and that He does reveal His will as the Ninth Article of Faith affirms.

Nor does he reserve the right of selective obedience to the will of God as he understands it. No, the problem for the Liahona involves the adequacy of the *sources* on which the Iron Rod testimony depends.

The problem is in perceiving the will of God when it is mediated—as it is for almost all mortals—by “the arm of flesh.” The Liahona is convinced by logic and experience that no human instrument, even a prophet, is capable of transmitting the word of God so clearly and comprehensively that it can be universally understood and easily appropriated by man.

Because the Liahona finds it impossible to accept the literal verbal inspiration of the Standard Works, the sufficiency of scriptural answers to questions automatically comes into question. If Eve was not made from Adam’s rib, how much of the Bible is historic truth? If geology and anthropology have undermined Bishop Ussher’s chronology, which places creation at 4000 B.C., how much of the Bible is scientific truth? And if our latter-day scriptures have been significantly revised since their original publication, can it be assumed that they are now infallibly authoritative? To the Liahona these volumes are sources of inspiration and moral truth, but they leave many specific questions unanswered, or uncertainly answered.

As for the authority of the Latter-day prophets, the Liahona Saint finds consensus among them on Gospel fundamentals but far-ranging diversity on many important issues. The record shows error, as in Brigham Young’s statements about the continuation of slavery, and it shows change of counsel, as in the matter of gathering to Zion. It shows differences of opinion—Heber J. Grant and Reed Smoot on the League of Nations, and David O. McKay and Joseph Fielding Smith on the process of creation. To the Liahonas, the “living oracles” are God’s special witnesses of the Gospel of Christ and His agents in directing the affairs of the Church, but like the scriptures, they leave many important questions unanswered, or uncertainly answered.

The Iron Rod proposition that the Spirit will supply what the prophets have not gives difficulty on both philosophical and experimental grounds. Claims that prayer is an infallible, almost contractual, link between God and man through the Holy Spirit find Liahona Mormons perplexed by the nature of the evidence. As a method of confirming truth, the witness of the Spirit demonstrably has *not* produced uniformity of Gospel interpretation even among Iron Rod Saints, and it is allegedly by the witness of that same Spirit—by the burning within—that many apostates pronounce the whole Church in error. As a method of influencing the course of events, it seems unpredictable and some of the miracles claimed for it seem almost whimsical. By the prayer of faith one man recovers his lost eyeglasses; in spite of such prayer, another man goes blind.

All of which leaves the Liahona Mormon with a somewhat tenuous connection with the Holy Spirit. He may take comfort in his imperfect knowledge from that portion of the Article of Faith which says that

"God will yet reveal many great and important things. . . ." And he may reconcile his conviction of God's love and his observation of the uncertain earthly outcomes of faith by emphasizing the divine commitment to the principle of free agency, as I shall presently do. In any case, it seems to the Liahona Mormon that God's involvement in day-to-day affairs must be less active and intimate than the Iron Rod Mormon believes, because there are so many unsolved problems and unanswered prayers.

Is the Iron Rod member unaware of these considerations which loom so large in the Liahona member's definition of his relationship to the word of God? In some instances, I believe, the answer is yes. For in our activity-centered Church it is quite possible to be deeply and satisfyingly involved without looking seriously at the philosophical implications of some Gospel propositions which are professed.

In many instances, however, the Iron Rod Saint has found sufficient answers to the Liahona questions. He sees so much basic consistency in the scriptures and the teachings of the latter-day prophets that the apparent errors and incongruities can be handled by interpretation. He finds so much evidence of the immanence of God in human affairs that the apparently pointless evil and injustice in the world can be handled by the valid assertion that God's ways are not man's ways. He is likely to credit his Liahona contemporaries with becoming so preoccupied with certain problems that they cannot see the Gospel forest for the trees, and he may even attribute that preoccupation to an insufficiency of faith.

As a Liahona, I must resist the attribution, though I cannot deny the preoccupation.

Both kinds of Mormons have problems. Not just the ordinary personal problems to which all flesh is heir, but problems growing out of the nature of their Church commitment.

The Iron Rod has a natural tendency to develop answers where none may, in fact, have been revealed. He may find arguments against social security in the Book of Mormon; he may discover in esoteric prophetic utterances a timetable for that Second Coming of which "that day and hour knoweth no man. . . ." His dogmatism may become offensive to his peers in the Church and a barrier to communication with his own family; his confidence in his own insights may make him impatient with those whom he publicly sustains. He may also cling to cherished answers in the face of new revelation, or be so shaken by innovation that he forms new "fundamentalist" sects. The Iron Rod concept holds many firm in the Church, but it leads some out.

The Liahona, on the other hand, has the temptation to broaden the scope of his questioning until even the most clearly defined Church doctrines and policies are included. His resistance to statistics on principle may deteriorate into a carping criticism of programs and leaders. His ties to the Church may become so nebulous that he cannot communicate them to his children. His testimony may become so selective as to ex-

clude him from some forms of Church activity or to make him a hypocrite in his own eyes as he participates in them. His persistence in doubting may alienate his brethren and eventually destroy the substance of his Gospel commitment. Then he, too, is out—without fireworks, but not without pain.

Both kinds of Latter-day Saints serve the Church. They talk differently and apparently think and feel differently about the Gospel, but as long as they avoid the extremes just mentioned, they share a love for and commitment to the Church. They cannot therefore be distinguished on the basis of attendance at meetings, or participation on welfare projects, or contributions, or faithfulness in the performance of callings. They may or may not be hundred percenters, but the degree of their activity is not a function of type, insofar as I have been able to observe. (It may be that Iron Rods are a little more faithful in genealogical work, but even this is not certain.)

Both kinds of members are found at every level of Church responsibility—in bishoprics and Relief Society presidencies, in stake presidencies and high councils, and even among the General Authorities. But whatever their private orientation, the public deportment of the General Authorities seems to me to represent a compromise, which would be natural in the circumstances. They satisfy the Iron Rods by emphasizing the solid core of revealed truth and discouraging speculative inquiry into matters of faith and morals, and they comfort the Liahonas by resisting the pressure to make pronouncements on all subjects and by reminding the Saints that God has not revealed the answer to every question or defined the response to every prayer.

As I have suggested, the Iron Rods and the Liahonas have some difficulty understanding each other. Lacking the patience, wisdom, breadth of experience, or depth of institutional commitment of the General Authorities, we sometimes criticize and judge each other. But usually we live and let live—each finding in the Church what meets his needs and all sharing the Gospel blessings which do not depend on identity of testimony.

Which brings me to the second part of my remarks—the part which gives my talk its title: *What the Church Means to People Like Me*.

Although I have tried to characterize two types of Latter-day Saints with objectivity, I can speak with conviction only about one example from one group. In suggesting—briefly—what the Church offers to a Liahona like me, I hope to provoke all of us to reexamine the nature of our own commitments and to grow in understanding and love for those whose testimonies are defined in different terms.

By my initial characterization of types, I am the kind of Mormon who is preoccupied with questions and skeptical of answers. I find in the Gospel—as I understand it—answers to enough important questions so that I can function purposefully, and I hope effectively, without present answers to the rest.

The primary question of this generation, it seems to me, is the question of meaning. Does life really add up to anything at all? At least at the popular level, the philosophy of existentialism asks, and tries to answer, the question of how to function significantly in a world which apparently has no meaning. When the philosophy is given a religious context, it becomes an effort to salvage some of the values of traditional religion for support in this meaningless world.

To the extent that existence is seen as meaningless—even absurd—human experiences have only immediate significance. A psychedelic trip stands on a par with a visit to the Sistine Chapel or a concert of the Tabernacle Choir. What the individual does with himself—or other “freely consenting adults”—is nobody’s business, whether it involves pot, perversion, or “making love, not war.”

For me, the Gospel answers this question of meaning, and the answer is grandly challenging. It lies in three revealed propositions: (1) Man is eternal. (2) Man is free. (3) God’s work and glory is to exalt this eternal free agent—man.

The central conception is freedom. With a belief in the doctrine of free agency I can cope with some of the riddles and tragedies which are cited in support of the philosophy of the absurd. In the nature of human freedom—as I understand it—is to be found the reconciliation of the concept of a loving God and the facts of an unlovely world.

The restored Gospel teaches that the essential stuff of man is eternal, that man is a child of God, and that it is man’s destiny to become like his Father. But this destiny can only be achieved as man *voluntarily* gains the knowledge, the experience, and the discipline which godhood requires and represents. *This* was the crucial question resolved in the council in heaven—whether man should come into an environment of genuine risk, where he would walk by faith.

To me, this prerequisite for exaltation explains the apparent remoteness of God from many aspects of the human predicament—my predicament. My range of freedom is left large, and arbitrary divine interference with that freedom is kept minimal, in order that I may grow. Were God’s hand always upon my shoulder, or his Iron Rod always in my grasp, my range of free choice would be constricted, and my growth as well.

This view does not rule out miraculous interventions by our Heavenly Father, but it does not permit their being commonplace. What is seen as miracle by the Iron Rod Saints, my type tends to interpret as coincidence, or psychosomatic manifestation, or inaccurately remembered or reported event. The same attitude is even more likely with regard to the Satanic role in human affairs. The conflict between good and evil—with its happy and unhappy outcomes—is seen more often as a derivative of man’s nature and environment than as a contest between titanic powers for the capture of human pawns. If God cannot, in the ultimate sense, coerce the eternal intelligences which are embodied in His chil-

dren, then how much less is Lucifer able to do so. We may yield to the promptings of good or evil, but we are *not* puppets.

There is another aspect of the matter. If, with or without prayer, man is arbitrarily spared the consequences of his own fallibility and the natural consequences of the kind of hazardous world in which he lives, then freedom becomes meaningless and God capricious. If the law that fire burns, that bullets kill, that age deteriorates, and that the rain falls on the just and the unjust is sporadically suspended upon petition of faith, what happens to that reliable connection between cause and consequence which is a condition of knowledge: and what a peril to faith lies in the idea that God *can* break the causal chain, that he frequently *does* break it, but that in *my* individual case he may not *choose* to do so. This is the dilemma of theodicy, reconciling God's omnipotence with evil and suffering, which is so dramatically phrased: "If God is good, he is not God; if God is God, he is not good."

From what has been said, it must be apparent that Liahonas like me do not see prayer as a form of spiritual mechanics, in spite of such scriptural language as "Prove me herewith . . .," and "I, the Lord, am bound . . ." Prayer is rarely for miracles, or even for new answers. It is—or ought to be—an intensely personal exercise in sorting out and weighing the relevant factors in our problems, and looking to God as we consider the alternative solutions. (Many of our problems would solve themselves if we would consider only options on which we could honestly ask God's benediction.) We might pray for a miracle, especially in time of deep personal frustration or tragedy, but we would think it presumptuous to command God and would not suspend the future on the outcome of the petition.

This is not to say that Liahonas cannot verbalize prayer as proficiently as their Iron Rod contemporaries. One cannot be significantly involved in the Church without mastering the conventional prayer forms and learning to fit the petition to the proportions of the occasion. But even in the public prayers it is possible, I believe, for the attentive ear to detect those differences which I have tried to describe. To oppose evil as we can, to bear adversity as we must, and to do our jobs well—these are the petitions in Liahona prayers. They invoke God's blessings, but they require man's answering.

To this Liahona Latter-day Saint, God is powerful to save. He is pledged to keep the way of salvation open to man and to do, through the example and sacrifice of His Son and the ordinances and teachings of His Church, what man cannot do for himself. But beyond this, He has left things pretty much up to me—a free agent, a god in embryo who must learn by experience as well as direction how to be like God.

