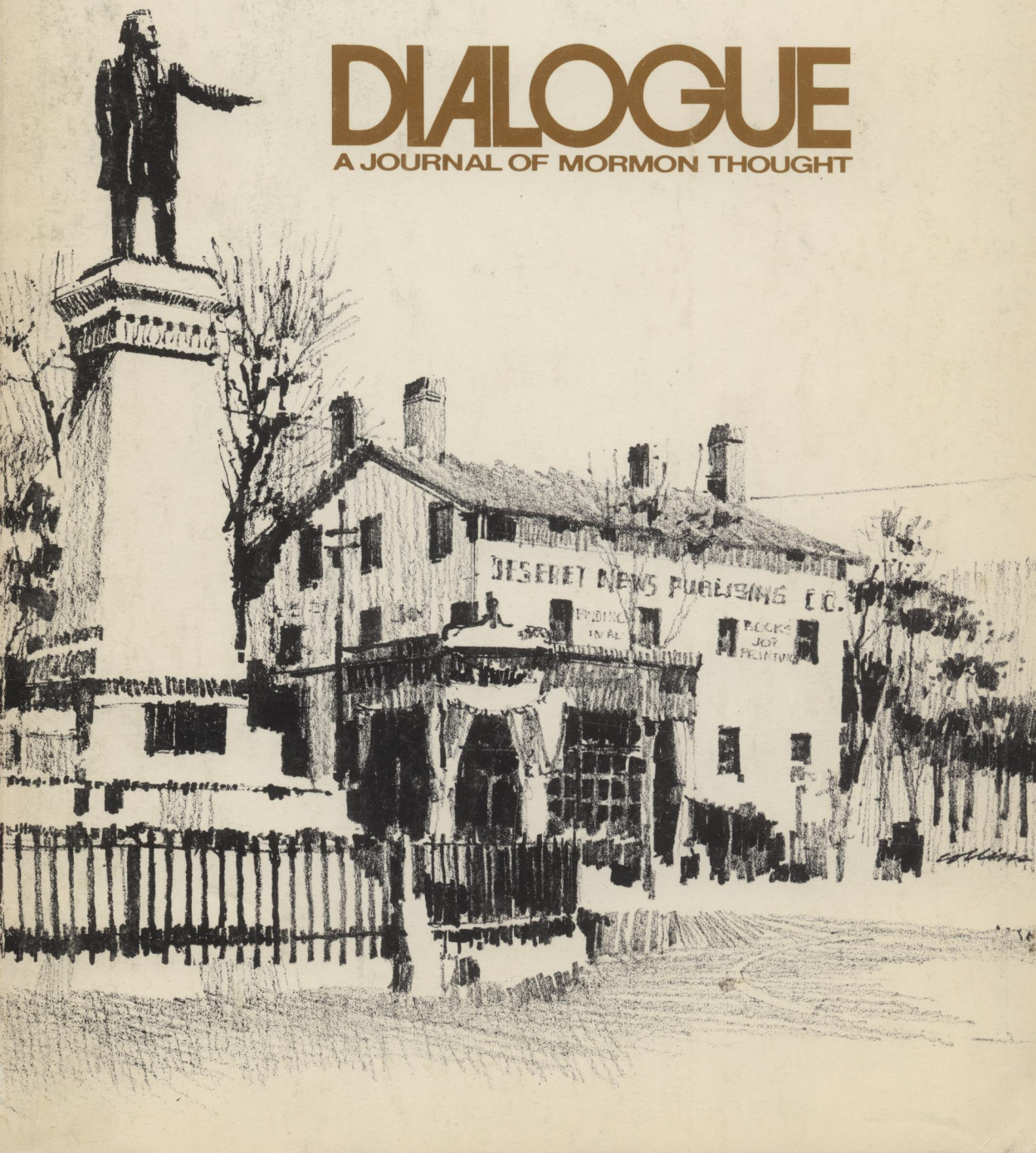
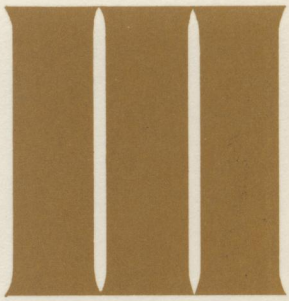
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT





DIALOGUE
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MORMON
THOUGHT

Volume III Number 4
Winter 1968

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 Latter-day Saints 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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REVIEWS

AMONG THE MORMONS

NOTES AND COMMENTS

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ART CREDITS

Cover Design: GARY COLLINS

The sketches in this issue are by:

GARY COLLINS — 35, 44, 106
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Letters to the Editors

The sketches in this section are by Elizabeth Sprange *who spends her summers near Torrey, Utah, and her winters in Mill Valley, California.*

Dear Sirs:

I enjoyed William Robinson's article [Autumn, 1968], "Mormons in the Urban Community."

In order to expose our children to something other than our very isolated Mormon community (Utah Valley), two years ago we exchanged houses with a Congregational minister in Newton, Massachusetts. While in Newton, we became acquainted with the work of Elliot Church in South Boston. In many respects it put our own family commitment to shame.

The fact that the ward in Alexandria, Virginia, is doing something to help unfortunate people, irrespective of color or creed, is most heartening. I too hope that the Church will institutionalize its effort. Perhaps the recently appointed General Authority from the Washington, D.C., area, Elder Hartman Rector, can help in this.

Richard M. Taylor
Spanish Fork, Utah

Dear Sirs:

In the August, 1968, *Improvement Era*, President Theodore Tuttle quotes the following plea by Apostle Spencer W. Kimball:

> My young brothers and sisters, I plead with you to accept the Lamanite as your brother, a people who ask not for distant, far-away sympathy, your haughty disdain, your supercilious penny throwing, your turned-up nose, your superior snobbery, and your cold calculated tolerance. I ask you to give them what they want and need and deserve: opportunity and fraternal brotherliness, your understanding, your warm and glowing fellowship, your unstinted and beautiful love, and your enthusiastic brotherhood.

Would that the Church's leaders could muster up that kind of eloquence on behalf of our Negro brothers.

Bruce S. Romney
Kinnaird, British Columbia

Dear Sirs:

From the letters to the editors in the Autumn, 1968 issue I note that some people were displeased about getting the Kent Lloyd mailing. Consequently, I think that I ought to let you know my feelings on the matter:

I was glad to get my copy of the mailing about Kent Lloyd; I found it quite interesting. My only objection was that it did not make it clear why I had received it. I finally guessed that it had come because of my subscription to *Dialogue*, but I was still somewhat puzzled. I even thought seriously of sending a small contribution, but I did not get around to it.

I already receive considerable advertising because of my membership in two professional organizations, and I can recognize the source of each piece of advertising from the address label in each instance. I have no objection to receiving such easily identifiable political-campaign advertising as a result of my *Dialogue* subscription.

George T. Johannesen, Jr.
Kalamazoo, Michigan

Dear Sirs:

In the last issue of *Dialogue* we read for the first time two letters to the editor criticizing the "Lloyd for Congress" committee's use of the *Dialogue* mailing list. Following our exciting but unsuccessful campaign, we had turned back to other professional responsibilities designed to improve the quality of urban leadership in Los Angeles. The letters to the editor, along with the *Dialogue* note of apology to its readers who were offended by the solicitation for financial contributions, however, caused us to reflect on several lessons we learned from our first (but not our last) encounter with practical politics.

Lesson 1. Our commitment to be "anxiously engaged in a good cause" is not without its personal risks. First, our motives have been questioned by some of our friends who think that what we do is for personal gain only. Second, we have incurred heavy financial losses — the debt for the primary campaign was approximately $20,000, for which we are personally liable.

Given the staggering cost of Congressional campaigns today (from $50,000 to $150,000) an aspiring young candidate with "democratic values" has these limited alternatives: (a) financing his campaign from great personal wealth; (b) long servitude to one of the major political parties in return for financial backing; (c) going into personal debt for the direct campaign costs; (d) becoming a special interest group lobbyist in return for continuing campaign contributions; or (e) gaining independent financial support by soliciting friends, other individuals who might share the candidate's personal values, or special interest groups who oppose the incumbent leadership. The Lloyd for Congress committee tried to follow the last alternative — using in part the *Dialogue* subscription list of readers who, we felt, would share our concern for recruiting qualified candidates.

Lesson 2. Latter-day Saints do not respond in great numbers to invitations to support a political party candidate, especially if the candidate is a Democrat. For example, see the letter from former Congressman Kenneth W. Dyal in the Autumn issue of *Dialogue*. Our own experience shows that we sent appeals for financial support to approximately 7,000 *Dialogue* readers at a cost of $600.00 (including rental of the *Dialogue* mailing list). We received back $361.00 from twenty-eight readers who responded positively to our letter. We also received eight letters critical of our mailing. These results suggest that most readers did not care one way or the other.

In addition, it was our experience that a great deal of time and energy was spent convincing Mormons that a candidate from the Democratic party also could be a loyal Latter-day Saint committed to the values of the Gospel and the American Constitutional system.

Lesson 3. The Church doctrine on the Negro severely handicaps Latter-day Saint political candidates in districts with Negro voters. The 31st Congressional District of California (Los Angeles–Inglewood) is 68% Democratic registration, with 40% of these voters being Negro. The present Jesse Unruh-supported party machine incumbent cannot be beaten except by a Democratic challenger with a well known record in civil rights. Our strategy, then, was to run such a candidate. The election returns from Negro precincts demonstrate that being a Mormon in the 31st District was a serious handicap for a Congressional candidate. Coupled with Lesson 2, it appears from our experience that a Mormon Democratic candidate supporting civil rights issues can plan on receiving limited financial support from

Mormons and little support from Negro voters.

Lesson 4. A Mormon, Democratic candidate for Congress cannot expect more than minimal support from politically sympathetic church members living outside of his district regardless of the extent to which his personal qualifications prepare him to provide national leadership on critical social issues. The Lloyd for Congress committee brochure sent to *Dialogue* readers listed in detail the candidate's qualifications as an educator, a community relations expert and a government consultant. The letter accompanying the brochure described his academic training, his church related experience and his understanding of critical community problems. However, most *Dialogue* readers living in various parts of the country apparently felt that a Congressional election in Los Angeles was of little interest to them. Although the winning of a Congressional seat in California by a qualified candidate may seem of local interest only, because of our Congressional committee system, that same candidate may cast the deciding vote on issues directly affecting programs for voters in New York and Utah.

These four lessons, then, could discourage those Mormons who consider running for public office or contributing in other ways to the solution of urban problems. By contrast, the Autumn 1968 issue of *Dialogue*, in which letters critical of our efforts to solicit support appeared, should offer some reassurance. The issue began with the articles on Joseph Smith's presidential platform, followed by the section on Mormons in the Secular City, and ended with the First Presidency's recent statement on the obligations of Latter-day Saints to support "political candidates who are 'wise,' 'good,' and 'honest' . . . and to assume their responsibilities as individual citizens in seeking solutions to the problems which beset our cities and communities."

Nevertheless, some readers would argue that to expect to influence the direction of public policy in America today is a futile effort because the world is so evil that it cannot be saved from destruction. Others would argue that the world will be saved eventually through God's divine intervention regardless of what men may do, and therefore one's only obligation is to family and church. For our part we are committed to the view that individual men and women can make a difference in the quality of life in their communities provided they are well trained with professional skills and committed to the inspired values of our Constitutional system.

To fulfill this commitment in our own lives we have organized the PEDR Corporation — a professional executive consulting firm in Southern California — and have attempted several approaches to developing urban leaders. During the past two years we have worked with leaders from among the Black Nationalists in Watts, led a seminar for race relations specialists, conducted a community relations program for a city police department, lost a political campaign (!!), completed an urban executive leadership program for top Black professionals and are now consulting with the Urban Coalition in Los Angeles, which includes leaders from all segments of the community meeting together to solve critical urban problems.

Ellsworth E. Johnson
Kent Lloyd
Kendall O. Price
Clark Rex
Inglewood, California

Dear Sirs:

My first day as a freshman in the BYU bookstore was justly rewarded when I came upon the Summer 1968 issue of *Dialogue*. It is something friends and I have felt a gnawing need for. Particularly of interest were the letters of awareness on the black issue because that was the point of discussion of our group on the ride from California to the "Y."

I've heard some interesting and strengthening things, stories and quotes and articles of freshness, on the subject I wish each member knew about. This is why I propose that if not a program at least a magazine be initiated for black and white and all church members and investigators who are crucially interested in the problems. This would give an awareness and concern for Negroes that is definitely needed. . . .

Scott Smith
Provo, Utah

Dear Sirs:

"Mormons in the Executive Suite" by Mark W. Cannon [Autumn, 1968] was interesting chiefly because of the Mormon background information it set forth concerning some of the nation's high level government officials and business executives, past and present. The article would have been much more valuable if the author had shown that when the "United Order" turned out to be a dismal failure in practice, church authorities apparently decided to encourage the acquisition of material wealth on the strength of the adopted Calvinist principle that growing rich should not be regarded as altogether unconnected with the will of God — for after all "God is the dispenser of all things." Perhaps in a future discussion Mr. Cannon will point out how the secular theories and teachings of Calvin and other sixteenth-century reformers gradually became part and parcel of Mormon doctrine. Be that as it may, he has furnished convincing proof that Mormonism is no barrier to the attainment of worldly success.

Inasmuch as Mormons have been taught since the earliest days of the Church that Luther, Calvin and the other reformers were actually progenitors of Joseph Smith, it would be worth the time of anyone interested in this over-all subject to read *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* by Max Weber and *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* by R. H. Tawney. *The Merchant of Prato* by Iris Origo is also worth consulting because it establishes conclusively that capitalism was already sprouting in the middle of the fourteenth century. Francesco Datini, the merchant Origo wrote about, always captioned the first page of his ledgers with the words "In the name of God and of profit."

Joseph C. Fehr
Rockville, Maryland

Dear Sirs:

In their note [Autumn, 1968] "The Vietnam War Through the Eyes of a Mormon Subculture," Knud S. Larsen and Gary Schwendiman lament the fact that "highly active members and recently returned missionaries [are] more hawkish than less active members. . . ." The big point missed by the writers is that Communism is atheistic and destructive of religion and free agency. Isn't it quite natural for a returned missionary or active church member to believe strongly in religious freedom and free agency? Wouldn't we expect B.Y.U. students to base their Vietnam war attitudes quite heavily on these facts (as compared with a secular university), rather than solely on the intricate historical details of Vietnam since World War II? If free nations do not survive, religious freedom, freedom of dissent, and academic freedom are quite meaningless.

If a nation has the "gall" to conscript one small fragment of its population to do the fighting for the whole, doesn't it have the responsibility to give moral support to those conscripted? The courts have constantly upheld the legality of this war, and the South East Asia Resolution was in my opinion a de facto declaration of war. This legislation had only two dissenting votes — Senators Morse and Gruening, both of whom lost in the recent elections.

These matters are relative, but a certain amount of "news control" and "muzzling" of dissent are proper to successfully wage a war. When human life is at stake, the practical approach must take precedent over the idealistic as it pertains to forms of dissent and news releases of military tactics. After all, the President and military leaders have the services of the C.I.A., F.B.I., Diplomatic Corps, etc., from which to acquire classified information and base decisions. For a draft dodging dissenter to play the role of diplomatic or military tactician is quite ridicu-

lous. The respect of informed sources of information is one of the basic attributes of a scholar.

With our religious teachings on the founding of the Constitution and our government structure being divinely inspired, it is reasonable to expect B.Y.U. students to have more faith in their government than would secular students. The article bemoans the extent to which B.Y.U. students are not involved in the anti-war movement. The California Democrat boss, Jesse Unruh, has recently stated that the Berkeley campus may have to be closed for two years because of the well known turmoil. Isn't it wonderful that B.Y.U. is *not* thus involved?

These so-called highly moral peace movements are well intended, but why don't their proponents get them started on the other side of the iron curtain?

J. Darwin Baxter
San Jose, California

Dear Sirs:

Upon reading Mr. Robson's critique of my essay, "A Mormon Concept of Man" [Spring, 1968], my first thought was that no graduate student in philosophy should be as concerned as he seems to be at finding one in a trap while discussing such a subject. Surely he must have learned somewhere along the line that the only way of avoiding being trapped in matters of this kind is to keep one's trap shut. But then there would be no dialogue.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Robson completely misses the point in his lengthy discussion of "the trap." His essay on this theme is interesting and competent, but I fail to see that it is a serious criticism of my paper. Robson's "trap" has to do with the legitimacy of certain kinds of arguments. My paper is not an argument at all. It is a description of what I consider to be the generally accepted Mormon conception of man. Whatever argument appears in the paper is there only in connection with the claim that I am describing the Mormon position (a point Robson seems to accept), not in relation to any defense of the position. Now, if Robson wants to argue that Mormonism is in a trap, I have no objection. But I do object to his strained and specious effort to put me in it. Because I obviously like the Mormon doctrine as I have described it, he seems to think that my paper is an argument for its truth. Whether the doctrine is true or false or even logical is beside the point of my paper.

While Robson's argument is with Mormonism rather than with my description of it, I would seriously question that he has Mormonism trapped. The Mormon concept of man is as easily put in the number four as in the number one position of his schema. The ideas represented in the four steps of the "trap" are not logically derived from one another in Mormonism; they are therefore not logically related, as in the sequence Robson lists. The fact of the matter is that most religions, including Mormonism, start with God and work down to man. Robson's trap is set upside down and is quite harmless.

Robson complains about my use of the word "man." He says that there is "no such thing as man-in-general," that man as a concept, or abstract entity, can have no purposes or intentions. However well taken this point may be, it hardly applies. I use the term "man" to stand for God's children — the human family. And the human family is no more an abstraction than the Robson family. Just as it is meaningful to speak of goals for the Robson family, it is meaningful to speak of goals for the human family. Without accepting the existence of the "social mind" or assuming that the nation has a mind, we can speak meaningfully of national purposes and goals. Similarly, we can speak meaningfully of man's goals. At any rate, such usage is common in Mormon discourse, and my purpose was to present the Mormon position.

Robson says further, "Since it is men who have purposes and intentions, and since men

have many many different purposes and intentions, it strikes me as highly improbable that they all have one ultimate, supreme, over-arching purpose which we could describe as *the* purpose of man." It seems strange that Robson should miss the point that all men may have the same purpose, i.e., self-fulfillment, whatever direction that fulfillment might take. Mormonism does hold that all men share common purposes and that they share these purposes with God. The logic by which Robson concludes that God's purposes can not be man's purposes escapes me. Cannot a child and a parent share the same purposes and goals for the child? But whatever answer one may give to this question, I was describing Mormonism, which holds that purposes *are* shared.

In this connection I would suggest that in addition to individual-specific potentialities possessed by men, which determine to some extent their purposes and intentions, thus making them different, men also share species-specific potentialities, which make them alike and differentiate them from other species. If one plants grains of wheat he will get wheat and nothing else. And he can determine, at least to some degree, the optimum conditions of its unfoldment. The fertilized human ovum may become an egghead, but it will never become an eggplant.

The Mormon position is based upon the claim that, in spite of the differences exhibited in men, there are similarities and that the similarities, which stem from a common human psycho-physical core, are more important for arriving at the optimum conditions of man's development than the dissimilarities and idiosyncrasies. In the above terminology the potentiality of man to become like God, a long established Mormon doctrine, is a species-specific potentiality shared by all men which therefore determines man's common purposes and goals. This means that men can have the same ultimate goals. I insist that this is descriptive of the Mormon position; Robson is rejecting this facet of Mormonism rather than my description of it.

Robson charges me with being confused on the relation between *prescription* and *description*. Here again he forgets that I am describing the Mormon position, which holds that God's prescriptions are descriptive in the sense that they are laws of human behavior, both individual and social. The Word of Wisdom, for example, is regarded by Mormons not merely as prescriptive but also as descriptive, as far as it goes, of conditions or laws of physical health. This is not to say, of course, that men necessarily act in accordance with these laws any more than in stating the law of falling bodies one says that there are bodies or they are falling. In Mormonism description and prescription are joined in a way Robson fails to recognize, for Mormonism, like most other religions, identifies the moral law with the natural law.

In this connection Mormon ethics can be described as an "ethic of promise" which is contextualist in character. But the Mormon doctrine of salvation, coupled with its concept of time, makes for a radically different view of the context in which moral growth is made. Contextualism of the current, popular variety is too limited in its temporal outlook and too narrow in its application. Mormon contextualism includes the future as well as the present. Man's actions are seen in terms not only of the immediate situation but also of God's overall purposes and goals for man, which stretch into an endless future. The Mormon ethic is not merely prescriptive of what man must do; it is also a promise, a *description*, of what man may become. . . .

George T. Boyd
L.D.S. Institute of Religion
Los Angeles, California

Dear Sirs:

In reading "The Challenge of Secularism" by James L. Clayton [Autumn, 1968], I wondered if the desire for a stronger appeal within the Church for secular acceptance is timely and within the scope and basic concept of our faith. The author's desire for a "more realistic approach" which "offers a practical solution" recalls opinions expressed during the second century of the Primitive Church.

It would seem that after a hundred and more years of activity there are elements within the Church that are outdated and in need of alteration. Yet consideration of any theological change demands a calculated,

conservative awareness not only of what might be changed, but also of what might be lost. Are we, who accept prophetic direction as a cornerstone, in a position to make the challenge? Don't we condemn those of the Primitive Church who were too eager to change the law and disavow the words of the prophets?

Is now the time for increased introspection within the Church, with the resulting divergence and inconclusive debate? The erosion of any position begins with the seemingly modest compromise, and continues, ever increasing, until the mountain has become the plain. Perhaps the future will bring from our seminary system a paid clergy, and from these, a council to meet and debate questions of doctrine, faith, and morals. Is this the course that would keep truth present in the mind of the searching member?

What do we as individuals wish to derive from our membership in the Church? Is our future emphasis to be the pride that comes from the establishment of a large sophisticated organization, rich in tradition, art, and worldly acceptance? Does acceptance by God come from the development of the Church and its structures, or from the development of that which is within the individual? In the light of what we are striving to become, as we emphasize the individual over the establishment, what does secularization really have to offer?

Keith Frogley
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

James Farmer in his letter to you [Autumn, 1968] wonders why so many apostate-Mormons spend so much time "lamenting and exposing," and why they feel such activity is of any importance. Maybe I can help explain it a little, as I have just entered that category, and so am still "fresh" on my feelings.

I would say it's because the apostates feel the truth is important; in fact nothing really matters in life *but* the truth. They felt they had found the truth, and they gave it their heart, might, mind and strength; and then found themselves to be, as they felt, in error. And when you have been deceived on such a scale, you want others to know about it, just as one so dedicated and committed wants others to know about the Gospel.

It's a sickening feeling, not a malevolent one, that motivates them. Sickening, because something *like* the church is needed so badly for an answer to the world's condition.

When I see the large amount of New Testament material in the Book of Mormon; when I see the outrageous tampering that has been done with the so-called revelations since their first printing; when I see the burying under an obscuring cloud of words the damaging testimonies in the Solomon Spaulding affair; when I see the varied and conflicting accounts of the first vision and the three witnesses; when I see the other side of the coin of the Mormons' troubles with their neighbors — the sanctioned "milking of the Gentiles" and counterfeiting and sexual irregularity going on; when I see the biographical glimpses of Joseph Smith through other than "approved" eyes (and such things as his giving a translation of the Kinderhook plates that were later found to be a hoax; which brings up the current Book of Abraham imbroglio); when I see all this and more, I begin to wonder at the integrity and legitimacy of the church, and if it is worthy to be the rock that will sweep through the world breaking down all other kingdoms before it and bringing man's will back into line with that of the Father. No, Jim, it isn't that the Gospel isn't true; there has been nothing said about that; it's that this church is rotten at its roots, and so should be hewn down before it spreads around any more of its contaminated fruit.

You condemn the critics. Yet honest searchers for truth owe a large vote of thanks to such as the Tanners for the work they have done to help men see behind the books that the church gives them to read in for their answers. The Church owes them a vote of thanks, too, and should acknowledge it at the time of reckoning. For such endeavor has not been so much destructive as constructive. The idea is not necessarily to get people in the Church "to quit" but *to look*, at least. I can't explain the Lehi Stone (Hal Houghey to the contrary), or the similarities in the histories of the Cen-

tral American Indians to the Book of Mormon account. (I accept the Indians as being in part at least Israelitish, but that's another matter.) But if you're going to go out and set up the New Jerusalem and expect the righteous to rally to your flag, you've got to know exactly whereof you speak, and how solid the ground is you're standing on. Check your premises, is all I for one am asking. And, after doing so, set your own house in order, before you start on the world's.

Duane Stanfield
Salt Lake City

Dear Sirs:

The autumn issue of *Dialogue* carries a book review of Wayne Stout's *History of Utah, 1870–1896* by Kenneth W. Godfrey. The supreme objective of any book review is to acquaint the reader with the merits, contributions and spiritual benefits of the newly published book. If the work does not contribute to the educational and moral growth of the truth seeker, then the author has failed in his work. In that case, a book reviewer is not needed. But if the book has merit, the reviewer has a responsibility to point out those truths. The greatest crime in the literary world is the willful desecration of a meritorious book. That was the objective of Mr. Godfrey toward the Stout book. His aim was to pick the book to pieces. Consumed by unworthy motives, he could see no values in the book and was powerless to assume responsibilities of a rational book reviewer. This explains his wild charges of exaggeration and defective historical interpretation.

Amusing is his complaint of defective "facts." It is he, Mr. Godfrey, who has no facts about Mr. Stout's qualifications. After 50 years in the study of Utah history Mr. Stout is accused by a man half his age of incompetence and defective historical research.

Mr. Stout had read all the diaries and journals of all the pioneers before Mr. Godfrey was even born. He read all histories of Utah in print before 1912. Mr. Stout has written four other large books all based on diaries and journals before 1961. The Journal History has been read very extensively. Still Mr. Godfrey charges a lack of an "accurate or balanced account." This is another sample of his wild charges, which brand him as a dishonorable character assassin.

The reviewer's hop, skip and jump reading has led him to believe the work is highly partisan and discriminatory against the non-Mormons. If the reviewer had examined the index and bibliography, he might have discovered the truth. Twice as many hostile *Tribune* editorials (pp. 549–50) have been quoted as friendly *Deseret News* editorials (p. 543). For the period covered, the bibliography includes all anti-Mormon works. Again, the congressional debates covering both Edmunds acts, the Poland and Morrill acts, the speeches for and against statehood were all fully quoted in the history. Still the incompetent reviewer is crying for a "competent historian" who can "produce a major study that will be a real history of Utah."

Thousands of book reviews have been written and read by persons who appreciate their inspiration and moral uplift, but never has a book review been written that descended to the level of the Godfrey review. The review exhibits the worst in bigotry, hypocrisy, and deceit. Mr. Godfrey has committed a crime against the literary world. He failed to write the truth.

Wayne Stout
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

I was pleasantly surprised to read the eloquent review of W. Cleon Skousen's *Fantastic Victory* by James B. Mayfield in your

Autumn issue. It is most unusual to find someone willing and able to look past surface claims for facts in the Middle East problem.

Mr. Skousen, we assume, is an expert on modern affairs of the Middle East, and so we must suspect that he has deliberately misrepresented the issue by omission of pertinent facts which an expert would be aware of, and has resorted to outright distortion.

In his very worthy fight against Communism, Mr. Skousen has gained approval and recognition, and, unfortunately, anyone questioning his scholarship and intellectual honesty must be prepared to defend his patriotism.

I certainly applaud James Mayfield's review and hope that good Church members will not be too awed by Mr. Skousen's writings to search for the facts in modern history and in the scriptures for themselves.

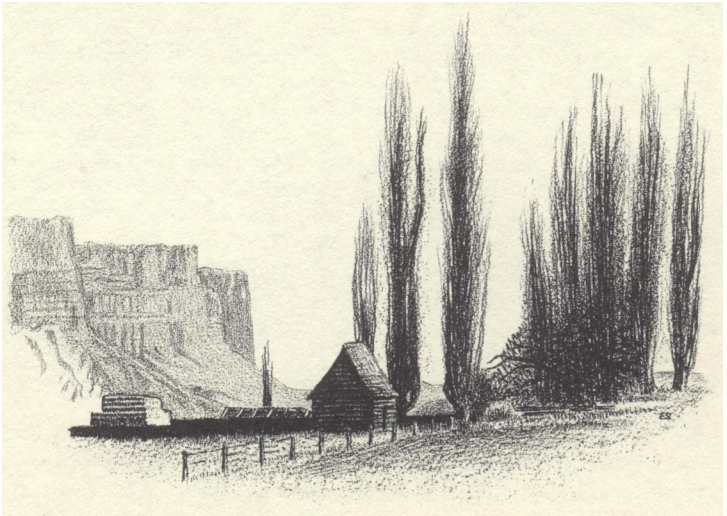
Fayek Saleh
Las Cruces, New Mexico

Dear Sirs:

In the Autumn, 1968, issue Max H. Parkin ("Mrs. Brodie and Joseph Smith") mentions six sources of refutation of Brodie's *No Man Knows My History*. The three of these I have personal knowledge of are brief; I assume the others are too. Since Brodie's book is found in practically every library, one wonders why there has never been written a full-scale point-by-point refutation. I continue to meet people who have read Brodie and who consider her treatise as authoritative. Next, one wonders why no one has undertaken to write a truly objective biography of Joseph Smith. Surely he can and should be explained better than the biased view that Brodie presents. I noticed in the Spring, 1966, issue that Arrington and DePillis mention various sources of information on Joseph Smith without once mentioning John Henry Evans, *Joseph Smith, An American Prophet* (MacMillan, 1946). I've heard that Evans's work is not as "scholarly" as Brodie's. What else can you or your readers tell me about Evans (his background: Was he or is he now an LDS?) and the value, or lack of same, of his work? I read this book some time ago, but it seemed to me that his favorable bias was no stronger than Brodie's unfavorable one.

I enjoy reading *Dialogue* very much. Sometimes I find a writer who gives me a great spiritual uplift, i.e., Menlove, Cline, and Burtenshaw in Vol. 1, No. 1. Other times I get disturbed at those writers who, nearing apostasy, have nothing but criticism to offer — but controversy makes for interesting, even provocative reading. Keep up the good work!

Neil Benner
Costa Mesa, California



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MORMONS AND PSYCHIATRY

Robert D. Hunt and K. H. Blacker

Psychiatry has become an important force in the modern world during the twentieth century. Its relevance for members of the Mormon Church is examined by K. H. Blacker, Assistant Professor of Psychiatry at the University of California Medical School in San Francisco, and Robert D. Hunt, a returned German missionary, who is a graduate student in the same medical school.

INTRODUCTION

Among many Mormons there exists a genuine distrust of psychiatry. Apprehensions arise partly from misconceptions about psychotherapy and partly from a stigma that many attach to anything associated with emotional disorders. Many believe "If you live your religion, you won't need a psychiatrist." For many, to visit a psychiatrist would be to admit emotional and spiritual failure. Mormons might enter psychotherapy with not only the usual fears and anxieties concerning an unknown experience that lies ahead, but also with questions and reservations concerning the relationship of their religion to the psychotherapeutic process. "Will I be instructed to do something which violates my own moral standards?" "Will my faith in God or in modern prophetic revelation be threatened or ridiculed in psychotherapy?" "Will I lose my testimony?" "What are the differences in emphasis or the conflicts between psychiatry and Mormonism?"

DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES OF MORMONISM AND PSYCHIATRY

Most Mormons believe in the existence of moral absolutes — that there is a right and wrong to every moral question which is independent of the person and the situation. For them moral and spiritual laws are defined in

terms of behavioral imperatives such as baptism, celestial marriage, tithing, and not in terms of subtle relationships. For example, "Thou shalt not commit adultery" is a commandment which is accepted without reference to the motives or the context of the relationship involved.

Psychiatry generally considers moral values as being relative to the individuals, the circumstances, and the relationship involved. It does not attempt to establish a universal concept of morality. The psychotherapist in evaluating behavior pays attention to the motives, the meanings, and the context. For example, sexual intercourse is neither good nor bad. It can be of great interpersonal significance if it is an expression of love, a voluntary act of giving, and produces satisfaction and joy within an individual. It can be very destructive if it is masochistic or abusive. Either type of relationship can occur extra-maritally or inter-maritally. A prior wedding ceremony would not alter the psychological meaning of a sadistic sexual and interpersonal relationship between two people from a psychologically unhealthy to a psychologically healthy one.