In this circumstance the Church of Jesus Christ performs three special functions for me. Without them, my freedom might well become unbearable:

In the first place, the Church reminds me—almost incessantly—that what I do makes a difference. It matters to my fellow men because most

of what I do or fail to do affects their progress toward salvation. And it matters to me, even if it has no discernible influence upon others. I reject the “hippie” stance, not because there is something intrinsically wrong with beards and sandals, but with estrangement and aimlessness. Even though life is eternal, time is short and I have none to waste.

In the second place, the Church suggests and sometimes prescribes guidelines for the use of freedom. The deportment standards of the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, the rules for mental and physical wellbeing in the Doctrine and Covenants, the reminders and challenges in the temple ceremony—these are examples, and they harmonize with free agency because even those which are prescribed are not coerced.

There is a difference here, I think, between the way Iron Rods and Liahonas look at the guidelines. Answer-oriented, the Iron Rods tend to spell things out; Sabbath observance becomes no TV or movies, or TV but no movies, or uplifting TV and no other, or no studying, or studying for religion classes but no others. For Liahonas like me, the Sabbath commandment is a reminder of the kinship of free men and a concerned and loving Father. What is fitting, not what is conventional, becomes the question. On a lovely autumn evening I may even, with quiet conscience, pass up an M.I.A. fireside for a drive in the canyon. But the thankfulness for guidelines is nonetheless strong.

In final place comes the contribution of the Church in giving me something to relate to—to belong to—to *feel* a part of.

Contemporary psychology has much to say about the awful predicament of alienation. “The Lonely Crowd” is the way one expert describes it. Ex-Mormons often feel it; a good friend who somehow migrated out of the Church put it this way the other day: “I don’t belong anywhere.”

For the active Latter-day Saint such alienation is impossible. The Church is an association of kindred spirits, a sub-culture, a “folk”—and this is the tie which binds Iron Rods and Liahonas together as strongly as the shared testimony of Joseph Smith. It is as fundamental to the solidarity of L.D.S. families—almost—as the doctrine of eternal marriage itself. It makes brothers and sisters of the convert and the Daughter of the Utah Pioneers, of the Hong Kong branch president and the missionary from Cedar City. It unites this congregation—the genealogists and the procrastinators, the old-fashioned patriarchs and the family planners, the eggheads and the doubters of “the wisdom of men.”

This sense of belonging is what makes me feel at home in the Palo Alto Ward. Liahonas and Iron Rods together, we are products of a great historic experience, laborers in a great enterprise, and sharers of a commitment to the proposition that life is important because God is real and we are His children—free agents with the opportunity to become heirs of His kingdom.

This is the witness of the Spirit to this Liahona Latter-day Saint. When the returning missionary warms his homecoming with a narrative

of a remarkable conversion, I may note the inconsistency or naiveté of some of his analysis, but I am moved nevertheless by the picture of lives transformed—made meaningful—by the Gospel. When the Home Teachers call, I am sometimes self-conscious about the “role playing” in which we all seem to be engaged, yet I ask my wife often—in our times of deepest concern and warmest parental satisfaction—what might our daughters have become without the Church. When a dear friend passes, an accident victim, I may recoil from the well-meant suggestion that God’s need for him was greater than his family’s, but my lamentation is sweetened by the realization of what the temporal support of the Saints and the eternal promises of the Lord mean to those who mourn.

For this testimony, the Church which inspires and feeds it, and fellowship in the Church with the Iron Rods and Liahonas who share it, I express my thanks to my Heavenly Father in the name of His Son, Jesus Christ, Amen.

Reviews

Edited by Richard L. Bushman

The review of MAHLZEITEN, a new German film which includes a conversion to Mormonism among its episodes, raises an issue which runs through a number of the reviews. According to D. L. Ashliman, the reviewer, there are scenes of a cottage meeting with actual Mormon missionaries giving the lesson, of a guided tour through a stake house, and of a baptism. As Ashliman says, the Church leaders in Germany must have given their permission, and one can easily see why. In the story the young couple are converted, and when the husband dies, the girl marries a Mormon and migrates to the United States. In prospect it must have sounded like a good chance for some favorable publicity. But now the German Saints look on the film with disfavor. It turns out that it is one of those starkly realistic pieces, characteristic of the work of a number of young directors, showing all the dull routine of life, including frank bathroom and bedroom scenes. Moreover, conversion to the Church does not transform the young couple. The husband later commits suicide, and, in Ashliman's judgment, there is no assurance at the end that life in America with her new Mormon husband will really help the girl.

One can imagine the dismay the film must have caused the German Mormons. The tone and import of the movie all so different from official Church films and books, conversion given such trivial significance. No one who knows Mormon converts will doubt that conversion might have operated in just such a way in someone's life. But the issue is, do we wish to tell those kinds of stories or have them told? In essence it is the same question raised by Samuel Taylor a few issues back. How purely positive should stories about Mormons be?

Davis Bitton and Helen Hinckley in their reviews of some recent biography and fiction argue along with Samuel Taylor that we must be more realistic. An idealized person is an unbelievable one, and until we sense the conflicts and failures in a life we cannot appreciate the triumphs. Apart from the literary impact of a book, undiluted praise for a man or the absolutely assured victory for righteousness in a plot line make the good life appear all too simple to have any connection with the actual lives we live. Instead of preparing us to meet our difficulties, the positive thinkers only prepare us for disillusion when life does not work out according to the script.

Quinn McKay, while hinting that a realistic appraisal of a Church leader like President McKay is desirable, also sees the usefulness of a laudatory account. Many Mormons would agree. Life itself is realistic enough, I have heard one say. The tawdry, base, and dull are all about us. The problem is to look up from the muck to see the golden crown awaiting us. What we need is a vision of our best possibilities to draw us forward. Whether the Church or an individual is idealized, we benefit from seeing how to transcend our limitations.

This issue is likely to remain with us for a long time. Discussion like that in the reviews helps to clarify the question. Even more, we need further experimentation with

realistic fiction and with biography written in a fair and open spirit and not with a yen to depreciate Mormons. Once we have more concrete examples of realistic writing at its best, we can better judge its value.

A SMALL HELPING OF MORMONISM

D. L. Ashliman

Mahlzeiten, a film directed by Edgar Reitz, is one of the most recent and most highly praised of the Young German productions. D. L. Ashliman, an instructor of German at the University of Pittsburgh, wrote this review while he was studying at the University of Göttingen under a grant from the German government. He has written articles on the image of Mormonism in Germany for the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and the *Brigham Young University Studies*.

Mahlzeiten is one of Germany's most discussed current films, and one which will be of special interest to Latter-day Saints. The plot could be reduced to sound like a sensational nineteenth-century thriller: a young married couple is converted to the Mormon religion, he shortly afterward commits suicide, and she emigrates to America with a third Mormon. But there is much more than this to Reitz's production, which even *Der Spiegel's* normally vitriolic reviewers called "a cool, sensible film—the best thus far of the Young German production" (March 27, 1967, p. 122).

"Cool" describes this production well; the film abounds in cold, dispassionate realism, which is both its strength and its weakness. Reitz's exclusive use of improvised dialogue gives the film freshness and candor, but many viewers will feel that his selection of scenes from the lives of seemingly ordinary people is too mundane. And there are those who will be offended by his inclusion of certain revealing (but clinically dispassionate) bedroom and bathroom scenes.¹

The plot, beyond the distorted skeleton mentioned above, is worth noting. Rolf (played by Georg Hauke) seems to be well on the way toward the realization of his life long goal, to become a doctor. Even his courtship with Elisabeth (Heidi Stroh) and her subsequent pregnancy are no serious threat to his success. The two lovers marry, but Elisabeth's view of life as one continuous dinner party (hence the film's title) and her rapid succession of pregnancies are financially and psychologically more than Rolf's medical studies can withstand. He makes an attempt at a related profession, selling pharmaceutical products to doctors, but is also unsuccessful there.

At the depth of the young family's depression, two Mormon missionaries enter the scene. The parts are suitably taken by actual Mormon elders,² speaking typical missionary German; the spectators are treated to a standard "door speech" and to part of an authentic discussion on the need for modern-day revelation. Later in the conversion process the young couple is shown through the Hamburg Stake Center by eager American missionaries. The climax is a

¹*Mahlzeiten* has been placed categorically off limits to the missionaries of at least two of the German missions.

²One reviewer stated that permission to use actual missionaries had to come from Salt Lake City (*Schwäbische Donau-Zeitung*, March 17, 1967). From the preceding footnote it is obvious that some Church officials regret the Church's cooperation in making the film.

riverside baptismal service, complete with the singing of hymn number 196, "We Thank Thee O God for a Prophet" (in English), and the immersion of the happy couple (albeit without the validating baptismal prayers). Rolf cheerfully notes that he can now call his wife "sister." But their happiness is short lived; Mormonism only temporarily retards their decline, which finds its nadir in Rolf's suicide.

The young widow is still attractive, in spite of her five children, and she finds a suitable mate in a fellow Mormon. The two are married, and she emigrates with him to America. The final scenes of the film show snapshots of an idealistic family life in a utopian setting, but the viewer suspects that it is only the beginning of a second decline.

Mahlzeiten can be judged from at least two viewpoints, an artistic one and a pragmatic one. Artistically the film is on firm footing. It is certainly one of the best productions currently being shown in Germany, which does not guarantee it immortality, but which does set it apart from the trivial works to which movie goers are so frequently subjected on both sides of the Atlantic. Pragmatically, the film probably neither harms nor enhances the Church's image in Germany. Rolf's religious conversion in no way accelerates his decline, but many German Saints will object to the idea that their Church attracts the kind of people portrayed in the film,³ and some Mormon viewers may feel that the sanctity of religious conversion is violated by its inclusion in a profane motion picture. I believe, however, that most spectators will agree that Reitz uses the Mormon scenes honestly and artistically. Religion unfortunately does not always supply the solutions to all of life's problems. I found in *Mahlzeiten* a sensitive, meaningful study of one family's unsuccessful search for fulfillment.

³Deviant or criminal behavior by members of "sects" is given wide publicity in Germany's sensationalistic press. Typical is the coverage given a thirteen-year-old Mormon girl's suicide by *Bild-Zeitung* (Oct. 14, 1965), Germany's most popular newspaper. *Bild*, which enjoys a daily circulation of over four million copies, laid the blame for the girl's death at the feet of her father, who allegedly spent too much time at church and too little at home.

MORMON LIVES

Davis Bitton

Melvin J. Ballard: *Crusader for Righteousness*. (No author given.) Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1966. 293 pp. \$3.50

B. H. Roberts: *A Biography*. By Robert H. Malan. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1966. xii + 151 pp. \$2.95. David Bitton, who teaches European history at the University of Utah, has an avid interest in Mormon history and has published in this area in *Dialogue*.

Among Mormon leaders of the past generation few were as charismatic as Melvin J. Ballard and B. H. Roberts. Both, in different ways, were significant in the shaping of twentieth-century Mormonism. Both deserve solid biographies. Unfortunately, the recent works which treat the lives of these two General Authorities do not fill the need. In fact, they perpetuate, at least to some extent, the superficiality which we have come to expect of Mormon biography.

Melvin J. Ballard: Crusader for Righteousness is divided into two parts. The first part, about one hundred pages in length, narrates the main events of Ballard's life, with the emphasis on his activities as a churchman. Practically nothing will be found here of his childhood experiences, his personal prejudices, his professional or family life. Even his adult life receives far from comprehensive treatment. The ten or eleven years between his return from his first mission and his subsequent call as mission president, for example, are jumped over in a single page.

Substantial excerpts are included from family journals and reminiscences, including the missionary diary of Ballard himself. Although some of these excerpts provide revealing glimpses, it is regrettable that the editorial procedure is not described and that the location of the primary documents is not indicated. Were the papers quoted precisely as written? Or were spelling errors and the like "corrected"? Are ellipses carefully indicated? In the absence of rudimentary documentation these passages drawn from unpublished sources can be used only with serious reservation.