Psychoanalytic psychology stresses that moral values arise from the integration of man's biological strivings, his experience, and his intellect. Man is capable of creating his own values and ethics through reason and observation. The Mormon seeks moral truth primarily through revelation and prayer, and believes that all men have access to it if they but seek. Mormons believe "The Spirit of Christ is given to every man, that he may know good from evil."[1] In the words of Job, "There is a spirit in man and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding."[2]

The psychiatrist is more interested in exploring the nature of behavior and its effects on the individuals involved than in rendering any value judgment. He is not interested in stating whether an act is wrong or right, according to some standard. He does not try to make moral judgments for the patient or to impose upon him his own moral standard. Psychiatry studies the attitudes, motivations, and relationships which underlie behavior while Mormonism is primarily concerned with the relationship of behavior to divine law. Having committed itself to divine standards, the Church endeavors to teach and persuade all men to accept them. It encourages man to look inward to his spirit and upward to God to obtain a testimony of the gospel and personal conviction of church doctrine. Psychiatry encourages analysis and integration of authentic values whether or not these be the same as those of his church. Mormonism stresses willful obedience to the revealed standard. The moral struggle for most Mormons lies not so much in the quest of moral principles, as in obedience to divine command.

Finally, there is a difference in the goals for man as expressed by Mormonism and psychiatry. The psychiatrist's objective for the individual is for him to be a self-directed, self-knowing man, one whose decisions are authentically his own. In psychiatry, man is encouraged to be ultimately responsible to himself. This is not a simple task. It requires careful assessment of

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[1]Book of Mormon, Moroni 7:16.
[2]Job 32:8.

one's loyalties, responsibilities, and desires. Man must answer to himself for his actions. He can allow no organization or society to totally excuse or dictate his behavior. The goal of the gospel is for man to use his self-direction to follow Christ. To most Mormons man is ultimately responsible to God with the hope of becoming a god himself. He strives not only for a rational standard of goodness, but for a spiritual quality of righteousness. His ultimate prayer is not "Thy will be done," but "Make thy will my will." Thus, while psychiatry seeks health, Mormonism seeks exaltation.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

There are many different approaches in modern psychotherapy. Psychotherapy may be given on an individual basis or in a family or group setting. Short-term therapy may suffice to help a patient through a crisis or to resolve a specific symptom. Some therapists will be very active or directive, making frequent suggestions or interpretive comments. Other therapists may appear very passive, saying little. One patient may be encouraged to ignore or cover up his problem, while another may be encouraged to explore his problem in depth. Psychiatrists, as physicians, may augment psychotherapy with medication. Since psychoanalysis has provided the most extensive and powerful theory of personality available today and its fundamental principles provide the basic framework for most practicing psychiatrists, we shall limit our discussion to what is termed analytically-oriented or insight-oriented psychotherapy. Thus, our comments, though reflecting the mainstream of psychiatric practice, cannot speak for all psychiatrists.

Insight-oriented psychotherapy typified by psychoanalysis is an interpersonal method designed to facilitate an individual's perceptions of himself and his surroundings. It can be expected to expand awareness of one's own emotions, the range of one's emotions, and aid in the discrimination of the sources of these emotions. Analysis explores both stimuli emanating from within, such as impulses, thoughts, or moral commands, and the stimuli impinging upon us from without, such as pressures and inducements from society, work, and family.

Each of us attempts a kind of self-analysis at all times. We are always asking ourselves why we did this or that act. But these attempts may fail at times of stress and are always subject to large distortions because as humans we inherently have little ability to see other than that which we wish to see. We remain largely oblivious to our own failings and sometimes to our own strengths. What we may be able to see and understand in our neighbor's behavior, we may be totally unable to observe within ourselves. Because of our defensive need to distort, self-crippling and self-destructive behavior may continue unchecked. Professional help may be needed in order to alter attitudes and actions detrimental to self and others.

The individual who can learn to see himself realistically is in a better position to integrate the contradicting facets of his personality. This knowledge allows the patient a more conscious choice in what he does with his life. He may no more need to respond with avoidance and escape when faced with

emotional conflict. The integration and acceptance of self-knowledge frequently frees a person from dormant emotions which interfere with his ability to form close relationships with others, perform successfully on the job, or live at peace with himself.

Psychotherapy is a particular kind of learning experience. The psychotherapeutic situation elicits emotions and thoughts from the patient which he learns to recognize and examine. The patient inductively develops a model of his own behavioral sequences. From these emotions and their contexts, basic patterns of personality organization emerge. These patterns are studied; stimuli, context, and response are related. For example, a man may find that he reacts in a defensive fashion to the therapist in much the same manner he reacted toward his father. He may discover the same pattern in dealing with his boss and his bishop. The patient, after recognizing this pattern, explores its presence in his life. His fears of his father may have generated unreal anxieties about anyone who resembles his father or who has authority over him.

The parallels in behavior seen in the patient's past life, his present life, and his interactions with the therapist provide the intellectual and emotional force behind the therapeutic process. He may find that his current apprehensions and even those of his childhood are actually unfounded. By correcting such distortions about his therapist he will find his relationship with other men changing. He may also become increasingly aware of his own strengths and his capacity for greater self-reliance.

The following illustrations are examples of interchanges that might occur in therapy and will serve to point out some of the learning processes involved. The patient asks "Do you think I'm pretty?" The therapist might reply "Why do you ask other people what you should or should not feel about yourself?" Here the therapist would be attempting to get the patient to assess her motivations for asking the question. Perhaps the patient is attractive and feels ashamed and guilty for thinking that she is more beautiful and desirable than her sisters. Possibly because of this she did poorly in school and has made herself unattractive in many ways. On the other hand, the woman may be homely and feel so ashamed of her appearance that she seeks constant reassurance that she is beautiful. Self-knowledge and acceptance of her physical attributes would enable her to more constructively plan her personal grooming and perhaps enable her to be more realistic about social and professional plans.

A patient might ask a therapist to tell him whether or not he should quit a job or sell or buy a house. The therapist would point out that the patient is asking him to take control of his life, to tell him what to do. Further interactions might identify chronic feelings of worthlessness or low self-esteem. Exposing and mastering these feelings might enable the patient to decide about his own life, for instance, to free himself from his reliance on an older brother who had always provided the answers to these questions. In psychotherapy the patient himself would examine the questions and problems that face him and formulate his own decisions.

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT PSYCHOTHERAPY

Distorted ideas about psychoanalysis and insight-psychotherapy are frequently held by those who have had brief, superficial exposure to psychoanalytic theories of personality, but who have had little firsthand contact with or knowledge concerning the actual therapeutic process. Religious people have often misunderstood and misinterpreted the process of psychotherapy.

Perhaps the most common misconception held by Mormons concerning insight-oriented psychotherapy is that psychoanalysts believe all motivations of behavior are sexual ones. They assume that psychotherapy consists of identifying and then giving free rein to sexual hedonistic impulses. It is true that most psychotherapists consider the biological sexual drives of humans as important components of human behavior. But this view should not be strange to Mormons, who are quite open about the importance of sexuality in their view of family life and of the afterlife. It should also be remembered that psychiatrists use the term "sexual" to refer to tender mothering actions, stroking, fondling, and emotional warmth and support, as well as to adult genital sexual activity. In psychotherapy the role and the form of these impulses in an individual's life are examined, but no license is given for hedonism.

Another frequent distortion is the concept of psychotherapy as a process of rationalization whereby the patient can justify his behavior by "interpreting" it, i.e., by blaming it on childhood experience or on his parents. This distortion assumes that therapy explains behavior as resulting from psychological causality and thereby relieves the patient of all responsibility. Most psychiatrists emphasize the patient's own moral responsibility for his actions. Though one's past experience or one's childhood influences the form of his behavior, it does not excuse it. For example, Freud maintained that individuals are even responsible for their dreams. The power to continue certain behavior or to alter it ultimately rests with the patient. New knowledge gained in therapy, however, offers him a greater number of responsible choices.

Another misconception frequently held by religious people is that psychoanalytic theory disregards or discredits feelings of *guilt.* They would perhaps assume that because psychiatry considers values to be relative, it would consider guilt to be unfounded. They may incorrectly suppose that a psychoanalyzed man can act with moral impunity. Actually, most psychiatrists would agree with Mormons that the experience of guilt following a violation of one's own authentic standards plays a necessary and crucial role in the organization of a mature individual's personality. Psychoanalysts encourage a patient to accept responsibility for behavior which he previously rationalized as not being his own. Speaking for psychoanalysts, Dr. Heinz Hartmann indicated:

> We do not expect an analyzed person to have no guilt feelings. We consider the capacity to experience guilt an entirely normal characteristic of human experience. But we expect that his guilt reactions will be more clearly in line with the integrated parts of his personality, with his authentic moral codes, and with the reality situations.[3]

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[3]Heinz Hartmann, M.D., *Psychoanalysis and Moral Values* (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1960) p. 90.

Psychiatry also recognizes the presence of an illogical, "sick" kind of guilt totally different from the guilt described above. This guilt usually arises from an individual's intolerance of his own anger, and the resulting displacements and distortions would be examined in psychotherapy.

A final distortion about psychoanalytic theory believed by many Mormons is that since many psychiatrists are agnostic, religious feelings and beliefs would be ridiculed during therapy as a sign of weakness or immaturity. A Mormon may fear his religious belief might be considered unsophisticated or naïve. The psychiatrist, he may suppose, would not understand his religion or accept a spiritual basis for his moral standards. Actually, most psychotherapists recognize that religious belief often provides a major source of psychological strength and a means of integrating one's identity and values. They realize the value of those emotions which are considered distinctly spiritual, and they would not ridicule faith in prayer or divine inspiration. They would, however, examine the implications of that faith for the patient.

Psychiatrists recognize the possibility that religious reasons may be used as a means of denying what we are and what we do. A person may seek supernatural explanations for his problems or his failures rather than examining himself and his circumstances. Psychiatrists would also consider it damaging for a religion to totally deny and suppress all expression of anger, sexuality, or aggression by labeling these as sins, rather than accepting them as inherent human attributes which must be expressed appropriately. Thus, the psychiatrist is concerned with the nature of the religious experience and what the patient does with it — not with the claim per se that it comes from God.

MORAL VALUES AND PSYCHOTHERAPY

The psychiatrist does not morally judge the patient. He does not attempt to assess blame, determine guilt, or forgive sins. He endeavors to get the patient to examine the nature and consequences of his own behavior and to make authentic decisions concerning his own life. The psychotherapist is concerned with the patient's own moral values. As much time and effort is expended in identifying and tracing the patient's values and their influence on his behavior as is expended in defining the patient's impulses. "It appears that a person's moral behavior is as much an essential part and distinctive sign of his personality as his character or his instinctual life."[4] Thus, one's beliefs and values are appropriate and necessary topics in psychotherapy; morals are analyzed as intensively as instincts. Through this process many contradictions within the patient's value system and between his standards and his behavior are resolved. "Psychoanalysis helps one realize more clearly and securely one's ideas and imperatives as an integral part of one's individual self."[5]

The capacity for personal moral integration — congruence between one's beliefs and behavior — requires a considerable degree of psychological strength.

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[4]*Psychoanalysis and Moral Values*, p. 53.
[5]*Psychoanalysis and Moral Values*, p. 41.

Before a person can act morally he needs sufficient dignity and self-love to recognize that he is a person of worth who possesses authentic personal values and feelings. For example, a young woman, despondent, lonely, and powerless, may seek solace through promiscuity. Willing to exchange her body for companionship, she scurries from one man to another trying to find warmth and comfort. Her inner feelings of worthlessness are intensified by her actions in a vicious circle. She feels more evil, has less self-esteem, and continues her frantic involvement to escape from these very feelings. Her moral values, previously guides to her behavior, now serve only to increase her self-destructive behavior. Since she feels she is evil and bad — a sinner — she will sin more.

Her behavior will not change until certain of the elements causing the behavior are altered. Her promiscuity is a way, though a maladaptive one, of attempting to relate and gain comfort from others. In the psychotherapy of such an individual, initial emphasis would be placed on helping the young woman to feel more accepting of herself and to gain a feeling of self worth in order that she might feel more confident in social relationships, and thus have the strength to make changes. Later, questions concerning the meaning of her behavior would be raised and explored. Did the young woman's action stem from lifelong feelings of inadequacy? Did it represent an attack on parents? Did it represent a form of self-destruction? Her examination of these and other questions, including her examination of her moral code, would facilitate the integration of her personality in a more mature and stable fashion. No longer would she be driven by psychological pressures. Conscious choices would be available, enabling her to have the opportunity to live less frantically and more productively.

PSYCHIATRIC VIEW OF THE GENESIS OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND EXPERIENCE

Psychiatry as a branch of medical science is committed to the scientific method of investigation and interpretation. Psychiatric and psychodynamic theory is based on empirical observation of thousands of people. In the formulation of theoretical explanation of human behavior, most psychiatrists accept the basic postulate of scientific naturalism, which states that phenomena can be explained on the basis of interacting physical mechanisms: There are physical causes for physical events. Psychiatry assumes there are physical and psychological causes for man's behavior. Thus, it would not be considered scientific to explain behavior phenomena by postulating the intervention of gods, angels, or demons, any more than it would be to explain chemical reactions on the basis of such causes.

Freud thought that personality could be explained as an organismic reaction to environmental and hereditary forces. To him the mind was a natural phenomenon; there was no dualism of body and spirit or of body and mind. Freud considered the basic sources of mental energy, the sexual and aggressive drives, to originate in the body as biological instincts for self-pres-

ervation and perpetuation. In this context, then, most psychiatrists do not attribute religious experience to the intervention of gods. They consider religious experience to have its roots in the natural environment.

Freudian psychoanalytic theory assumes that a person's belief in God grows out of his childhood faith in the "omnipotence" of his parents. The infant, initially, is unable to differentiate himself from his surroundings because of his immature perceptual and cognitive abilities. As a newborn, his basic needs and desires must be satisfied in the new environment. These needs include nurturance, physical contact, and stroking. When they are satisfied the infant experiences pleasure. A baby is usually able to gain this satisfaction by crying, which elicits the attention and care of his parents. Since his desires are met almost automatically or magically, he comes to believe that his own internal states, his discomfort or thought alone, are sufficient to satisfy his desires. The baby's false understanding of causality produces in him a feeling of omnipotence.

Later the child recognizes himself and the environment as separate, but maintains false explanations of causality, i.e., magical thinking. Initially, he felt omnipotent, but during the second and third years he finds that his world and his parents are not commanded by him; rather, he is ruled by them. During the "terrible two's," he struggles against the restrictions of his parents. He tests his powers against theirs. He discovers that he is dependent upon their higher power for satisfaction and for an explanation of causality. He explains what happens to him in terms of what his parents do. They become the magical source of causality in his world. The child's belief in total magic and total power does not diminish — he merely becomes convinced that he doesn't have this magic, but that his parents do. Thus, conceptually, the parents serve the same function to the child as the idea of God does to the adult; they explain causality and establish sanctions and rewards.

One of the most significant experiences in an individual's life occurs when the child realizes that his parents are not absolute; they are not omnipotent. The parents cannot do whatever they want to do, nor are they always right, and their actions alone do not explain or control the world. The foundation of the child's mental world is threatened. This realization produces anxiety, frustration, and insecurity. However, according to Freud, the child does not give up his belief in magic as a result of this confrontation; he merely transposes it. He continues to hold the idea that someone, somewhere, will be able to satisfy his desires and direct his life. He projects the ideas upward into a belief in heaven and God. This is a step similar to that which occurred when the child recognized that he wasn't all-powerful but maintained his belief in omnipotence by projecting this quality onto his parents. Thus, the stage is set for a belief in God.

> When the growing individual finds that he is destined to remain a child forever, that he can never do without protection against strange superior powers, he lends those powers the features belonging to the figure of his father; he creates for himself the gods whom he dreads, whom he seeks to propitiate, and whom he nevertheless intrusts with

> his protection. Thus his longing for a father is a motive identical with his need for protection against the consequences of his weakness. The defense against childish helplessness is what lends its characteristic features to the adult's reaction, to the helplessness which he has to acknowledge — a reaction which is precisely the formation of religion.[6]

The Mormon concept of God does fulfill the psychological expectations of Freud. God is indeed considered a father. We believe He has a material body similar to ours. He has sex. He is the procreator of our spirits. As a father He has given us a clearly defined moral and spiritual code. He is the administrator of justice, of rewards and punishments based on eternal laws. God is acknowledged as the Creator of Heaven and Earth, the organizer of matter. Mormons look to Him as a father for counsel, for protection, and for love.

Mormons disagree with the psychoanalytic explanation of the origin of religious belief. This difference follows because they reject the idea of total naturalism and believe in the actual existence of God. Mormon theology states that we know God because He exists and communicates with us. Psychoanalytic psychology states that God is a concept that arises out of man's wish for omnipotence and control — a concept to which is assigned the same power that a young child attributes to his parents. Mormons reply that the similarity between man's temporal father and his Heavenly Father is intentional. They believe in an eternal family having God at the head with individual family units linked in an everlasting chain. They believe that man has the capacity to become like God in knowledge, glory, and creativity. While psychoanalytic psychology considers faith to be a projection of man's wishes onto a concept of God, Mormonism considers faith to be an introjection by God into man.

Since patients frequently experience the therapist as a god-figure, the Mormon patient can, in the process of therapy, see what expectations and desires he brings not only to his relationship with men, but also to his encounter with God. A Mormon who seeks an answer from prayer optimally should know his own biases to be able to distinguish an answer generated by his own desires and anticipations from one which comes from above. He must be able to see past the screen of his own emotional vision. To be able to know God as He is, a man must first know himself.

Most Mormons base their belief in God and their testimonies of the gospel on their own spiritual experiences and those recorded by the prophets. A description of how this experience may occur was given to Oliver Cowdery:

> You must study it out in your mind; then you must ask me if it be right, and if it is right I will cause that your bosom shall burn within you; therefore, you shall feel that it is right. But, if it be not right you shall have a stupor of thought that shall cause you to forget the thing which is wrong.[7]

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[6]Sigmund Freud, "The Future of an Illusion" in *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 21 (Toronto: The Hogarth Press, Ltd., 1961), 31.

[7]Doctrine and Covenants, 9:89.

Joseph Smith was told:

> I shall impart unto you my spirit, which shall enlighten your mind. Which shall fill your soul with joy. And then shall ye know or by this shall you know, all things whatsoever you desire of me.[8]

Most psychiatrists would agree that such spiritual experience is genuine in itself and important to man — a natural response arising from within, growing out of harmony of intellect and emotion. It may provide resolution of difficult problems and the strength necessary for execution of difficult tasks. It can be a source of increased commitment and of definition of self. It may contribute to a feeling of peace, self-acceptance, and personal fulfillment. Thus, Mormons and psychiatrists agree that honest prayer in which a man examines himself and weighs his standards and actions is of great personal value. However, the psychiatrist sees prayer and meditation as an internal means to self-knowledge, integration, and commitment, while the Mormon views it as communion with the Divine.

Psychoanalytic theory cannot disprove the concept of God; it merely explains the concept psychologically rather than theologically. Psychiatry is not concerned with whether or not an individual's religious belief is true in an ultimate sense, but it is concerned with what belief means to the individual and how it can affect his thoughts and actions.

PSYCHOLOGICAL STRENGTHS AND STRESSES OF MORMONISM

His religion offers the Mormon both psychological strengths and stresses. The Mormon concept of man may provide the Mormon with a basis for self-love, dignity, and confidence. Mormon theology offers a context of meaning for life and thought. It suggests an optimistic framework in which to answer such questions as "What is man?" "How does this life, my life, relate to the eternities?" Mormons believe that man is a "God in embryo." They believe each man possesses an eternal Bill of Rights, guaranteeing his free agency and ensuring his individual identity, and that through exercise of his agency each man determines his ultimate destiny. Belief that God is just provides assurance to Mormons that the inequities of this life will be rectified; righteousness will be rewarded; suffering "shall give thee experience and be for thy good."[9] His religion helps him to integrate his behavior into a constructive system of moral values. Faith in the ultimate significance of this life decreases the Mormon's susceptibility to nihilism and existential despair. Belief in the literal divinity of Jesus Christ gives him confidence that after death he will return home, a resurrected being to be reunited with his family and his God. His religion is the vehicle for harmony between his inner and outer worlds, between his life and eternity.

"Men are that they might have joy," said an ancient Book of Mormon prophet. The Church endeavors to promote this joy through social compan-

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[8]Doctrine and Covenants, 11:13.

[9]Doctrine and Covenants, 122:7.

ionship and personal development, as well as through spiritual theology. For many Mormons the church community forms a nucleus of intimate friends bound together by common values and standards of conduct. For them the Church is a second home; it is a sanctuary from the competition and pressures of the world. Association in the Church may help the Mormon patient overcome feelings of alienation and loneliness. It may give him a sense of belonging, a sense of duty, and a sense of security. He knows that if he faces economic, personal, or moral problems, Church members will support him through the welfare program, the auxiliary organizations, or private counseling with the bishop. Church activities may help a Mormon youth define and do those things which give personal meaning to his life, and if he continues to participate in the form of life provided by the Church, he may marry in a Mormon temple and find that the Church forms a core of cohesiveness and unity for his own family.

While a Mormon may benefit from contributions of his faith, he may also feel that his Church affiliation has been a source of anxiety and concern. Church assignments, though not intended to, may become so demanding of the member's time that he has little time left for himself, for reflection, study, and relaxation. He may feel that his Church assignments fulfill the needs of the ward better than his own and actually give him little personal satisfaction. Most Church leaders are aware of these problems; yet many members become inactive because they "burn themselves out" with too much activity. Bishops, for example are called on to administer to the spiritual, psychological, and pragmatic needs of ward members. High expectations are placed on them as leaders, counsellors, speakers, and friends. They may at times feel obligated to live an unreal role in which they are supposed to never get angry, never question a doctrine or program of the Church, and never have personal problems. In many circumstances they are not at liberty to express personal opinions, only to represent the Church, and these and other frustrations may become sources of stress.

The standards of the Church are often in conflict with the community norms outside and the passions within. This stress is known to the convert who craves just one more cigarette or a single glass of forsaken sherry. It is experienced repeatedly by the teenager who is encouraged to attend weekly dances and yet is told he must ignore the sexual passions that develop within him. He wants to know if his fantasies concerning sex are true and at the same time may feel guilt over experiencing them. He is told that masturbation is wrong and shameful, but is not told what he can do to reduce the sexual desires that are so real to him.

The businessman who is dedicated to earning money for his company and himself may find conflict when trying to compete in a society that is sometimes ruthless, while he attempts to maintain the integrity of his personal standards. His desires for material prosperity may conflict with the values he accepts in his religion and it may be painful for him to contribute ten percent of his income to the Church.

The intellectual often feels alienated from the church of his youth. It

may be difficult for him to find people who are able to discuss their beliefs outside of the context and vocabulary of fundamentalism. He may be considered anathema if he attempts to place his theology in the comparative context of a philosophy. His own specialized knowledge or training may stand in conflict with popular Mormon thinking. His educated opinions on evolution, birth control, politics, or social justice may be interpreted as heresy even if the Church takes no official stand on these issues.

The intellectual must make a spiritual as well as a social adjustment. He must make a commitment to Christ, and this commitment must encompass both thought and action. He must accept revelation. He must be willing to accept as revealed truth doctrine which may contradict his own rational, this-world judgment. Such is the final justification for the practice of polygamy or the restriction of the priesthood from members of the Negro race. He is asked to humbly seek the guidance of an inner, all too still and small voice. He may be told to put away pride, and education, and reason in order to know God for himself.

These then are sources of stress. They may threaten mental health. They may contribute to inactivity. However, to the Latter-day Saint who believes that this earthly experience is designed as a training ground for future gods, they are intentional and essential. Mormonism provides a goal as well as a task.

It has ever been my study to understand myself, for by so doing I can understand my neighbors.

Brigham Young (1856)
J. Discourses 3:245.

B. H. ROBERTS AS HISTORIAN

Davis Bitton

If the Mormon community has today an informative record of its past, much credit must be given to B. H. Roberts. Davis Bitton, Associate Professor of History at the University of Utah, who has published both European and Mormon history, assesses the work of Roberts from the point of view of the professional historian.

I

In 1930, when B. H. Roberts published his six-volume *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* learned journals were silent. But he himself, with pardonable pride, had described his work as "monumental." One Mormon, answering Bernard De Voto's contemptuous description of Utah as an intellectual desert, hailed Roberts as "another Gibbon."[1] Although hyperbolic, the favorable judgment was in general well deserved. Not only was the *Comprehensive History of the Church* (hereafter referred to as the *CHC*) far superior to any history of Mormonism which had yet appeared; even today it is a work which no serious student of the subject can afford to ignore. Nevertheless, the work did have some flaws, and Roberts had his limitations as an historian. It is the purpose of the present essay to examine his historical writings, making some judgments on their quality and hopefully arriving at a just estimate of his place in the development of Mormon historiography.

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[1]*Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1930), VI, 550–51. J. R. Paul's response to De Voto is in the *Improvement Era,* XXXIV (March, 1931), 253.

It should be acknowledged at the outset that Roberts was far more than an historian. Newspaper editor, mission president, a member of the Church's First Council of Seventy, politician, chaplain in the Army during World War I, spokesman for the Church in many debates and conferences, Roberts was a Renaissance man born out of due time. He wrote furiously throughout his adult life — editorials, lesson manuals, theology, and even some history in areas where he made no claim to original scholarship.[2] But with all of these we are not here concerned. It is his writings on the Mormon past which we must examine in considering Roberts *qua* historian.

Roberts' writing on Mormon history began long before 1930. As early as 1886 he was publishing a series on the "Missouri Persecutions" and another on "The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo." In 1892 appeared his *Life of John Taylor*, a biography of the third president of the Church. In 1900 his earlier articles were revised and published as two books, *The Missouri Persecutions* and *The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo*.[3] Soon afterward he was appointed Assistant Church Historian and in 1902 began the publication of Joseph Smith's so-called documentary history. Not to be confused with the *CHC*, this seven-volume work (sometimes abbreviated as *DHC*) was primarily a collection of documents centering around the journal of Joseph Smith. As editor, Roberts added critical notes, other pertinent documents, and extensive introductions which were in fact bold interpretive essays summing up the period covered in each volume. He was therefore well prepared, even aside from his polemical and apologetic works (some of which had led him to further research into historical problems), when in 1909 he launched his general history of the Church as a series in *Americana*, a monthly periodical published by the American Historical Society. A small monograph on *The Mormon Battalion* appeared in 1919. Finally, in 1930, the *Americana* series was revised, expanded, and published as the *CHC*.[4]

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[2]For example, his *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History* (Salt Lake City, 1893; 2nd ed., 1895; 3rd ed., 1902). Judged as a lesson manual intended to substantiate the Mormon view of a "great apostasy," this work has much to recommend it. It referred frequently to such historians as Josephus, Eusebius, Mosheim, Gibbon, and Milner. It tried to encourage serious study of the subject by men in the Melchizedek Priesthood quorums of the Church. But it is frequently historically naïve and at times simply inaccurate, as, for example, on pp. 221–41. The same is true of the highly tendentious *The Falling Away* (Salt Lake City, 1931). Since these are not works of serious scholarship — Roberts lacked the necessary language skills, for one thing — they will be ignored in the present essay. Also ignored will be the following works dealing with different aspects of Mormon history and theology, for they are primarily works of polemic: *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1907–12); *New Witnesses for God*, 3 vols. (1909–11); and *Succession in the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1894).

[3]"The Missouri Persecutions," *The Contributor*, VII (1886); "The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo," *The Contributor*, VIII (1887); *The Life of John Taylor* (Salt Lake City, 1892); *The Missouri Persecutions* (Salt Lake City, 1900); *The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City, 1900).

[4]Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols., B. H. Roberts, ed. (Salt Lake City, 1902–12, 1932); "History of The Mormon Church," *Americana* (New York), 1909–15; *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1930).

Almost as if they were part of a carefully devised research strategy, his earlier works allowed Roberts to become familiar with the sources, write up his history, and then improve it in later editions or new combinations. The following table, listing these works in chronological order of their appearance, shows how frequently he had the opportunity to revise or expand upon his earlier treatments.

	1805–1830	1830–1848	1848–1887	1887–1915	1915–1930
"Persecutions" (1886)		X			
"Nauvoo" (1886)		X			
John Taylor (1892)	X	X	X		
Persecutions (1900)		X			
Nauvoo (1900)		X			
DHC (1902–12)	X	X			
"History of Mormon Church" (1909–15)	X	X	X	X	
Battalion (1919)		X			
CHC (1930)	X	X	X	X	X

It is clear that the early history of the Church, before the exodus to the Great Basin, was treated most frequently. Even excluding "partial" treatments, the *CHC* as published in 1930 represented for this early period the culmination of some five successive renditions. Although the period of Utah history prior to 1887 did not benefit from this backlog of previously published work, the biography of John Taylor served admirably to introduce Roberts to the specific problems of that age. The period from 1887 to 1915 was virgin soil when he wrote on it for the *Americana* series, but he had the opportunity for revision before the *CHC* appeared, which was not true of the chapters on 1915–1930. In any event, at least the first five volumes of the *CHC* must be regarded not as a fresh treatment of Mormon history but as the culmination of successive efforts, allowing for tinkering, amplifying, clarification, and general revision.

Roberts had a strongly personal style of writing. It must be recognized that his work contains punctuation peccadillos, unhappy images, and even errors of grammar.[5] His tendency to wax poetic when treating an emotionally charged incident is often carried too far. He was capable of producing paragraphs of hackneyed description:

> The spring of 1833 opened early in western Missouri. The streams, which had been so long locked up in ice, broke loose under the genial rays of the returning sun, and rushed madly on to swell the majestic current of the Missouri. The winter snows early melted before the balmy breath of spring, and grass and flowers in rich profusion and of

[5]By way of example, see the impossible sentence structure (I, xlvii); faulty diction (VII, 11); unhappy imagery (I, 48); and the following slight distortion of foreign words and phrases: "en report" (I, 78); "increscendo" (II, xxiii); "en mass" (II, 159); "en march" (V, 113). Also: "Being unable to resist them, they beat him unmercifully. . . ," *The Missouri Persecutions* (1900), p. 97.

> varied hue clothed the great rolling prairies of the west in their loveliest attire. The forests along the water courses put forth their tender buds, and the birds that had migrated to the south in the autumn, to escape the severity of the winter, joyfully returned to build their nests in the same old woods, and make the wilderness glad with their sweet songs. All nature rejoiced, and the saints who had gathered to that land to build up Zion rejoiced with her.[6]

Unhappily, this is not the only sentimental and cliché-ridden passage in Roberts' historical writings.[7]

But in his favor it should be said that his very involvement with his subject often enhanced interest. One example among many memorable passages is the following description of "The Mob Tragedy on Cane Creek":

> By ten o'clock a number of people had gathered at the Condor residence where three of the elders had arrived earlier in the morning, Gibbs, Berry, and Thompson; Elder Jones who had lingered at the home of Mr. Thomas Garrett to read Utah papers, as he drew near the Condor residence was seized by a mob of twelve or fourteen masked men who held him prisoner, and made inquiry as to the whereabouts of the other elders.
>
> A number of the gathering congregation were loitering about the gate and doorway of the house, and some were in the orchards at the rear of the house, when the mob from ambush rushed upon the Condor home. At the gate the mob seized the older Condor and held him fast, but not before he had shouted to James R. Hudson, his wife's son by a former husband, and his own son, Martin, to get their guns and resist the attack. The two young men made a dash for the house. Young Hudson had to go to the attic of the house for his gun, which he, that morning, had loaded at the request of his mother in anticipation of trouble. Martin's gun was suspended in deer horns over the back door of the living room, where the morning's religious services were to be held. As Martin entered the door the leader of the mob was taking down this gun, and a short, fierce struggle ensued for possession of it, during which young Martin Condor was shot down by others, and the mobber, turning the gun upon Elder Gibbs, who was in the act — *Bible* in hand — of seeking a text for the pending morning service — shot him, and the elder sank to the floor a dead man.
>
> Meantime other bloody work had been going on. Many guns had been fired. One aimed at Elder Thompson, Elder Berry seized and pushed aside, enabling Thompson to escape from the back door through the orchard and to the woods, but at the instant he had saved Thompson's life Berry himself fell riddled with bullets. The mobber who had shot down Elder Gibbs had just stepped from the front door of the house when young Hudson came from the attic, gun in hand. Two men seized him at the foot of the rude stairway, but flinging them off, he rushed to the door and shot the murderer of Elder Gibbs, killing him instantly. . . . Then pandemonium reigned. Young Hudson

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[6]*The Missouri Persecutions*, p. 69.

[7]Other examples are found in *The Missouri Persecutions*, pp. 22, 69, 132, 171–72, 188–89; and in the *CHC*, I, 19n., 48; V, 112–13.

> was fired upon and fatally wounded — he died within an hour; the mob yelling for vengeance for the killing of their leader, rushed to the open windows and fired promiscuously into the house, savagely wounding Mrs. Condor in the hip, from which to the time of her death she remained a cripple; but most of the shots thus fired riddled the bodies of the dead elders upon the floor. This done the mob took their dead leader and departed.[8]

This incident occurred in 1884, when Roberts was an assistant mission president in the Southern States, and he personally arrived on the scene six days later, at considerable danger to himself, in order to disinter the bodies of the elders and send them to their families. Such involvement did not make for objectivity, perhaps, but it did help to assure that he was not guilty of the insipid journalese too often encountered in current scholarship.

Some of the characteristic features of his style can be understood, I believe, if we remember (a) that he once had hopes of becoming known as a writer of imaginative fiction; (b) that his experience as a newspaper editor and writer of tracts helped to develop fluency — or, as some would say, glibness — and the ability to argue a strong point of view; (c) that the writers he was fond of included Gibbon, Fiske, and Thomas Carlyle; and (d) that he became known very early as an eloquent orator and continued throughout his adult life to practice and develop the skills of platform speaking.[9]

But a vivid style, however desirable, is not in itself sufficient. To evaluate Roberts as an historian we must also consider such lowly matters as his familiarity with sources. He had, in fact, read widely in both the secondary literature and primary sources. The *CHC* contains no bibliography as such, but its footnotes do indicate Roberts' familiarity with the major secondary works. Remembering that scholarly study of the Mormons had produced few works of real quality, we are reassured to discover frequent references to Tullidge, Whitney, Stenhouse, Waite, Beadle, Linn, and Riley.[10] Given the highly biased nature of some of these works, it would have been folly for Roberts to accept them uncritically. This he did not do. Nor did he confine his reading to Mormon works. Particularly valuable to him was H. H. Bancroft's *History of Utah*, a veritable mine of information.[11] He also used to

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[8]*CHC*, VI, 90–92. For a firsthand account written soon after the event, see B. H. Roberts, "The Tennessee Massacre," *The Contributor*, VI, No. 1 (October, 1884), pp. 16–23.

[9]See Eric George Stephan, "B. H. Roberts: A Rhetorical Study" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Utah, 1966); and Ralph Wayne Pace, "A Study of the Speaking of B. H. Roberts, Utah's Blacksmith Orator" (unpublished master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1957).

[10]Of these, the most recent works, which Roberts often used as a foil, were Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons* (New York, 1902); and I. Woodbridge Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism* (New York, 1902). He also used such older works as Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism* (New York, 1867); E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unvailed* (1834); and Lucy Mack Smith, *History of the Prophet Joseph* (Salt Lake City, 1902). On the original publication, suppression, and revision of this work by Joseph Smith's mother, see *CHC*, I, 14n.

[11]Bancroft's work has been accused of being pro-Mormon. It is true that the Church cooperated with Bancroft by supplying materials, and Franklin D. Richards may even have written portions of it. It is not entirely laudatory, however, especially in the footnotes. More

good advantage some of the state and county histories which appeared during the second half of the nineteenth century.[12] Although he may not have read the entire mass of published material on the Mormons, he did his homework sufficiently well to avoid the charge of having overlooked any basic scholarly study relevant to his subject. At least this was true in 1909, when he began the serial publication of his general history.

He also made extensive use of primary sources. Some of these are published — early Mormon periodicals, the sermons collected in the *Journal of Discourses,* eyewitness accounts published several years after the events described, and government documents. He also used unpublished sources. The "History of Brigham Young," a vast compilation of letters and papers located in the Church Historian's Office, was frequently cited, as was the important unpublished diary of Wilford Woodruff. It should be noted, however, that many such sources remained untapped. Other Mormon authorities kept diaries, including men of the second rank. So also did some of the key Gentiles. Assuming that he had access to the vaults of the Church Historian's Office, one can only regret that he did not make more extensive use of such materials. Recognizing that he did indeed utilize several basic manuscript sources, we are nevertheless not entitled to regard Roberts' work as an "exhaustive" exploitation of unpublished materials.

In discussing his use of primary sources we must here say something about his edition of Joseph Smith's documentary *History of the Church* (the *DHC*). Although Roberts wrote a substantial introduction to each of its seven volumes, the primary purpose of the *DHC* was to make available the basic documents of Mormon history before 1847. Unfortunately the work has evoked serious strictures. To be sure, the multi-volume *DHC* is an immensely useful tool for anyone studying the early history of Mormonism. Not only does it contain numerous "journal" entries of Joseph Smith, it also brings together hundreds of newspaper editorials, sermons, and letters, not to speak of the primary material added by Roberts in the notes. What, then, is the problem? Why cannot the *DHC* be put forth proudly as an example of Roberts' historical scholarship?

To answer this question we must recall that Joseph Smith's *History* had been published, in whole or in part, three times before. In the 1840's the *Times and Seasons* had published part of it; it was also published serially by the *Millennial Star* and the *Deseret News.*[13] Since it was inconveniently scattered in these periodicals, which were virtually unobtainable at the end of the century, the idea of publishing the entire work in a new critical edition was an excellent one. But to achieve its purpose such a work should have been scrupulously accurate. It should have gone back to the original manuscript

important, through it Roberts could find his way to hundreds of titles on the subject, for it was an excellent bibliographical aid.

[12]Already, in his study of *The Missouri Persecutions,* he had included substantial excerpts from state and county histories, many of which were published during the 1880's by the Union Historical Company.

[13]See *Times and Seasons,* Vols. III–VI (1842–46); *The Millennial Star,* Vols. III–V (1842–1844), XIV–XXV (1952–63); and the *Deseret News,* Vols. II–VII (1851–1858).

copy whenever possible, making "corrections" or comments in footnotes, where they would clearly be the responsibility of the editor. Variant readings should have been noted in the same way. Admittedly, such a procedure would have required organization, infinite care, and several years of time, but the results — as witness the monumental edition of the Jefferson papers now being published — would have allowed later historians to use the compilation with confidence.

Measured against such a standard the *DHC* does not come off well. It does contain some editorial annotation, some comparing of different sources. But the basic text itself has not been treated with proper respect. When we compare the *DHC* with the earlier published versions, in fact, we discover that hundreds of changes have been made. These include deletions, additions, and simple changes of wording. A few examples follow:

> . . . I saw two personages, and they did in reality speak unto me, *or one of them did* [phrase omitted in the *DHC*]; . . .
>
> . . . I frequently fell into many foolish errors and displayed the weakness of youth and the *corruption* [changed to "foibles"] of human nature, which I am sorry to say led me into divers temptations, *to the gratification of many appetites* [phrase omitted] offensive in the sight of God.
>
> Preached on the hill near the Temple, concerning the building of the Temple, *and pronounced a curse on* [changed to "reproved"] the merchants and the rich, who would not assist in building it.
>
> Had a visit from *old Mr. Murdoch* [changed to "Mr. Joseph Murdock, Sen."] and lady. . .
>
> Learned men can *learn* [changed to "teach"] you no more than what I have told you.[14]

Many of these changes may appear insignificant. Others are of obvious importance for the historian interested in factual accuracy. Consider, for example, the following:

> [Nauvoo] now contains near *1,500* [changed to "3,500"] houses, and more than 15,000 inhabitants.
>
> Attended to *business* [changed to "baptism"] in general. . .
>
> It was reported to me that some of the brethren had been drinking whiskey that day in violation of the Word of Wisdom.
>
> I called the brethren in and investigated the case, and was satisfied that no evil had been done, *and gave them a couple of dollars, with directions to replenish the bottle to stimulate them in the fatigues of their sleepless journey* [italicized phrases omitted in the *DHC*].[15]

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[14]Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Changes in Joseph Smith's History* (Salt Lake City, n.d.), pp. 11, 12, 56, 61, 79.

[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 55, 68, 72. Although I have referred to this recent work for convenience, it should be noted that early in the century the unreliability of the *DHC* was the subject of a perceptive review by the Reorganized Church historian H. H. Smith, "Proper and Improper Use of History," *Journal of History*, II (1909), 78–88.

True, Roberts was not himself the originator of all the changes in the text; some of the "corrections" may well have been the work of Joseph Smith himself, and others were quite clearly the work of clerks and appointed "historians" who began the rewriting of Mormon history long before Roberts appeared on the scene.[16] But whether he was hindered by censorship, by the lack of time, or by lack of familiarity with editorial standards, he did allow his name to be used on the title page. And he would not, I think, be proud of the fact that for researchers in early Mormon history Rule Number One is "Do not rely on the *DHC*; never use a quotation from it without comparing the earlier versions."[17]

II

Awareness of such editorial tampering cannot help but arouse the suspicion that all of Roberts' historical writing was special pleading. Aware of the pitfalls of bias, he stated his own position in the preface to Volume One of the *CHC*. "Frankly," he said, "this *History* is pro-Church of the Latter-day Saints." He hastened to add, however, that he did not intend to follow the example of Eusebius, who had ignored "those things disadvantageous to the Christian cause, and dwell upon those only which glorify it. This results in special pleading, not history." Nor did he wish to emulate Milner, who had chosen to concentrate on the lives of saintly persons. For Roberts, such writing was "not 'church history' but merely a history of piety within the church."[18]

He likewise assured his readers that he did not regard the early Mormon leaders as faultless or infallible; ". . . rather they are treated as men of like passions with their fellow men." If they possessed divine authority, "they carried it in earthen vessels; and that earthliness, with their human limitations, was plainly manifested on many occasions and in various ways, both in personal conduct and in collective deportment." Only "when they spoke and acted as prompted by the inspiration of God" — and clearly for Roberts this was not always — did they express the word and will of God. Yet while recognizing their human frailties, Roberts did not wish to imply "too great censure upon the leading men of the New Dispensation." His explanation may not seem overly enthusiastic:

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[16]For examples of the "doctoring" of documents long before Roberts worked on the *DHC*, see *ibid.*, pp. 4–5, 12, and *passim*. The whole subject — particularly the activity of Church historians Willard Richards, George A. Smith, and Franklin D. Richards — deserves thorough study.

[17]See also LaMar Petersen, *Problems in Mormon Text* (Salt Lake City, 1957). One reader feels that Roberts should not be blamed, for "Heber J. Grant, Lorenzo Snow and others would not let him reproduce things accurately." One could wish to know about the workings of the Historian's Office and of the changes demanded by "reading committees." Still, we are considering Roberts' published historical work, not what it might have been under other circumstances.

[18]*CHC*, I, vii.

> While many of them fell into grievous sins, and all of them at times plainly manifested errors of judgment and limitations in their conceptions of the greatness and grandeur of the work in which they were engaged, yet doubtless they were the best men to be had for the work. . . .[19]

But the reader is not allowed to forget that for Roberts these men did possess divine authority and did act, if only "on occasion," under the inspiration of God. He did not wish to "destroy faith" in them or in their work.[20]

To avoid undermining faith and at the same time to be "historically exact" was, as Roberts acknowledged, a "task of supreme delicacy." Recognizing the difficulty, especially when dealing with opposing evidence or when describing untoward behavior of the early Mormons, he sought (a) to omit no "essential events" because they "might be considered detrimental," (b) to give evidence favorable to the Church in the text while adding any *per contra* evidence either "in modification of the text, or . . . in full in the footnotes," and (c) "where clearly reprehensible measures and policies have been adopted" — he does not say whether by Mormons or non-Mormons — to consider them "with the freedom that true historical writing must ever exercise."[21] Obviously he hoped to avoid both cynical materialism and saccharine faith-promoting stories.

Avoiding the extreme of credulous ancestor-worship was the more difficult challenge. Roberts, after all, was not a cloistered scholar writing for an audience of professional colleagues. He was one of the General Authorities of the Church. He attended frequent meetings with these Authorities. Some of them — George Q. Cannon, Franklin D. Richards, Orson F. Whitney, Joseph Fielding Smith — had also written on Mormon history, but their works were varied in quality and tended to be uncritical. Since Roberts had already acquired a reputation for outspokenness, for being somewhat of a political maverick, and perhaps (according to some) of "not hearkening to counsel" during the 1895 campaign, it would be easy to see his history, if he referred to Mormon failings and mistakes, as further evidence of disloyalty.[22] Such suspicions must not be exaggerated, for he was popular among the Saints and had unimpeachable credentials of service to the Church. He had published several works on Mormon history before the *CHC*, as we have noted, and he was affiliated with the Church Historian's office.

In such an atmosphere Roberts steadfastly insisted upon recognizing that Mormon history must admit the faults and foibles of the Saints. The Missouri persecutions, for example, he described as due in part to the untactful behavior of some Mormons. There was "something very irritating" in the claim to exclusive divine authorization, and their message was sometimes de-

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[19]*CHC*, I, ix.

[20]*CHC*, I, viii.

[21]*CHC*, I, viii.

[22]The political controversy of 1895–96 is briefly described in the *CHC*, VI, 329–37. The atmosphere is more fully recaptured in S. S. Ivins, "The Moses Thatcher Case" (mimeographed; also published by Modern Microfilms Co., Salt Lake City, Utah).

livered "without due regard to the feelings of those to whom it was addressed." The anti-Mormon sentiment of the old settlers becomes partially understandable as a reaction to the boastful assertions of "certain over-zealous church members" who "may have said that the Lord would yet give them the land of Missouri for their inheritance."[23]

In describing the later opposition to the Saints in Illinois, Roberts again admitted that the Saints were sometimes unwise or indiscreet. He condemned several "unreasonable petitions and actions" of the Nauvoo municipal government.[24] Even more emphatically, he deplored the destruction of the *Expositor* press, the "official" action which triggered the events leading to the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in 1844: "It may not be denied that the procedure of the city council in destroying the *Expositor* was irregular; and the attempt at legal justification is not convincing."[25] The martyrdom itself he described in detail, relying on the testimony of witnesses. But the stories of heavenly manifestations which were part of the lore in many Mormon homes he rejected as "wholly apocryphal" because they rested on the testimony of "questionable witnesses."[26]

In pausing to evaluate Joseph Smith, Roberts did not want to be guilty of "unreasoning adulation." Smith's character was not without flaw, for "it is not given to mortal man to live an utterly blameless life nor stand forth before his fellows a character perfect throughout." Among Joseph Smith's "limitations" were a tendency to be "over persuaded by men," a "too fierce disposition to give way to reckless denunciation," levity, and a tendency to "autocracy."[27] Roberts was quite willing to concede that the Prophet carried divine authority in an "earthen vessel."

The period between the death of Joseph Smith in 1844 and the arrival of the first pioneer company in the Salt Lake valley in July 1847 Roberts described in a valuable, detailed account. Certain myths dear to Mormons he found wanting in historical accuracy. The planning of the westward migration, the choice of a settlement site, the recruiting of the Mormon battalion at the request of Church leaders, the petty squabbles of life in the wagon trains — these and other topics were treated briskly and forthrightly even at the risk of offending Mormons who clung to the old stories as cherished parts of their religion.[28]

Another sensitive episode was the Mountain Meadows massacre of 1857. For Roberts it was "the most difficult of all the many subjects with which he has had to deal in this *History*." He retraced the background, noting the atmosphere of imminent military invasion, the provocations charged to the Fancher train, the difficulty of restraining the Indians, and the inadequacy of

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[23]*CHC*, I, 323, 328.

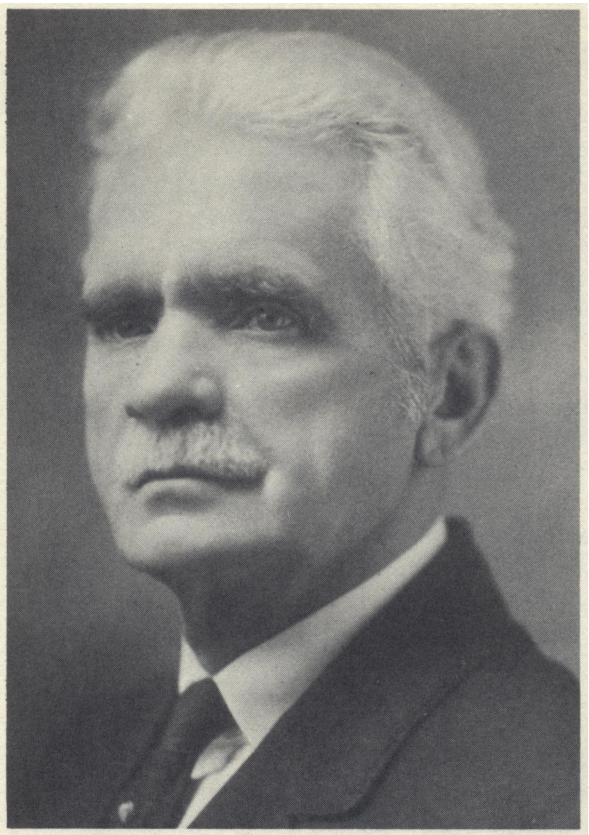
[24]*CHC*, II, 199.

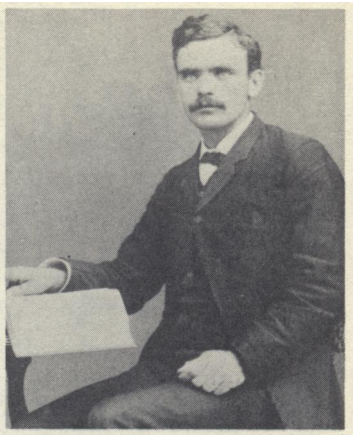
[25]*CHC*, II, 232–33.

[26]*CHC*, II, 332–34.

[27]*CHC*, II, 358–60.

[28]See, for example, *CHC*, III, chapters 74–75, 80, 82.





Above: *B. H. Roberts as pictured at various times in his life from (top right) as a young man to (left) in his latter years.*

Right: *This is apparently a photo of Roberts in disguise when, as assistant president of the Southern States Mission, he "... went with three others to the place of burial, disinterred the bodies of the elders, and sent them to their families in Utah . . ." (See footnote 49).*

communications between Southern Utah and Salt Lake City. But he did not excuse the massacre: "The conception was diabolical; the execution of it horrible; and the responsibility for both must rest upon those who conceived and executed it. . . ." If he did attempt to exculpate Brigham Young, he criticized Young's handling of the affair. And although he may have assigned too much of the guilt to John D. Lee, Roberts recognized that more than a few Mormons, including some Church leaders of local prominence, were implicated in the "diabolical, sanguinary deed."[29]

It is apparent that Roberts was willing, at least sometimes, to portray the early Mormons, "warts and all." He seemed willing to consider documents which blurred the nursery version of Mormon history. To a moderate degree he was a "debunker," attempting to portray the complexity of history and to separate fact from myth. Seen against the background of Mormon historiography, official or semi-official, and of Roberts' delicate position as a Church Authority, the *CHC* was a signal accomplishment.

But his success in providing a fair, balanced account was only partial. In treating the Missouri period, for example, he described the Missourians, the "old settlers," as having "no disposition to beautify their homes, or even to make them convenient or comfortable." They were "uneducated." They had "an utter contempt for the refinements of life." They were "narrow-minded, ferocious, and jealous of those who sought to obtain better homes." Many were outlaws, "outcasts," or "lovers of office." Their life was one of "Sabbath-breaking, profanity, horse-racing, idleness and . . . all too prevalent drunkenness."[30] By contrast, the Saints "had been commanded to keep the Sabbath day holy, to keep themselves unspotted from the sins of the world." Roberts was obviously anxious to vindicate the position of the Saints. The specific charges made by the Missourians in 1833 — some of which appear plausible enough to require serious discussion — he rejects out of hand as "utterly without foundation in truth."[31] This may not be the oversimplified history of the Sunday School manuals. It is full of detail, human interest, and documentation. But it is, to say the least, *histoire engagée*. Not that uncritical acceptance of the anti-Mormon claims would of itself create a more accurate or more balanced general impression.[32] It is simply necessary to recognize that Roberts spoke quite consistently from a certain point of view. To describe the Missourians as a "mob" of "fiends incarnate" who were guilty of "inhuman cruelties," which they inflicted on the Saints with "inhuman yells," "wicked oaths," and "brutal imprecations," is not neutral reporting.[33]

It begins to be apparent that, for all of his fine words about recognizing human frailties among the Mormons, Roberts saw the events of the past with

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[29]*CHC*, IV, 139, 156, 179. The phrase "relentless, diabolical, sanguinary deed," quoted by Roberts with approval, was John Taylor's.

[30]*CHC*, I, 321–22.

[31]*CHC*, I, 330.

[32]The problem of bias in historical writing is a difficult one. For a thoughtful discussion of one aspect of it, see Dom David Knowles, "The Historian and Character," in *The Historian and Character and Other Essays* (Cambridge University Press, 1964).

[33]*CHC*, I, 332–33.

a consistent two-valued orientation. As good an example as any, perhaps, is his description of the motivation behind the anti-polygamy crusade. The problem was difficult to handle, obviously, but we would nowadays tend to see obfuscation and self-justification on both sides. For Roberts it was quite simply a conflict between a sincere desire for self-government by the Mormons and a crass desire for political control by the "crusaders."[34] Not a word about minority rights, or about the tradition of political unity among the Saints, or about Church "influence" over the state. The whole "attack" was adequately explained, apparently, by the hypocrisy, perfidy, and covetousness of the Gentiles.[35] Roberts did try to recognize complexities. He denounced the "execrable" outrage committed by some young Mormons when they threw "filth pots" into the homes of three Gentile officials.[36] At another point he recognized that the "anti-Mormons" were only a minority of the "non-Mormons."[37] But there is no mistaking his general tendency to simplify the issues in terms of "good" and "bad."

A brief examination of affective adjectives and phrases should demonstrate the point. Judge Zane was "spiteful" and guilty of "prejudice, vindictiveness," and "unnecessary harshness."[38] The magazine articles about the Mormons were "personal and bitter," "viciously illustrated," and were full of "vituperation and venom," "vituperative epithets," and "vicious misrepresentation."[39] The Liberal Party was "bitter in its denunciations."[40] The American Party, using "sensational and unscrupulous" means, was guilty of "hysteria and extravagant verbiage."[41] Watterson was full of "bitter anti-Mormon prejudices," Haskel "spoke most bitterly," and the *Salt Lake Tribune* perpetrated "abuse" and "injustice." The *Tribune*, needless to say, was also "bitter."[42]

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[34]*CHC*, VI, 133–41.

[35]*CHC*, VI, 133–41, 144.

[36]*CHC*, VI, 157–58.

[37]*CHC*, VI, 140.

[38]*CHC*, VI, 177–78.

[39]*CHC*, VI, 414–19.

[40]*CHC*, VI, 1.

[41]*CHC*, VI, 410–11.

[42]*CHC*, VI, 11, 25, 36, 61. In view of Roberts' fondness for the word "bitter" in describing opponents of Mormonism, one cannot help being amused at the following exchange during his testimony as a witness during the Smoot hearings. The subject being discussed was the Utah Democratic convention of 1895.

Mr. TAYLER. You were in that convention?

Mr. ROBERTS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAYLER. Did you speak in it?

Mr. ROBERTS. I think I did.

Mr. TAYLER. In that connection and through that campaign you, in very bitter terms, inveighed against this intrusion of the church into politics?

Mr. ROBERTS. No sir. I should like to disclaim any bitterness in the matter.

Mr. TAYLER. I do not want to characterize improperly the language that you used — vigorously and most earnestly then?

Mr. ROBERTS. Yes.

Mr. TAYLER. So vigorously and so earnestly that the higher authorities of

In contrast to the bitter fiends incarnate who opposed Mormonism were the Mormon prophets. These, in truth, were Roberts' heroes. John Taylor, for example, was described as

> . . . nearly six feet in height and of fine proportion, that combination which gives activity and strength. His head was large, the face oval and the features large, strong and finely chiseled. The forehead was high and massive, the eyes gray, deep set, and of a mild, kindly expression, except when aroused, and then they were capable of reflecting all the feelings that moved his soul, whether of indignation, scorn or contempt. The nose was straight and well formed, the mouth expressive of firmness, the chin powerful and well rounded.

Taylor's manner was described as ". . . ever affable and polite, easy and gracious, yet princely in dignity. There was no affection in his deportment, no stiffness; his dignity was that with which nature clothes her noblest sons."[43]

President Lorenzo Snow was another leader for whom Roberts had enormous admiration:

> In person President Snow was of spare build, but well formed, and in manners elegant, refined, and gentle; persuasive, but forceful; and it was said of him that he could say and do the hardest things in the gentlest, quietest manner possible to man. His appearance would indicate to the casual observer, a delicacy, if not weakness, of physical constitution; but in reality he was strong and robust, and no man among his frontier and pioneer associates could endure more physical hardships or sustain more prolonged and intense mental exertion than he could. He possessed keen business instinct, as well as a highly sensitive spiritual nature; in him indeed were combined the mind qualities that go to the making of the practical mystic. . . .[44]

Doubtless there is much of truth in such descriptions. I have no doubt that Roberts saw his revered leaders in these terms. Leaving aside the question of how effectively such portrayals serve their purpose, we can perhaps agree that they reinforced Roberts' tendency to see the past as a struggle between "bad guys" and "good guys," between "fiends" and "saints."

Roberts was not, I think, trying to distort the "facts" of history. He called them as he saw them. If he had strong opinions, as he usually did, he made no effort to hide them behind a veil of objectivity. Of the presidential proposal to establish a Utah commission he wrote:

> It scarcely requires an argument with the citation of authorities to convince one that such a course here recommended by President Garfield, supported though it was by a vitiated public sentiment against

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the church assumed a similar attitude toward you — of vigorous and earnest opposition to your position.

Mr. ROBERTS. I think that is right.

From *Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of Protest Against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot. . . ,* I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 708.

[43]*CHC,* VI, 189.

[44]*CHC,* VI, 384–85. Also of interest are Roberts' eulogies of George Q. Cannon (VI, 48) and Joseph F. Smith (VI, 416–17).

> the Latter-day Saints, and I say it with all due respect to the revered memory in which President Garfield is held by the American people — was a plain apostasy from American principles of government and the adoption of that odious colonial policy practiced by Great Britain upon her American colonies, and which those colonies overthrew and forever destroyed by the Revolution of 1776, in the adoption of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence.[45]

For Roberts the proposal was "un-American in spirit and beyond question unconstitutional." The doctrine of the sovereignty of Congress was "political heresy."[46] Summing up his account of the legislative–judicial efforts to eradicate polygamy, he later said, "We are here setting down the record of those crimes against the principle of 'local self-government' which are the best concrete examples of the crime against those principles in American history."[47] Although the issues were scarcely this simple, a case can probably be made that constitutional rights of the Mormons were being violated. But it does require making a case. In attempting to do this, in virtually ignoring the opposing arguments, Roberts' role was that of an advocate. We begin to gain a clearer idea of what he meant by his promise to describe "clearly reprehensible measures and policies . . . with the freedom that true historical writing must ever exercise."[48]

III

The partisanship of his writing is partially explained by the chronology of Roberts' life. Born in 1857, he belonged to a generation which knew personally many of the men who had joined the Church during the 1830's and 1840's. He was of the generation which felt acutely the intense anti-Mormon sentiment of the 1880's, and as a polygamist (technically guilty of "unlawful cohabitation") he continued to be on the defensive at least until World War I. As an articulate defender of the Church both in print and on the platform, he again and again found himself arguing the case of the Church against the charges of its "enemies." Such personal involvement was not conducive to a dispassionate telling of his people's story.[49]

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[45]*CHC*, VI, 22–23.

[46]*CHC*, VI, 22.

[47]*CHC*, VI, 67.

[48]*CHC*, I, viii.

[49]In general, Roberts underplayed his own role. After a vivid description of the murder of two Mormon missionaries in Tennessee, he adds that "the assistant mission president of the southern states . . . went with three others to the place of burial, disinterred the bodies of the elders, and sent them to their families in Utah. . . ." *CHC*, VI, 93. No indication that Roberts himself was the assistant president or that the mission was fraught with danger. The World Congress of Religions incident of 1893 is described succinctly. After indicating that "the representative of the church appointed to this undertaking was Elder B. H. Roberts," he referred to himself only as "the representative." And he kept the details mercifully short. *CHC*, VI, 236–41. The constitutional convention of Utah was described only briefly, with no indication of Roberts' presence as a delegate or of his active role in opposing female suffrage. *CHC*, VI, 323–26. The campaign of 1895, which led to a reprimand of Roberts and Moses Thatcher, and to the "political rule" or "political manifesto" of 1896, is described briefly, with no attempt at self-justification. *CHC*, VI, 329–37.

Roberts was aware that his account of the earlier hostilities sounded harsh "over forty years removed from the period of bitterness and injustice under consideration." But it was faithful, he explained, to the atmosphere of the past:

> I am treating of the decade of 1882–1892, portraying the spirit of those times with such fidelity to truth as I may possess. It matters not that there has been a change wrought with the passing years, a better understanding had on the part of individuals on both sides of the controversy discussed. But I am concerned at this point of my work with the events and the spirit of the above decade, and fidelity to the truth of history requires no less than the statements here made.[50]

But in trying to recreate the atmosphere of the past Roberts did not give both sides a fair hearing. His approach rather was to introduce some of the anti-Mormons, sometimes but not usually allowing them to use their own words. Then he proceeded to demolish the criticisms, showing them to be factually in error, denying them without further explanation, or even impugning motives. Roberts was repeatedly, at least in imagination, getting back into the fray. Seldom did he maintain an adequate sense of historical distance.

It should be noted that his approach to history was decidedly not morally neutral, for he considered the historian to be a moral judge.

> The actions of men, like the facts of events, are peculiarly alike in this, that they admit of no denial in history. Let regret and repentance do what they may, the acts of men remain of record. . . . That is what is meant when men speak of the inexorableness of history. "History will vindicate us," say the men confident of the rectitude of their own intentions, desires, ambitions, or actions; so, too, men may be assured history will condemn them when their aims and ambitions are unholy and vicious. Before the bar of history as before the bar of God the actions of men will lie in their true light. . . ."[51]

History, Roberts explained, had little concern with the private lives and virtues of the judges who promoted the "judicial crusade" in territorial Utah, but with respect to their administration as public officials history called them "to the bar for judgment."[52]

A more difficult task than pronouncing on the morality of individuals or groups was to discern the hand of God in the working out of events. Although he probably did not consider this the duty of all historians, Roberts could not avoid relating the history of the Church to the plan and purpose of God. One of the most interesting of his many efforts to reconcile prophetic expectation and disappointing reality is his discussion of the Toronto journey of Joseph Smith. Of the failure of that journey and of Joseph Smith's explanation that all revelations are not of God, Roberts wrote:

> The question presented by this state of facts is: May this Toronto incident and the Prophet's explanation be accepted and faith still be

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[50]*CHC*, VI, 139.
[51]*CHC*, VI, 139–40.
[52]*CHC*, VI, 177–78.

> maintained in him as an inspired man, a Prophet of God? I answer unhesitatingly in the affirmative. The revelation respecting the Toronto journey was not of God, surely; else it would not have failed; but the Prophet, overwrought in his deep anxiety for the progress of the work, saw reflected in the "Seer Stone" his own thought, or that suggested to him by his brother Hyrum, rather than the thought of God. . . .
>
> Then there must be taken into account the probable purpose of God in permitting the Toronto misadventure, the lesson he would teach through it. How important for the Prophet's disciples to know that not every voice heard by the spirit of man is the voice of God; that not every impression made upon the mind is an impression from a divine source.[53]

This is not the only place that Roberts permitted himself to speculate upon "the probable purpose of God" in allowing the Saints to pass through the trying experiences of their history. The introductory essays of the *DHC* volumes attempted to see each phase of early Mormon history *sub specie aeternitatis.* The *CHC* itself, however much it may appear to be strictly narrative, is replete with the author's editorializing. This is not merely the effort to understand past events from the perspective of a different age, the kind of reflective analysis one finds in the works of most historians. Roberts was concerned with meaning and significance, as all historians are, but for him these had to be understood in relation to the plans and purposes of God.