Even the authorship and sponsorship of the biography, which it is the function of the title page and preface to describe, are far from clear. Seemingly, the work was sponsored by the Ballard family, but specific responsibility for selection and editing is not specified. The actual writing of the narrative chapters was apparently that of Bryant S. Hinckley, whose earlier work on Ballard, published in 1949, is now warmed over and preserved.

Samples of the style, which may give a good indication of the level of treatment, include the following: "However hard the trial, her courage was undaunted, her zeal undampened, her faith unruffled" (p. 23). "Thus did the Master Potter prepare the mold for the Melvin clay" (p. 26). "In due course that friendship was set on fire by the magic torch of love, and 'Melvin and Martha' became an eternal alliteration" (p. 33). The subject of this biography seldom stands forth as a flesh-and-blood individual. He passes, as in a medieval morality play, through the trials and tribulations of this vale of tears, with head held high and shoulder to the wheel, onward and upward into the great beyond.

The second part of the book is made up of sermons by Elder Ballard. These include the well-known "Three Degrees of Glory" and "God's Plan of Redemption." Also of interest is "The Sacramental Covenant," one of the few Mormon treatments of sacramental theology. Although isolated passages of interest can be found in the other sermons, most of them scarcely deserve to be immortalized in stone. It is hard to see what is gained, for example, by reprinting "Book of Mormon Evidences," in which pseudo-archaeology from popular magazines is purveyed as "proof" of the modern scripture. Also detracting from the value of this part of the book is the failure to indicate the date of delivery, the place or occasion, and the location of the original version of all of the sermons.

B. H. Roberts is of more historical significance than Ballard. He served twice as long as a General Authority. His own participation in plural marriage gave him the acute personal experience of spanning two quite different generations of Mormon history. And among Mormon leaders his versatility was un-

paralleled. He played an important role in missionary work, in journalism, in politics, in the office of the Church Historian, in the Y.M.M.I.A., and in the First Council of Seventy. To understand B. H. Roberts in the richness and complexity of his life development is to understand a good deal about modern Mormonism's "coming of age."

Since an adequate life of Roberts would require several years of intensive research, access to primary sources apparently not yet available, and probably at least 500 printed pages, it can come as no surprise that Malan fails to do justice to his subject. Perhaps we should be grateful for a work of 128 pages which at least will make Roberts better known to the limited reading public within the marketing range of Salt Lake City publishers. But how can one commend a book marred by shoddy proofreading, errors of fact, minor inconsistencies, and huge gaps made inevitable by the unfortunate topical organization? Nor is the bibliography reassuring. Several key items are omitted, and the excellent idea of including a listing of Roberts's own writings is vitiated by the failure to give adequate information on editions.

What one misses, above all, in this work is any real penetration. The narrative glides along with practically no mention of conflict, struggle, or development. Roberts was a fighter, and he was capable of growth. Yet, of many conflicts which made up his life Malan gives only a few attenuated glimpses. It is not in this book that we can relive, in the heightened emotional atmosphere of their times, the exciting experiences of Roberts's insistent efforts to obtain a hearing at the World Parliament of Religions in 1893, of his temporary refusal to sign the "political manifesto" of 1896, or of his election to Congress in 1898 and the subsequent hearings which led to denying him his seat on grounds of polygamy. Not a word is heard of his doctrinal views, some of which were rather exotic. And not a word of the "parallel" between the Book of Mormon and Ethan Smith's *Views of the Hebrews* which Roberts prepared towards the end of his life. This document, which has been known about for many years, is published by at least one group as a means of embarrassing the Church. It is inconceivable that a serious study of Roberts should simply ignore it.

Until the appearance of a competent full-length life of Roberts, which we can hope will avoid the quicksands of a "sponsored" biography, Malan's book can be of some help, if used with caution, as a guide to basic facts. Meanwhile, the most insightful interpretation of Roberts's place in Mormon history is the essay by Sterling McMurrin [reprinted in this issue of *Dialogue*, p. 141] introducing the handsome reprint of Roberts's *Joseph Smith, Prophet-Teacher*, which, in a welcome change from Relief Society bazaars and ward suppers, has been recently produced as a building fund project by the Deseret Club of Princeton University.

It is to be expected, naturally, that the "faith-promoting" function should loom large in biographies of spiritual leaders. But there is always the danger that the biographer who regards this as his primary task will simply leave out events which complicate the picture. The medieval writer of saints' lives, as Père Delahaye has said, was "not bound to draw a portrait of which every detail is in precise accordance with the truth," but was "free to omit those

aspects in which his hero appears to less advantage." In this sense much Mormon biography has been essentially hagiography.

Without advocating a cynical, materialistic approach to men like Ballard and Roberts, who can never be understood apart from the faith which permeated their lives, I wonder if the time has not arrived that Mormons can view their leaders as human beings. Indeed, realistic biographies of three-dimensional individuals would seem to offer several advantages. They might prevent the trauma which sometimes occurs when we encounter evidence of human frailties which our pasteurized official histories had not prepared us to expect. They might be both more reassuring and more faith-promoting to those of us who, still far from the City of Enoch, experience our own ups and downs. And they might even be read by teen-agers who, fresh from their Salinger, do not respond with much relish to the thin gruel served up in most life stories of Church leaders.



GOD, MAN, AND ART

Dale Fletcher

Beginnings. By Carol Lynn Pearson; illustrated by Trevor Southey. Trilogy Arts: Box 843, Provo, Utah. 63 pp. \$2.50. Dale Fletcher contributed to the Art and Belief show in Utah last year and is an instructor in art at Brigham Young University.

If you think you don't like poetry, be prepared for a surprise when you pick up Carol Lynn Pearson's new book, *Beginnings*. I have yet to talk to a person who was not impressed with it, whether they were an authority on writing or the type who would not ordinarily come near a book of poetry. You will be hearing it quoted in Sunday School and Sacrament Meeting soon.

Carol Lynn Wright Pearson is from Provo. She earned a master's degree in drama from Brigham Young University, minoring in English, after which she taught these subjects at Snow College for a year. Wanting to see the world, she took a tour of Europe, followed by a month and a half in Greece, two weeks in Russia, some time in Kenya, Africa, and three and a half months in Israel. When she returned home she wrote articles on Russia and on Israel which were published in a national Jewish monthly. She has received recognition

repeatedly for other of her writing, plays and poems. Now she is working as a script writer for the Brigham Young University Motion Picture Studio.

Her husband, Gerald Pearson, is also a drama major of considerable ability. When the publishing companies in Salt Lake City told them that they would not publish her book ("Poetry won't sell—") Gerald and Carol Lynn borrowed money and published it themselves, adopting the name Trilogy Arts. "Trilogy" refers to God, Man, and Art, according to Gerald. We will be seeing more of that name. In four weeks the first printing of two thousand copies was sold, almost entirely from one outlet, the B.Y.U. Bookstore.

I predict that this book will soon be in the majority of L.D.S. homes as a classic example of something we are going to see more of, *Mormon Art*. I use the term with some misgiving because it invites misunderstanding, but for me it has a particular and serious meaning. The essential ingredients of what I would call Mormon art are the light of the key of knowledge and the application of the law of consecration of talents. Of course, to be art at all presupposes a sensitivity to artistic form. Carol Lynn is a knowledgeable poet, well read and sensitive to good form. She has an admiration for Emily Dickinson and Japanese Haiku; that is, her poems are a bit like mouse traps—of course it doesn't hurt, just the opposite. What I mean is that she likes to use familiar words in surprising ways. For example, I asked her if she was a convert and she said, "Yes, I'm being converted." Her poems have the ping of simple clarity and directness. She traps you into seeing the light. She says, "Poetry should clarify, not obscure life." She reminds one of Keats' description of good poets:

Misers of sound and syllable, no less
Than Midas of his coinage, let us be
Jealous of dead leaves in the bay wreath crown;

Her poems are like neat, live buds which unfold into surprising flowers. She uses the key of knowledge as a compositional device to situate a wallop of insight at the right place in the sequence. We see the bud, the petals begin to unfurl, and ah! She does it better in some poems than in others, naturally, but the quality is quite consistent, and she is certainly pursuing a fruitful direction. A good example of one of these unfolding poems is the one entitled "At the Altar."

At the Altar

The thought
Of forever
Teased my mind
Like a mountain
Through a thickly
Misted view.

But today the
Veil dissolved
To show—
Eternity
Is you.

It is as if she leads us with a few well chosen words into a situation, an involvement, a picture, a problem, that is a subject; and almost before we realize what happened we are at the end and have tripped some trigger word that allows the light to flood through. At first you feel as if you had read something no more profound than "Roses are red and violets are blue," but as the sense comes through, it becomes clear to you that here is a highly significant insight into the nature of man, woman, marriage, and life after death, and the more you think of it the more wonderful it becomes. Of course, such insights derive from the key of knowledge, which even a Shakespeare didn't have, but Carol Lynn does. That she dares to avail herself of it is what makes her poems unique. And yet she does so with such sincere respect and humility.

The various beginnings with which she deals in the book are birth, baptism, marriage, parenthood, death, and other related events before or after mortality. All these beginnings are illuminated by the one end: not merely to pluck the flower from the crannies as did Tennyson, but to know what God and man is. That is what she has in common with Eliza R. Snow, although they differ in obvious ways. Both realize the import of the key of knowledge—"but until the key of knowledge was restored, I knew not why."

To reveal this import artistically is Carol Lynn's intent:

The Eleventh Hour

Had I been born
To other centuries—
How pleasant
To stretch
In the sun
And choose from
All life's
Possibilities

This one,
Or that.
To prove the
Earth is round,
Or tame the ocean,
To write a dictionary
Or expound
On Shakespeare's
Subtle irony.

But these are
Daytime jobs
And,
As I was born
To time's
Saturday night
My ordained task
Is to kindle
The Sabbath light.

That is the reason Mormons will love this poetry and the reason it is different from the poetry of the world and the reason it is Mormon Art and the reason it is desperately cogent for our world right now—because the key of knowledge is not just *a* truth, nor just another truth, but *the* critical truth for us and the answer to the philosophical, political, social, and personal dilemma of our times, and it is the inner light and warm glow at the heart of Mormonism which illuminates all the other facets of the Gospel without which light these other facets, all those beliefs which have counterparts in other churches, become dead forms without power to save man because the Spirit is missing, and without this light factions appear in the Church, but with it we will have monolithic solidarity until it rolls forth to fill the whole earth.



AN EXPERIMENT IN MORMON PUBLISHING

Helen Hinckley

The Valley of Tomorrow. By Gordon T. Allred. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966, 243 pp. \$3.50.

Strangers on Earth. By Sara and Irene Black. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1966, 361 pp. \$4.95. Helen Hinckley (Jones), has been widely published in the United States and Canada as well as in Church magazines and has been translated into such unlikely languages as Duth, Turkish, Swahili, and Urdu. She is a teacher of "Writing for Publication" at Pasadena City College and Director of Writers' Week in Pasadena.

The publishers of *The Valley of Tomorrow* and *Strangers on Earth* are moving to fill a very real need for suitable reading for young adults. Most books for younger readers are appropriate for all children, including Mormons. But when readers get into high school, beyond the horse story stage, beyond the age when writers, publishers, teachers and librarians feel a definite responsibility for the moral education of the reader, there has been little to offer the compulsive bookworm. In the days of Gene Stratton Porter and Grace S. Richmond any adult novel on the shelf was appropriate reading for this age level. This has changed completely. The emphasis of Latter-day Saint publishers has been upon instructional and study materials; so called "nonbooks"—collections, anthologies, commentaries, sermons—have poured from our presses. It is a reason for cheering that both Bookcraft and Deseret Book Company have recognized the need for books that may be read for enjoyment.

When Marvin Wallin of Bookcraft decided to do something about publish-

ing material for the high school age reader he commissioned Gordon Allred to write a book which would be "realistic, believable, positive, wholesome, faith promoting and testimony building." If anyone could write such a book it would be Mr. Allred, who is a devoted Latter-day Saint and a gifted writer. Mr. Wallin distributed copies of *Valley of Tomorrow* to L.D.S. seminaries, together with a questionnaire for each reader. Some responses were "didn't seem possible or real," "stories like this are always being told but never seem to happen to a close friend . . . who can testify and verify similar incidents," "It seems to be just another story the author has twisted to fit his purposes," and "too pat"; but the overwhelming majority of both young readers and seminary teachers found that they could identify with Kelly and his problems, that the story was realistic, that it was faith promoting, and that they were better for having read the book. Although sixteen-year-old Kristine Haynes of Yuba City, California, thought the book would make dull reading for non-Mormons, she wrote, "When his [Kelly's] bishopric went up into the mountains to pray it made me feel the wonderful power of fasting and prayer. I specially liked the Bishop; he is the kind of man I expect a Bishop to be. He was my favorite person in the book."

But a reviewer must ask whether or not writing with such clearly defined purposes can produce excellence in literature. Compare *Valley of Tomorrow* with Irene Hunt's *Up a Road Slowly*, last year's Newbery Award book, and the difference between a teaching instrument and a book of high literary quality becomes apparent. It is not the fault of the author that the book seems contrived, pat, preachy. Gordon Allred is a very fine writer, indeed, whose skill, evident in his excellent outdoor stories, is apparent in parts of this book. Latter-day Saint novelists must ask themselves if they can set themselves a "lesson"—in this book Mr. Allred has a whole host of "lessons"—illustrate the lesson with character and plot, and still come up with a book that is comparable in literary excellence with the books the young people are reading from the high school reading lists. Excellent books are expected to make "moral declarations"; for example, Golding's *Lord of the Flies* or Conrad's *Lord Jim* (both on high school lists), but specific teaching of doctrine is something else.

A passage from Gustave Flaubert's *Intimate Notebook* is relevant to Mr. Allred's dilemma in writing his book.

If you begin your book telling yourself: it must prove this or that, the reader must come away from it religious, or ungodly, or erotic—you will write a bad book, because in composing it you have offended against truth, distorted the facts. Ideas flow spontaneously, following an inevitable, natural course. If, for any purpose whatever, you try to make them take a direction that isn't their own, everything is wrong. You must let characters limn themselves according to their own logic; action must develop of itself. Everything must grow freely, and you must do no forcing in one direction or another.

Strangers on Earth is an historical novel about a time and a place of which we know so little that the Latter-day Saint reader will be intrigued immediately—the colony of Cave Valley in Old Mexico just before and during the time of

Pancho Villa. Action and suspense are inherent in the material. But the reader wishes over and over again that the book was Sara Hancock Black's memoirs rather than a novel. (Sara Black was born in Cave Valley in 1893 and is evidently Faith Ann of the story.)

It takes tremendous skill to turn memoirs into fiction. The writer, bound by his "memories," isn't free to let the story build itself, follow its own course. Too frequently it is apparent that the plot is contrived and superimposed upon the material, too frequently personal or family interest in certain incidents, in certain attitudes, in certain people, keeps the author from being selective in character and detail. In *Strangers on Earth* the hero, David, doesn't enter the story until chapter eight and then in an episode which could have been used as a flash-back in a much later chapter. Perhaps the authors thought of Faith Ann's parents as the principal characters of the book and wanted to trace them from their coming to the Valley to their being expelled. This organization would have been perfect for memoirs but not for a novel since Joel and his courageous wife are background characters after the real story begins. All through the book there are incidents which have had special meaning for the Hancock family, one supposes, like the attempt on the part of Manuela Trujillo to buy the blond child. These incidents would be suitable for memoirs but they don't lead anywhere in the novel.

In spite of the excellent material, *Strangers on Earth* lacks suspense. Of course Hernandez will "come to realize," of course Stendal left his home under a cloud and will return to justify himself, of course Faith Ann will marry David in spite of the obstacles the authors dangle in the way of this union. The real interest of the story lies in Sara Black's vivid memories of the place and the period. The contrived plot and sub-plots that these memories are bent to serve weaken the impact of historical truth.

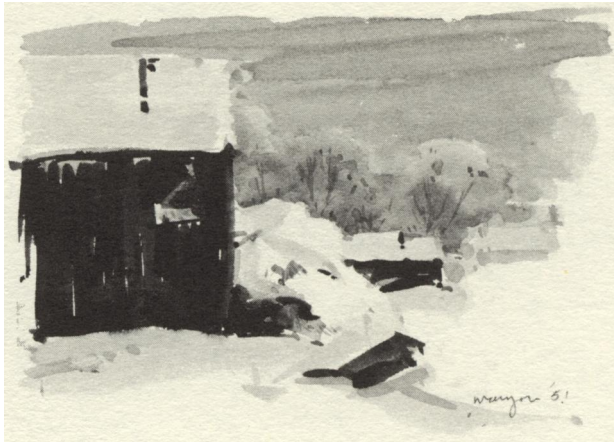
We can all be grateful that before her death Sara Black, with the cooperation of her daughter, wrote this material into a book for us, even though she did not choose the best form for its telling. It is hoped that her notes have been preserved and will be available to students.

We can be grateful, too, to Bookcraft and Deseret Book Company for making a beginning in the much needed area of entertaining books for young people. Should these publishers wish to make an additional contribution toward putting excellent Mormon material into the hands of readers—children, young adults, and adults—they might read carefully all Mormon books brought out by Eastern and West Coast and University publishers, select those that are honest, not sensational, and promote them with all the zeal that they put into the promotion of their own publications. This seems a great deal to ask, probably too much of companies that after all must guard their dividends, but doing this would bring many excellent books to the attention of readers, would encourage our best writers who are now published by national presses to use more Mormon materials, and lessen the risk the Eastern publishers run in publishing non-sensational Mormon material since they could count on Church readership added to the conservative readership they now depend on.

Quite the opposite attitude has been taken in the past, if I may judge from

my own experience. The Deseret Book Company has been most cooperative in handling my books with Iranian backgrounds, but in March when I enquired regarding the sale of my *Over the Mormon Trail* in an Ogden bookstore the head of the department told me that the book wasn't even listed on the Deseret Book Company's distribution list. This is a carefully researched book which was published in Chicago and which has been read by perhaps a hundred thousand boys and girls in school and public libraries throughout the United States and Canada.

Bookcraft and Deseret Book Company have certainly made a start in the right direction. Perhaps it is now up to the readers to applaud this start through support of these ventures.



SHORT NOTICE

Highlights in the Life of President David O. McKay. By Jeanette M. Morrell. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1966. xiv, 318 pp. \$4.95.

Readers often judge a book by what they expect or hope for rather than by the author's stated objective. The President's sister's objective was "to share with others some highlights in my brother's life as I have viewed it," and this book does just that. Anyone who expects a penetrating biography or a Carl Sandburg style evocation will be disappointed, though one day either would be a marvelous undertaking for a biographer. Instead Jeanette McKay Morrell has selected from the extensive and intensive life of an outstanding man a number of events and highlighted them, for the most part in chronological order.

Some readers may feel that the author's repeated expressions of praise were unnecessary inasmuch as merely recounting the life of President McKay is praise enough. But the book does make a fine contribution in gathering together key events in the life of the Prophet. Much of the material could have been found in the public press by the diligent sleuth but was not readily available for the general reader until now.

Some "highlights" for this reader:

—Quotes from President McKay's personal journals, demonstrating his mastery of the language. (It is known that the President has kept extensive journals, some of the contents of which, it is hoped, will one day be published.)

130/DIALOGUE: A Journal of Mormon Thought

—A very touching letter from a grown man to his brother, recalling the intimate memories of two young boys growing up in a country home. A masterpiece!

—Chapters on his concern for little children and kindness to animals.

—“Every member a missionary”—an idea which waited long for its day. President McKay propounded it at least as early as 1923 while European Mission President in Great Britain.

—Interesting, generally unknown, personal details about his visit to the White House in 1964, including President Johnson’s comments on the food served at lunch.

—Insights into President McKay’s contributions to new Church practices. Example: “Suggested missions be visited more frequently by members of the Council of the Twelve, adding that, generally stakes were far better prepared to go without such official visits than were the missions.” A very interesting book could be written on President McKay as innovator.

Quinn G. McKay
Ogden, Utah

Among the Mormons

A Survey of Current Literature

Edited by Ralph W. Hansen

*Politics is perhaps the only profession for
which no preparation is thought necessary.*

Robert Louis Stevenson

As is all too evident from the newspapers, we are again approaching that quadrennial time when nominations for the office of President will be made by American political parties. Forty years ago the Democratic Party selected as its candidate New York Governor Alfred E. Smith, who in the ensuing campaign suffered humiliation because of his religious beliefs. Religious bigotry—especially anti-Catholicism—has been a part of the American political scene for over a century. John F. Kennedy won a close election in 1960, thus broaching the barrier to major office for Catholics, but during Kennedy's campaign America's bigots unleashed a vitriolic attack on the Catholic Church and, of course, the man who wanted to be President of the "land of the free."

Mormons are certainly not strangers to the agonies of religious intolerance, as their early history will attest. After the practice of polygamy was suspended in 1890 and Utah was admitted to statehood in 1896, a slow change came about in the relations between Mormons and Gentiles. This change is particularly evident in America's magazines, where, in contrast with sixty years ago, a remarkably small number of unfavorable articles about the Church have appeared in recent years.

Will the honeymoon last? Of course, no one knows the answer, but there is evidence that change is occurring. The catalyst is Michigan's Governor George Romney, a practicing member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. From recent evidence it seems likely that the closer Romney approaches the nomination, the more scurrilous will be the printed anti-Mormon attacks, and should he win the nomination, we can reasonably expect a virtual flood of irresponsible pamphlets, broadsides, and articles.

Of course, Romney has been good press for quite some time, and during this

past year magazine articles about him have been reasonable in that they did not attack his religious beliefs, but rather reported them with a minimum of editorial comment. The signs of change appear in an article by Warren Boroson, "George Romney: Man and Mormon," which appeared in the May-June, 1967, issue of *Fact*. *Fact* is published by Ralph Ginzburg, whose claim to fame is in the realm of publishing material that has gotten him into trouble with the law and may well land him in jail. The magazine is nationally distributed and carries advertisements similar to those in the underground newspapers hawked in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco and other hippie centers of this country: "Fat Semi-Attached Married Woman, whose husband can't cut the mustard," and "Mature Male . . . [who] seeks a lady of passion." In short, this is a publication where everything goes—except responsibility.

Having discredited *Fact* for most readers, I hasten to add that it makes little difference who publishes this kind of literature or how vile it appears. Mormons should be aware of it and read it because it will have an increasingly wide distribution among their friends throughout the nation as the campaign intensifies. It is also a chastening demonstration of how an ill-intentioned person can make Mormons look positively absurd by selecting a few items of the folk theology (and a few of Brigham Young's more ribald and ephemeral comments) and calling the result "Mormonism." (The same technique, of course, would be devastating to any group ideology, from Catholicism to Ginzburg's own "avant-garde" hedonism.)

Boroson criticizes the Church for not preparing its adherents to think for themselves, and quotes William J. Whalen's *The Latter-day Saints in the Modern World* (which he depends on heavily as "the best book on the Mormons") to the effect that Mormons are not concerned with the affairs of this world. "For Mormons," says Whalen, "to present the Mormon answer to the profound problems which concern Christian and secular scholars . . . the threat of nuclear annihilation, . . . the role of the city, psychoanalysis—is to expect too much." "Still another of Romney's failings," writes Boroson, "is his tendency to be dictatorial"—ergo, "Mormonism is a dictatorial religion." Finally, Boroson accuses Romney (by quoting another writer) of having a "horse-opera sense of morality, which early divides the world into good guys and bad guys."