The "reflections" at the end of Volume Six help to reveal his frame of reference. To the charge that Mormonism was an outmoded sect based on fables he replied:

> My answer is that the history of one hundred years will be the vindication of the church; will effectively prove its claims to the world movement of both religion and church. Not a sect, but the universal religion founded upon Jesus Christ — his gospel and the New Dispensation of it, and the complement and fulfillment of all that has gone before, and prophecy of that which shall be hereafter. In that case, however, the history must be so full and frank and fair that truth and the spirit of it, will be what sunlight is to the atmosphere, so permeating it as to be in and through it, an everywhere present spirit of truth as the spirit of God is everywhere present throughout his creations. Such a presence that can no more be separated from that history than sunlight can be plucked from the atmosphere. Such a statement of, and such a treatment of the great truths brought forth in the Century I of the organized existence of the church of the New Dispensation, and so related to what must be the grand purposes of an All-wise and All-loving and Just and Merciful and Righteous Heavenly Father, that the truth will stand vindicated and self-evident to the minds of the men of good will; and largely enough accepted to make it the dominant kingdom of truth.[54]

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[53]*CHC*, I, 164–66.

[54]*CHC*, VI, 554. In April 1930, before the publication of Volume VI, Roberts discussed his work on the *CHC* and his hopes for it. To critics who found it too long he explained that it was not the history of a sect but

> the compliment and fulfillment of all that has gone before, and prophecy of what

The tone is rhapsodic, the form that of testimony rather than history. In such passages, and less blatantly in his comments, explanations, and even narrative passages, Roberts produced a Mormon theology of history, nearly Augustinian in its vision of two cities locked in mortal combat. As subtitle for the *CHC* he might well have borrowed the title of another of his books — *A Defense of the Faith and the Saints.*[55]

IV

Mormons need not be ashamed of Roberts as an historian. He is still worth reading. To the extent that young Mormons read about the history of their religion he can serve a real purpose. Nor should the professional historian or the interested non-Mormon neglect his work. Refusing to treat the early Mormon leaders as figures of fun, he conveys to modern readers a sense of the issues as they must have appeared to Mormons of past generations. But Roberts was not, in fact, the personification of History the Judge. One can appreciate him as an historian while recognizing certain limitations. Among the most basic of these, in addition to those already considered, are the following.

1. Roberts lacked advanced historical training. Since the professionalization of history — through the introduction of German seminar methods and the establishment of Ph.D programs — was still in its early stages at the end of the past century, he was really of an earlier generation. This is not to say, of course, that graduate training inevitably produces historians of quality, or that amateurs or literary men were incapable of producing sound historical scholarship. Roberts had gifts which assured that his work must still be taken into account, and many a graduate student today, however long he perseveres, will never write a word of history worth reading. The point is simply that Roberts might well have benefited from the rigorous criticism of the seminar. At the very least such training would have helped him to avoid the editorial sins of the *DHC*.

2. His work was produced before the great quantitative increase in historical scholarship of the past generation. In a way this was fortunate. He did not have to plow through the mountains of secondary monographs which now exist. On the other hand, the fact is that recent scholarship has left many of Roberts' chapters obsolete. If the *CHC* still has its value as a point of departure, as an interpretation, no one can now afford to stop with its account of the Missouri persecutions, the Nauvoo period, the colonizing of the Great

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shall be hereafter. To make this appear, however, your historic statement, your history must not be merely a recital of events. The events must be coordinated and so linked together that the *rationale* of successive events shall be made apparent; and how they link in with the world's movements which but spell out God's purposes struggling to get expressed. All this requires ample space — every word of six volumes!

Conference Reports (100th Annual Conference, April 1930), p. 45.

[55]Two volumes (Salt Lake City, 1907–1912).

Basin, the economic programs of the Church, the political conceptions of the Kingdom of God, the Mountain Meadows massacre, the Utah War, the anti-polygamy crusade, the transition to statehood in Utah, or many other topics of comparable importance. Not only have primary sources relevant to many of these problems been made available, but monographic studies by the score have added facts, interpretations, and insights which were unavailable to Roberts.[56]

3. Although he did utilize primary sources extensively, as I have pointed out, Roberts did not exhibit much interpretive sophistication. Obviously it is unfair to compare him to Marc Bloch or even to a nineteenth-century scholar such as Fustel de Coulanges. But it is important to recognize that exploitation of sources does not consist merely in reading through them and transcribing passages into footnotes. A quality of use is also involved. And when we ask to what extent Roberts subjected his sources to careful and analytical explication, the answer is disappointing but not unexpected.

4. Roberts' conception of history was that of the past century. I have already discussed his notion that history should function as a moral judge. It will not do to say that all nineteenth-century historians subscribed to this view, but many did. In general, Roberts was close to the leading historians of the Romantic period. Such Romantic historians as Prescott, Motley, and Parkman "concentrated on responding emotionally" to the past. They tried to keep in view "the most important, stirring affecting incidents." They often "dealt with character types." They compared history to drama and sought to present it dramatically. They considered it the duty of the historian to be "not only an artist but a judge." They saw history as "the unfolding of a vast Providential plan." They believed that "the historian had a didactic as well as artistic duty to arrange apparently disconnected events in their proper order."[57] These and other assumptions of Romantic historiography are well exemplified in the work of Roberts.

"I have not written what may be called 'argumentative history,' " he once said, "only so far as the statement of the truth may be considered an argument."[58] One may doubt that such an ambitious goal is possible of attainment by any historian. It is easy, from our present perspective, to discern the simplistic, apologetic features of his writing. But these might have been more naïve than they are; he might have produced a work with no redeeming scholarly merit. He resisted the prejudices of his generation — perhaps best compared to the sharp divisions and stereotypes of wartime — sufficiently that his work can still be studied with profit. His personality was so vivid,

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[56]To become aware of what Roberts did not have available one has only to consult the superb bibliographies in Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), now ten years old. The past ten years have been more productive of valuable scholarship on Mormonism than any comparable period in our history.

[57]The quotations are from David Levin, *History as Romantic Art* (New York, 1958), pp. 8, 10, 14, 19, 20, 25–26.

[58]*The Missouri Persecutions*, p. iv.

his feelings so strong, that no one should find his history dull. And he did express some laudable objectives, as in the following fine statement:

> Gradually there is being built up in The Church a very considerable and stately literature, historical, doctrinal and poetical; and for one I hope to see it, first of all, of a character that will be in harmony with the great Dispensation of the Gospel which it celebrates, that is, that it be honest.[59]

If his reach exceeded his grasp, he nevertheless rendered services worth remembering. Mormon historians of the present generation have already surpassed B. H. Roberts in command of the sources, technical competence, and methodological sophistication. One can only hope that a few of the new breed will retain some of his zest, his empathy, and his sweep of vision.

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[59] *Ibid.*, p. vi.

THE CHANGING IMAGE OF MORMONISM

Dennis L. Lythgoe

Since 1950, the mass media have contributed to changing the image of Mormonism in the public mind. Such is the argument put forth by Dennis L. Lythgoe, who is a Teaching Associate, Department of History, University of Utah, and Sunday School teacher in the University Ninth Ward, Salt Lake City.

I

> *The ultimate fate of American minorities is to become tourist attractions. . . . But the tourist boom means the same thing in Utah that it means in Vermont, the same thing it means wherever the past has been piously "restored," roped off, and put on display — not the vitality but the decadence of a way of life.*

Such is the devastating indictment of Mormonism by Christopher Lasch in the January 26, 1967, *New York Review of Books*; and such an assessment accurately reflects the drastic change in the image of Mormonism as seen through popular periodical articles from 1950 to the present. Though these articles are sometimes alarmingly subjective, they suggest a general public reaction to the practices of Mormonism. It may be useful from an introspective viewpoint to summarize these observations and offer some tentative conclusions as to their worth. Oddly enough, they illustrate an evolution from a favorable impression of a thriving church accommodated to or seriously confronting contemporary society to one of an introversionist sect. Although a gamut of opinions is available, there is ample evidence to indicate a definite shift.

In 1951, *Life* exemplified the respect held for Mormons by referring to them as a group whose business sense did not detract from their religious devotion or eagerness to help others.* The image of the successful and respected Mormon had crystallized. Impressed with Mormon accommodation to the world, *Newsweek* and *Business Week* in 1951 both commended the opening of a new warehouse for Z.C.M.I. department store and praised its modernity. *Coronet* in 1952 saw Mormonism as a paradox, claiming few Mormons to be wealthy even though the Church itself is one of the richest in the world. A similar attitude was found in the *New York Times Magazine,* which expressed awe at the extensive business holdings and obvious wealth of Mormonism. A later article in a 1957 *Business Week* labeled the business involvement unique and traced it to the "Mormon passion for self-sufficiency."

This favorable impression with respect to business enterprise and material success began to wane in the late 1950's. Particularly disturbing to critics was the expense incurred in building projects, notably temples. When the New Zealand Temple and College and the London Temple were completed in 1958, criticism was intense. *Time* tartly reported the rankled feelings of Protestants in New Zealand who bitterly complained of the eight million-dollar college. The Mormons were considered "invaders" and accused of extravagance and false religious values. "I'd like to come here for a holiday," remarked a woman touring the London Temple prior to dedication.

Commenting more specifically with respect to values, *Newsweek* in 1962 estimated a one million dollar a day cash flow from Mormon enterprises. It asserted that "even true believers" sometimes question the extreme involvement in money matters. Mormon authority Henry D. Moyle, of the First Presidency, was quoted as saying, "We are not averse to making a profit, but it is not our main motive." And a 1967 *Time* observed tersely that the actual total earned through Mormon business was a "closely guarded secret." A Congregational minister writing in the *Christian Century* in 1965 referred to Mormon business with disgust, declaring that such a vast empire could be duplicated by any church in a few years' time if commercial operation were considered part of its purpose. A 1965 *U.S. News and World Report* traced a typical day in the life of a Mormon who sought news from a Mormon paper, entertainment from a Mormon television station, loans from a Mormon bank, learning for his children from a Mormon university, and even his employment from the Church itself. In short, the Church was said to be operating a totalitarian regime. Though the Church's financial involvement has troubled

*The following popular periodicals carrying articles on Mormonism from 1950 to the present were consulted for this study: *Business Week*, June 25, 1951, Nov. 23, 1957; *Christian Century*, Oct. 30, 1963, Dec. 2, 1964, July 14, 1965, Sept. 29, 1965, May 4, 1966, Nov. 30, 1966, Feb. 8, 1967; *Coronet*, April 1952; *Fortune*, April 1964; *Look*, Jan. 21, 1958; *Life*, April 23, 1951; *Nation*, Dec. 6, 1952, Jan. 3, 1953, April 6, 1963; *New Republic*, Jan. 7, 1967; *Newsweek*, June 25, 1951, Aug. 20, 1951, Jan. 22, 1962, June 17, 1963, March 6, 1967; *New York Review of Books*, Jan. 26, 1967; *New York Times Magazine*, April 1952, April 15, 1962; *Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 11, 1958, April 1, 1961; *Theatre Arts*, Dec. 1958; *Time*, May 26, 1958, Aug. 18, 1958, Sept. 15, 1958, April 13, 1959, June 22, 1959, Nov. 28, 1960, Aug. 11, 1961, Jan. 19, 1962, Dec. 21, 1962, Oct. 18, 1963, June 18, 1965, Aug. 26, 1966, April 14, 1967; *U.S. News & World Report*, Sept. 26, 1966.

these writers, the matter is of little concern to many Mormons, who rarely question such involvement and generally feel it to be a peripheral issue.

Of interest to some writers is the annual *Book of Mormon Pageant* produced in Palmyra, New York, each summer. For instance, *Newsweek* and *Time* observed in 1951 and 1958 that the pageant was highly professional and indicated Mormon respectability. In a 1952 article entitled "Those Amazing Mormons," *Coronet* spoke in glowing terms of the general success and integrity of Mormons, calling them "vigorous and independent." It further assessed the faith as a "way of life" characterized by complete participation.

While outlining the flourishing Mormon system, *Look* in 1958 commented significantly on Mormon adjustment to the social scene. Mormons have been called a "strange" people, it claimed, but they are not strange – only different; and "the right to be different is the essence of the American dream." Complimenting them specifically on their ability to adjust to the world, it declared that "whenever assimilation could be squared with the fundamental tenets of their faith," Mormons have willingly done so. Such social adjustment is perhaps overshadowed by the *New York Times Magazine*'s 1962 observation that "no religious group in America 'lives' its religion with such emphasis." However, in 1967 the *New York Review of Books* complained of too much assimilation, noting that when Mormons were different from their neighbors, "their neighbors hounded them mercilessly." It was only when they gave up the "distinguishing features" of their faith that they fit into society as just "another tolerated minority," thus losing their religious impact.

An interesting admiration for the men of importance in Mormondom is evident in the fifties. In an editorial published in *Nation* in 1952, Ezra Taft Benson, a member of the Twelve Apostles, was characterized as ". . . the best in the social tradition of the Mormon Church, which is of course, high commendation." Further, he was called "intelligent, honest, forthright" and even "almost too good to be true." The *New York Times Magazine* noted that "Mormons are respected citizens" and even in some cases hold high offices outside of Mormonism, such as those of Elder Benson, Arthur Watkins, and Wallace Bennett; while *Look* observed in 1958 that the list of prominent men is impressive. As late as 1964, *Fortune* called the Church a "rich organization whether measured in tangible assets or men." By 1965, however, Elder Benson's public image had developed completely new dimensions. He was criticized severely in the *Christian Century* for his claim that the civil rights movement in America is Communist inspired, and was labeled as the leader of the Church's "right wing."

Specific comment on individual leaders of Mormonism has been sparse. Catching Joseph Fielding Smith as he was traveling in Brazil ". . . where missionaries have baptized 30,000 converts," *Time* noted in 1960 that Mormonism has progressed from a "persecuted rebel sect to one of the most dynamic congregations in Christendom." Calling President Smith a "fiery doctrinarian" who has written numerous books on "Mormon dogma," it said that he knew that one day he would "be prophet and would communicate directly with the Lord." President Smith's image was in the process of flux,

as can be seen by *Time*'s 1963 reference to him as "a stern, old-fangled moralist." The same magazine called the present prophet David O. McKay "a kindly ascetic" who has stimulated astonishing growth in the Church; yet his real strength was attributed to his great toleration for others.

A keen awareness of the Mormon welfare program is evident in the fifties. Mormons are especially respected, according to the *New York Times Magazine* in 1952 for determination to "take care of their own." A 1958 *Look* called them a "self-reliant society," distributing ready aid to any member in need, while the *Saturday Evening Post* hailed the Mormons for having no need to call on other means of relief, a practice rooted in the notion that idleness and waste are sinful.

From a cultural point of view, Mormons attract only the best of reviews, with an entertaining smattering of misconceptions. Mormon "liberalism" shocks other denominations, according to a 1952 *New York Times Magazine*, because of their indulgence in singing, dancing, music, and the theater. Tying culture with morality, *Look* observed that at the Church-sponsored institution Brigham Young University, no girl appears at a dance in an immodest gown, there are no bottles or cigarettes, no necking or rowdyism, and the dance is opened and closed with a prayer and a hymn.

Certain that Mormons are ". . . the dancingest denomination in the country," a 1959 *Time* spoke of their belief in dancing as productive of health both of body and spirit. Though other faiths may frown on them, "Mormons encourage dancing, lest the Devil find other work for them." In an obvious exaggeration, it remarked that each of the "1400 chapels holds a dance every Saturday night." Adding complimentary remarks, *Theatre Arts* in 1958 estimated that no religious group in the country is as dedicated to the theater as the Mormons.

A later year, 1962, witnessed further questionable observations on morals and dancing. The *New York Times Magazine* commented that Mormons are known for their "high moral quality," then made reference to a supposed Mormon tenet that the temple garment must continuously touch the body. Even when taking a bath, the *Times* asserted, Mormons must be careful not to "release the old garment" until the new one is partially covering the body. Further, an erroneous method for recognizing "a good Mormon girl" was explained as overheard from a Mormon to a gentile. One should simply look for "a roll just under the top of her off-the-shoulder dress" which is no doubt "the garment pushed down an inch or so." The author apparently believed that all Mormon girls wear the garment, regardless of age or marital status. A similarly erroneous report on another issue was featured in *Time*, which reported that President McKay had relaxed the smoking rule in the Church. Converts no longer must give up smoking, ". . . although they are often assigned to jobs as Boy Scout leaders or Sunday School teachers, where the need to give good example constrains them to abandon the habit voluntarily."

Comments on Mormon missionary work became the first obvious example of the return of criticism. In 1961, a peak year in Mormon proselyting, *Time* observed that in Britain the Mormons had doubled their membership during

the previous year to 40,000, with 1200 baptisms the previous month. Converts did not undergo "vigorous instruction"; rather, they needed only to declare themselves in harmony with the basic doctrines. Mormon missionaries were said to avoid doctrine in conversation and return often to such logic as "We know we can't convince you, but we'd like to ask you to make the effort to ask God about the truth of what we are saying." A year later, in an article entitled "Salesman Saints," *Time* indicated a distaste for Mormon "hard sell" proselyting techniques.

Church and state relations comprised another prominent area of criticism through the sixties. The accusation was prevalent that although church and state are not officially united, the Mormons nevertheless control Utah politics. The *Saturday Evening Post* observed in 1961 that "Utah and Mormons are still primitive in many ways," asserting that politics is controlled largely with Church influence. Making a particular reference to President McKay's endorsement of Richard Nixon in 1960, the *Post* estimated that 95 percent of all state and local officials are Mormon, with such membership being a distinct asset. A more flexible attitude was expressed by the *New York Times Magazine*, which took for granted Church control of politics in a state known to be 70 percent Mormon. It claimed that this power "is not grossly abused," as demonstrated by the election of J. Bracken Lee, a non-Mormon, as governor. A Salt Lake politician was quoted as saying, "You don't have to be a Mormon to win an election in Utah, but it helps." The *Times* qualified its stand with the assertion that non-Mormons who have been elected have "courted the Mormon vote," and listened to Mormon suggestions. *Fortune* and the *Christian Century* also noted the wide political control exercised by the Church in Utah. According to a 1966 article in *U.S. News and World Report* the Church as a whole is comprised of conservative politicians. The author cited the First Presidency's letter to the eleven Mormons in Congress protesting possible repeal of the Right-To-Work law in 1966. Ironically "the supposedly rigid conservatism is not solid" since seven of the eleven members voted for repeal of the law.

As a balance to these accusations, the *New York Review of Books* in 1967 commented perceptively on George Romney's candidacy for the Presidency, asserting that the fact that he would be considered a serious candidate indicates not the growing power of Mormonism, but its distinct assimilation in society. Neither John Kennedy's Catholicism nor Romney's Mormonism could pose any serious threat to the political life of the nation. Yet the implications are serious, the magazine noted, because it suggests religion's loss of influence in public and political affairs. Since religious questions are thought to be matters of private belief, they are considered to have no bearing on public life.

A hint of future heated criticism of Mormons for their resistance to social change is seen as early as 1958. Writing of social adaptation, *Look* observed that Mormons ". . . are clannish and well ordered," and thus have difficulty in "breaking away or non-conforming, even if they want to." This suggestion of backwardness in social change illuminates the image of Mormonism

with respect to racial relations. As early as 1953 the attitude of Mormons toward Negroes was discussed in periodical literature. In a letter to the editor of *Nation*, a woman told of "flagrant race discrimination" exemplified by the Mormon-owned Hotel Utah's refusal to accommodate Negro delegates to a convention.

Time became openly hostile in 1959 by prefacing an article with the pointed assertion that most churches consider all men equal before God. However, said *Time*, there is "one notable exception – the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." In 1963 criticism grew in intensity as the Negro problem became the most heatedly and frequently discussed practice of Mormons. *Newsweek* carried an article emphasizing the Mormon practice of barring Negroes from the Priesthood. President Hugh B. Brown was quoted as saying, "The whole problem of the Negro is being considered by the leaders of the Church." However, he emphasized, "We don't want to go too fast in this matter." Obviously, Mormon Negroes were ill-advised to become elated, for "gradualism still seemed to be the main theme."

The same year, *Time* called Mormons "ideal citizens" in many ways – "wholesome, industrious, thrifty, devoted to social welfare and higher education," but distinctly "unsympathetic" toward the Negro. Referring to Mormon belief that changes come only through revelation, it claimed ". . . revelations are as hard to define as they are to coax up on order." Though David O. McKay had been prophet since 1951, said *Time*, he has "never admitted that God spoke to him." Further, few Mormons were said to have hope that such a revelation would come to President McKay's probable successor, Joseph Fielding Smith, who has commented that "Darkies are wonderful people." *Time* concluded with a quotation from Mormon political science professor J. D. Williams, in which he said that the liberal Mormon is uneasy and hopes "that continuous revelation will provide the way out."

A review in *Nation* of John Stewart's apologistic work *Mormonism and the Negro* also accused the Church of being slow to change. Claiming that most agitation within the Church has come from people in the twenty through forty age group, it speculated the Negro policy could be reversed when the generation achieves power, because many will be embarrassed by Mormonism's "inherent racist tendencies." In a heated editorial, the *Christian Century* in 1964 labeled the policy a "devilish distortion of scripture" with "no biblical, historical, or anthropological" proof. Obviously irked at President McKay's recent prediction that no change was forthcoming, the *Century* attacked the policy as "legend invented by the white man to justify his oppression and exploitation of the Negro," and called it ironical that Mormons should allow color to be a mark of status.

A 1964 *Fortune* noted Mormonism's belief in free civil equality for all people; as Hugh B. Brown had said, anything less "defeats our high ideal of the brotherhood of man." Yet the Church was said to view the Negroes as "second-class theological citizens," which had become embarrassing to many Mormons who considered the practice the most severe moral problem facing the Church. The article continued by quoting Sterling McMurrin, a Mormon

and Dean of the University of Utah Graduate School, who called the Church "a practical lot," suggesting that when Mormons become "fully committed to something, the will of God manages to become known." Closing on a bright note, *Fortune* complimented Mormons for being "vigorous, optimistic, and life-affirming" and hoped for a speedy solution to the problem.

The *Christian Century* published an article in 1965 which criticized the Church's refusal to take a stand on civil rights, claiming that when threatened with demonstrations at every mission headquarters, the leaders finally consented to hear the case of the NAACP. Though Church leaders had made firm stands on the Right-To-Work Law and Liquor-By-The-Drink, they refused to do so with respect to civil rights, insisting it was not a moral but a political issue. "Few Negroes are interested in membership on such conditions" of subordination, claimed a Congregational minister in the *Christian Century*. He cringed at the announcement that no change was imminent in the doctrine, and concluded that Mormons will continue to "resist social change."

Mormons are "committed to a certain degree of built-in segregation" because of their practice on Negroes and the Priesthood, said a 1965 *Time*; and the *Christian Century* in a 1966 editorial attacked the Negro problem with renewed vigor. "Racism is always repugnant," it declared, "but it seems especially so when clothed in religious rationalism." Further, the editors moralized, "Clearly the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has a long way to go in the area of racial justice."

In a disarmingly naïve article in the *New Republic* in 1967, the Book of Mormon is blamed for tea, coffee, polygamy, and predestination. Moving into value judgments, the author, in reviewing Wallace Turner's *The Mormon Establishment*, decried the Mormon "belief" in blood atonement, the Negro doctrine, and most of all, what Turner called the ". . . totalitarian concept that men, by surrendering the direction of their thinking, as well as their conduct, to some exterior authority may escape the fearful burden of moral responsibility. If God cursed the Negroes, the matter must be taken up with God; we can do nothing about it."

Turning its attention to Romney, a recent *Newsweek* described his response to a confrontation from the Salt Lake Ministerial Association, who asked if he would disclaim the Church stand on the Negro. Romney emphasized, according to *Newsweek*, that he would not touch the practice because it "would inject the Church into public affairs." He pointed to his own enviable record in civil rights, but his interrogator was not impressed. Investigating the problem further, *Newsweek* affirmed that Negroes cannot hold the Priesthood; nevertheless, the practice need not, according to Mormon leaders, interfere with progress in civil rights. Church officials claim 200 Negro members and yet these "have never been available for press interviews" and the Church's missionary efforts have "traditionally avoided Negro communities." NAACP leaders in Utah have sadly commented that "the Church is the state and the state is the Church."

In a recent *Time*, the problem was characterized as the "doctrine most

under fire within the Church." J. D. Williams was quoted as calling it "unchristian, theologically unsound" and productive of hostility. *Time* also quoted Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, a Mormon who described himself as "deeply troubled by the issue." Romney has "refrained from calling for a change in the doctrine in deference to the authority of his Church's Elders." Many Mormon liberals are confident that continuing civil rights pressure will provoke a new revelation, just as changing social conditions led to a revelation on the abandonment of polygamy in 1890.

Finally, in reference to Mrs. Romney, the *Christian Century* in 1967 rendered another outspoken editorial, criticizing her for defending her church while admitting it is discriminatory toward Negroes. She said, "The Negro cannot attain the Priesthood, and I am sorry, but he will get it." Yet, the editors continued, President McKay declared in 1964 he will not "get it" — "not while you and I are here." Obviously, says the writer, such a problem illustrates discrimination that imputes inferiority to Negroes: "It is ridiculous to say otherwise." The editors concluded that as a member of a church with an " . . . indefensible tenet, Mrs. Romney has a burden to carry."

A final problem seen in periodical literature is the growing schism in Mormonism on intellectual grounds. First evidence of such criticism appeared in 1963 when the *Christian Century* announced that coping with the intellectual was the "most acute" problem in Mormonism. In an interesting observation of the same year, *Nation* noted that Mormonism has been slow to change because ". . . its leadership is conservative, in part because it relies on seniority and tends to put old men into positions of power and leave them there until they die."

Commenting further on the nature of Mormon leadership, a 1965 *Christian Century* classified it into two factions — liberal and conservative. Hugh B. Brown was called "the leader of the twelve apostles' liberal faction," while Joseph Fielding Smith and Ezra Taft Benson head the conservative wing. The Negro problem was blamed for sharpening these factions, and it was predicted that many Mormon liberals and intellectuals will suffer recriminations. "Even Apostles will fall victim." Exercising speculation into Elder Benson's Mormon conference remarks, the author quoted him as saying traitors could easily emerge in the Church, and interpreted that statement as an obvious reference to only one person — Hugh B. Brown. Striking an optimistic note, the author concluded that defeat will come to the Mormon conservatives, unless the cause of social justice becomes a race conspiracy.

In a 1966 editorial, the *Christian Century* quoted Hugh B. Brown declaring all men to be equal in rights regardless of race or color and labeling racial pride a dangerous barrier to peace. Some thought this might mean change in Church doctrine, but President Brown had "voiced such sweet sounding sentiments before." The change must come by revelation and neither David O. McKay nor his "heir apparent, Joseph Fielding Smith" seemed receptive to a revelation on race. The article closed with a hope that the more liberal faction would win out — "with or without help from on high." Though not as caustic in its appraisal, a 1967 *Newsweek* painted a similar picture of

the hierarchy, classifying them into the previously mentioned liberal and conservative camps, but adding a third — the moderates.

In a review of Turner's *Mormon Establishment,* the *Christian Century* in 1966 noticed that "like any conservatively oriented church only recently graduated from sect status, the Mormons face the problem of accommodating their intellectuals, who are growing in number because of an emphasis on education and travel." The reviewer agreed with Turner's assessment of intellectual fervor as the long-range problem, with the Negro situation the immediate one. The latter, however, he thought to be of crisis proportions, and needing solution as a basis for solving the former. *Time* included an article describing the establishment of a Mormon intellectual journal in a 1966 issue, noting skeptically that "unquestioning belief rather than critical self-examination has always been the Mormon style." Contrasting it with "house organ" literature issued by the Church, *Time* characterized such a journal attempt as "cautious" in its approach, yet so unusual in Mormonism that one Church leader declared: "*Dialogue* can't help but hurt the Church." Nevertheless, *Dialogue*'s editors were described as confident that Mormons have nothing to fear from self-appraisal. *Time* concluded by quoting *Dialogue* editor Eugene England, "A man need not relinquish his faith to be intellectually respectable, nor his intellect to be faithful."

New York Review of Books in 1967 said that Mormons' present conservatism is a "conservatism of an economic elite" rather than an intrinsic quality of Mormon doctrine, which originally promoted an "egalitarian" rather than a conservative form of social organization. Further, it accused Mormons of sacrificing those aspects of their religion that they found "demandng or difficult." Though abandoning their Utopian ideals, Mormons have managed to retain their "absurd theology," which, though fundamentalist in most respects, can now face the world with the "comforting illusion that religion is an affair of the spirit alone, having nothing to do with the rest of life."

The Church was categorized as undergoing a "testing time" by a 1967 issue of *Time.* Mormonism, it said, is being "prodded out of its old ways by a new generation of believers." Though they are loyal to the faith, they are worried about the "relevance of Mormonism" and question some of the policies of the "venerable, conservative hierarchy." A more serious complaint, perhaps, is ". . . that Mormonism is too much concerned with the perfection of its own organization, too little with the problems of the world." J. D. Williams was quoted as arguing, "It's time that the Church indicated its concern for more things than simply internal structure and processes."

II

Mormons have become accustomed to favorable publicity through the comfortable image projected in the fifties; it was a welcome change from an extensive background of persecution. The image reflected was one of admiration and respect. The public was pleased that Mormons had learned to adjust to the world and become thoroughly enmeshed in the social and cultural

scene. It was evident through their material and business accomplishments, integrity, prominent men, and welfare plan that Mormonism offered much to recommend it. Its prophet, David O. McKay, was respected as a man of high integrity and toleration for others. Even before the end of the fifties, however, a disturbing return to criticism emerged. Throughout periodical literature critical articles attacked the missionary system and the alleged church–state relationship between Mormonism and Utah's politics. The Mormon policy on Negroes and the Priesthood, the liberal–conservative split in the hierarchy, and a seeming trend toward anti-intellectualism probably received the most attention. Mormonism was severely criticized for failure to adjust to social change and to become productively involved in the problems of the world.

Though physical persecution has not returned, the criticism of the sixties is ominous with respect to Mormonism's changing image. Perhaps Mormon history has reached full circle as new evidence is produced to reflect an alienation of society from Mormon practice. Obviously, such a development is a prime example of the conflict that can arise through the interaction of religion and its environment; as a sociological problem, its implications present impetus for serious study.

One prominent idea can be inferred from these articles: reasons for past persecution of Mormonism are in some ways closely allied with reasons for current criticism. They are both at least partially rooted in the accusation that Mormons have tended to withdraw from society. Certainly in the Missouri period of Church history hatred of Mormons was greatly agitated by Mormon refusal to actively participate in the customs of the community. In Jackson County, for instance, Mormons refrained from the traditional Sunday marketing activity, a time Missourians used to display and sell goods and associate with each other. Mormons were thought to be arrogant for avoiding this economic and social contact, and for providing their own economic sustenance. Obviously, desire to correctly observe the Sabbath partially motivated Mormons in abstaining from participation, but they took genuine pride in keeping to themselves in these matters; and thus the cogency of the charge of withdrawal from society can readily be seen.

Over the years, however, we as Mormons have modified our ideas on society and self-sufficiency. Since the abandonment of polygamy, we have been largely assimilated into the social and cultural scene and have, from a sociological standpoint, accommodated to society. This, understandably, has even been a chief objection of many apostate groups, who have left Mormonism on grounds that it has adjusted too much to society, and has forsaken spiritual values for secular ones. But while accommodation has disturbed some Mormons, it undoubtedly has pleased many outsiders, as evidenced by the height of favorable publicity accorded the Church in the 1950's. Actually, the praise of these years bothered a good many Mormons because of their conviction that the continuing presence of criticism is a corresponding sign of the validity of Mormon principles. As a result, a dangerous immunity to criticism has developed within the Church, creating complacency in religious matters. Mis-

sionaries still enjoy telling experiences gained in foreign lands where they were thrown out of doors, sprayed with hoses, or threatened with clubs. Such experiences have long been a sign of excellence within Mormon circles, and persecution itself the hallmark of progress. We are, after all, a "peculiar people," and enjoy emphasizing it. We are continually instructed in Priesthood quorums and Sunday School classes to be forthright and outspoken about that peculiarity, to admit readily our membership in the Church and adherence to its beliefs when seeking employment, serving in the armed forces, or while otherwise participating in "the world." Thus, the Mormon concept that we should thrive on being "different," and its attendant criticism, has always been strong.