The next act in our real-life drama is a new magazine called *Avant-Garde*, which has not been published as this is written. Potential subscribers are being enticed in national advertising with a sex motif and a listing of articles to appear in the first issue, among which is one entitled "George Romney's Bizarre Religious Beliefs." *Avant-Garde* calls itself the "voice of the Turned-On Generation."

Book reviews are not often gristy enough to warrant commentary in a bibliographical essay of this nature, but Christopher Lasch has an excellent and erudite essay on contemporary Mormonism in the January 26, 1967, issue of *The New York Review of Books* (Lasch is reviewing three recent works on Mormonism: Turner's *The Mormon Establishment*, Mullen's *The Latter-day Saints*, and Flanders's *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*). Mormons, says Lasch, were originally the dispossessed, but "from posing a challenge to the American way of

life, Mormonism has become a defense of its most reactionary aspects." Obviously well-read in Mormon history and sociology, Lasch pontificates on an additional array of Mormon related topics:

On Mormon influence: "It is not as a religious force that Mormonism now makes itself felt." Mormonism "makes itself felt precisely in the degree to which the Mormon influence has ceased to be distinguishable from any other vested interest."

On polygamy: Lasch takes the view that women among the Mormons have always held a distinguished position, a view opposite to Turner, whom Lasch criticizes for interpreting polygamy as a demonstration that women were held in low esteem in the Mormon culture.

On politics: "The political prominence of Mormons and Catholics testifies not to the growing power of those religions, but to their assimilation into American society."

On Mullen: "The best that can be said is that it is no worse than the books Mormons write about themselves. . . ."

On Mormon history: ". . . the truth about the Mormons—at least about their history—contains nothing particularly scandalous. The absence of falsehoods [in Mullen], however, does not necessarily add up to historical truth."

On Flanders: "In the history of Anglo-American society, the Mormons are so clearly a pathological symptom that a historian could not address himself to the Mormons, it would seem, without asking himself what kind of society could have produced them." Flanders did not.

On the future of Mormonism: "The ultimate fate of American minorities is to become tourist attractions . . . but the tourist boom means . . . the same thing . . . whenever the past has been piously 'restored,' roped off, and put on display—not the vitality, but the decadence of a way of life."

Speaking of decadence, a potential rival (dare we say collaborator?) of *Dialogue* has been resurrected from the grave. Ten years ago this writer served with a small group of men at BYU who gave birth to *Brigham Young University Studies*. At the organizational meetings there was opposition to the venture. One brother expressed the belief that a learned journal could never succeed at BYU, and therefore should not be attempted. Attempted it was, and for a brief period there was some hope that something worthwhile had been created, but over the last few years the *Studies* almost fulfilled the prophecy of its detractors. We learned from the *Church News* of September 9, 1967, that the *Studies* was being "revitalized" to gear the magazine to "serious LDS readers everywhere and . . . not just for BYU scholars" and received the first copy just as this was off to press. Welcome *Brigham Young University Studies*! We look forward to reviewing your articles in this column next year.

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- Ashliman, D. L. "The Image of Utah and the Mormons in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXXV (Summer, 1967), 209-227.
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Notes and Comments

EZEKIEL, DR. SPERRY, AND THE STICK OF EPHRAIM

Jon Gunn

Jon Gunn, a senior in electronics at Weber College in Ogden, Utah, who is not a Mormon, reports that his interest in Old Testament studies arose from his interest in Mormon history and theology, which came "almost inevitably from living in Utah and having a generalized interest in people and their opinions."

In writing a comment of this sort, one runs the risk of having it construed as a boorish intrusion into a private argument among gentlemen; and the only excuse I can offer is that a "Roundtable" has (or should have) no fixed number of sides. If it is construed as an attack on Mormonism, I have a much better answer: of all the proof-texts the Mormon missionaries are wont to cite, there is none more far-fetched or less convincing than the identification of Ezekiel's sticks with two bodies of scripture.¹ If that proof is some day de-emphasized or abandoned, the case for Mormonism will actually be streamlined.

In the "Roundtable" section of the Spring issue of *Dialogue*,² both Dr. Snell and Dr. Sperry complained of insufficient space in which to elaborate upon their respective theses. Each scholar contented himself with outlines and conclusions, merely indicating where an interested reader could find the missing data. This abbreviated reasoning seems justified in both cases. As Dr. Sperry implied, the exegesis of Ezekiel is a complex subject, which cannot be adequately treated in a page or two. Similarly, Dr. Snell, who advocates the historical approach to biblical interpretation generally, could hardly have prefaced his discussion with detailed proof for all the conclusions of modern historical scholarship.

¹Ezekiel 37:15-23. Hugh Nibley observes that however firmly Mormons may believe this interpretation, the connection between "sticks" and "books" must be established before the passage can be counted as a proof. *An Approach to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: 1964), p. 257. Whatever the merits of Dr. Nibley's substantiation (which is far from airtight), it is much too complex to be incorporated into the usual missionary lessons.

²Vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring 1967), pp. 55-90. In this "Roundtable," the value and correct use of proof-texts were central points of disagreement.

Neither writer claimed to have exhausted his topic; both had to leave out much relevant information.

Dr. Sperry claims this privilege at the top of page 83, where he says (quite reasonably), “. . . I haven’t the space here to justify my exegesis of the Hebrew text. . .”; but a strange double standard becomes manifest in the next paragraph. There (less reasonably) he sternly insists that Dr. Snell prove every statement he makes, and complains of “much summary but little or no concrete evidence.”

Courteously yielding the floor to one’s opponent, when the time comes for proving things, is a time-honored rhetorical device for which Dr. Sperry cannot be criticized; but presenting his two distinct standards of scholarship in such quick succession was an unfortunate tactical error. Of course, it could not have been intentional, and it would not be fair to exaggerate the significance of a simple mistake.³

It would be fair, though, for a reader to assume that the missing evidence for an abridged thesis will actually be found where the author tells him to look. In the particular dispute which I have selected as an example, both Dr. Snell and Dr. Sperry cite the Ezekiel text itself in support of their respective interpretations. Dr. Snell says, “For him [Ezekiel] 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 [21-28] are so plain that ‘he who runs may read,’ . . .”⁴ But Dr. Sperry asserts that “a careful reading of Ezekiel 37:16-28” should be enough to convince us that the two “sticks” represent the Bible and the Book of Mormon.⁵ When experts disagree and refer us to the same authority, are we to believe Dr. Snell or Dr. Sperry—or must we resort to Ezekiel?

Ezekiel’s first-person narrative, with its quotations of quotations of quotations, is not vividly clear at the first reading; but it does not seem difficult to untangle. Ezekiel is first instructed to label and join two sticks, presumably in some manner that will attract, and mystify, an audience (vv. 16-17). When the people ask for an explanation (v. 18), Ezekiel is told to reply first with an allegory (v. 19) and then with its interpretation (vv. 21-22). In these verses and for the rest of the chapter, Ezekiel speaks glowingly of national reunion, but never mentions books or scriptures. To accept the “books” interpretation, it is necessary to assume, first, that Ezekiel’s speech in verse 19 was not the allegory it seems to be, but rather an interpretation of an allegory previously expressed by silent pantomime; and, second, that the word “sticks” is either a simple mis-translation (on the part of all translators, past and present) or else an extremely subtle innuendo which few of his hearers would catch. Finally, as if fearing that he has made himself too clear, Ezekiel hastily presents another interpretation, calculated to distract attention from the first. This is curious behavior, on the part of a man with a prophetic message about the Bible and the Book of Mormon.

Since the “*e pluribus unum*” explanation is the only one the text offers (and

³Liberal allowance must also be made for the extremely cramped space in which he had to work.

⁴Heber C. Snell, “The Bible in the Church,” *Dialogue* (Spring 1967), p. 62.

⁵Sidney B. Sperry, “Scholars and Prophets,” *Ibid.*, p. 83.

then enlarges upon for the rest of the chapter), I shall refer to it—for convenience only and with all due reservations—as “Ezekiel’s interpretation.”⁶

Dr. Sperry agrees that this is the correct meaning of the later verses, but thinks Dr. Snell is sadly mistaken in overlooking a deeper significance, found between the lines of the earlier portion. “In verses 16-20,” he insists, “the Lord is telling Ezekiel to unite writings representing the scriptures of Israel and Judah.” Dr. Sperry did not originate this theory,⁷ but, for convenience again, I shall call it “Dr. Sperry’s interpretation.”⁸

Unable to discern any such meaning in the biblical text, and curious to see what the professor’s reasoning and “concrete evidence” were, I consulted one of his books, *The Voice of Israel’s Prophets*,⁹ which I assumed from the title would surely contain more thorough discussion of this problematical detail. Dr. Sperry’s argument there—where he cannot, and does not, complain of limited space—is not much deeper than that in his magazine article. Moreover, it contains flaws.

He points out, for instance, that “the scriptures of these nations [will] ‘be one’ in the Lord’s hand ‘before their eyes,’” on the unstated but indispensable premise that anything before someone’s eyes is necessarily a book.

For the five words he quotes, he cites Ezekiel 37:19 and 20. Although he seems to have paraphrased the text, close reading of these verses reveals that he has actually spliced fragments of the two together to make them yield the reading he wants.¹⁰ “This interpretation,” he declares confidently, “fits the text of Ezekiel perfectly.” His transposition of the words “interpretation” and “text” may have been inadvertent, but the adverb “perfectly” is quite unwarranted.

This is as far as he goes with arguments comprehensible to the world at large; but there is more to be done for the edification of fellow Mormons. Dr. Sperry quotes at some length from the Book of Mormon, 2 Nephi 29:8-14.¹¹ The passage does speak of more than one body of scripture, and does predict that some day they will be combined in one canon. Unfortunately, it has no bearing on the point the good doctor would prove, for it never mentions sticks, or Ezekiel’s predictions.

⁶It cannot be called “Snell’s interpretation,” because he simply copied it from the Bible. Besides, even Sperry once called it “Ezekiel’s own explanation.” *Ibid*, p. 82.

⁷It apparently originated with W.W. Phelps (see editorials in the *Evening and Morning Star*, Nov. 1832 and Jan. 1833). Phelps’s interpretation seems to have directly influenced William Smith (sermon in the *Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate*, Jan. 1837) and through him Wilford Woodruff (*Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate*, Feb. 1837) and Parley P. Pratt (*The Voice of Warning*, 1838). James Talmage, *Articles of Faith*, p. 276f, presents it, among other proof-texts, as if it was commonly known in 1890.

⁸Dr. Sperry would of course want to call it “the L.D.S. interpretation.” I cannot do so in this context, because it might evoke sympathy for the theory I am trying to debunk. That is what I meant by “for convenience.”

⁹(Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 3rd printing 1963; copyright by Sidney B. Sperry, 1952), pp. 226-8.

¹⁰The resulting shift in meaning is admittedly subtle, but psychologically important. If the sticks upon which Ezekiel has written remain in his own hand (v. 20), they are probably what he says they are: sticks. In Jehovah’s hand (v. 19) they lend themselves more readily to figurative interpretation. But as “books” they have to be before the people’s eyes (v. 20). The text is stubborn, but it yields to scissors and glue.

¹¹In “Scholars and Prophets” he quotes only verse 14 (on p. 83). Could this reflect a growing awareness, between 1952 and 1967, that some details of the full quotation are dangerous to his thesis? See below.