I would submit that this kind of feeling is dangerous, because it tends to subordinate reason and morality to tradition. Many Mormons today undoubtedly would easily ignore criticism on such charges as being concerned with wealth or too little concerned with racial intolerance, because they believe that the world and the Church are at separate poles. In their view, there should be no connection between religious and secular matters. On the other hand, it would seem reasonable to believe that consistent criticism is at least partially sincere, and perhaps indicative of genuine weaknesses in our approach. We could profit from sufficient introspection to decide if the impressions are accurate enough to warrant change. Such analysis could even improve our approach to living within the context of Mormonism. It would seem that we are so hardened to the presence of critical comment that we fail to take into account the positive nature of it. Yet in other aspects of life we take pains to respond to constructive criticism, for we realize that it is the very basis of success, especially vocationally. Even though the Church is operated in large measure through the human element, it is too often considered exempt from such criticism.

In other words, this approach provokes the question, Can we afford to live in a vacuum? Can we afford to ignore criticisms, no matter how unfounded they may be? Naturally, in the articles cited in this study there are many comments and impressions that are completely erroneous. But there are also many probing accounts productive of genuine insight into Mormonism and some of its current problems. For instance, if the missionary system is being attacked by an outsider, should this not tell us that some thoughtful changes might aid proselyting success? If we are being attacked for impropriety and inconsistency for dabbling as a religion in power politics, could we improve our effectiveness with people by analyzing such involvement and altering it if it is inappropriate? If the world is viewing us as a people completely oblivious to the racial crisis confronting the nation, would we not do well to reconsider our attitudes and actions — and our complacency? If we are thought to be anti-intellectual, would it not re-vitalize our religion to examine the charge and try to achieve a more even balance? These are questions of significance to Mormonism. The answers measure how successful Mormonism is becoming in coping with change. To be relevant to modern society and thus attractive and challenging to the people it can help, Mormonism must

creatively deal with the problems of the world — not through the imposition of authoritative power but through teaching, calling to repentance, and exemplary serving.

Throughout the history of the Church, the Second Coming of Christ has been feared imminent. Particularly in early days, Mormons were sure they had only a short time before the millennium overtook them, and so their lives were geared to that eventuality. But as the years have advanced, such a notion has been pushed into the background with the explanation that an exact time is simply not known. Perhaps this belief could be partly to blame for withdrawal by early Church members in the Missouri years. Recent evidence implies the return of preparations for the end; concern is mounting in the Church for the importance of food storage, living one's own life well, and preparing for a return to Missouri. Such emphasis would seem a convenient excuse for Mormons to avoid the problems of the day as they retreat into their own world. Retreat in the face of serious challenge is at variance with Christ's belief in the ultimate value of all men, and his concern for their salvation and development.

A second problem that should be considered is the *cause* of such shifting emphasis in the Mormon image. There are undoubtedly multiple causes involved, making it difficult to accurately assess their significance. The continuing growth and wealth of Mormonism itself would naturally breed conflict, for religions have never been considered the proper fountainhead of wealth in America. For a church to be highly involved in business enterprise seems to many Americans contradictory to basic Christian ethics. It is not difficult to conclude that the more wealth the Church acquires, the more adverse criticism may become. Similarly, attacks on Church and state relations are obviously based in the American belief that religion has no rightful place in power politics. Therefore, Mormonism projects an un-American image by its seeming influence as a power structure in Utah's politics. But these areas are some that have been consistently discussed through the years, and therefore they do not reach the heart of the matter.

A minor reason for renewed criticism could conceivably be jealousy toward Mormonism's steady growth and success. This is certainly manifest by religious writers, such as those appearing in the obviously biased *Christian Century*. But these writers also judge Mormons on the supposition that their religious ethics do not agree with the standard ones of the day. Ministers writing in a religiously oriented periodical have occasionally allowed a self-righteous prejudice to show through in their analysis of Mormon success. But since these instances are rare, they suggest only minor influence. Another factor is the development of a press more openly critical than at any time since the Progressive Era in America, when muckraking articles made social criticism fashionable. Obviously, editorials and interpretive articles today are slanted through both individual and group biases. They are also strongly analytical, perhaps as a direct result of changing times and of internal dissensions in the country.

However, the obvious precipitating factor of the return of criticism is the increasing public awareness of "the Negro problem." Mormons have lived with the policy denying Negroes the Priesthood for some time without receiving serious criticism, first because it was not generally known or understood, and second, because racial unrest in the country had not been severe. With the racial crisis rising to prominence as the nation's most imposing internal threat, it is to be expected that public attention would focus on the Mormon attitude toward race. A Christian religion seeming to ignore the great moral issue of the day, both by sanctioning prejudice in doctrinal form internally, and by refusal to take a civil rights stand, is often judged unfit to claim the Christian name; in short, such a religion is said to be hypocritical. Clearly, race is the dominant clue in understanding mounting criticism toward Mormons. In most of the critical articles considered, some mention was made of the problem; and in the great majority of those appearing in the 1960's, it took pre-eminence.

It would seem safe to assume that the race problem has generated criticism on all fronts. Writers who would normally have given Mormons a healthy evaluation began to question other facets of the religion with the backdrop of race always in prominent view. As a result, the Church hierarchy was criticized where it was formerly praised; the Church was judged backward and anti-intellectual, because it would not adopt reason and reconsider its stand on basic moral issues. In short, Mormonism as a whole has become questionable to these writers, through a chain reaction caused by disenchantment in connection with the race issue. It is only logical that one disturbing flaw would inspire a second look at the entire system. These writers seem to be saying that if the Church is so badly at fault on this important moral issue, how can it be trusted in other areas of religious importance?

In addition to civil rights, the candidacy of Governor George Romney for the Presidency no doubt had an important effect. Many articles were devoted completely to an analysis of Romney the man and candidate, with inescapable reference to his religious views. Perhaps Romney's disappearance from the national political scene will have a noticeable effect on future appraisal of Mormons, since as a candidate with a supposedly progressive view on civil rights, his image inevitably involved the dilemma of the race problem. Obviously, criticism was generated mostly from the combination of his candidacy and racial unrest in the country.

It is not the object of this paper to measure the degree of sincerity of the writers involved in assessing Mormonism. Such an evaluation would be possible only through in-depth interviews with individual writers and studies of their backgrounds to determine biases. Nevertheless, it must be assumed that such biases do exist and do play an essential role in their evaluations. As a result, some articles would perhaps have political motivation at the base of their conclusions. All of the periodicals must be digested in light of their format and biases. *Time* and *Newsweek*, for instance, are famous for their terse and frank observations on all matters of current interest, while the *Christian Century* must be read with special regard to the particularly subjective

religious viewpoint it represents. And the *New York Review of Books* perpetually projects a highly critical point of view in all subject areas.

A study of these opinions on Mormons nevertheless has genuine significance. First of all, criticism can be considered ominous when it casts aspersions on the credibility, relevance, or effective challenge of our religion to modern day life. If such indictments be valid, they are well worth serious study, for any organization, religious or otherwise, can become dangerously steeped in tradition. Hopefully, most Mormons value their religion because it gives added direction to life not found elsewhere. In other words, Mormonism is a practical religion, loved and honored because of its seeming relevance to life. On these grounds, it is our responsibility, whether we be in leadership or lay positions, to carefully consider others' opinions. While revelation must be accepted as the foundation of our faith, it nevertheless functions through practical application. A quick perusal of the Doctrine and Covenants will disclose to the unconvinced reader that Joseph Smith received all of his revelations through response to an expressed need. The Lord has waited for His people and His prophet to evaluate their problems and even arrive at a proposed decision before providing divine sanction. Perhaps understanding these problems as observed and analyzed even by others can impel us to better follow those familiar channels.

If Mormonism is relevant to modern living, we should make it known to the public in a convincing manner. Obviously, our shedding of polygamy indicates our ability to change. Such changes may be wholly evident in other areas today, if we would but be self-effacing enough to objectively and analytically examine our religion. I would submit that the religion we honor should be just as subject to critical evaluation as any facet of our personalities or vocations. When taken seriously and in a context of love and faith, criticism can bring nothing but improvement and hope. Perhaps it is time for more Mormons to step out of seclusion and become actively engaged in the ever-increasing problems of the world by using practical religion and the continued relevancy of Mormonism to bring enduring solutions.

Roundtable

RIOTS, MINORITIES, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE AND ORDER

The American nation has been afflicted with unrest and turmoil during the past decade. The Editors of DIALOGUE *have asked three Mormon scholars, two professors of law and an economist, to examine how the fabric of law and the cohesion of society have been affected by minority problems, civil rights, and riots in the cities. Dallin H. Oaks is Professor of Law at the University of Chicago and former clerk to Chief Justice Earl Warren; I. Daniel Stewart is Associate Professor of Law at the University of Utah and member of the Board of Directors, National American Liberties Union; Royal Shipp is Senior Staff Analyst, Program Evaluation Staff, Bureau of the Budget, in Washington, D.C., and holds a doctorate in Business Administration from Indiana University.*

LAW AND ORDER—A TWO-WAY STREET

Dallin H. Oaks

Our society is afflicted with a tumorous disrespect for law. Ordinary citizens and public figures reject the requirements of law and boldly substitute some other set of values to justify clearly illegal behavior. Widely publicized spectacles of disobedience or disrespect for law invite similar action by others. When any person — especially a public official or other prominent person — takes the law into his own hands, his vigilante act moves society closer to violence and anarchy.

Many current examples of illegal behavior involve race relations. This has been true throughout our nation's history. During the last century, the formal passing of slavery left a legacy of legal and extra-legal measures in-

tended to "keep the Negro in his place." The most vicious extra-legal measure was the threat and practice of lynch law, which did not subside until the lifetime of most living adults. Between 1882 and 1951 there were at least 3,437 recorded instances where a Negro was put to death by a mob of whites who considered him guilty of some crime ranging from murder to "insult to whites." From 1900 to 1936 there was no year when there were fewer than six recorded lynchings of Negroes in the United States, and the annual figure was from 50 to 100 in most of those years. Some of the 76 Negroes lynched in the first year after World War I were returning Negro soldiers, lynched while wearing the uniform of their country. To these shocking figures one must add a host of lesser violences and indignities visited upon the Negro, some by frankly illegal means and some by laws only recently being stricken from the books. Examples range from the familiar laws requiring separation of the races in schools and places of public accommodation and amusement to such bizarre laws or practices as those requiring separation of Negro and white blood in blood banks established for wounded servicemen, separate storage for school books used by Negroes and whites, separate Bibles for courtroom testimony, and courthouses with separate windows for the payment of real estate taxes (A to M, white; A to M, colored; etc.)[1]

For more than a century both legal and extra-legal means have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote. After the passing of "legal" devices such as the poll tax, the grandfather clause and the white primary, recalcitrant white government officials have tried to disenfranchise Negroes by gerrymandering and by voter qualification tests (of "character" or "reading ability") that could be (and often were) administered in such a way that few if any Negroes would pass. Extra-legal means employed as recently as the last few years have included evicting Negroes from their tenant farms and subjecting them to other economic reprisals when they registered to vote. Some whites used more violent measures. In the summer of 1964 the nation was shocked when three civil rights workers (Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney) who had been working on a Negro voter registration drive were murdered near Philadelphia, Mississippi. Elsewhere in Mississippi, more than thirty Negro churches were burned and more than seventy buildings or automobiles belonging to Negroes or sympathetic whites were bombed during this one summer.[2]

Against this kind of background, a white man's plea for non-violence and respect for law may seem incongruous to a Negro with a sound feeling for his history and traditions. But the plea must be made. It was Abraham Lincoln

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In addition to assistance from authorities cited in the footnotes, the author has also benefited from suggestions by Max Bell, Byron W. Daynes, and C. Weston Mickley.

[1]The World Almanac, 1956, p. 307; *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, pp. 100, 102, 104 (1968) (hereafter cited as "Kerner Commission Report"); Gunther, *Inside U.S.A.*, pp. 684–88 (1947); *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 14, "Lynching and Lynch Law," pp. 476–77 (1965). The tax-window example is based on the author's personal observation in a county seat in Georgia in 1960.

[2]"The Summer Toll and Travail in Mississippi," *The National Observer*, Oct. 12, 1964, p. 5; Gunther, *Inside U.S.A.*, pp. 699–703 (1947); *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 16, "Negro, American," p. 193 (1965).

who declared, "There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law."[3] Our society, which grants almost unlimited opportunities for free speech, lawful protest, and peaceful efforts to adjust grievances and change legal rules by democratic means, need not tolerate any degree of violence or disobedience or disrespect for law.

As part of their battle to win equal opportunity in employment, education, and housing, Negro leaders have used marches, picketing, and other forms of lawful public protest to publicize their grievances and solicit support for their cause. Although sometimes inconvenient and irritating to non-participants, such protests have usually been held to be perfectly legal and proper exercises of the protesters' constitutional rights to free speech.[4] Speech must, of course, catch someone's attention in order to communicate, and it is one of the characteristics of *free* speech that the content of the message will be displeasing to some who apprehend it.

Another form of protest distinctly different from lawful protest is civil disobedience, which consists of an open and deliberate violation of law for the purpose of influencing government policy. Persons engaging in civil disobedience frequently do so with full knowledge of the personal consequences of their acts and with the expectation that their arrest and punishment will give increased publicity to their protest and added impetus to their cause. Although nothing said here is intended to be critical of legal protests (however inconvenient or irritating), this article does condemn most forms of civil disobedience, because deliberate defiance of the authority of law involves unacceptable risks to the well being of our democratic society. The discussion will return to the subject to civil disobedience after first trying to put this subject in the context of other flagrant examples of lawless behavior.

A SEQUENCE OF LAWLESSNESS

The death of Dr. Martin Luther King was part of a tragic sequence of lawless acts whose beginning was rooted in slavery and whose end is not yet in sight. As part of his effort to support the wage demands of a predominantly Negro garbage collectors' union, Dr. King led a demonstration march in Memphis, Tennessee. (1) Using Dr. King's crowds for cover and diversion, a small band of young Negro militants smashed windows and precipitated a riot that resulted in $400,000 worth of damage, 62 injuries, and one death. More than 4,000 National Guard troops were called to restore order. A second march, to involve 6,000 persons, was planned for two weeks later. After notifying all parties and considering evidence of the previous violence and of the anticipated consequences of the second march, a federal judge issued an order a week before the proposed march that enjoined Dr. King, his aides, and

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[3] *Address*, Young Men's Lyceum, Springfield, Illinois, January 27, 1838, quoted in *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*, p. 537 (13th ed.).

[4] Cox, Direct Action, Civil Disobedience, and the Constitution, in *Civil Rights, the Constitution and the Courts*, p. 1 (1967); B. Marshall, The Protest Movement and the Law, 51 *Virginia Law Rev.* p. 785 (1965).

"all nonresidents acting in concert" with them from "organizing or engaging in a massive parade or march" in the city of Memphis for at least ten days.[5] (2) The national executive director of the employees' union (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees), who had just served a term in jail for contempt of court during the New York City sanitation workers strike, immediately announced that the labor leaders would defy the injunction. "Our discipline is to the labor movement," he was quoted as saying. "We will march, regardless. The injunction won't stop us."[6] (3) Dr. King took the same position. In a statement issued on the same day as the court injunction, he announced, "We are not going to be stopped by Mace or injunctions or any other method that the city plans to use."[7] The position of these leaders was, in short, that they would take the law into their own hands.

(4) At about 6:00 p.m. the following afternoon another man took the law into his own hands, and Dr. King fell victim to the twelfth major civil rights assassination in the last five years. (5) During the following week Negro mobs in over sixty American cities discredited the memory of the Negro leader with carnival-atmosphere forays of looting and burning. Thousands were arrested.

(6) Then, as a crowning touch to this lawless sequence, many persons who were arrested in Chicago (and perhaps other cities as well) were held incommunicado and effectively without their constitutional right to bail for several days beyond the containment of the disorders. Many, probably a majority, of those arrested in Chicago had been swept up by mass-arrest policies designed to clear the streets, and were only charged with disorderly conduct, curfew violations, or other minor offenses. The effective denial of their constitutional right to release on reasonable bail occurred because responsible public officials failed or refused to take the simple planning measures necessary to process arrests, fix fair and appropriate bail, and have facilities and personnel to accept bail money and account for the detention of persons arrested for civil disorders. All of these measures had been strongly recom-

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[5]"Court Bars March in Memphis, Dr. King Goes Ahead With Plan," *New York Times*, April 4, 1968, p. 30, col. 3.

[6]"Martin Luther King Slain by Gunman in Memphis," *New York Times*, April 5, 1968, p. 24, col. 8.

[7]Source cited note 5 *supra*. Two facts are helpful to put these two statements of defiance of a federal injunction in perspective. First, the public interest in obedience to the order of a court of equity (usually an injunction) is so great that a person can be punished for disobeying an injunction even though it was issued ex parte (without notice or opportunity to be heard), even though he believed that he did not need to obey it because it was invalid, and even though the injunction in fact should not have been issued. Tefft, Neither Above the Law Nor Below It, 1967 *Supreme Court Review*, pp. 181, 183. Only last year the United States Supreme Court reaffirmed that principle in sustaining Dr. King's own conviction and 5-day jail sentence for contempt of court for violating an Alabama state court injunction against parading in Birmingham without a permit. *Walker v. City of Birmingham*, 388 U.S. 307 (1967). After the Supreme Court's action, Dr. King served his time for that offense. Second, and of contrary force, violation of an injunction and later negotiation of an amnesty (with the consent of responsible government officials) as a part of the final settlement of a labor controversy has become a common (but lamentable) event in recent labor–management controversies.

mended in the *Report of the National Advisory [Kerner] Commission on Civil Disorders,* issued over a month before.[8]

Partly because of the administrative overload and confusion resulting from an absence of such emergency measures, and partly because judicial officers neglected or flatly refused to follow the plain dictates of law, many persons arrested in civil disorders had bail fixed at unreasonably high levels on an assembly-line basis contrary to the law requiring consideration of evidence showing the individual circumstances of the defendant and the likelihood of his appearance for trial.[9] Other persons, for whom bail money was available, were unable to secure release for up to several days because court clerks refused to accept the bail money that was tendered or (once bail was accepted) were unable to locate where the defendant was being detained to order his release. It should not be necessary to add that some of the persons so held were as innocent as the home owner arrested carrying his own belongings out of his burning home, and that others charged with minor offenses (such as disorderly conduct or curfew violations) were employed breadwinners whose lengthy detention resulted in loss of employment or income and in severe hardship to dependent families. Whether the cause of this breakdown of legal process was deliberate or negligent, it gave but one appearance to prisoners, family, and friends — illegal behavior by public officials to violate their rights.

DISRESPECT BY PUBLIC OFFICIALS

No society can flourish without a general obedience and respect of law. Disobedience and disrespect of law, especially by public figures and public officials, breeds violence and civil disorder and threatens the stability and life of our society. "If the Government becomes a lawbreaker," Justice Brandeis wrote, "it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy."[10] Consider, then, the terrible significance of conditions revealed in a recent eleven month study for the United States Department of Justice of the behavior of 450 police officers in eight slum precincts in Boston, Chicago and Washington. Over 16% of the police officers were *observed* in conduct that could be classified as a felony or misdemeanor. Additional officers, numbering more than 10%, *admitted* similar be-

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[8]The factual statements in point (6) and the succeeding paragraph about events in Chicago courts are based upon oral communications to the author of first-hand observations of respected members of the Illinois Bar, including colleagues and former students. It is only fair to record that the responsible judicial officers denied the charges of mismanagement and failure to follow legal procedures. See, generally, Ginsberg, Volunteer Lawyers Retrieve Due Process in Chicago, *Legal Aid Briefcase,* June, 1968, p. 207; "3 Groups Charge Riot-Case Bungling," *Chicago Daily News,* April 12, 1968, p. 3, col. 5; "Chicago Negroes Sue for Hearings," *New York Times,* April 13, 1968, p. 12, col. 7. The preparatory measures for handling mass arrests are suggested in *Kerner Commission Report,* ch. 13.

[9]The content of the Illinois bail law as administered in Chicago is discussed in D. Oaks & W. Lehman, *A Criminal Justice System and the Indigent: A Study of Chicago and Cook County,* ch. 7 (1968).

[10]Olmstead v. United States, 277 U.S. 438, 485 (1928) (dissenting opinion).

havior, which brought the total engaging in such conduct to 27%. The most common types of conduct that the study classified as illegal were shakedowns of traffic violators, drunks, deviants and businessmen (although the "extremely common" shakedowns for free meals or free drinks were not counted as misconduct for this purpose); theft from burglarized establishments; and payoffs to police to return stolen property, protect illegal establishments, or alter testimony at trial.[11] More recently, we have been shocked by the Walker Report's vivid description of "unrestrained and indiscriminate police violence," which it characterized as a "police riot," against demonstrators, newsmen, and bystanders at the Chicago Democratic Convention (*Rights in Conflict, The Walker Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence,* pp. 1 and 5 in the Bantam Books edition).

Public officers and employees are more than servants of the public. They are also instrumentalities of the law. Respect for law cannot be expected of citizens generally if police and other public officers fail to yield respect to its precepts. Law and order is a two-way street. Consider what view of law is held by an urban Negro who has experienced police brutality in connection with arrests for minor infractions, who is frequently stopped by traffic officers who solicit $5.00 as the price of not writing an unjustified traffic ticket that could only be answered by losing a half day's work in attendance at court, and who is unable to buy a home in a desirable white suburb (even though he has the money) because he cannot obtain the essential fire insurance so long as the white members of the suburb's volunteer fire department let it be known that they will not answer (or be dangerously slow in answering) a call to a Negro home.[12] The kind of resentment and contempt for law engendered by such experiences is confirmed and reinforced when friends and relatives, arrested on curfew violations or other minor charges in connection with a civil disorder, are confined for a week or more and effectively denied their right to bail because the judicial system has neglected or refuses to employ the resources necessary to give them their constitutional rights. Is it any wonder that some Negroes see public officers as their enemies and view the law as the white man's way of keeping them in their place? "We have found," the Kerner Commission reported, "that the apparatus of justice in some areas has itself become a focus for distrust and hostility. Too often the courts have operated to aggravate rather than relieve the tensions that ignite and fire disorders."[13]

Public officials sometimes seek to justify illegal behavior on the ground that the immediate threat is so great that government officers have to transcend legal requirements in order to preserve the public health, safety or morals. This may sound persuasive during crisis, but the history of such

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[11]"Misconduct Laid to 27% of Police in 3 Cities' Slums," *New York Times,* July 5, 1968, p. 1, col. 3 and p. 28, col. 3–4. The study was directed by Dr. Albert J. Reiss of the Bureau of Social Research of the University of Michigan.

[12]These examples are not suppositions. They are occurring today in Chicago and some of its suburbs.

[13]*Kerner Commission Report,* p. 183.

justifications includes so many tyrannical episodes that a free people ought to be repelled by the suggestion that any public official could set aside the requirements of law under any circumstances.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE – LIMITS AND DANGERS

Deliberate and flagrant illegal behavior by private citizens is also dangerous to the long-run interests of society. The most newsworthy example today is civil disobedience, a concept so amorphous that almost every author who has contributed to the growing literature on the subject has felt obliged to provide his own definition.[14] For purposes of this article, the term *civil disobedience* signifies an open and deliberate violation of law for the purpose of influencing government policy. It should be recalled at the outset that this does not include lawful protests such as peaceful assemblies, picketing, or marches not in violation of law. This point needs to be stressed because all too often those who are offended by an inconvenient, irritating, or embarrassing protest brand it civil disobedience even though it is perfectly lawful. Even protesting groups sometimes imply that their perfectly legal conduct is illegal "civil disobedience" because, it has been suggested, this facilitates their effort to represent themselves as appealing to higher values such as morality or religious beliefs that transcend secondary values such as legality.[15]

Thoughtful writers have distinguished between two different types of civil disobedience.[16] The first is the type recently approved by a resolution of the General Board of the National Council of Churches, which defined it as "deliberate, peaceable violation of a law deemed to be unjust, in obedience to conscience or a higher law, and with recognition of the state's legal authority to punish the violator."[17] Here a person breaks a law as a means of attacking its morality or constitutionality or of publicizing efforts to repeal it.

In the second type of civil disobedience the law being violated is not itself the object of the protest but is disobeyed merely to dramatize and publicize the protester's cause. Although a significant number of thoughtful persons defend the first type of civil disobedience in at least some instances, few attempt to justify this second sort of law-breaking. In his recent and notable "Broadside" on civil disobedience Justice Abe Fortas states that in a country with ample protection for expression of individual or mass dissent, the violation of law merely as a technique of demonstration is "never justified" and "constitutes an act of rebellion, not merely of dissent."[18]

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[14]The source materials for this discussion of civil disobedience are: Allen, Civil Disobedience and the Legal Order, 36 *University of Cincinnati Law Review* pp. 1–175 (1967) (The Robert S. Marx Lecture at the University of Cincinnati College of Law); A. Fortas, *Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience* (Signet Broadside, 1968); Morris, American Society and the Rebirth of Civil Disobedience, 54 *American Bar Association Journal* p. 653 (1968); sources cited in note 4 *supra*.

[15]Allen, *supra* note 14, at p. 7.

[16]Fortas, *supra* note 14, at pp. 31–35, 63; other sources cited note 14 *supra*.

[17]"Churchmen Back Defiance of Law," *New York Times*, June 8, 1968, p. 25, col. 5.

[18]Fortas, *supra* note 14, at p. 63. The organized Bar's resolution to the same effect appears in 54 *American Bar Association Journal* 1028 (1968).

What are the supposed justifications for the species of law-breaking known as civil disobedience? Some unsophisticated persons seek to justify the first type by the assertion that the law is immoral and therefore need not be obeyed. The unstated premise is always that the offender (or those who agree with him) has superior qualifications to indicate which laws need to be obeyed. Such an argument can only be allowed when the legal command in question runs counter to the common consensus of humanity, such as murder or genocide. Under any other circumstance the argument that some persons or principles are above the requirements of law leads to tyranny or anarchy. How can it be said that one person or group can be above the law and that another cannot? If "good" groups or "good" individuals are morally justified in ignoring laws or court orders on the basis of their higher moral laws, what is to prevent masked societies from invoking some "moral" principle to justify their murderous or repressive deeds? Or what is to prevent public officials from invoking some "moral" principle to justify practices destructive of freedom? In his impressive lectures on civil disobedience, Dean Francis A. Allen of the University of Michigan Law School identified the ultimate social concern with the precept and example of civil disobedience:

> The serious issue that is raised . . . by the modern protest movements is whether even our imperfect dedication to the rule of law can survive a widespread acceptance of the belief that the individual is morally licensed to withdraw his compliance from laws offensive to his own moral scruples, and (what is perhaps more important) the practical application of this belief by significantly large numbers of individuals and organized groups. . . . [S]ooner or later the persistent assertion of a right by individuals to choose which laws they will obey must ultimately destroy the fabric of principles and assumptions upon which public order in a free society depends.[19]

Justice Abe Fortas gives this definition of the proper limits of the first type of civil disobedience, and what a person should expect who engages in it:

> It is only in respect to such laws — laws that are basically offensive to fundamental values of life or the Constitution — that a moral (although not a legal) defense of law violation can possibly be urged. Anyone assuming to make the judgment that a law is in this category assumes a terrible burden. He has undertaken a fearful moral as well as legal responsibility. He should be prepared to submit to prosecution by the state for the violation of law and the imposition of punishment if he is wrong or unsuccessful. He should even admit the correctness of the state's action in seeking to enforce its laws, and he should acquiesce in the ultimate judgment of the courts."[20]

A type of law-breaking not subject to similar moral condemnation or social risk is an act principally motivated by a desire to test the constitutionality of a law. Frequently the only way to test the validity of a criminal law is to break it. In view of the public interest in obtaining rulings on the validity

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[19]Allen, *supra* note 14, at p. 24–25.

[20]Fortas, *supra* note 14, at p. 63.

of doubtful laws, acts of civil disobedience principally designed to present test cases serve a legitimate social purpose. But this justification extends only to laws whose constitutionality admits of reasonable doubt, and only to methods reasonably necessary to obtain the desired ruling.[21] If the principal purpose is really to frame a test case, all that should be required is a reconnaissance; there is no need for massive and repeated frontal assaults that will "fill the jails." Even if this limited class of civil disobedience does perform a useful function, however, the person who engages in it does so at his peril since, to use the language of a distinguished former Solicitor General of the United States, "The Constitution does not give anyone a privilege to violate a law in order to test its constitutionality." If the law-breaker is wrong he is legally guilty and "can claim no constitutional protection for his mistake."[22]

In his thought-provoking discussion of the dangers and social costs of civil disobedience, Dean Francis A. Allen suggests that although non-violence or notoriety may be the lessons intended by the practitioners of civil disobedience, the lessons actually being learned by their followers may be defiance or rejection of authority. The evil in civil disobedience is that it weakens the bonds of law and therefore may become the progenitor of increased criminality and disorder. The risk, according to Dean Allen, is that "We know comparatively little about the stress levels a legal order can withstand, nor do we have secure knowledge of how far public defiance of the law can proceed without inflicting serious or even irreparable injuries on a democratic society."[23] The magnitude of this risk and the enormity of the possible harm should lead responsible citizens to conclude that, except for limited test-case purposes, civil disobedience is not acceptable social behavior. The appropriate precedent for would-be lawbreakers is that of Socrates, who refused an opportunity to escape the Athenians' sentence of death because he felt that this act of disobedience would discredit law and weaken the society. "Do you imagine," he explained to his rejected benefactor, "that a city can continue to exist and not be turned upside down, if the legal judgments which are pronounced in it have no force but are nullified and destroyed by private persons?"[24]

THE EROSION OF RESPECT FOR LAW

Disobedience and disrespect for law occur at every level of our society, even among those who are most vociferous in preaching law and order and most vocally devoted to condemning disrespect for law. Vehement and un-

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[21]Compare Dworkin, On Not Prosecuting Civil Disobedience, *The New York Review of Books*, June 6, 1968, p. 14, which expands the test-case rationale into a supposed justification for law-breaking (and a plea for prosecutorial leniency) in any circumstance where a person has proceeded "on his own considered and reasonable view of what law requires," a view that implies some consideration of court decisions, including what the court "ought to decide," but need not treat even a recent United States Supreme Court decision as "conclusive." *Id.* at pp. 16, 18.

[22]Cox, *supra* note 4 at p. 11.

[23]Allen, *supra* note 14, at pp. 30, 32.

[24]Plato, *The Last Days of Socrates, The Crito*, p. 90 (Tredennick trans.; Penguin ed. 1966).

reasoned detractors of the United States Supreme Court or its justices must bear a share of responsibility for the conditions they decry. Public respect for law can only be decreased by reviling the institution which is a major source and the paramount symbol of law and the rule of law in our society. One cannot enhance public confidence in the purity of a stream of water by broadcasting that there is poison in one of its tributaries. The Supreme Court cannot be immune from criticism, but it is especially important that criticism of judges or courts be measured and informed since the judiciary, unlike the executive and legislative branches of government, cannot reply to its critics and cannot count on a forthcoming popular election to restore the confidence of its public.

A share of the blame for encouraging subsequent disorders must also be shared by prominent government officials whose irresponsible words have suggested that persons were justified in rioting against acknowledged social ills. Blame is also due those whose ill-managed and hasty implementation of government assistance measures has given the appearance of rewarding persons guilty of violence and wanton destruction and theft of property.

Widespread looting during recent racial disorders seems to have caused more citizen concern than any other variety of thievery in our society. On moral grounds it is difficult to distinguish the thief who loots from other kinds of thieves: the sneak thief, the shoplifter, the pickpocket, or the tax cheat. The greater concern with looting is probably on practical rather than moral grounds. Looting is not only morally reprehensible, it is the kind of flagrant act likely to provoke further defiance and disrespect for law and to lead to an escalating series of lawless acts whose end result is anarchy.[25]

Some of the ugliest current examples of lawless behavior involve court orders: government officials who defy them, government officials who refuse to enforce them, and private citizens who claim a privilege to ignore them.