In fact, it creates a new problem, for the passage refers to scriptures revealed to the Jews, the Nephites, the Lost Tribes, the peoples of the east, west, north and south, as well as the “isles of the sea” and “all the nations of the earth.” If there were any real connection between the content of this passage and that of Ezekiel 37, Ezekiel would have had a whole fagot of sticks to join symbolically. If Dr. Sperry contends that Ezekiel had more than the two sticks the Bible mentions, he should explain why he thinks so. If he agrees there were only two, he should offer some reason for ignoring all the “sticks” (in this case, scriptures) that the Book of Mormon emphasizes. Until he finds one or the other of these missing links, he has no valid support from the Book of Mormon.

Dr. Sperry’s first and most powerful proof from Mormon scripture is that “the Lord specifically refers to the Book of Mormon as the ‘stick of Ephraim.’” He cites Doctrine and Covenants 27:5 as his authority, and adds convincingly, “We have the Lord’s own word for it, not man’s.”

It would be pointless to object that such substantiation is lost on Philistines (prospective converts included), for Dr. Sperry is a Mormon scholar, writing for a Mormon public, and his reasoning must be appraised in the context of those theological postulates accepted by himself and his readers. Therefore, when I saw the above argument, I was convinced that his point was proven, in those terms. But, idly curious to see what the reference said, I checked it anyway, and made the fascinating discovery that the Doctrine and Covenants does *not* speak of the Book of Mormon as “the stick of Ephraim,” but as “the *record* of the stick of Ephraim,” which makes the “stick” itself the Nephite tribe.¹² Dr. Sperry has had to snip away the significant noun in order to salvage part of its modifying prepositional phrase.

If the hermeneutic scissors are less ruthlessly wielded, we now have, not two, but *three* interpretations of “the stick of Ephraim”—Ezekiel’s, Dr. Sperry’s, and Joseph Smith’s. At first glance, it appears that Dr. Snell has taken sides with Ezekiel against the other two. Actually, it is not at all difficult to force an agreement between Ezekiel’s interpretation and Joseph Smith’s; for, in the Mormon scheme of history, the Nephites were all that was left of the “stick of Ephraim,” except for some lost “splinters” which have never yet been located.

But Dr. Sperry, while representing himself as a staunch defender of prophets against troublemaking scholars, is calmly “telling off” both Ezekiel *and* Joseph Smith, adhering dogmatically to the interpretation he likes best. In this course, he is completely innocent of support from the Bible, Joseph Smith, or the world of scholarship.¹³

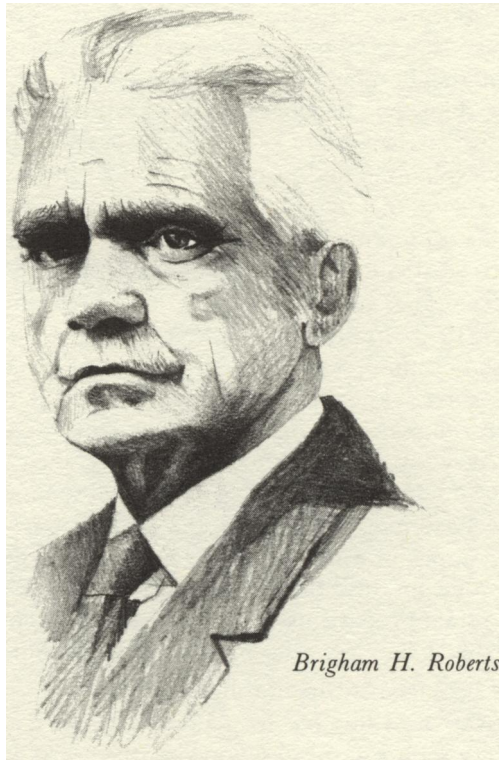
That is not to say he is alone. The identification of “sticks” with scriptures is firmly ingrained in Mormon tradition and carelessly adduced as a known fact by countless commentators and missionaries. Dr. Sperry is in perfect accord with the multitude—but that is not the issue. A scholar, who is careful to “study, ponder, and search out all available facts,”¹⁴ is expected to know *more*

¹²The cross references to this verse are Mormon 8:14 and Moroni 10:2, neither of which mentions “sticks” or has any discernible connection with Ezekiel.

¹³Such a sweeping statement is very easily tested: did Joseph Smith ever call a scripture a “stick,” even once, in any context?

¹⁴Sperry, “Scholars and Prophets,” p. 82.

than the multitude. When a prevalent assumption—which he accepts—is challenged, he of all people should be able to defend that assumption with something better than cut-and-paste manipulation of scripture: the “proof-text method” at its worst.



BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS: NOTES ON A MORMON PHILOSOPHER-HISTORIAN

Sterling M. McMurrin

Sterling M. McMurrin is E. E. Ericksen Distinguished Professor of Philosophy and Dean of the Graduate School at the University of Utah and is the author of THE THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE MORMON RELIGION. The following introduction, written for the recent reprinting by the Deseret Club at Princeton University, of B. H. Roberts's JOSEPH SMITH, THE PROPHET-TEACHER is published here by permission.

Although the fundamentals of Mormon thought were quite firmly established in the Church's first generation, it was the second generation which pulled the philosophical and theological strands together. It was the intellectual leaders of this period, among whom Brigham H. Roberts was pre-eminent in both abilities and influence, who not only shaped the outlines of a systematic theology but developed, as well, the perspectives which placed the Church as an institution within the framework of history and provided the Mormon people with

the instruments for rationalizing and defending their beliefs and practices. Though perhaps less radical and less creative than the first, the second generation was more reflective, more reasonable, and intellectually more responsible. The Church had already become defensive where before it had exhibited a quite admirable independence in both thought and action, and argument and scholastic justification had displaced the facile prophetic pronouncements of the first years. Something very important to Mormonism had been lost with the death of the Prophet and the passing of those who had known him and were close to him and had been creators with him of the new Church and its faith. But just as inevitably, something was gained by their successors in the necessity for explaining and justifying the doctrine and exploring and exploiting its numerous entailments for both thought and action. Above all, a new intellectual vitality was gained by the "defense of the faith and the saints."

Since his death in 1933, Roberts has been a much-neglected figure in the Church. Where once he was easily the most interesting and exciting and stimulating person in its leadership, its most prolific writer, its chief theologian and historian, and its most capable defender, today, only thirty-three years later, his name is scarcely known to large segments of the membership of the Church. He has been eclipsed by a deluge of writers of varying but lesser talent, many of whom lack even the grace to acknowledge their indebtedness to him. The resurgence of interest in Roberts' work, therefore, and the reissue of some of his writings are fortunate, for in him the Mormon people have a spokesman of uncommon stature and ability. His name should be kept very much alive by those who value the traditions of the Church, who have any attachment to its robust and romantic past, or who have genuine appreciation for the ideas and institutions that have been the substance and strength of Mormonism.

Roberts belonged to the era of great Mormon oratory, and for a third of a century he was the Church's great orator, in the days when the Tabernacle in Salt Lake City sounded and resounded with the voices of impassioned advocates and defenders, the days before the microphone and camera robbed the Mormon conferences of much of their character and vitality and inspiration, the days when the Church both valued and invited argument and debate. There was then a kind of intellectual openness about the Church which encouraged thought and discussion. Its faith and confidence were firm and it was ready and anxious to take on all comers. The Church could justifiably boast a roster of admirable talent, but Roberts was its chief exhibit and its most competent advocate.

The high value which the Church in those days placed on intellectual strength and achievement in matters pertaining to religion yielded a good return, for it gathered into its leadership a quite impressive group whose thought and writings were a permanent impress upon its character. Among these, Roberts was the recognized leader. Often in rebellion and conflict, he nevertheless commanded both the confidence and admiration of his colleagues and of the rank and file of the Church. His native intellectual powers, his wide and intelligent reading, his forensic skills, the forcefulness of his pen, his enthusiastic and even impetuous speech, and the sheer impact of his uncommon personality made him the intellectual leader of the Mormon people in the era

of Mormonism's finest intellectual attainment. Since his death over thirty years ago, the Church has suffered a steady intellectual decline in matters pertaining to religion, a decline accompanied by a growth of irrationalism and anti-intellectualism from which there is now no indication of recovery. Perhaps a resurgence of interest in Roberts' work will point toward a better future.

It seems to me that Roberts' central importance for Mormon thought derives largely from the reliability of his instincts in assessing the crucial elements in the Mormon intellectual foundation, both philosophical and theological, and in his capacity to exploit those elements within a historical framework of large perspectives and vision. He was not a creator of doctrine like Joseph Smith, or even Brigham Young, nor did he import doctrine into Mormonism as did Sydney Rigdon. And he was somewhat less original in his thought than Orson Pratt. Certainly he lacked Pratt's disposition for speculative metaphysics as well as his analytic and logical talent. There is nothing in Roberts' writings, for instance, comparable in character to Pratt's finest philosophical piece, "The Absurdities of Immaterialism." But Roberts had a better historical sense than any of these and a far better knowledge of history, and he was in a better position to achieve perspective on the place of Mormonism as a religious and social movement. If less analytical and innovative than Pratt, Roberts had a better feel for relevance and a firmer grasp of the large implications of the Mormon doctrine, and he had, I believe, more common sense in his treatment of religious issues. Roberts was less legalistic and literalistic than his contemporary James E. Talmage, and if his talents in treating doctrinal issues were less refined than those of Talmage, he had a more expansive intellect and a far greater sensitivity to philosophic issues.

Roberts lived during a crucial period for Mormonism. The original prophetic and sectarian impulse was waning, the major feats of pioneering were accomplished, and the struggles with the federal government and their aftermath were taking a severe toll of human energy and threatening the economic and institutional life of the Church. More than anything else, the Church needed the defenses that would justify its existence, establish its moral and intellectual respectability, and guarantee its own integrity. But there were additional challenges which engrossed Roberts—the coming of statehood for Utah and the creation of a political life for the Mormon people, and the secular threat to religion that was carried largely by the new humanism and by Darwinism and the sciences generally. Roberts seemed born to these tasks and he entered into them with quite remarkable energy and dedication and with the self-assurance and determination of those whose commitment and faith are firm.

Roberts' prose style is rhetorical and dramatic. He was at all times the orator. He lacked the precision of Talmage's diction and the poetic qualities of Orson F. Whitney. But he was without pedantry and both his oral and written words drew strength from his directness and enthusiasm. Roberts wrote as he spoke, and his written pages often read not with finely composed and polished sentences but as if they were edited reports of extemporaneous statements—direct, often repetitive, somewhat personal as if writer and reader were in conversation, sometimes careless in construction, but always to the point and effective.

Roberts' writing, like his public address, was argumentative and polemical. He enjoyed nothing more than argument. Indeed, he liked nothing better than a good fight. If no one was available to engage in debate, he would produce a battle by monologue. He was at his best in the heat of controversy, and it is not surprising that his most commendable theological piece, *The Mormon Doctrine of Deity*, certainly the most competent theological statement to come from a Mormon leader, was in its most important part a literary debate, an argument with a Roman Catholic scholar set within the large dispute on Mormon doctrine that aroused widespread public interest near the turn of the century.

In his private as well as public life, Roberts was a controversial figure. His autobiography, still unpublished more than thirty years after his death, is a fascinating, moving story of a lonely child in England, left to shift for himself by irresponsible guardians after his mother had migrated to Utah; of his walking barefoot from the Platte River to Salt Lake City; of a rough and tumble youth; of his admirable struggle for education; of his fight with the Church to get into politics; of his role in the struggle for statehood; of his dramatic losing battle with the United States Congress, which refused him his seat in the House because of his polygamy. The full story of his life will tell of his double struggle against the inroads of secularism in the Church and the anti-scientific bias of some of his ecclesiastical colleagues; of his battle as historian to publish an uncensored history of the Church; of his fights over doctrine and evolution; of his missionary controversies with the Christian sects; of his fight to get into action in the First World War, when he was commissioned a chaplain above the age limit because of his demonstrated physical strength and abilities; of his determination to make Mormonism intellectually acceptable; of his endless battle with its critics; of his struggle to maintain the prestige and influence of his quorum, the First Council of the Seventy, which since his death has been downgraded in the top councils of the Church; and of his internal struggles with his own faith, the struggles of a man who wanted to believe and yet be honest. His parallel study of Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* and the *Book of Mormon* attests his determination to keep the case for Mormonism open and honest.