When public figures — and especially government officers — announce their intention to defy laws or court orders or their refusal to enforce laws or court orders this is even more destructive and threatening to the cause of law and order than the acts of those who rob, loot and burn. Such irresponsible acts are profoundly destructive because they bring the agencies and personnel of government into opposition to the rule of law. Our citizens have seen too many such examples in the past decade. Some have involved labor disorders, where government officials have refused or neglected to take the difficult measures necessary to enforce court orders against labor leaders or union members who have been in contempt. The antics of Adam Clayton Powell, including willful disobedience of several court orders, have made him a fugitive from his own Congressional district. Other examples have dealt with the segre-

[25]Making a similar point in another context, Dean Allen suggests that one reason why the public is indifferent to building code violations by a slum landlord but sometimes outraged by illegal retaliation by injured tenants is that the landlord's efforts at token compliance or evasion reveal "a perverse but genuine concession to the law's authority," whereas conscious and deliberate law violation by a tenant, especially if founded on some theory of right, may be understood as "a fundamental challenge to the sovereignty of law." Allen, *supra* note 14, at p. 24.

gation of public schools, where some government and school officials have compiled a sordid record of public evasion, intransigence or open defiance of law. Recall, for instance, the actions of Arkansas' Governor Faubus and Mississippi's Governor Barnett, whose open and loud defiance of federal court orders forced the President of the United States to enforce them with federal troops. Or consider Governor Wallace, the self-appointed apostle of "law and order," who carried his public scorn of federal court orders to the point of standing in the schoolhouse door where every television viewer in America could see him personally barring the entrance of two Negro students the court had ordered enrolled at the University of Alabama. Immediately after the United States Supreme Court's unpopular decisions forbidding prayer in the public schools, numerous school officials showed their basic disrespect for law by publicly announcing their defiance of the Supreme Court's ruling and stating their intention to continue with the forbidden practices. In several recent labor disputes school teachers unions (emulating the conduct of subway workers, garbage collectors, and other public employees) have loudly defied court injunctions. So have policemen and firemen. On still other occasions parents have defied compulsory school attendance laws by keeping their children out of school to demonstrate support of civil rights causes, or to protest laws requiring students to be "bussed" to achieve integration. The tragedy of all of these examples – the defiant governors, the defiant school officials, the defiant school teachers, and the defiant parents –is that each of them communicates to everyone, and especially to the school children most immediately affected by them, a lesson in law-breaking and disrespect for the law that no amount of preachments about law and order can undo.[26]

In terms of the long-run effect on public order and respect for law, it may be that those who defy court orders are more to be feared than an assassin. An assassin's act is so final, so horribly threatening to everyone's sense of personal security, that the public is repelled and unites to find and punish the offender. An act of willful and publicized disobedience of law, and especially of a court order, on the other hand, holds the whole legal process up to disrepute while casting the offender in the role of a courageous underdog. This example can subtly encourage others to emulate the defiance by committing illegal acts that the originator would not dream of condoning. An act of civil disobedience may be more "moral" than an act of mayhem or murder, but those who argue that illegal behavior is acceptable in some circumstances incur the risk that their principle will be accepted by persons disposed to violence who are unable to make the fine distinctions and moral judgments on which those advocating civil disobedience rely. If the standard of what is lawful is rejected as the invariable norm of personal conduct and every man begins to substitute his own standards of behavior, we will have relinquished

[26]Editorializing upon the blatant defiance of court orders by that city's policemen, firemen and school teachers, the *New York Times* recently observed: "In this year of national concern over threats to law and order it is almost impossible to imagine a more demoralizing invitation to general contempt for law than this disregard of judicial process by those sworn to enforce the law, to protect the public safety and to teach good citizenship." *New York Times*, Oct. 26, 1968, p. 36, col. 1.

the peace and stability of our society. Even a bad law is better than no law at all. Even tyranny is preferable to anarchy. The worst tyranny of all is the indiscriminate tyranny of the vigilante society.

No group has a greater stake in lawful behavior and public devotion to law and order than a minority. No group has greater need for the rule of law than a minority. Law is the minority's assurance of protection from the tyranny of the majority. Whenever a minority takes any action in defiance of law it is sowing the seeds of its own destruction, since the evasion of any law weakens the authority of all law. The United States Supreme Court gave impressive expression to this thought in its opinion affirming contempt convictions and jail sentences for distinguished demonstrators who had violated court injunctions against a street demonstration:

> One may sympathize with petitioners' impatient commitment to their cause. But respect for judicial process is a small price to pay for the civilizing hand of law, which alone can give abiding meaning to constitutional freedom.[27]

If it is true that a minority is obligated by duty and self-interest to give obedience and respect to law, it is no less true that the majority is responsible to provide the rule of law. When public officers ignore the law, their conduct is a reproach upon the majority to whom they are answerable. If the majority demands that a minority give obedience to law, then the majority must spare no effort to assure that all men — public officers as well as private citizens — subordinate personal desires and yield obedience and allegiance to the rule of law.

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[27]Walker v. City of Birmingham, 338 U.S. 307, 321 (1967).

THE RULE OF LAW AND THE DILEMMA OF MINORITIES

I. Daniel Stewart

Civil disturbances are rarely born of frivolous causes. Human beings are more inclined to suffer grievances than to pit themselves in what usually appears to be a hopeless battle against the authority and power of the state. As symptoms of deeply felt injustice by members of the body politic, civil dis-

orders require careful analysis of their causes, the failure of the political system to deal adequately with them, and remedies which are consistent with the principles for which this country stands.

The past half decade has witnessed civil disorder and dissension within the country that has been unprecedented since the civil war. Racialism, poverty, and anti-Vietnam war sentiment have in large measure been the causes of numerous mass protests and civil disturbances — some violent and some nonviolent, and some within constitutional protections and some without. Although the challenges posed by the various kinds of civil disobedience to the legal and political systems are in some respects similar, it is the racial problem (as aggravated by poverty) that continues to dominate the scene, and it is primarily to the issue of civil disobedience in that context, specifically as highlighted by the other Roundtable articles by Royal Shipp and Dallin Oaks, that these comments are addressed.

The articles by Shipp and Oaks detail in part the gross injustices which have given rise to the Black protest movement, and it is against this background that Oaks asserts two basic propositions which elicit challenge. First he argues that: "Law is the minority's assurance of protection from the tyranny of the majority. Whenever a minority takes any action in defiance of law it is sowing the seeds of its own destruction, since the evasion of any law weakens the authority of all." The second position is that law should be "the invariable norm of personal conduct" and if it is not "we will have relinquished the peace and stability of our society." "[E]xcept for limited test-case purposes, civil disobedience is not acceptable social behavior."

TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY

No Black American would accept Oaks's unqualified position that law is a minority's assurance against exploitation by the majority. Segregation, discrimination, disenfranchisement, lack of physical security, denial of justice in the courts, and economic exploitation found legal sanction for many decades in this country. It was not until 1954, almost one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, when the Supreme Court decided *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, declaring separate but equal facilities in schoolrooms unconstitutional, that the nation really began to reverse its pervasive racist policies of the past.

The inability of Negroes to escape the shackles imposed by racialism arose from a basic dilemma that not infrequently confronts minority groups in a democracy. Majority rule is a means of exercising power. Nothing inheres in the principle to assure that its operation will be based on justice and morality. It only assures that those who constitute a majority will be free from government by a few, but the minority has no assurance against an unjust exercise of power. Its protection lies primarily in the prudence and decency of the majority. In homogeneous and egalitarian societies, majorities and minorities tend to be transient since they are not rigidly established on arbitrary bases, such as social or racial status of citizens. The possi-

bility that members of a majority may later be in a minority acts as a self-imposed restraint on the exercise of power and thereby tends towards fairness in the conduct of political business. But when a part of the community succeeds in establishing itself as a permanent majority, that restraint disappears.

The dilemma of the minority was stated by John Stuart Mill in his famous essay, "On Liberty":

> It was now perceived that such phrases as "self-government," and the power of the people over themselves," do not express the true state of the case. The "people" who exercise the power are not always the same people with those over whom it is exercised; and the "self-government" spoken of is not the government of each by himself, but of each by all the rest. The will of the people, moreover, practically means the will of the most numerous or the most active *part* of the people; the majority, or those who succeed in making themselves accepted as the majority; the people, consequently *may* desire to oppress a part of their number; and precautions are as much needed against this as against any other abuse of power.

The difficulty was a matter of great concern to the founders of the Republic. An important, but only partial, solution was the constitutionally imposed limitations on the powers of government. The doctrines of separation of powers and delegated powers and certain prohibitions against specific kinds of arbitrary action, such as prohibitions against bills of attainder, ex post facto laws and suspension of the writ of habeas corpus except during rebellion or invasion, established important limitations upon majoritarian rule. The Bill of Rights and other amendments established still further limitations, the most important of all being the First Amendment rights of free speech. The efficacy of these rights rests upon the assumption that man is basically rational and morally sensitive and that society will respond to appeals for a redress of injustice. Free speech may, therefore, be a means of changing the balance of power or at least effectuating a change in an oppressive policy.

However, depth psychology, with the insights it has provided into subconscious motivations, as well as historical events since the eighteenth century, have tarnished the rationalistic concept of man on which the concept of free speech relies so heavily. As diligent as the courts may be in protecting the right to speak, there is no power in the courts or any other institution of the body politic to compel an unwilling majority to listen to the grievances of a minority, no matter how rational the suasion or how clear the moral principles. Inertness, racialism, greed lacquered with righteous slogans, and rigid devotion to ideological concepts have been responsible for society's refusal to acknowledge merit in the plea of a minority. Cultural and individual pathology magnify the difficulty of appealing to the rational sense of the community at large. Subconscious defense mechanisms may distort reality and obscure the real reasons for society's intransigence. For example, the conflict between a deep-seated racialism and a Christian self-concept have been resolved by adopting grotesque myths of Negro racial inferiority, thereby permitting a sense of equanimity that accommodates both. Obviously, appeals

to the consciences of persons who recognize no inconsistency between their immoral acts and their consciously held moral standards are not susceptible to persuasion.

John Stuart Mill's observations concerning the tyranny of the majority in a democratic society are directly pertinent to the history of this country's racial problems.

> [Society's] means of tyrannising are not restricted to the acts which it may do by the hands of its political functionaries. Society can and does execute its own mandates: and if it issues wrong mandates instead of right . . . it practices a social tyranny more formidable than many kinds of political oppression, since, though not usually upheld by extreme penalties, it leaves fewer means of escape, penetrating much more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself.

The unjust treatment of the Negro both before and after emancipation needs no lengthy documentation. Society has pressed its policy on all fronts by using the organs of government as well as business, religious, and social organizations. Public institutions and officers have supported or condoned slavery, lynch law, denial of justice in the courts, refusal of voting rights, police brutality, lack of education, intentional disruption of the family structure (overtly during slavery, and since then through welfare and other laws) and various measures resulting in widespread poverty with all its attendant evils.

Such state action does not begin to describe the truly pervasive dimensions of the oppression, the extent to which, as Mill said, "the soul itself" has been enslaved. One knows his enemy when the state is the oppressor, and the individual may find dignity in the courage of his opposition. When, however, private institutions and private attitudes are mobilized to inculcate a belief of inferiority and lack of worthiness as a human being in the oppressed, then is the most terrible damage done. For many decades (indeed centuries) no avenue of escape for the Negro was left open by society. On all fronts private institutions and attitudes conspired with state action. Racialist humor, textbooks that have ignored or suppressed Negro culture and Negro contributions to the history of the United States, the refusal of newspapers and other media of communication to treat the Negro community as part of the Nation by not reporting newsworthy events in the Black communities (except crime), the use of given names in addressing Black people, private discrimination in employment and housing, the required stepping off sidewalks to let Whites pass, and advertising that glamorizes only White people, have been a few of the demeaning, unofficial means which have pronounced society's judgment of the inferiority of Black people.

James Baldwin poignantly described the impact on one Black man in his "letter to My Nephew on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Emancipation" in his book, *The Fire Next Time*:

> Now, my dear namesake, these innocent and well-meaning people, your countrymen, have caused you to be born under conditions not

> very far removed from those described for us by Charles Dickens in the London of more than a hundred years ago.
>
> . . .
>
> This innocent country set you down in a ghetto in which, in fact, it intended that you should perish. Let me spell out precisely what I mean by that, for the heart of the matter is here, and the root of my dispute with my country. You were born where you were born and faced the future that you faced because you were black and for *no other reason.* The limits of your ambition were, thus, expected to be set forever. You were born into a society which spelled out with brutal clarity, and in as many ways as possible, that you were a worthless human being. You were not expected to aspire to excellence: you were expected to make peace with mediocrity. Wherever you have turned, James, in your short time on this earth, you have been told where you could go and what you could do (and *how* you could do it) and where you could live and whom you could marry. . . . The details and symbols of your life have been deliberately constructed to make you believe what white people say about you. Please try to remember that what they believe, as well as what they do and cause you to endure, does not testify to your inferiority but to their inhumanity and fear.

The devastation of the human spirit described by Baldwin must be beyond the empathy of those who have not experienced it; however, no knowledgeable person can now fail to understand the truly explosive anger, frustration, and bitterness of people who have seen their parents' and their own lives devastated by poverty and racialism and who now demand that at least their children be released from the yoke of injustice.

Historically it simply has not been true for Negroes that there have been, as Oaks says, "almost unlimited opportunities for free speech, lawful protest, and peaceful efforts to adjust grievances and change legal rules by democratic means." Indeed, it was the absence of such means that gave rise to the Black protest movement which initially took the form of nonviolent disobedience under the leadership of Martin Luther King. Patterned after the Gandhian tradition in which the viability of the movement depends upon the moral strength behind it, the participants in the movement openly defied laws thought to be unjust or unconstitutional and acquiesced in the penalties assessed to dramatize the injustice of the law and thereby appeal to the moral sense of the community at large to change the law. The objective was not the overthrow of the established legal order by revolution, but rather reform. King's nonviolent demonstrations, freedom rides, and sit-ins in violation of state and local law were directed against specific discriminatory state laws and policies that were thought unjust and unconstitutional, but in large measure these acts were not in fact civil disobedience, for many of the prosecutions brought against the participants were ultimately held by the courts to constitute unlawful invasions of First Amendment free speech or were based on unconstitutional state segregation laws and policies.

However, it was not until the vicious dogs of "Bull" Connor and the brutal conduct of other state officials become a means of communicating with and reaching the conscience of White America that the hideousness of

the racial problem became apparent to many citizens. But lethargy, disinterestedness and the racist tradition continued for the most part to prevail in the White community, and the rationality and discipline of the nonviolent movement was displaced by fierce, irrational emotion that erupted in the lawless rioting in city after city, beginning with Watts in 1965. These rebellions were not the handiwork of organized anarchists or communists, as some claimed, but were the spontaneous and generally unpremeditated acts of a large number of citizens whose frustration and sense of hopelessness exploded into frightening acts of violence that severely strained the seams of society. Yet, even rioting can be a means of communication — perhaps a last resort means — but nonetheless, a statement that accumulated injustices have driven men to the breaking point and that other forms of communication have proven unavailable.

The country has taken significant steps away from the racist policies of the past, as evidenced in part by the Civil Rights Acts of 1964, 1967, and 1968, various aspects of the poverty program, and numerous court decisions striking down various forms of discrimination. Even though some of these measures have not been and are not now being fully implemented, there has been an important reversal of official policy, despite the lack of whole-hearted public support. Likewise, the appearance of Black persons in national advertising, the cinema, and television evidences some important changes in the policies of some private institutions (in part the product of antidiscrimination laws). Whether the necessary continued effort will be made on a scale adequate to dampen the explosive attitude in the ghettos, to open the channels of communication, and to render social justice, is a question yet to be answered. Certainly, it is not likely that what progress has been made heralds the end of all urban and racial disorders. Although political and legal remedies are becoming available to the Black community, there is still much despair, anger and frustration that will be difficult to confine within legal limits.

The essential point, however, is not that violence should be condoned because of past injustices, but rather that recognition of injustice and the breakdown of the political system as causes of violent behavior is necessary to formulation of effective measures to deal with the basic problems. If the political institutions judge the Black protest movement — violent or nonviolent — in the same framework as malevolent criminal behavior, then the already deep and serious wounds will be exacerbated. In the end, the stability of society rests upon *just* laws and policy, and therein lies the minority's assurance of protection from the tyranny of the majority.

LAW AS THE NORM OF PERSONAL CONDUCT

Oaks's argument that no act of civil disobedience is morally justifiable, except for test cases based upon a reasonable constitutional claim (which is civil disobedience only if one guesses wrong), has its corollary in the proposition that the law, even though unjust, should be "the invariable norm of personal conduct." The only exception to this principle is when "the legal

command in question runs counter to the common consensus of humanity, such as murder or genocide."

The implication of the proposition, with the one narrow exception, is either that all laws embody moral principles or that obedience to law, regardless of the moral content of the law, is man's highest moral duty. The latter position assigns a higher value to order and stability than justice and human progress if there is a conflict between the latter and the law. Either interpretation presents grave difficulties. With respect to the first, it is simply not true that all laws are morally defensible, at least if judged on a humanistic basis. As to the second proposition, few would agree that order and stability should in all instances be preferred over individual moral commitments. Such a Hobbesian position has provided a philosophical foundation for many totalitarian states, and is doctrine that many Americans have rejected since the foundations of the Republic were laid.

Men are both moral agents and political beings who owe allegiance to the state. Obviously, no democratic society can maintain domestic order and function as a body politic unless its members give high priority to the moral obligation of rendering obedience to the law. The general necessity of relinquishing one's own moral autonomy and of abiding by the laws of the state in most instances is suggested by Judge Learned Hand's aphorism that the spirit of liberty is the spirit that is not too sure it's right. Despite the necessary presumption in favor of obedience to the law, occasions do arise when deeply held moral convictions compel disobedience if one's moral integrity is to be maintained. The dilemma entailed in having to make such a choice is recognized but not resolved in the scriptural statement: "Render therefor unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." (Matthew 22:21)

The history of the nation is studded with instances of civil disobedience arising out of a conflict between the obligations of a law and moral commitments. The nineteenth century witnessed widespread disobedience of the law by those who opposed slavery and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Mormons chose to obey ecclesiastical law rather than the law of the land. In 1862, Congress passed the Edmunds–Tucker Act prohibiting the practice of polygamy in the territories of the United States. Believing the law to be unconstitutional, the Mormons declined to obey it and fought their battle through the courts until 1879 when the Supreme Court held the act constitutional. They continued civil disobedience for many years thereafter. The twentieth century has likewise seen in this country civil disobedience based upon moral principle. Opposition to the draft in the First World War, Negro resistance to segregation laws, Amish opposition to school laws, and conscientious objection to military service in the Vietnam war are but examples.

Supposed moral justification is not, however, legal justification. By definition, the law provides its own standard of the right and wrong of human conduct. Acts contrary to law which are motivated by personal moral views are not legally excused. Of course, motivation may be relevant to the judicial process in sentencing and in many other ways, but one essential feature of

law is its binding effect regardless of personal agreement. Nevertheless, those who are willing to stand the penalties of the law rather than yield a deeply held moral conviction may provide a voice of conscience that might not otherwise be heard. And even though on occasion an asserted moral position may have little or no substance to it, perhaps free institutions are safer when citizens are courageous enough to risk much for their convictions.

Clearly the stability of the country depends upon the justness of its laws and institutions and the obedience of its citizens to these laws. Despite the riskiness of the position, and I submit that the contrary position would be even more risky, recognition of the moral justification, or even moral duty, of civil disobedience in certain circumstances poses less of a risk to the stability of this country and its quest for justice than undeviating, docile obedience.

BLACK IMAGES AND WHITE IMAGES: THE COMBUSTIBILITY OF COMMON MISCONCEPTIONS

Royal Shipp

> *America's worth to the world will be measured not by the solutions she seeks to impose on others, but by the degree to which she achieves her own ideals at home. That is a fitting measure, and an arduous test, of America's greatness.*
>
> *Ronald Steel in* PAX AMERICANA

> *The problem of the American Negro is first and foremost a problem in the American mind. On this subject the American mind as a whole — both white and black — is a shambles.*
>
> *McGeorge Bundy in* THE STRENGTH OF GOVERNMENT

As is true for most Americans, I am frightened by what is rhetorically (and often demagogically) called the breakdown of law and order in my country. As is also true for most, no member of my family has suffered physical harm, loss of income or property, and only a very little inconvenience. But I am frightened. Negro riots alarm me because I live and work close enough to potential trouble spots that we conceivably could be harmed (people I know have been); student riots, and now the "police riots" of Chicago, frighten me because of their implications for the survival of my country in a form which continues to guarantee freedoms I consider essential for my happiness and progress. I am convinced this survival will depend on the number of

Americans willing to undertake the traumatic task of honest evaluation of self and current institutions for the purpose of isolating and correcting attitudes and practices which cause riots. My attempt to analyze these causes here will be limited to what I consider the least dangerous riots, especially at the present time — those confined to black ghetto areas of large cities in which most participants are black people and law enforcers.

Coming from a comfortable western Mormon home as I did, attending graduate school and living in a large eastern city provided a number of cultural shocks of varying intensity. One of the most frustrating was the necessity of changing attitudes toward and conceptions of black people. It is difficult for any white American to cut through the misconceptions and mythology surrounding the "race question"; it is doubly so for western Mormons who live most of their lives without any significant contact with blacks, and who have the added onus of being committed to a religion which explicitly discriminates against and assigns a God-decreed different, if not lower, status to blacks.

Massive and violent acts of black civil disobedience during recent "long, hot summers" and the subsequent black desire for separatism have been particularly difficult to comprehend. The riots last spring in my city affected me in ways I hadn't expected. I was excited by being so close to the action; but I was relieved not to be closer. I felt sympathy for the victims. I was scared and shocked. And I was bewildered. In talking to other Mormons in the area I discovered most of them divided three ways: Some joined the lines at the local gun stores, arming themselves to the slogan, "I'm going to get myself the first sixteen niggers to cross the bridge." There were the incredulous ones who cried out, "What do THEY want? Aren't THEY better off than THEY ever were before? Haven't we already done enough for THEM?" — at all times keeping blacks comfortably in the third person. A smaller group said, "I recognize my prejudice. How can I change? Can I do anything to help?" Because I was both alarmed and touched by those attitudes, and uncertain about my own attitudes and responsibilities, I sought to understand the causes of these black urban riots. And largely, I think, because of my Mormon background I wanted to do whatever I could to ameliorate conditions which cause riots.

WHITE PREJUDICE AND RIOTS

Without question the most serious aspect of the urban crisis is the present struggle of blacks for equality and justice. In August, 1965, the fires of Watts elevated this struggle to a new level of intensity. Since then similar civil disorders have shattered cities throughout the nation. After Detroit and Newark, in 1967, President Johnson appointed the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to study the causes and possible solutions. This group, commonly called the Kerner Commission, reported that the central and basic cause of Negro problems was the prejudice of white Americans. This accusation, while not new, has raised so much controversy — among blacks and whites, among liberals and conservatives — that the main points

of the Commission's analysis have been obscured. Much of the discussion has degenerated into arguments of whether white aversion to and discrimination against blacks is due to "class" or "race" attitudes, and the extent to which the problems of blacks result from their own inadequacies as opposed to debilitating forces mostly beyond their control.

A much more fruitful approach would be for whites to recognize the pervasive discrimination which exists against black people in the United States and relate the results of this to the inferior physical living conditions, educational opportunities, and income-earning prospects of most blacks, and most importantly, to relate white attitudes toward blacks to the image blacks have of themselves.

It is inescapable that a successful and relatively peaceful integration of blacks into the mainstream of American life will require significant changes in both blacks and whites: (1) black development of a justified positive self-image which is the key to personal success, and (2) white acceptance of blacks as equal individuals. The first of these is now being fulfilled at a more rapid rate than at any other time in our nation's history as a result of black power movements and subsequent black pride. The second is proceeding more slowly, if at all, and thereby creating an environment among the most explosive in the stormy history of race relations in this country. Extreme reactionary and repressive tactics worked in the late nineteenth century to "keep the Negro in his place," when he began asserting what he assumed were constitutional and legal rights, but such repression would not work again and attempts to impose it would almost certainly result in a civil war of some sort. In fact, today the most militant blacks are doing all they can to provoke white repression so the confrontation will occur sooner.

Essential changes in white attitudes require an acknowledgment of the existence of prejudice and an understanding of how it is related to conditions which have led to past riots and, if not corrected, may lead to more riots in the future. Blacks have long recognized that the prejudice of whites is the central source of their difficulties. Whites have usually responded to this as merely the Negro's way of rationalizing his problems, but now the Kerner Commission, an intelligent and politically diverse group, after careful study, has unanimously identified white racism as the basic cause of racial unrest and violence.

> The most fundamental [cause of riots] is the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans. Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively in the past; it now threatens to do so again. White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II.[1]

The reaction to this charge has been mixed. Many whites, even those most obviously prejudiced, deny their racism. Some whites will admit to the possibility of prejudice, but fail to see any relationship between their attitudes

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[1]*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 5.

and the problems of black people. Cutting through the rhetoric and emotion enshrouding the issue leaves little question, however, that the majority of white Americans are prejudiced. McGeorge Bundy points out the difficulty of recognizing and admitting this in oneself:

> Prejudice is a subtle and insidious vice. It can consume those who think themselves immune to it. It can masquerade as kindness, sympathy, even support. . . . No man is the best judge of his own behavior in such matters. . . . Yet the corrosiveness of white prejudice requires honest recognition, for as long as it persists it will be the most powerful single enemy of the very Negro progress which will in the end do most to end it.[2]

Willie Morris, editor of *Harper's Magazine*, is characteristic of an increasing number of Americans who admit prejudice while striving to overcome it. He recognizes that such antipathy is very close to the surface and is likely never to be entirely eliminated.

> I discovered most of all in these trips to work each morning [on the New York subways] that they brought out in one his old, latent, controlled hostility toward people of other races — an inevitable battle, if one speaks honestly, that requires the total application of a man's civilized acquisitions.[3]

White prejudice and discrimination — past and present — are basic causes of the race problem because of the important impact of white attitudes upon the Negro self-image. It is increasingly obvious that the dignity and the self-respect of blacks is not only the source of the problem but the key to its solution. True, only blacks can solve their problems through self-improvement, but white attitudes now prevent this from happening. Ralph Ellison, one of the "Negro" writers best able to describe how it is to be black (something whites can never completely understand), tells of the problems caused by whites who fail to see blacks as people, and the effect this has on black self-concept:

> Then, too, you're constantly being bumped against by those of poor vision. Or again, you often doubt if you really exist. You wonder whether you aren't simply a phantom in other people's minds. Say, a figure in a nightmare which the sleeper tries with all his strength to destroy. It's when you feel like this that, out of resentment, you begin to bump people back. And, let me confess, you feel that way most of the time. You ache with the need to convince yourself that you do exist in the real world, that you're part of all the sound and anguish, and you strike out with your fists, you curse, and you swear to make them recognize you. And, alas, it's seldom successful.[4]

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[2]McGeorge Bundy, *The Ford Foundation Annual Report*, October 1, 1966 to September 30, 1967 (New York: The Ford Foundation, 1968), pp. 2–3.

[3]Willie Morris, *North Toward Home* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), p. 347.

[4]Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York: The New American Library, A Signet Book, 1947), pp. 7–8.

Many of the problems of being black are accentuated today because of 100 years of frustrated expectations and unfulfilled promises. Present-day blacks, even more so than in the days of slavery, must hate themselves for their diffidence in associations with white people, many of whom are patronizing, or worse, in dealing with blacks. Small wonder, then, that black power movements are gaining disciples.

"What white Americans have never fully understood," says the Kerner Commission report, "but what the Negro can never forget, is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."[5] This serious charge points out that in addition to attitude changes solutions to the problems will require economic resources and responsive political institutions. Enormous resources will have to be expended in building schools and houses, in providing job training and health care. Residents of ghettos lack these resources, and, as is true for all poor minorities in a democracy, they lack political power. Dick Gregory describes democratic processes:

> You see, America ain't nothing but a cigarette machine now: you can't communicate with her.
>
> You know if you're running through the airport and put 40 cents in the cigarette machine, pull it and you don't get cigarettes, that's a funny feeling when you can't talk to that machine. . . . And there's a little message [on the machine] to tell you what to do if you blow your dough. . . . "Welcome to Hartford, Connecticut. In case of problems with this machine, call Giddings Jones, Kansas City, Missouri." Now you hear the last call for your flight and you stand there looking at that cigarette machine that you can't relate with and that's got your 40 cents and your flight's leaving, so you do the normal thing — you kick that machine — pow.[6]

And yet many whites refuse to believe that blacks have any special disadvantages. "I made it myself. Why can't they?" is a common response. But if this were true why was it necessary to pass Civil Rights laws, enforcing them by police action, in order to assure blacks the same basic "inalienable rights" important to all Americans? Congress has not had to pass such legislation for the benefit of whites. One Mormon friend said to me, "I feel about the Negro the way I feel about women. They must prove that they are worthy." That's very similar to telling a man he must win a card game when the cards are stacked against him. The most debilitating force every black person must face, something which pervades his entire life, is that most whites regard him as inferior. Only a very strong personality can avoid the inevitable, self-destructive inner agreement which eventually must occur.

BLACKS IN URBAN AMERICA TODAY

Blacks in America today earn less income; live in worse houses (but pay more than do whites who live in houses of the same quality); have shorter

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[5]*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, p. 1.

[6]Dick Gregory, "Gregory Remembers Selma," *The Washington Post*, April 14, 1968, p. B-3.

lives, higher rates of infant mortality; are more likely to be unemployed, more likely to be hungry; have less education, and are less prepared than whites finishing comparable numbers of years of schooling. According to every indicator we have been able to devise to measure the "quality of life," blacks are worse off than whites. It is very comfortable for us to attribute these aggregate shortcomings to certain racial characteristics or to less valiant preexistent behavior (when we do this it's called racism, just like the Kerner Commission said), but our Mormon theology shouldn't let us get away with this simplistic view of the world, because we, more than most, have a high regard for the present world and for the importance of our physical and social environment in the world. Thus we emphasize the importance of close family relationships, marriage within the Church, attendance at meetings, etc. In order to understand the rage of blacks today we need to think of the environment in which many of them have grown up and now live, and the effects of these conditions on their personalities and characters.

People living in slums, particularly those growing up in slums, are shaped by what has been called "the culture of poverty." Some thirty million Americans, including a disproportionate share of ghetto blacks, are impoverished according to United States Government definitions. Of these, an estimated ten million suffer from malnutrition, which sometimes causes irreparable brain damage in children. Blacks in ghettos experience a gradual erosion of their humanness. They are not aware of a past of which to be proud and often have little hope for the future. Without this pride and this hope the difficult task of self-identity is often impossible. Recent emphasis on educational programs in Afro-American studies and recent rewriting of American history to reflect the positive contributions of blacks are belated attempts to provide Negroes with a dignified and noble heritage.

A black friend who lives in Washington, D.C.'s, riot area emphasized that rioting enabled Negroes to develop greater pride in themselves than ever before. This may sound perverse, but the whole situation is perverse. He said that when he attended school, a private one, the teacher asked the students to tell the origin of their ancestors. My friend relates that when his turn came, he was so ashamed of his African origin that he invented a fictitious island in the South Seas, claiming his forebears had come from there. One of his friends, in a similar experience, was simply skipped by the teacher who was asking class members for their origins.

Without hope in the future, such time-honored American and Mormon moral principles as investment of time in education and job training, and the use of financial resources to make investments with long pay-back periods, have little appeal. This helps explain the purchase of television sets, "flashy" clothing, and late-model automobiles when the money is needed for more "worthwhile" purposes. When one has little hope in the future, the most appealing "investments" are those returning a maximum of pleasure in a very short time.

Being made aware when very young that whites consider them inferior, being constantly despised and discriminated against finally causes many blacks

to develop a self-opinion of inferiority. The accompanying despair and anger felt by Negroes have been the central theme for many black writers over the past several decades, particularly since the end of World War II. In *Another Country*, James Baldwin attempts to explain Negro emotions through a character who is unable to make anyone, even his sister, his white girl friend, and his best friend (also white) understand the terrible forces which consume and finally destroy him. Even the most sympathetic whites are unable to comprehend such massive frustrations and hopelessness.

White disrespect toward blacks was an important grievance reported by the Kerner Commission. Such treatment intensifies for blacks the self-doubts common to all people. We are all, in large measure, what we have been told we are, and whites, through their treatment of blacks and through white-controlled institutions have spent centuries inculcating Negroes with feelings of inadequacy. As a prominent black psychologist has said:

> Human beings who are forced to live under ghetto conditions and whose daily experience tells them that almost nowhere in society are they respected and granted the ordinary dignity and courtesy accorded to others will, as a matter of course, begin to doubt their own worth. Since every human being depends upon his cumulative experiences with others for clues as to how he should view and value himself, children who are consistently rejected understandably begin to question and doubt whether they, their family, and their group really deserve no more respect from the larger society than they receive. These doubts become the seeds of a pernicious self- and group-hatred, the Negro's complex and debilitating prejudice against himself.[7]

This gnawing self-doubt can place even well-trained and educated blacks at a disadvantage in competing with whites. Often feelings of inferiority are covered with a façade of bravado, identified as one of the forms of fantasy in which blacks engage from the time they are very young. The damage is done early in a child's life. By the age of three most black children know skin color differences and almost always consider black and other dark colors undesirable. This early awareness of blackness stays with children for the rest of their lives and dominates their relationships with themselves, with other blacks, and with whites. Such personal tragedies as poor performance in school, inability to get or advance in a job do not happen to whites because they are white: they just happen. But when these happen to blacks it is because they are black, or so they have been conditioned to think by innumerable contacts with whites when their self-respect has been undermined.

The disrespect often shown blacks in a subtle way (sometimes it isn't so subtle) was brought home to me one day when two men came to waterproof my basement, both strangers, one white, the other black. The white man, without introducing himself, said, "I am leaving my boy to do the work. You don't have to worry. This boy is all right." He left before I had a chance to ask who would vouch for *him*.

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[7]Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965 — quotation from the Harper Torchbook edition, 1967), p. 13.

RIOTS AND RUMORS OF RIOTS

Much to everyone's relief, the summer of 1968 passed without major rioting. The reasons for this are complex and not well understood at this point, but some of them suggest grounds for future optimism. Responsible blacks (including many militant leaders) recognize that most of the positive results of rioting have been achieved and that further movements in this direction will surely bring retaliatory repression. Black leaders now see, often for the first time, the possibility of making changes and improvements through organizing for political action and through the united efforts of the black community. The confidence to try this approach did not exist a few years ago and developed only recently through black power-pride movements and, strange as it seems, the riots themselves helped instill in blacks a sense of pride and control over their destiny which had been missing. The success or failure of their new venture in politics and community action will largely determine whether riots occur in the future. Lack of substantial accomplishment, accompanied by repressive police and military actions, would certainly create an environment sufficiently desperate to ignite more violence. Future riots would likely take a somewhat different form, resembling guerilla and sniper warfare instead of large-scale looting and burning.

Since black urban riots of the past few years played such a large role in the present state of the black struggle for freedom and justice, an accurate knowledge of the actual happenings is basic to understanding the problem. Not unexpectedly, the seriousness of these riots has been exaggerated by most people. Total property damage caused during all riots in this country since 1964 has been estimated at less than $250 million, about half the amount of damage caused by a single good-sized hurricane. Total Americans killed in all the riots since 1964 are fewer than those dying each day in traffic accidents or American soldiers dying each week in Vietnam.

Furthermore, the riots of recent years are not race riots in the usual sense, although that term is sometimes used to describe them. Unlike the long series of periodic race riots which have marked this country's history since its beginning, little direct confrontation has occurred between whites and blacks in the recent disorders. The exception to this is, of course, that in most cases white policemen and soldiers were fighting against Negroes. This suggests that it would be more accurate to compare the recent riots with prison riots, in which prisoners fight against guards and destroy property in their own cells, than with race riots.

The urban riots usually have followed a similar pattern, resulting from a long series of grievances accumulated over the years. Then, in most cases, one specific incident, not unusually serious if considered alone, triggered the riot. In their investigation, the Kerner Commission found no evidence of an underlying plot or organized response to outside agitators. This is not to say that Communists and other revolutionaries may not have been taking advantage of the turmoil — simply that there is no evidence to suggest that their activities were the cause of any riots.

The riot areas have been restricted almost entirely to black ghettos and the disorders have consisted mainly of breaking windows, looting, and burning retail establishments in the ghettos, owned mostly by whites living outside the area. Negro homes in the ghettos were burned only when fires from the stores got out of control.

Although rioters represented all types of people, they had certain common characteristics identified by the Kerner Commission. Most often riot participants were:

(1) Young males. In Detroit over three-fifths were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four.

(2) Single.

(3) Somewhat better educated (reached a higher grade in school) than the average of ghetto dwellers.

(4) Employed, but usually on a part time basis only or in a very menial type of job.

(5) Hostile to whites.

(6) Much more informed about political issues than most blacks.

(7) Proud of being black and of the unique characteristics of the race.

The extent and kind of participation of ghetto residents in the riots is difficult to determine. The accuracy of such data as are available may be questionable because some people asked may have been participants but reluctant to admit it. The best data which are available came from surveys conducted by the Kerner Commission. A Detroit survey revealed that about eleven per cent of total residents in two riot areas admitted participation in rioting, twenty to twenty-five per cent identified themselves as bystanders, over sixteen per cent were "counterrioters" who urged rioters to "cool it," and the remaining forty-eight to fifty-three per cent said they were at home or elsewhere and did not engage in the rioting. In a survey of black males between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five residing in the disturbance area in Newark, about forty-five per cent identified themselves as rioters, and about fifty-five per cent as "noninvolved."[8]

RIOTS, LAW, AND ORDER

Black riots have generated great concern among many Americans, who fear "violence in the streets" and the "breakdown of law and order." It is axiomatic that nothing is so dangerous to personal freedom and free institutions as anarchy, including, perhaps, massive acts of civil disobedience. But crime and lawlessness have always resulted from slum conditions, regardless of the skin color of the slum dwellers. At the beginning of this century, the slums of the lower East Side of New York City, inhabited mostly by whites, were characterized by such high crime rates that even policemen could not

[8]*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, p. 73.

be forced to enter. As Robert Wood pointed out in a recent interview, most of the crisis in our cities is a "crisis of expectations," and that actually streets are safer today than they were in Victorian times, but that we are no longer satisfied by things as our forefathers had them.[9]

There exists, in America, a long and venerable tradition of disobedience to "unjust" laws (even official Mormonism has opposed civil authorities on occasion), and there is some truth in the assertion that "Violence is as American as apple pie." So before bringing in a blanket indictment against blacks for rioting we should consider carefully the experience of blacks in America with the legal process over the past 100 years. During most of this period government institutions at all levels failed to protect the "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness" of blacks, who finally, in the 1950s and early 1960s, engaged in various kinds of non-violent "illegal" demonstrations. In the absence of these it is unlikely that injustices ever would have been corrected. Participating blacks knew, of course, that laws which should have protected their rights had been twisted or ignored by whites for years. The Kerner Commission reported that during the years 1880 to 1900 about 100 Negroes were lynched in the United States *every year.* Whites committing these acts often bragged openly about them without fear of legal reprisal.

In our time, Dick Gregory tells about taking a five-year-old Negro boy by the hand and trying to integrate a southern school:

> You're not only being attacked by the mob, but by the police, and the first thing you know you land in the gutter with that cracker's foot on your chest and a double-barreled shotgun on your throat saying, "Move, nigger, and I'll kill you," and you're scared, man, you're scared to death . . .
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> Then you remember that there's a five year old hand missing out of your hand, and as you lie there in the gutter with the rifle at your throat you turn your head to try to find that five year old kid, and you find him just in time to see a brick hit him right in the mouth. . . .And the kid can't even react like a five year old kid should react after being hurt. He can't run to the adults because they're spitting on him and kicking at him. . . . The last sight you see is a white mother lean over that little kid and spit on him and stomp at him, but filled with so much hate she misses.[10]

Negro women, peaceful demonstrators in most cases, were beaten by southern policemen and attacked by police dogs within the past ten years. These violent acts by law enforcers influenced blacks throughout the nation who saw the action "live" on television. White teachers in Negro schools reported increased hostility toward them from black students who saw these programs.

It soon became obvious, however, that the accomplishments of peaceful demonstrations were limited. With the passage of the Civil Rights acts of 1964 and 1965, and buttressed by excessive promises of some politicians, Negro

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[9]"Robert Wood Talks About the City," *Dialogue,* Autumn, 1968, Vol. III, No. 3.

[10]"Gregory Remembers Selma," p. B-3.

expectations soared while changes in white attitudes and governmental institutions changed only slowly. This combination proved explosive, and resulted in riots which, however destructive of private property and potentially dangerous to democratic institutions, have shocked the white power structure into a realization that solutions to the problem must come soon.

WHAT DO RIOTS ACCOMPLISH?

Citizens favored by the American economic and political system uphold and defend law and order because continuation of the status quo assures the maintenance of a favored position in the society. And, while national institutions and principles have been evolving throughout history, some find an accelerated rate of change to be intolerably traumatic. But blacks, not well treated by the system, do not find it compulsory to defend that which has resulted in their gross mistreatment.

Unpleasant as it is to face, riots bring results. No matter how impassioned the rhetoric condemning violence and disregard for law and order, the fact remains that before this phase of the black struggle for freedom concessions in the direction of justice for blacks were extremely slow in coming and were mainly token. But following Watts and conflagrations in other cities meaningful actions were taken on many fronts. Dick Gregory, speaking to a Yale senior class dinner party in early summer 1968 said:

> How many of you read where Henry Ford 3½ weeks ago hired 6000 Negroes? . . . And why do you think he hired them — because of nonviolence? You damn right know it wasn't. The fire got too close to the Ford plant. Don't scorch the Mustangs, baby. . . .
>
> You all are running around talking about how much riots hurt. Man, do you realize how long it would have taken us under peaceful channels to have 6000 black folks hired?[11]

Positive benefits of the riots to blacks have come in a number of areas. All major types of financial institutions have committed resources to ghetto areas, and large manufacturing corporations are hiring blacks and training them for jobs. Congress enacted a comprehensive Federal open housing law. And, perhaps most important, the riot experience seems to have been associated with increased racial pride in the minds of many participants. As one interviewed for the Kerner Commission said:

> I was feeling proud, man, at the fact that I was a Negro. I felt like I was a first-class citizen. I didn't feel ashamed of my race because of what they did.[12]

ASSIMILATION — BLACKS AND MORMONS

Minority groups, their relationships with other people, and the extent of their assimilation into the more general society have been problems faced

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[11]"Gregory Remembers Selma," p. B-3.

[12]*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, p. 76.

throughout history. For a variety of reasons blacks have experienced an unusually difficult time in being accommodated into the American mainstream. Their special problems, and the likelihood and conditions of eventual success are highlighted here by comparing blacks with other American minority groups – particularly Mormons.

While the Kerner Commission conclusion that "Our Nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white – separate and unequal"[13] may well be true, this statement implies greater assimilation of previous minority groups in the United States than is warranted. In their study of ethnicity in New York City, Glazer and Moynihan concluded that there, and in parts of America resembling New York (i.e., large metropolitan areas), the ". . . melting pot . . . did not happen."[14]

On the other hand, Mormons have been successfully assimilated and a brief review of our experience points up some of the necessary conditions for this to happen, many of which are not options for Negroes.

Mormons should feel empathy for blacks since we do share common experiences. Starting a little over 100 years ago, and for some years after, Mormons were also a minority against which violent acts of prejudice were perpetrated – including the martyrdom of a great leader. At that time, Mormons were considered as undesirable as blacks are today by many people. Some of the charges leveled against Mormons sound familiar. We were considered a violent people with low (or at least very unusual, which is frequently the same thing) standards of sexual morality. We were not desirable neighbors. "Would you sell your house to a Mormon? Would you want your daughter to marry one?" may well have been rallying cries of the mid-nineteenth century.

But Mormons had advantages blacks do not have. We were able to withdraw from the rest of society, and to form a separate nation for a time. This option permitted, and indeed required, Mormons to develop self-reliance, a great character-building exercise, and to create educational systems which later permitted us to reenter society. On the other hand, blacks today are not able to control public institutions serving them and are not forced (or permitted) to rely on themselves for their development. Current signs indicating greater black participation and independence portend more constructive black behavior in future years.

Temporary isolation in the West also permitted Mormons to inculcate themselves with the concept that they were literal offspring of God and have inherent in them the potential for Godhood. In order for a group to become convinced it is favored in God's sight, it must be relatively isolated from outsiders. How can a person consider himself chosen when many of his associates are very similar to him in the most meaningful ways? Until very recently blacks not only were unable to develop characteristics of a chosen people,

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[13]*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, p. 1.

[14]Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1963), p. v.

but were systematically inculcated with feelings of inferiority. Signs of changing times are bumper stickers seen recently with the legend, "We're not the Negro minority, but the chosen few."

It took many years for Mormons to develop their unique ideals, and it likely could not have been done without the relative isolation of the early Utah experience. Blacks will not be able to count on such an experience because both the dynamics of large urban areas and present-day communication systems preclude such isolation.

Of equal importance, Mormons were able to rid themselves of, or at least put out of sight, peculiar characteristics repulsive to non-Mormons. Being accepted and admired came to us only when we showed we weren't so different from anybody else. We "improved" our moral standards by eliminating polygamy, and we were permitted to shorten legs and arms of temple garments, thereby allowing us to wear clothing similar to other Americans. But a major source of difficulty for black persons is that the color of their faces is always evident; they can never hide. A special and concentrated educational effort is needed to overcome the automatic repulsion felt by many at the mere sight of a black face. The Kerner Commission indicated the general dimensions of this effort:

> [A solution to the problem] will require a commitment to national action — compassionate, massive, and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and the richest nation on this earth. *From every American it will require new attitudes, new understanding, and above all, new will.*[15] (emphasis added)

The role of the white is crucial because in the past white attitudes have been the main stumbling block to Negro advancement. What blacks require and demand and deserve from white Americans is to be judged, in the words of Martin Luther King, only by the "content of their character, and not by the color of their skin." Some may cry that actions of blacks during the riots prove their characters are not worthy of consideration, but then what do lynchings, police brutality, and assassinations prove about white character? Although we cannot condone violence and we must punish those who participate in it, we must take a searching look at some of the intolerable conditions which produce it and work intelligently and compassionately for change, especially working to change ourselves so that we can respond to others as human beings and not stereotyped masses.

Complete integration of blacks into the society is not the central question for the present. To expect the change in attitudes in the "over thirty" generation necessary to bring this about would be naive. The outlook for future generations is more optimistic. As McGeorge Bundy has said:

> Progress against prejudice will grow in speed as the next generation moves on stage. I believe that before the men now young are old — perhaps even before the present college generation begins to lose patience with its college-age children — this problem will be

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[15] *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, p. 1.

> more behind us than ahead. *For I believe the young today — both white and black — are learning to regard as natural the equality which many of the rest of us see only as logical. What we see as a legal right they tend to see as a human reality.*[16] (emphasis added)

I also think this is happening, and to Mormon as well as other young people. I was teaching a class of high school students in Sunday School last year, and one Sunday I asked them their opinion of the marriage of Secretary of State Dean Rusk's daughter to a Negro, which had occurred the previous week. One girl gave a response which seemed to reflect a consensus of class members (admittedly, an unusually mature and thoughtful group), "I was real proud of her."

CAN MORMONS CHANGE?

At this time of crisis in America, Mormons, with a special stake in the preservation of the nation, are among the most concerned citizens. If, as has been argued, the greatest requirement is a change in attitudes, ideas, and prejudices — perhaps the most difficult requirement of all — what is the likelihood that this will happen to a substantial number of us? Like an act of repentance this change requires honest soul searching and new experiences. Will Mormons be able to make these changes? What special advantages or handicaps come from our religious teachings?

On the negative side, Mormonism assigns blacks to a theologically inferior position, leaving a mark on us from which escape is difficult. While it is difficult to admit the presence of prejudice in oneself, it is even more difficult to determine the origins of this prejudice. For Mormons, it is impossible to know the extent to which the Church's teachings about blacks are responsible for our attitudes toward them. But since blacks are explicitly discriminated against with respect to the Priesthood, it is obvious that this doctrine would be a major cause of prejudice in a great many instances. When we ask ourselves why, as we must, if the answer is that blacks lack something, or did something which results in their being less "worthy" than we are now, this attitude constitutes racism. There have been some public pronouncements from General Authorities admonishing us not to discriminate against blacks (particularly President Brown's 1965 General Conference statement that discrimination is a "moral evil"). But these have been few, and almost never does one hear this type of admonition from Ward and Stake leaders. Our attitudes toward blacks would certainly be different if statements and exhortations against prejudice and discrimination received more emphasis in our meetings and official publications. The Church's response in the April 1968 General Conference to the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is an example of our apparent lack of concern.

There is also a positive side to the question. Mormons are urbanizing even faster than most other Americans. This brings an increasing number into contact with the problems of slums and poverty, and because Mormons

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[16]*The Ford Foundation Annual Report*, p. 4.

have a compulsion to get anxiously engaged in good causes we become deeply concerned. As Sterling McMurrin said in a recent speech:

> Social reform is a product of the cities and industrial people, not of rural areas and agricultural people. The minor industrialization of parts of Utah . . . and the increasing numbers of urban industrially oriented Mormons, especially in the East and on the Pacific Coast, are already having an observable impact on Mormon thought and attitude with respect to the Negro issue.[17]

In the five years I have lived in the Washington, D.C., area I have seen many Mormons undergo quantum changes in race attitudes. These have usually not come about suddenly or because of dramatic happenings, but mostly as a result of common every-day experiences with blacks.

In an earlier *Dialogue* volume, Karl Keller described blacks as possessing a simple spirituality and exhibiting basic Christian behavior to a degree not achieved by most whites. I found this to be true through a small gesture by a black girl in the office when our third child was born. Others in the office paid little attention, but she brought in a small gift for the baby. I was so overcome the only thing I could say was the trite, "You didn't have to do that." She replied, "I know I didn't, but I wanted to. Where I grew up people thought births important enough occasions to make them a little special."

Associating with blacks in a school, work, or social relationship will inevitably change attitudes toward them. They have dreams, families, problems, boy friends "just like everybody else"; and pretty soon you stop thinking of them as black people and think of them as people. Two young girls I know from Utah, both now attending Brigham Young University, worked in Washington, D. C., last summer and both worked closely with black girls. Neither of my friends had associated much with Negroes before and it's safe to say that their attitudes toward all blacks will never be the same again because of their friendships with the two black girls they met.

Often something as simple as taking two little black five-year-olds on a Saturday afternoon picnic has powerful repercussions. One of the touching moments in my life came when I saw the tears in the eyes of a young Mormon mother after such an outing while she was giving each child a big farewell hug.

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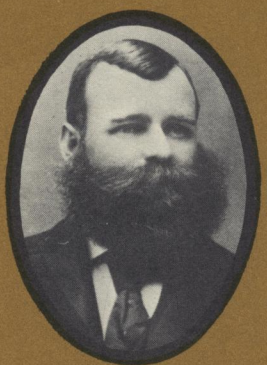
[17]Sterling M. McMurrin, "The Negroes Among the Mormons," Address given before the annual banquet of the Salt Lake City Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, June 21, 1968.

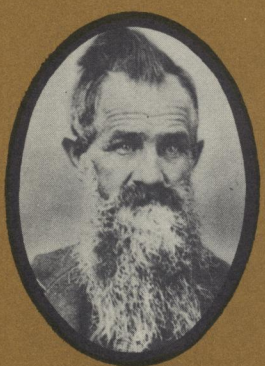
a gallery of BEARDS



Come out o'that bunch o'hair! I know you're in thar! I see your ears a-workin'!
(Derisive shout to heavily — bearded men, in vogue in Lee's Army, 1862-63.

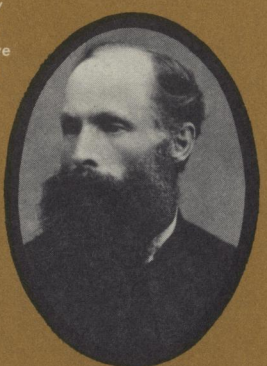
While we have no objection to a properly trimmed mustache — and there is nothing morally wrong with wearing a beard — we would prefer you to be clean-shaven and that your hair be neatly cut.
Ernest L. Wilkinson

Thy knotted & combined locks to part,
and each particular hair to stand on-end,
like quills upon the fretful porpentine.
Shakespeare

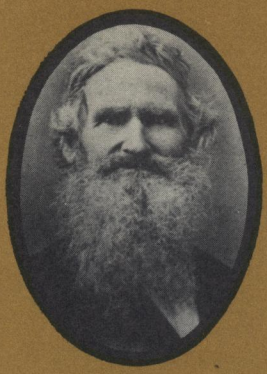


Men for their sins,
Have shaving, too, entailed upon their chins,
— a daily plague.
Byron

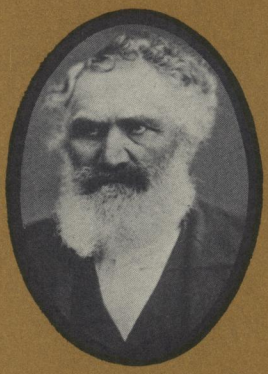
The hoary beard is a crown of glory if it be found in the way of righteousness.
Proverbs XVI

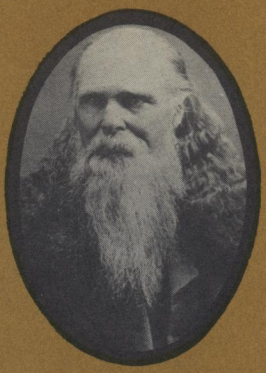


What a beard hast thou got! Thou hast got more hair on thy chin than Dobbin my fill-horse has on his tail.
Shakespeare



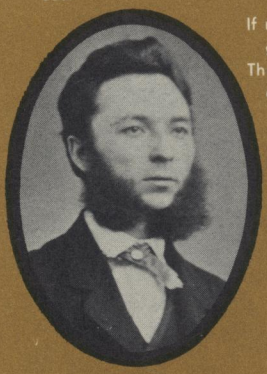
There was an old man with a beard,
Who said, 'It is just as I feared!'
Two Owls and a Hen
Four Larks and a Wren
Have all built their nests in my beard.
Lear



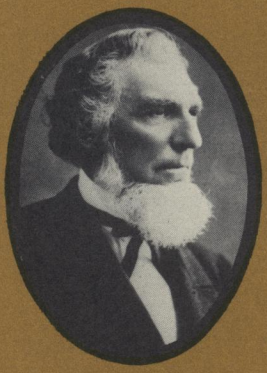


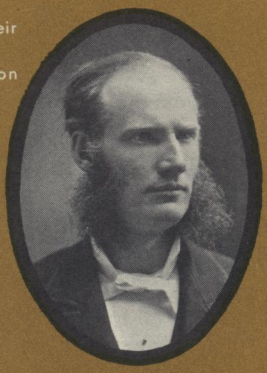
Thy boist'rous locks no worthy match for valour to assail, nor by the sword, but by the barber's razor best subdued.
Milton

If men be judged by their beard and their girth,
Then goats are the wisest of creatures on earth.
Jewish saying



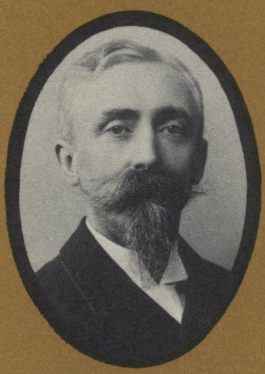
The soft down of manhood was just springing on his cheek.
Callimachus



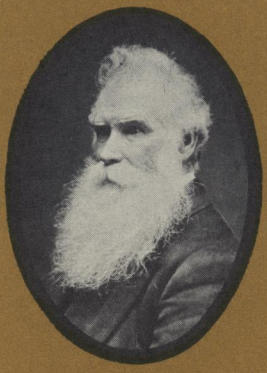


Alas, poor chin! Many a wart is richer.
Shakespeare

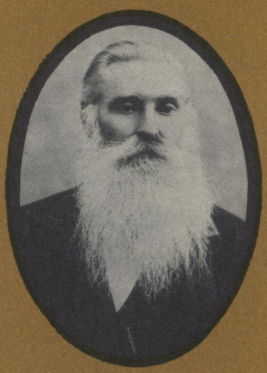
If Providence did beards devise
To prove the wearers of them wise,
A fulsome goat would then by nature
Excel each other human creature.
Thomas D'urfey



The properness of a man lives altogether in the fashion of his beard.
Anonymous



The glory of a face is its beard.
Talmud



It is not the beard that makes the philospher.
Thomas Fuller

John S. Harris

THE UNHOBBLED MARE

From a lace-curtained upstairs window,
She absently watched the cluttered farmyard below.
In the shadow of the shed she saw his cold forge,
His heavy hammers, his grindstone and his powerful vise—
Beyond this the sheds and pens for his gentle cows and mares
And the high, strong corrals for his bull and stallion.

Her husband appeared around the corner of the barn,
Pumped water over his hands at the horse trough,
Splashed his face and wiped his mouth
On the rough cloth of his sleeve.
Seeing him, her shoulders drooped a bit more,
And she tried to bite loose a small hangnail
From a hand made rough with scrubbing floors.
She turned to descend the stairs reluctantly, but stopped
To straighten a milk-glass vase on a small mahogany table.

He stood in his boots on her kitchen floor,
Smelling of soil, horsesweat, silage and sour milk.
His hands reached for her as she passed.
She quickly turned toward the icebox,
Making it seem her first destination.
Efficiently, she laid a proper supper on the table.

He ate quickly, as one long starved, and
As he finished her competent blueberry pie,
Pushed back and picked a reluctant bit of meat
From his teeth with his longbladed stock knife.
She cleared the dishes from the table
And when her hands were deep in dishsuds
Felt his heavy arms encircle from behind
His breath in her tight-braided hair.

"Don't" she said, "Why must you always do that?"
He backed away. "Ellie, why don't you?"
He started to say. Then left it.
Not looking at his eyes with their half anger, half hurt,
And knowing what he wanted to say,
But had left unsaid, she left it unanswered.

Perhaps it could be avoided and eventually die.
Her only hope was to borrow strength from tomorrow,
When perhaps — but no he could never know,
And if he didn't know, he could not be told.
He knew his livestock, but all he knew of women
Was what he learned from the Holy Bible
And the Sears Roebuck Catalog.

Not like Arnold who had courted her
With poetry and praise — who once had bared
Her shoulder and gently kissed her milk-white skin,
And she'd wept in delight —or even like Jed
Who had carried her across a stream then clear
To the top of the hill for a picnic, laughing confidently
At his own strength and youth and her susceptibility.

He broke the silence, starting for the door,
Saying he had to bed down the stock,
That he would probably sleep in the barn that night —
The bay mare was due to foal, and might need help.
So he went out, and she breathed again.

Outside he clenched his jaws
And banged his fist into the granary door,
Savoring the pain.
Must it always be so with women to invert
The Golden Rule and return love with hate?

While he was horny as Jim Marshall's stud horse
That, kept in the barn, could smell the mares pass
In the lane, neighing high and long and
Stamping the wooden floor, until, they say,
He found a knothole he could see through,
And went cross-eyed trying to see
With both eyes at once.

He remembered old Padriac, the Army Remount stud.
They'd brought a mare to him, but not hobbled,
As regulations required.
And at the crucial, vulnerable moment,
She kicked with both hind feet.
And Padriac had died.
The man hit the wall again saying,
"The poor son of a bitch, the poor son of a bitch."

Reviews

Edited by Edward Geary

THE LIMITS OF DIVINE LOVE

Wilford E. Smith

The Church and the Negro. By John Lewis Lund. Paramount Publishers, Glendale, Calif., 1967. 129 pp. $2.50. Wilford E. Smith is Professor of Sociology at Brigham Young University.

John L. Lund has gone to a great deal of work to compile under the covers of this one small book pertinent excerpts from scriptures and from writings of Church leaders to clarify the Mormon position concerning the Negro. He concludes from his examination of these sources that Negroes are God's beloved children who were born into the world as innocent mortal beings with every right to brotherhood with all men, but they bear a curse which they willingly accepted in the spirit world as a precondition to being born. The curse consists of deprivation of Priesthood, and it is justified as the consequence of some preexistent misdeeds or shortcomings which Negro spirits understood before they agreed to accept mortal bodies. The curse will be lifted from worthy Negroes after all worthy white people have been resurrected and after Abel has been enabled to have offspring and all of them have had an opportunity to be exalted. Black skin is not part of the curse but is a mark put upon the Negro to protect him.

Lund's compilation is very similar to that of John J. Stewart in *Mormonism and the Negro* (2d ed.; Orem, Utah: Bookmark Division of Community Press Publishing Company, 1960), from which Lund draws heavily. He presents more material than Stewart and William E. Berrett do in that text, of which Berrett wrote the historical section titled, "The Church and the Negroid People." Both of these books, and "The Negro Question Resolved" by Yates Heywood (published by Yates Heywood, Box 396, Holbrook, Arizona, 1964), are what critics would call apologist literature — not that they beg forgiveness for their support of what they perceive to be the Church's position, but that they defend it with partisan fervor.

There is nothing new in any of these three compilations, but each is of interest to one concerned with the Negro's place in God's Kingdom. Lund's arguments are particularly bold as he proclaims that Negroes can really be nothing more than second-class citizens in the Kingdom, at least for a long, long time, but that they can still be worthy of much respect and love if they will be good Uncle Toms.[1] He insists that even second-class citizenship in such a great Kingdom is priceless, and in time it will lead to first-class citizenship for them.

Even though Lund's book bears no Church endorsement, it impresses me as being just about what the more "traditionally orthodox" Mormons believe. I rather feel that Lund in a sense is right in describing his views as those of the Church, even though he disavows any intent or right to attempt to speak officially. Most of what he says is right down the traditional line which most of us have learned from childhood.

But some of his arguments scare me. As I read the book, parts of John Greenleaf Whittier's "The Eternal Goodness" kept coming to mind:

I trace your lines of argument;
Your logic linked and strong
I weigh as one who dreads dissent,
And fears a doubt as wrong.

But still my human hands are weak
To hold your iron creeds:
Against the words ye bid me speak
My heart within me pleads.

I walk with bare, hushed feet the ground
Ye tread with boldness shod;
I dare not fix with mete and bound
The love and power of God.

Much of Lund's argument hinges on the condemnation of Cain, and his views on this matter are much too sure for me. Lund asserts that Cain opposed God in the spirit world and was Perdition before he was born (p. 17). For God willfully to send as Adam's son a spirit known to be so wicked that he was called Perdition would not only be so monstrous that it is hard to believe, but it is contrary to the scripture that says only those who did not follow Lucifer were to enter mortality. I read the scripture quoted by Lund to say that Cain was present in the heavenly councils before he was born, not that he was Perdition at that time. My view seems to be nearer to that in Joseph Fielding Smith's *The Way to Perfection*, often quoted as the best

[1]The Uncle Tom label, never used by Lund, is really far from derogatory. Uncle Tom was a truly noble man. If all men could be Christians such as he, this world's social problems would be solved. But many modern Negroes have rejected this role, and any attempt to impose it on them is humiliating and may well lead to bitter feeling. They are tired of self-sacrificing roles. Nothing short of full equality will satisfy them. See Irving Kristol, "A Few Kind Words for Uncle Tom," copyright 1965 by *Harper's Magazine*, reprinted in *Current Perspectives on Social Problems*, Judson R. Landis, ed. (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1966), pp. 111–17.

Church writing on this subject.[2] But if Lund is right and Cain was the kind of willful devil that he is made out to be, still the conclusion that all of this was part of God's plan to give bodies to spirits not worthy to hold the Priesthood demeans God too much for me.

It is true that no other church can do for the Negro as much as ours can. It is true that if they don't believe we have the Priesthood they shouldn't mind not getting it from us, and if they do accept the Church as divine they should gratefully accept all that it can offer them even if it falls short of full equality with any other race of people. But the problem rests in what this does to believers as well as to non-believers psychologically. Believing that Negroes were cursed before they were born makes it psychologically difficult, if not impossible, to accept them as full and equal brothers. It can't help but create a sense of inequality which will deny the scriptural injunction for all men to love each other completely as God loves all men, regardless of race. The Lund explanation may satisfy believers, but will non-believers tolerate beliefs which make them less than other people in a society which proclaims the socio-political equality of all men? How can we tell people debauched and antagonized to the point of riot in Watts, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, and Newark to be good Uncle Toms or they won't be exalted in heaven? How can we tell them they were cursed before they were born so that they can't have all the blessings we have, but they can have many, and that they should love us, their more privileged brothers?

Another crucial question concerns the statement from Paul (Acts 17:26) that the Lord ". . . hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all of the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation." Lund uses this scripture to show that, in His wisdom and goodness, God separated people into different races so that spirits could be sent where they would fit. The rest of Paul's speech seems to give a different meaning, however. He seems to be arguing that men thus separated by nationality are really all of one blood and are all loved of the only true God who wants them all to be united in His kingdom on earth. Why does the Church send missionaries all over the world to stir up people and make them alike in belief and behavior and to unite them in brotherhood, if God intended that they should be separated and protected from such mingling? The scriptures are full of God's love for all men and his promise that all will be judged by their works in accordance with the light they have, and messengers are admonished to take the word to all men and break down the barriers between peoples.