When Roberts died, a packed Tabernacle paid him homage, and he was buried with military rites in the cemetery of the little village of Centerville, where much of his life was lived. His grave is marked by a monument erected by missionaries who had served under him in the Eastern States. Those who can remember his death can remember what, for the Mormons, was the end of an era.

Brigham H. Roberts' strength as a historian, it seems to me, was especially in his intense historical consciousness, his quite spacious perspectives on history, his capacity for historical research and talent for narrative, his sense of personal involvement with his subject, his passion for it, and his deep-lying desire to be honest and open with his readers. His histories are not without bias and prejudice. They are clearly pro-Mormon and sometimes with a vengeance. They are written to justify the Mormon Church, but they are written with honesty and sincerity. They have the mark of a desire for objectivity even when it is not achieved. "The historian's line of delineation between things," Roberts wrote in his autobiography, "must follow justly, firmly and without hesitation, or he will

fail in his absolute duty to the truth of things." Often in his writings the Church comes out second best where a man of lesser character under similar circumstances would have found it easy to bring it out on top. "History to be of any worth," he wrote, "must not only tell of your successes, but also of your failures or semi-failures in your work."

There have been and are a number of highly competent historians of Mormonism. Indeed, some of the very best are now at their work. Of these, however, most are students of specialized facets of Mormon history. The time is near when a general history of high order should make its appearance, as the materials are available and they have been well worked over. But as yet nothing like a definitive history has been published. There are excellent works of historical fiction and equally good biographical, sociological, economic, political, and local studies, and some good general commentaries, but no full-fledged history—none, that is, except Roberts' *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, a large and expansive work. Linn's *Story of the Mormons* is the best history by a non-Mormon, but it has its own biases and it doesn't bring the story down very far. Roberts, whatever his deficiencies as a historian and whatever his prejudices, is still the best account of the first hundred years of the Church.



It is well known that most work on the Mormons produced until quite recently has been strongly biased pro or con with prejudices which violently distort the facts. No historian, of course, can be expected to achieve anything like a full objectivity. In history this is a concept quite without meaning, for the historian must pick and choose his materials from an enormous and unwieldy mass of events, and if he is to be anything more than a chronicler he must run the risks of causal explanation and interpretation which must sooner or later get him into trouble. Anyone who reads written history must have the grace to take all such matters into consideration.

But until quite recently Mormon history was written under the stress of exaggerated propaganda and controversy, propaganda that was excessive and controversy that as often as not was more passionate than reasonable, generating more heat than light. Today we can find numerous professional historians who have a calm competence on various phases of Mormon history. Some of these turn out historical essays of the highest quality. I think here of writers

like Stanley Ivins, Dale Morgan, or Juanita Brooks, whose *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* is a model of historical research and composition. The works of these exhibit qualities not always found in historians, especially historians whose subject relates to religion. And there are the works of Mormon historical fiction, most notably Vardis Fisher's *Children of God*, a magnificent and soul-stirring epic, such specialized research as Lowry Nelson's study of *The Mormon Village*, E. E. Ericksen's profound analysis of *The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life*, William Mulder's highly literary treatments of the ideal and practice of the "gathering of the saints," or Thomas O'Dea's studies of Mormon community life. Though none of these fits the stricter pattern of written history, such work is essential to the historical understanding of Mormonism and to the eventual production of anything like a definitive general history.

Now I mention these representative works in commenting on Brigham H. Roberts because I think it is essential to see that he was not the end of history writing on the subject of Mormonism. He lacked many of the talents and opportunities represented in today's better and more specialized historians, and no one should read his *Comprehensive History* and suppose that this is the end of the matter. Indeed, it is only the beginning, and this is my point. For the historically minded and history-based Mormons, Roberts composed a strong and carefully researched comprehensive historical statement, laid out many of the fundamental issues and basic problems, and did so with courage and honesty. He had a large capacity for work, a fine sensitivity for the controversial, and a talent for research, comprehension, and synthesis. And while he wrote as he argued and debated, he achieved a measure of understanding admirable in a man who was personally living through the impassioned event which he described and who wrote as both a high official of the Church and as its official historian. But the very ground which he covered must be worked again and again if the Church is to have the written history which it deserves.

Though every historian must adopt a position from which he selects his materials, if he is to avoid confusion and frustration, I personally regret that Roberts was so strongly inclined toward what I would call the "political" theme in his history. This is a confession of my own bias, of course, and I suppose he would have been untrue to his own political nature if he had done otherwise. But it is still disappointing to find so much of political and institutional conflict and controversy and so little of what might be called cultural history in his work. Yet he was himself a man of action and quite certainly he told the narrative where the action was. Andrew Neff's *History of Utah*, edited after his death by Leland Creer, was better balanced on the cultural side.

I feel, moreover, that Roberts did not fully and properly examine and exploit the origins of Mormonism; and partly because of this, the generality of Mormon people today, who depend so heavily upon him for their historical interpretations, do not understand and appreciate the multiple forces that went into the making of their religion and the historical movement of their Church. The picture is altogether too simple and is too much affected by the strong desire to vindicate and justify the Church.

But enough of criticism. If one seeks evidences of special virtue in Roberts

as a historian, his determination to lay things out as he saw them, however distasteful they might be to some of his ecclesiastical colleagues and many of his readers, let him read the commentary on the destruction of the press of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, the account of and notes on the so-called "Canadian Copyright Incident," both in the *Comprehensive History*, or the fascinating "case of Pelatiah Brown," included in his editing of the documentary materials of the *History of the Church, Period I*. Or let him note the omission by Roberts of blocks of myth and legend which many accepted as history in his day.

Finally, it should at least be noted that Roberts' perspectives on history and his competence to treat some of the large problems in Christian history were due in part to his intelligent and broad reading. There was much that he neglected in intellectual history, through no fault of his own, for his formal education was at best very elementary. He seems to have known too little of Greek and Roman philosophy and their bearing upon Christianity, or of medieval philosophy and theology. And he neglected some of the great minds among his own contemporaries in favor of second- and third-raters. But he was acquainted with Emerson and Fiske and profited much from such writers as Andrew White, Kitto, Draper, and Gibbon. His works are well furnished with telling references to such greats as Mosheim, Milner, Edersheim, Milman, and Eusebius. Roberts read extensively from all of these, and from Renan, Blackstone, Macaulay, and an assortment of major philosophers, ancient and modern, when still a youth employed as a blacksmith—no mean accomplishment for one who first learned the alphabet at the age of eleven. His work indicates, too, a broad acquaintance with the Bible and with Bible commentaries, though he seems to have been little affected by the historical and literary scriptural criticism which had such a large impact during his lifetime. Partly because of this neglect by Roberts and his contemporary fashioners of Mormon ways of thinking, the Mormon people even today are in general the victims of traditional patterns of biblical thought which often tie them to an outworn and intellectually frustrating scriptural fundamentalism.

Roberts' treatments of Christian history were polemical and propagandistic. He dealt altogether too casually with the large cultural forces that produced Christianity and its institutions, and while his factual materials are in the main reliable, much that he wrote on this subject is difficult to defend. He failed to grasp the character of the early hellenistic Christianity, to see its very beginnings in Paul as a departure from the Palestinian religion, and failed therefore, as did most Christian historians, to fairly judge the subsequent course of Christian thought and institutions. Nevertheless, he wrote intelligently, and though he depended excessively on secondary sources, the church historians, he described the main historical foundations upon which the Mormons have rested their case, the apostasy of the Christian Church as the necessity for a restoration. I refer here especially to his *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History*, his addresses, *The Falling Away*, and to his Introduction for the *History of the Church, Period I*.

At the turn of the century the Mormons had special problems of their own which kept them well occupied, but their intellectual leaders did not escape the main controversy of the time, religion versus evolution. The evolu-

tion controversy reached the United States rather late, and it reached the Mormons a little later, but Roberts was in the thick of it, determined to make the case for orthodoxy by discrediting Darwinism. His main, and early, essay on the subject, "Man's Relationship to Deity," does him little credit, but it is an important part of the story of his work. It is interesting that his argument was not anti-scientific in spirit, an attitude that would have betrayed his confidence in the virtues of reason. The errors of Darwinism, he insisted, were not due to the scientists. They were the fault, rather, of the churches, whose nonsense regarding the creation and age of the earth had driven the scientists far from the truth in their efforts to find a ground upon which they could make sense. Roberts' efforts to reconcile the findings of science with a liberalized biblical literalism were typical of the times and do not deserve serious attention today, but it should be said in his defense that in later years he appears to have developed a much greater sophistication in such matters. He was interested in the science-religion controversy and he read quite widely in the field, but he was better prepared to see the dispute in past centuries than to contribute importantly to it in the present.

Roberts' main strength as a theologian for Mormonism was not at all in his capacity for theological dialectic or refinement, or in any originality for this discipline. It was, rather, in his instinct for the philosophical relevance of the Mormon theological ideas—this combined with his sense of history. This combination in temperament, talent, and interest brought both breadth and depth to his thought, giving his work a profoundness that was uncommon among Mormon writers. Certainly one of the best exhibits of these qualities is his 1907 discourse, *Joseph Smith, the Prophet-Teacher*.

More than any other, Roberts sensed the radical heresy in Mormon theology, its complete departure from the traditional Christian doctrines of God and man, its denial of the divine absoluteness, and its rejection of the negativism of the orthodox dogma of the human predicament. Roberts was not a creator of doctrine in these matters, but he had a clear vision of what was entailed by the basic ideas already laid down by his predecessors, and he did more than any other person to set forth the full character of the Mormonism that followed inevitably from the theological ideas of Joseph Smith, from the doctrine, for instance, of the uncreated intelligence or ego and the denial of the orthodox dogma on the creation of the world. Roberts was not repulsed by the unorthodox implications of the finitistic conception of God. He delighted in them, for they made room for a positive doctrine of man. Yet he kept the discussion of the nature of God on a more defensible level than did some who confused the old absolutism with the new doctrine of man and the optimism of the nineteenth century, and it required a bold and rebellious and spacious mind to grasp its full implication.

Today religious liberalism is largely spent and the facts of life too often fail to support its claims. And there is little justification remaining for genuine optimism. Even in Mormonism the old Christian orthodoxy in new clothes is gaining ground. We are a tired and disillusioned generation which has suffered a new loss of nerve, and too often we prefer our religion in negative rather than positive terms. We prefer the comforts of resignation to the dangers and uncer-

tainties of crusade and adventure. But however sanguine its claims and extravagant its vision, there is something noble and heroic about the authentic Mormon orthodoxy which Roberts and his generation believed and defended, and which is still the religion of the uncorrupted Mormon. For it joins faith in God with faith in man, and unless this can be done effectively, not only in theology but as well in the minds and experience of men, religion in any viable and acceptable form may not prevail.



THE CRITIC IN ZION

Stanford Gwilliam

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The best of words, like the best of men, may suffer the woes of slander. Such a word is "criticism," and such a man was Socrates.

Socrates, though slandered and finally slain, achieved a lasting glory. Not the least of his glories was in founding the art of criticism, according to what is still the basic and best meaning of that word.

The name Socrates now commands a respect undreamed of when men mis-called him "corrupter of youth," then laced his drink with hemlock. His enemies poisoned him, really, because he was a critic. His enemies were, by the way, among the most respected citizens of Athens.

The critic, far from gaining the good name—in rhetoric, reason, and religion—that this ancient sage hoped for him, has suffered through all time from a bad reputation. Nowhere has the hostility been greater than among the orthodox, whether secular or religious. The Greeks removed their critics with lethal cocktails. We still remove them, but by more humane means.

I plead the critic's cause. I plead his cause at least so long as the tone and temper of his criticism is positive and creative. And I plead his cause especially before those who, in error, equate all criticism with denial and subversion, and thus permit the critic no place in Zion.

Before leaving Socrates, let us recall that he was a constructive seeker after truth: he was a *kritikos*, or "critic," in the classic sense that he was a man who "discerned," "judged," "discussed." And he preferred to discern, judge, and

discuss *ideas*, rather than *personalities*. He was not a faultfinder. Probably no more than one-fifth of his critical energies were devoted to the negative alter ego of criticism, just as only one meaning out of the five meanings of "criticism" listed in the authoritative *American College Dictionary* is devoted to "censure." The other four meanings are mainly positive.

The true and whole critic—nay, even the holy critic if he be a true one—is essentially creative, essentially positive. And I believe that the Church should be more hospitable to him than it now is.

Criticism is usually suspect. But it naturally becomes more suspect if directed at the "authorities." Criticism directed at our leaders *personally* should be suspect, for it is neither valid nor fair. It is better called faultfinding and thus deserves to be condemned. When Joseph Smith spoke the following warning, he was referring to faultfinding, or—if you will—to criticism of personalities more than of words or concepts:

That man who rises up to *condemn others*, *finding fault* with the Church, saying *they* are out of the way, while *he himself* is *righteous*, then know assuredly that that man is in the high road to apostasy; and if he does not repent, will apostatize, as God lives.¹

The italicized words help support the conclusion that the Prophet, in this oft-cited discourse, is opposing criticism aimed more at the brethren themselves than at what those brethren think and say as leaders. The long-proscribed activity, "evil speaking of the Lord's anointed," could apply only to malicious, personal gossip. By no semantic stretch could it be made to apply to criticism of the Socratic sort.

We should not, then, "criticize"—in the sense of finding fault personally—any of our fellows, much less our leading "authorities." But is this to say that we must not criticize any of their statements?

The publicized thoughts of all leaders, religious or secular, should be subject to creative, positive criticism. By the very token that a man is not a follower but a leader, his ideas should be "discerned, judged, and discussed"—in a word, *criticized*. Since our leaders are, after all, but the ideal and larger-than-life projection of ourselves (hopefully of our best selves) as their followers, then true self-criticism properly leads to criticism of certain of their ideas.

It is not easy to follow a leader so proud of his high place that he esteems himself beyond criticism and, therefore, does not *expect* his conceptions to be evaluated by those he seeks to influence. However intelligent he may be, or however perfectly attuned to the will of God, the true leader needs and should seek, not merely an expression of assent, but an active critical response from those he would truly lead. Otherwise he is not really a leader but a chief follower, for he deprives himself of the needed counsel that thinking disciples can give him. Such a leader is like a speaker declaiming to empty chairs. He is like an actor who performs before cameras only, and not before a live and responsive audience.

A class of students, for example, whether in a public school or in a Sunday

¹*Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), pp. 156-7. Italics are mine.

School, would serve a limited educational purpose if they could not question or challenge their teacher. It would then be hardly a school at all, hardly a place either to prove or to improve one's intelligence. It would be but a cell of passive assent, where no freshening breeze of inquiry is allowed to blow. The school analogy also applies to the larger institutions of Nation and Church, for the molding of minds is any leader's main responsibility. Mormons scarcely need reminding that intelligence is one of God's glories, if not His chief one.

In great leadership inheres a paradox. The man who governs in the great manner, who prefers to preside over those whose intelligence he wants to improve, *wants* to be subject unto his subjects in one way: he submits to constructive criticism, for he admits to possible fallibility. A leader's admitted fallibility poses no problem for intelligent disciples. Feigned infallibility does.

The fallibility of St. Peter himself, a man so honored by Christ that He dubbed him "The Rock" and made him the chief apostle, is exhibited by Peter's thrice denying the Lord in the palace of Caiaphas,² as well as by his refusal to sup with the gentiles because of his atavistic belief that he would still be "justified" by the works of the moribund law of the Old Testament rather than through faith in Christ.³ St. Peter's reactionary theology regarding the old Jewish law, by the way, was publicly criticized by St. Paul, in this wise: "I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed."⁴ For "blamed" we may fairly read "criticized."⁵

But the fact of all men's fallibility, which few would question, does not exclude the doctrine that an infallible God helps direct the Church through the medium of divinely appointed—albeit human—leaders. And here we might well focus upon the root word "divine." The word "divine" descends from *divus*, meaning "belonging to deity." If a Church leader declares an idea but does *not* declare that the idea "belongs to deity," in the scriptural sense of "thus saith the Lord," then his followers are duty-bound to give serious and respectful consideration to the idea, precisely because his appointment is divine. But they should still reserve the right to criticize the idea in the light of their own share of the Spirit of God and of their own intelligence—both of which, however circumscribed, are also divinely given.

If a Church leader declares an idea, however, and *explicitly* adds that it "belongs to deity" (i.e., "Thus saith the Lord"), then the problem of criticism is much more delicate and serious. In this instance, it seems to me, the responsibility for evaluation and for normal acceptance of the declaration—as revelation, of course—would now seem to devolve primarily upon the entire body of General Authorities, or upon any other of the "competent assemblies or conferences of the Church."⁶ Once the individual leader's declaration is officially

²Matt. 26:69-75.

³Gal. 2:11-16.

⁴Gal. 2:11.

⁵There is a compelling echo of this incident in the public criticism—by various Mormons, in various levels of the Church hierarchy—of public statements made by a modern apostle in overt support of a political system thought to be rather extreme. Whether these criticisms are right or wrong is outside the purview of this paper, but the action has implications of great importance for Mormonism. It needs noting here, however, that the criticisms were made of the *ideas*, not of the man, and that the brethren did not criticize without love.

⁶See Page v of the Introduction to the Doctrine and Covenants.

ratified as “belonging to deity” and, therefore, as scripture—in the sense that the Doctrine and Covenants was so officially ratified⁷—then criticizing such a declaration amounts to a challenge to the orthodox views of the uniform validity of scripture.

But it seems neither heterodox nor unreasonable to believe that a leader can be “divinely appointed” and yet possibly think and speak amiss upon occasion, as even the most wise and godly of men have been known to do. Jonah, for one, was so carried away with his prophetic accusations against the sinners of Nineveh that he spoke amiss in expressing an inhumane regret that the Lord should elect to spare their lives.⁸ The Prophet Mormon was referring to sacred scripture itself when he said, “And now, if there are faults, they are the mistakes of men,” then significantly added, “wherefore, condemn not the things of God. . . .”⁹

Socrates and Joseph Smith—both were critics of the ideas of leading authorities who presided over other times, other epochs of mind and faith. Both died because of ideas existing in various “true” establishments no longer all true—no longer all true, that is, because the then prevailing theologies had, unwarily, nurtured a tare that grew to stifle criticism.

Weed seeds may lodge in the purest soil. And latent error may infest the sub-surface of any institution, even the true Church. In the earliest Christian era, though the Twelve that Christ personally chose presided over his Church, apostasy finally won the day, abetted alike by error from within and by malicious power from without. From the first, the Lord’s earthly kingdoms have known recurring apostasy, and all have shown early symptoms of error—error small at first, yet always unshakeable in its dogmatic self-assurance—that later grew large enough to overwhelm the truth. It was this self-assurance that slammed the gates against all criticism.

Maybe some, or even most, critics in that olden time were too full of error to detect error outside of themselves. There surely were a few critics among the disciples, however, who could truly see, but who must have heeded the age-old caution not ever to “criticize the authorities,” not even one of their various statements. For a man who would follow truth’s elusive gleam, wherever it may lead, any doctrine that bans enlightened criticism is a doctrine of wondrous complacency. The complacent man, made deaf by pride, can hear no critical voice, not even his own.

Criticism, of course, is not without pain. He who questions runs the risk of an unquiet spirit. And he risks offending even the friendliest of the faithful. But such risks are essential to the salvation of intelligent and free believers. Non-criticism, on the other hand, poses the greater peril of creating a church whose creed is one of monolithic passivity, with never-tested tenets and never-challenged guides.

John Stuart Mill seems pertinent here (perhaps impertinent to some of us), in speaking on this very theme:

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Jonah 4:1-4.

⁹See Title-page of the Book of Mormon; also, Mormon 8:17 and 9:31.

. . . it is not the minds of heretics that are deteriorated most by the ban placed on all inquiry that does not end in the orthodox conclusions. The greatest harm done is to those whose whole mental development is cramped, and their reason cowed, by the fear of heresy. . . .

However unwillingly a person who has a strong opinion may admit the possibility that his opinion may be false, he ought to be moved by the consideration that, however true it may be, if it is not fully, frequently, and fearlessly discussed, it will be held as a dead dogma, not a living truth.⁹

Opinion discussed “fully, frequently and fearlessly” is but another definition of true criticism, and the key word is “fearlessly.”

The ecclesiastical body, says Paul, has “many members.” He also speaks of diversity of parts comprising this body, all of which the body [Church] needs.¹⁰ For example, some members of the Church prefer to communicate by means of sermons and other statements of assent, all declarative and all positive. Others, however, may prefer to communicate by means of the query, the occasional dissent. This member, too, can be—if not always declarative—at least positive. Paul also referred to “those members of the body which we think to be less honourable. . . .” I would be tempted into the surmise that Paul here refers to the critics—were it not that he adds, “upon these we bestow more abundant honour.”¹¹

Upon the critic we bestow *less* “abundant honour.” Time will probably never change that melancholy fact. The critic, more often than not, is a “disturbing type,” sometimes even “a pain”—even to himself, I might add. But he is probably necessary to the Church’s total well being—just as certain pains, like those that accompany childbirth and inoculation, are necessary to a healthy body; just as certain disturbances, like those that attend man’s tragic effort to extract a little truth from the vast welter of error with which it commonly mingles, are essential to a sound mind.

Yet he who would be a proper critic must be more critical of himself than of any other. If he has a yen for *personal* criticism, then may his own person be the main object of his searching analysis. Above all, however, he should know that by being a critic—whether he be a small or a great one, and whether he criticize the thoughts of those of small or great degree—he carries an awesome load of responsibility.

The following may serve as the critic’s creed: to be a genuine searcher after truth and not a mere iconoclast; to evaluate the ideas of Church leaders while maintaining due regard for them as deputies of the Almighty, as well as brothers; to use criticism as a medium that makes for equanimity and understanding, not for carping and mere denial; to assume that the “authorities,” whatever their office, are generally men of inspired faith, honest convictions, and sincere love for those whose spiritual destinies they try to guide; and, finally, to leave his (the critic’s) own mind open—even if just slightly ajar—for self-criticism, for

⁹*On Liberty* (London: Watts & Co., 1948), pp. 40-42.

¹⁰I Cor. 12:12-21.

¹¹I Cor. 12:23.

criticism by others, and for that most painful of all persuasions, that he himself may think wrong at least once in a while.

True, the critic may be wrong at times, maybe most times. But without the critic's voice—even assuming it be *never* right—the voice of the leader sounds lonely and unproven, a voice that hears only its own unquestioned echo through the partial night and partial light where man searches for the truth of earth and Heaven.

Let us listen, then, to the critic in Zion. Zion is the pure of heart, but it must also be the free of mind. A disciple not free to criticize owns only a particle of freedom, and that a doubtful one. And a leader with ideas not free for creative criticism seems a dubious oracle for a free man's God.

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