This brings me to Edgar Whittingham, whose testimony Lund prints on page sixty-eight. Whittingham was the first Negro I had taught in eighteen years at Brigham Young University. It was in my class that he told the story printed by Lund. He asked me not to publish the story (which we taped) because he wanted to do more thinking about it (and I wonder if Lund asked

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[2]Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Way to Perfection* (12th ed.; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1963), pp. 97–100.

his permission to publish it). I am confident that Brother Whittingham would not want the story used to temper the questions of his fellow Negroes. He told me that he did not like fellow black John Lamb's article in the *Improvement Era*[3] because it tended to imply that the Negro was contented with his lot. Edgar hopes for something more, and he believes the President of the Church might have a revelation to give the Priesthood to worthy Negroes much sooner than Lund does. Until he can get the Priesthood, it is not likely that Edgar will be satisfied.

Was Brigham Young necessarily prophesying, as Lund thinks, when he said that Negroes would have to wait until after all of Abel's posterity to get the Priesthood, or was he speaking as a fallible man, as when he stated that the Civil War would not succeed in abolishing slavery. For us to conclude absolutely that the door will not be opened, perhaps even as early as this decade, is too much. Hard and fast decisions based on speculations about pre-earth life, even those by great men, could lead us astray.

One final and crucial note. Lund does not define Negro in his entire book. Are all black-skinned people Negroes? The Fijians, East Indians, Melanesians, and all black Africans? If so, many Negroes now hold the Priesthood. If not, where is the boundary line? Is it logical to suppose that "one drop" of Negro blood makes a white man a Negro while "one drop" of white blood does not make a Negro white (using "blood" figuratively of course)?

This review is much too short to cover all the questions raised by Lund's book. The book frightens me, but it is, nonetheless, full of information that all interested men should know. Others may have different interpretations of the same information, and one who presents opposing points of view need not necessarily be in opposition to Church doctrine or authority.

David O. McKay has the keys, and members of the Church will respect his use of them. The Negro will not hold the Priesthood until the holder of the keys gives it to him. In the meantime, the Negro is among us and must be *related to*, rationally and on a Christian basis. Lund undoubtedly intended his book to do this, and many Mormons will believe that it does; but others who believe the Negro is equal to the white man will reject it as an unconvincing defense of a benevolent racism which they and most contemporary Afro-Americans cannot stomach.

Regardless of how people accept the book, Lund has clearly and boldly presented a point of view. Much of what he says reflects the goodness of true Mormonism, even though his appeal will be predominantly to those who think of themselves as orthodox in the same sense that they are steeped in Latter-day Saint folklore. Mormons who love the Church and who strive to be orthodox in terms of scriptural doctrine will undoubtedly prefer Armand L. Mauss's treatment of the subject in the Winter 1967 issue of *Dialogue*. All Mormons should be aware of how carefully the General Authorities, as a body, have avoided endorsement of any book on this subject.

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[3]John Lamb, "My Responsibility," *Improvement Era*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (January 1966), pp. 36–37.

THREE RECENT TABERNACLE CHOIR RECORDINGS

Lowell M. Durham

The Mormon Tabernacle Choir's Greatest Hits, Volume II. Columbia Records, Stereo MS7086, ML6486.

Anvil Chorus, Columbia Records, Stereo MS7061, ML6461.

Symphony No. 9 (Chorale) in D Minor, Op. 125. By Ludwig van Beethoven, Philadelphia Orchestra and Mormon Tabernacle Choir, Eugene Ormandy, conductor; soloists: Lucine Amara, soprano; Lili Chookasian, alto; John Alexander, tenor; John Macurdy, bass. Columbia Records, Stereo MS7016, ML6416.

Lowell M. Durham, whose article, "On Mormon Music and Musicians," appeared in *Dialogue*'s Summer issue, is Professor of Music at the University of Utah.

While the Tabernacle Choir's total output of albums annually may be less than that of some orchestras, no classical recording organization approaches the Choir's sales per album. This may be attributed to three factors: the Choir's sizeable, continuing radio audience; a decade's fortuitous collaboration with Eugene Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra; and a repertoire of unusual breadth. As a result of the change in radio since the advent of television, the Choir's far-flung radio audience has been on the decline for some years, following its amazing climb to world renown. The fact that many CBS Radio outlets no longer schedule the Choir broadcast could reduce its recording sales. However, the present head of Columbia's classical division once noted that any Tabernacle Choir album sells from one to two hundred thousand copies even before advertising. The two best-sellers (*The Lord's Prayer* and Handel's *Messiah*, both with Philadelphia Orchestra) are presently en route to their "second million."

The Choir's profitable collaboration, both financial and artistic, with Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra ended in December, 1967, when "the World's Greatest Orchestra" stopped recording for Columbia. Many Tabernacle Choir members and staff have expressed deep concern. One insider moaned, "The Choir can't compete by turning out only 'Mickey Mouse' albums!" He was referring to the discrepancy between such masterworks as *The Messiah*, Brams's *Requiem*, and Beethoven's *Ninth*, on the one hand, and "pops" and variety albums on the other. The Choir has made considerably more of the latter.

Some of the "variety" discs are good musically and justified by other considerations (for example, most of *The Lord's Prayer*, I & II, *Joy of Christmas*, *Beloved Choruses*, I & II). Patriotic albums are certainly appropriate in these times and are played profusely by the nation's radio DJs. But all the foregoing albums — masterworks or variety-type — are with the Philadelphia Orchestra or New York Philharmonic. Without a major orchestra tie-in, the Choir's recording future could be less distinguished than its past.

In the meantime, the final Philadelphia-related recordings reach the market. In quality, the three recent albums fall into three distinct niches. *The Mormon Tabernacle Choir's Greatest Hits*, Volume II, is a compilation from several earlier albums. All selections have been taken from the original tapes,

none re-recorded. This is one of the recording industry's favorite remunerative devices. *Greatest Hits,* II, is a mixture of patriotic arrangements, Negro spirituals, folk songs, and oratorio excerpts. All are conducted by Ormandy except "Dixie," "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands," and "This Is My Country," which are done under Richard P. Condie's direction. Performance is good, but choice of repertoire leaves something to be desired: Handel's "Largo" ("Holy Art Thou") is uncomfortably sandwiched in between "Dixie" and a Negro spiritual. There seems little correlation between Handel's "Hallelujah Amen!" and Foster's "Beautiful Dreamer." There's no lovelier tune than the latter, but it belongs in a Foster folk album.

Anvil Chorus is one rung up from *Greatest Hits* on the musicality ladder. Purists would probably never take it out of the album cover. To them, opera is theater and should be recorded "live" and not excerpted. Nevertheless, this album affords opera lovers (rather than experts) opportunity to hear big moments from popular operas. Columbia engineers achieve a glorious sound. *Cavalleria Rusticana* ("The Lord Victorious"), *Tannhauser* ("Hail, Bright Abode"), and *Aida*'s "Triumphal Scene" are standouts. Musically, the performance is fairly good, but except in rare moments it is impossible to understand the text (English translation). This often occurs with large choirs. However, other Ormandy-conducted recordings have been much better in this respect.

Some excerpts seem to be included for inclusion's sake, for instance, *Pagliacci*'s "Bell Chorus" and *Butterfly*'s "Humming Chorus." Thrilling though *Faust*'s "Soldiers' Chorus" and Wagner's "Pilgrims' Chorus" are in staged performance, they lack the brilliance of the ladies' voices as a purely audio experience. Also weak are the familiar Wagner "Bridal Chorus" and Weber's "Huntsmen's Chorus" (from *Der Freischutz*) — not weak as performed in the actual opera, but weak by excessive repetition on this disc.

Ormandy's (Beethoven's, that is!) *Ninth Symphony* is the latest and fifteenth available recording. The Choir, of course, appears only in the fourth movement. The *Ninth* may be bought separately or purchased with the complete set of Beethoven symphonies. Being the "greatest," Beethoven is also the most-recorded composer. There are eleven recordings of the Complete Beethoven Nine Symphonies still on the market. It will be interesting to see how Ormandy's fares. He is preeminent in the late Romantics. The voluptuous Big Sound of the Philadelphia lends itself to his emotional approach to music. He cannot be outdone in Wagner, Richard Strauss, Tchaikovsky and the Russians, Sibelius, and — even — Ravel.

His Beethoven's *Ninth* is extremely good; for the late Beethoven is fifty years ahead of his time. Part of the *Ninth*'s secret is the Big Sound, deep emotion bordering on genuine passion, and a huge choir capable of enduring the physical punishment and sustaining the emotional tension demanded by the Bonn Master. The 375 voices, with their magnificent sound (and the engineering skill of Columbia's engineers, plus ingenious tape-patching by Columbia's artistic staff) combine in one of the best *Ninth* choral performances since Toscanini nearly three decades ago. The Robert Shaw Chorale did a mag-

nificent job, with greater precision and drive than Ormandy–Tabernacle Choir. But for beauty, power, and breadth of "sound" the nod must go to the Tabernacle Choir.

If you're an Ormandy fan ← and a Romantic — you'll like this Beethoven. But more enduring are apt to remain those of Mengleberg, Toscanini, Klemperer, and Walter, in that order.

SHORT NOTICES

Highlights in Mormon Political History. By J. Keith Melville. Charles E. Merrill Monograph Series in the Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol. II. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1967. viii + 99. Paper, $1.50.

Judging from its title and its brevity, some readers will assume that this book is merely one more of those capsule accounts of the past which college students find so valuable at examination time. They will be wrong. *Highlights in Mormon Political History* is not a synopsis of the major events in state and national politics in which the interests of the Latter-day Saints have been involved. Instead, it is a detailed study of two important episodes in the history of the Mormons in politics: the congressional election of 1848 in Iowa and its aftermath, and the Compromise of 1850.

To most Mormons, western Iowa in 1847 was just a way station on the journey to the Promised Land. Still, so many Saints stopped there that the frontier character of the region soon disappeared, and by early 1848, with the district somewhat settled, the Mormons asked that the laws of the state be extended over them. Before the area could be organized into a county, however, the Church was once again entangled in state politics. In Iowa, as in Illinois a decade earlier, the strength of the Whigs and the Democrats was so nearly equal that the Mormon vote was a matter of concern to both parties. This time the Saints settled on the Whigs.

The resulting political imbroglio is examined with care in the first section of Dr. Melville's book. Using the Journal History of the Church and copies of clippings from Iowa newspapers, he describes the bargain that was made between the church leaders and the Whigs, and then explains what happened when that agreement was carried out. A few mysteries remain — we still don't know, for example, whether Orson Hyde managed to get the Whigs to pay for the printing press as well as the paper he needed to begin publication of the *Frontier Guardian* — but in general, the story of how the Saints were affected by politics while they were in Iowa is now clear.

There is so much fresh information in this first study that both the serious student and the general reader will find it useful. The essay on "The Mormons and the Compromise of 1850," on the other hand, will be of greater interest to those who don't already know how Brigham Young and the Mormons tried to influence Congress with regard to a political dispensation for the Great Basin. The sources — especially correspondence and other material found in the Church Historian's Office — are quoted at greater length than

heretofore, but Dr. Melville's interpretation of these events differs little from previously published accounts. The conclusion here, as in Dale Morgan's "The State of Deseret" and Leland H. Creer's *Utah and the Nation,* is that the problem in 1850 was not so much religious prejudice as it was the extension of slavery into the territories.

It is sometimes difficult to bring articles which treat different phases of the same subject together in book form without losing perspective and continuity. In this case, both of the articles are concerned with the political activities of the Mormons in approximately the same period, and yet there is practically no correlation between the two, particularly with reference to what happened in Washington concerning the votes of the Iowa Mormons and what happened there with regard to the Saints from Utah. Without careful attention to chronology it is easy to miss the intriguing, and possibly significant, fact that the Congressional debates on the Iowa election of 1848, in which the Saints were loudly accused of selling their votes, came less than three weeks before the very same members of that same House of Representatives were to consider the matter of membership in the 31st Congress for a delegate from the State of Deseret.

While this is not a fully unified history of the political experience of the Latter-day Saints from 1847 to 1850, it is still a book which should be read. Concentrating as they do on limited sets of circumstances and events, these essays highlight the political process *within* the Mormon community, and for that reason are valuable indeed. In view of the considerable current effort to make Mormonism equal Americanism, it is good to find such a striking reminder that the Latter-day Saints were a peculiar people not just because some of them practiced polygamy, but because nearly all of them held some pretty unorthodox ideas about politics. In the course of recounting these two attempts the Saints made to accommodate themselves to the American political system, Dr. Melville reveals, almost inadvertently, but as plainly as anyone ever has, that there simply was no separation of church and state in early Mormon society and thought.

Jan Shipps
Bloomington, Indiana

A Collection of Inspirational Verse for Latter-day Saints. Volume I edited by Bryan B. Gardner and Calvin T. Broadhead, Volume II by Calvin T. Broadhead. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishers, 1963, 1967. 146 pp. (Vol. I); 113 pp. (Vol. II); $2.50 each.

It seems to this reviewer that there have been many books of this type published: easy, well-known rhymes that we have listened to from pulpits many times (though some of the best-known and most quotable like Kipling's "If" have not been included). I am sure they have their place. A few lines of pithy verse — much of it lays no claim to being poetry — can often put across a point comprehensively and quickly. And that verse may be recalled often in a situation calling for easy preachment.

Still, the very disparity of the contents contained here proves much has been written by immortal poets that is as easily quoted, as readily recalled, as

some of the more trite, mechanically rhymed verses used. For here, along with too many anonymous lines, we find Shakespeare: "This above all to thine own self be true . . ." and others: Goethe, "Begin it," Alexander Pope, Browning, Mrs. Browning, Coleridge, John Donne, Whitman. And the worst poem of my favorite poet, Emily Dickinson: "If I could keep one heart from breaking. . . ." It is her most quoted and most sentimental poem because, of course, it is not true. Who could want to live a life merely to return one bird to its nest, or even keep one heart from breaking?

I was pleased to find some old "friends" that meant something to me in the past. One that begins, "God has not promised skies always blue. . . ," and goes on "But he has promised strength for the day. . . ." (Though, with 30,000 suicides a year in America . . . well, one wonders.) No young person could be anything but helped by such lines as, "I have to live with myself and so, I want to be fit for myself to know," etc.

Yet, I rather doubt that the average high school or college student will turn to this type of thing as his forebears did. They know that "life is real," but they're learning for themselves whether it is "earnest" or not. Sadly, perhaps, they are aware that there are few absolutes and are not easily taken in by platitudes.

It is my hope that we are producing in the Church a new type of writing that is affirmative without being didactic or sentimental; that is not merely incomprehensible for obscurity's sake, or ugly; that will speak for our people in refutation of the life-ends-not-with-a-bang-but-a-whimper school, which, after all, makes all of us inane, snivelling cowards. In its way, this book (or books) is such an affirmation, albeit an old-fashioned one, and as such would be a good addition to the L.D.S. home library.

Let me mention again that there are too many "anonymous" poems; the names of many authors could have been found with a bit more searching. A writer deserves what credit there is to be had. The two volumes of *Heart Throbs* could have provided some names; any music store could have given the name of the writer of "Bless This House."

Christie Lund Coles
Provo, Utah

Ordeal in Mexico: Tales of Danger and Hardship Collected from Mormon Colonists. By Karl E. Young. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1968, xii + 265 pp.

This book is a collection of stories about the exodus of the Mormons from Mexico. The Church had long been engaged in one of the greatest demonstrations of organized civil disobedience in American history; and after the passage of the Edmunds–Tucker Act of 1887, it even advised some of its members to leave the country. By 1912 eight Mormon communities were thriving below the border from El Paso. The turbulence of the Mexican Revolution then forced the colonists to flee back to the United States for safety. This is the story of a courageous people, and it deserves telling.

The author, a professor of English at Brigham Young University, bases his account for the most part upon interviews with participants in the events of 1912. He has let the colonists speak for themselves, and the heart of the book consists of edited versions of their reminiscences. This method has the advantage of giving the reader vivid, immediate impressions, but it has the disadvantage of any autobiography: it lacks the analysis and perspective which a mature historian can bring to his work. The author, however, has not attempted to write a standard, professional history. He instead has deliberately selected stories which seemed "to contain as many as possible of the elements of imaginative literature." Thus he should not receive criticism for failing to write a work conforming to contemporary canons of historical scholarship.

Professor Young intended to "give closeups of common people whose lives were seriously altered by the Mexican revolution. The hardships they endured, the chances they took and lost, or won, the quiet fortitude with which they headed into trouble. . . ." He accomplishes his purpose. A picture of sober, hardworking men fleeing from anarchy emerges. The warring Mexicans sorely need the goods of the energetic Saints. Rather than fight the revolutionists, the local Church leaders advised retreat across the Rio Grande. Again the image of Mormons on the move from violence provides stirring examples of loyalty and courage. Concealed rifles, cattle thieves, and Mexican gunmen add more of the stuff of good drama. The numerous photographs and the general format of the book furthermore make for an attractive presentation.

Michael R. Harris
Claremont, California.

Among the Mormons
A Survey of Current Literature

Edited by Ralph W. Hansen

With all thy getting get understanding.

Proverbs 4:7

When Fate destines one to ruin,
it begins by blinding the eyes
of his understanding.

James Fraser

Are Mormons Christians? The official name of the Church includes the words "Jesus Christ" within it, and we consider Him our Savior. Our scriptures include the Bible, and, as Anthony Hoekema suggests, "Many people have the impression that the Mormon teachings are not basically different from those of historic Christianity." Yet Dr. Hoekema has decided that "The Christ of Mormonism is not the Christ of Scripture." The good doctor came to this conclusion by asking — and himself answering — the following ten questions:

1. Is the Bible the final source of authority for Mormonism?
2. Does Mormonism teach the spirituality of God?
3. Does Mormonism believe in one God?
4. Does Mormonism teach that men may become gods?
5. Does Mormonism accept the fall of man?
6. Does Mormonism teach equal opportunity for all races?
7. Does Mormonism teach the unique incarnation of Christ?
8. Does Mormonism teach the vicarious atonement of Christ?
9. Does Mormonism teach the biblical view of the way of salvation?
10. Does Mormonism teach that all men will be saved?

"On each of these ten questions the teaching of the Mormon church," says Dr. Hoekema, "is contrary to Scripture. Although there is much in Mormonism that we may admire — the tremendous welfare program, the ability to get members involved in the work of the church, the willingness to sacri-

fice — we cannot classify Mormon teachings with those of historic Christianity. The Christ of Mormonism is not the Christ of Scripture."

Regardless of the degree of Christianity others may thus assign to Mormonism, there is a general agreement on the role Mormons have played and are playing in American history. In his thoughtful article "The Mormons as a Theme in Western Historical Writing," Rodman W. Paul explores this role and the oft-expressed complaint that courses in western history devote too much attention to "cowboys and Indians." Likewise, historical writing about the West, according to Paul, "deals only with surface appearances" and is limited to narrative and simple description of isolated dramatic episodes rather than having as its purpose "to seek to achieve by analysis and interpretation fundamental explanations" and "meaningful patterns."

Dr. Paul's answer to this problem is "to take up, one by one, some of the major topics in western history and subject them to a reflective examination." Because of Mormonism's "obvious importance, its provocative character, and the difficulty inherent in any serious study of it," Mormonism is a prime candidate for reflective examination. Notwithstanding the influence of Mormonism in the Rocky Mountain West and elsewhere before the western exodus, it has taken a long time to accumulate the respectable body of first-rate scholarly writing about the Mormons necessary for analysis and interpretation. According to Dr. Paul, some of this neglect can be attributed to the failure of scholars "to recognize that Mormonism was no longer seriously controversial, in a political sense, and thus was a fit subject for research."

Another deterrent to adequate Mormon historiography is the inability of interested scholars to obtain access to the Church Archives, for reasons which are familiar to Mormon historians. Dr. Paul suggests these reasons are, if not invalid, at best more deleterious to church history than protective. Nevertheless, Dr. Paul agrees with other critics who lay the blame for shortcomings in the area of Mormon history on "too much emotion, too much description and too little interpretation," rather than on failure to obtain access to the archives. The same criticism is made of western historical writing generally.

The failure of the historian to explore Mormon history has not resulted in a complete knowledge gap, for, as Dr. Paul points out, "social scientists have rushed in where historians have only hesitantly trod." Dr. Paul explores some of the ideas of the social scientists and the contributions they have made to an understanding of Mormon society. He concludes his exposition on a somber note by agreeing with Wallace Turner (*The Mormon Establishment*) that present-day Mormon society is incapable of adjusting to the changes of modern life.

In view of Dr. Paul's statement regarding access to the Church Archives and similar comments previously made in *Dialogue*, an article, "The Church Historian's Office," in the October issue of *The Improvement Era* is of more than passing interest. Without comment, herewith are selected excerpts from that article:

Q. Is the CHO designed to be used by members of the Church?

A. Our first responsibility is to obtain Church records so that they

can be preserved. Our second responsibility is to make the records available for use and to service the needs of members of the Church.

Q. Are nonmembers free to use the facilities of the CHO?

A. Yes. We make no distinction between members and nonmembers as far as the use of the library–archives is concerned.

Q. How do you respond to the image of suppression of materials that in the past has been identified with research at CHO?

A. Certainly some researchers have been displeased because we have not made some of the records as freely available as they would like. But many archives have problems in these areas. For example, certain original documents have to be restricted in usage because of their inherent value, age, or condition.

Some of these original records have been microfilmed and can be seen on microfilm, but others have not yet been microfilmed. So far we have done little microfilming of original documents and letters, and comparatively few diaries. As time and budget allow, we will microfilm many of these in order that researchers may read them. We have an additional problem with journals. Years ago, journals were filed with the understanding with the donors that they would be made available only to descendants of the writer. We try to avoid such agreements now, but are bound by past agreements. However, we hope that in time families will release many of the journals for research. Also, we have a ruling that those persons who are writing or who have written to discredit the Church are denied access to our facilities.

Q. Are there types of records that are not available to any researcher?

A. Yes — minutes of stake presidency, high council, and bishopric meetings, high council trials, or bishops' trials. These and similar records involve personal status of individuals that we feel researchers have no right to read. Our view is shared by others, even in business and industry. Many companies do not open their confidential board of director minutes to researchers. One can understand the reasons for such a policy.

Q. How extensively should CHO records be used?

A. A record is of no use if it isn't used. Historical records are beneficial to all people, and the doctrinal records are a blessing to all mankind.

As in previous issues "Among the Mormons" is primarily concerned with as complete a listing as possible of the current literature on the subjects "Mormons and Mormonism." The listing is divided into three categories, i.e., books, theses and dissertations, and periodicals, and reported in successive issues of *Dialogue*. The following bibliography is concerned with periodical articles that appeared in print primarily during the twelve months preceding November, 1968.

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Notes and Comments

Edited by Joseph Jeppson

A CONVERSATION WITH ARTHUR V. WATKINS

Arthur V. Watkins, recently retired as Chief Commissioner of the Indian Claims Commission, served two terms as Republican Senator from Utah, 1947 through 1958. His record in that body, as well as in other areas, has prompted friends of the Senator, headed by his classmate at Columbia University Law School, Judge Harold R. Medina of New York, and the Hinckley Institute of the University of Utah, to establish the Arthur V. Watkins Integrity Award, presented to members of Congress making outstanding contributions to public service. The first award recently went to Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana. Here DIALOGUE *presents an interview granted in April, 1968, to Mary Bradford, Garth Magnum and Carlos Whiting of the Washington, D.C., L.D.S. community.*

DIALOGUE: *Senator Watkins, you are — if I may say so — a country lawyer who made good. Because of your record in the State of Utah, principally in water development, you were propelled into the United States Senate. There, you became a confidante of President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Among other things, having been opposed to the Korean War, you advised President Eisenhower about the threatening Vietnam situation. In addition, you served as Chairman of the Senate Select Committee that recommended the censure of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. We think you have a good many things to say of interest to the readers of* DIALOGUE.

WATKINS: Well, I am now in my 82nd year. I have had my hand in a few things. It has now been fourteen years since Joe McCarthy was condemned by the Senate — yes, that is the word, "condemned." The story of the rise and fall of McCarthy and his "ism" is still of interest to millions of Americans. I am writing a book about it. I think that communism as a political issue was rather effectively "defused" in this country.

DIALOGUE: *That is something we should explore. Before we get into McCarthyism, however, could we talk a bit about your background and your election? You have deep roots in Mormonism, do you not?*

WATKINS: Yes, on both sides of my family — the Watkins and the Gerbers. They were Mormon pioneers. I suppose you would like me to give my testimony?

DIALOGUE: *If you would like to.*

WATKINS: I try to make the Gospel of Jesus Christ the determining factor in my life, the touchstone of my activities. I am human and I have weaknesses. When I campaigned for the Senate, I did so on a platform which included the spirit of Christianity as my guide. The Mormon Church, my relationship with General Authorities, with President McKay and others, mean as much to me as my family or any other thing on this earth.

DIALOGUE: *Some think of you as a conservative, and some have called you a socialist. What do you say about yourself?*

WATKINS: Those conflicting views come from my work in water development, without which Utah would never have become a prosperous and modern state. Some Utahns didn't want to see their state expand; they were content with things as they were. But, back in the 1930's some of us could see that Utah could not be secure without the full development of its water resources. For instance, without the Provo River Project, which I helped to organize and to "sell" to the people, we wouldn't have had a sufficient water supply in Central Utah for development of physical and human resources. Neither would we have had the Geneva Steel Plant with the jobs and tax money it brought.

DIALOGUE: *Your principal fame in water development was your accomplishment in leading the fight for the Colorado River Storage Project, and the support you obtained for that reclamation project from President Eisenhower. It has been said that this support from the President was your payoff for presiding over the censure of McCarthy.*

WATKINS: That is an outrageous statement, which I recognize is not yours. It has been thrown at me by people who could not have had any understanding either of Eisenhower or of me, or respect for us or for the Senate of the United States. Ike met with me, invited me to meet with him, when he was in Denver before he was ever elected, and we discussed the needs of Utah. I told him about the Colorado River Storage Project, about water resource development in general. The Federal reclamation program is not a WPA project; it is no gift from the government. The beneficiaries of the project — those who use the water and the power — have to sign bona fide repayment contracts with the government — to pay back within fifty years most of the costs of the project. It is not socialism. General Eisenhower, as a candidate, told me that he would do all he could to provide the Colorado River upper states with the use of their shares of the Colorado River water. After the censure of McCarthy, the President called me to congratulate me on the way I handled the matter, and quite coincidentally — because a State of the Union message was in preparation — I asked him to include a statement in support

of the Colorado River project, and he did. This is how the story got around. But I can say for President Eisenhower that he stood aloof from the McCarthy matter. He said it was entirely Senate business.

DIALOGUE: *Shall we talk about McCarthy now? What kind of a person was Joe McCarthy?*

WATKINS: Well, that is a pretty difficult question to answer. At first, he was a very jovial person.

DIALOGUE: *Let me put it another way. What were the things – after you had studied the matter – that disturbed you about McCarthy?*

WATKINS: In the Senate we all have our assignments and responsibilities and ordinarily are not too much concerned with what our colleagues are doing. At the time I was actively at work on what is generally called the McCarran Internal Security Committee, a subcommittee of the Senate created to expose communist infiltration into the Federal Government. It was a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. So, you see I was an anti-communist before McCarthy. From 1951, when the McCarran Committee was established, I devoted a great deal of energy to investigating communists. Communism, or anti-communism, was not really the issue as far as the censure of McCarthy was concerned. McCarthy had been severely criticized by some of his colleagues for his methods, and he responded with what the Senate finally called "abuse and contempt" for his fellow Senators and one of its Committees, and for the procedures and integrity of the Senate. That is why he was condemned. It was not because of his fight against communism.

DIALOGUE: *You are writing a book about this censure episode?*

WATKINS: Millions of Americans, and millions of foreigners too, for that matter, were concerned about McCarthyism. Some were for him and some against. I believe this interest is still alive. During and after the censure proceedings I received thousands upon thousands of letters, many of them outside the bounds of decent and courteous correspondence. Deep emotions were stirred. I will explore this to some extent. However, the book will be primarily a factual exposition. Apart from matters of Senate procedure and tradition, and respect for fellow senators, the great issue in McCarthyism was the way he ran wild. The people brought before him were not given a chance to defend themselves. They were pawns in his efforts to obtain publicity.

DIALOGUE: *So there were constitutional and judicial issues in the censure of McCarthy?*

WATKINS: Yes, fairness to people. McCarthy called a man who might claim the privilege granted by the Constitution not to testify against himself, a "Fifth Amendment Communist." He condemned people as communists perhaps without submitting a shred of evidence and, more significantly, without charging them with any overt act or crime. It was just that they took the Fifth Amendment. The courts today would throw out a case where a prosecutor took that line.

DIALOGUE: *What other issues were there in McCarthyism? What about politics?*

WATKINS: Well, we all know today that McCarthyism took up anti-communism as a political issue. He rode the wave of hysteria that followed the discovery that the Soviet Union had the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb, and this a fruit of espionage (or so it seemed likely at the time). Anti-communism offered the easy answer to all the Nation's troubles. There were strong anti-Semitic overtones to anti-communism. There was the basic appeal to prejudice of all kinds.

DIALOGUE: *You say anti-communism has been defused as a political issue? How is that?*

WATKINS: Of course, there are still people who still frighten us with talk of a Communist conspiracy, and there *is* such a conspiracy, but as part of foreign imperialism. There are even communists in some internal movements, perhaps as instigators of some of the riots, and that sort of thing. But today our people are sophisticated and can consider facts and issues, and can debate them intelligently, can avoid hysterical and emotional appeals, the kind that characterized McCarthyism when people "informed" on their friends and coworkers and neighbors — when fear motivated political reactions.

DIALOGUE: *But you lost your seat in the Senate in 1958, partly because there was still a great deal of emotion over the McCarthy matter. Isn't that right?*

WATKINS: Yes, there were three candidates for Senator in that election. J. Bracken Lee as an independent pulled enough of what you might call the conservative vote to make me lose by 11,000 votes, out of 400,000. He had sent a telegram to the mass meeting of McCarthy supporters in New York saying that McCarthy deserved a medal rather than censure. This sort of thing can happen in Utah. There seems to be an element that can be swung for purely personal purposes, and I need not say what that element is.

Another factor in my defeat was the intervention of the man who was then a Senator and the Majority leader of the Senate, Lyndon B. Johnson. Incidentally, he had personally assured me that I needn't worry about my chances because I had stayed too long in Washington to help maintain a Quorum so the business of the Senate could be taken care of. Senator Johnson, at the last minute, appeared in Utah to campaign for the opposition — Frank E. Moss. But that is a long story, and I will have to save it for another time.

DIALOGUE: *What about the Church? Did church members support you on the McCarthy matter?*

WATKINS: Some did, some didn't. There was the same thing in the Catholic Church (remember that McCarthy was a Catholic). Some Catholics supported me and some didn't. A number of prominent men in our Church wrote me during the censure proceedings and complimented me on what they called the fair and orderly way I was handling the investigation. Of more than

passing significance, however, is the fact that President David O. McKay wrote me immediately after the censure and said some very fine things. Recently I saw President McKay and told him I was writing a book on the McCarthy censure. I asked him if I could have permission to use his letter. He very graciously gave that permission.

I should add that many Catholics in Utah supported me through the Catholic-owned *Salt Lake Tribune*. Incidentally, *all* Utah dailies supported me in the McCarthy affair.

DIALOGUE: *Senator, after your defeat for re-election to the Senate you were named to the Indian Claims Commission. One of your continuing interests — since you lived in the center of the Indian country, so to speak — has been the welfare of the American Indians. What do you have to tell about them?*

WATKINS: I lived my early life on the west side of the Ute reservation in Midway, Wasatch County, Utah. Later my family moved to Vernal, Utah, on the east border of the reservation. Partly for this reason I have always been interested in Indians. Because of this interest I have had some opportunities to be helpful. For example, there was the military hospital complex at Brigham City, Utah (built during World War II) which was abandoned when the war ended. I introduced a bill to transfer this facility to the Indian Bureau, and got appropriations approved for an Indian school for the Navajos.

The Indian children in the early days had at first resisted the idea of going to school. We were warned that we would meet this same resistance at the new school in Brigham City. But when it opened, so many parents brought their children that hundreds could not be accommodated. "Well," said the parents, "we thought there might be some who wouldn't want to go, so there would be room for one or two of ours." The school was well-received and helpful. The whole thing has worked out so well that it is my pride and joy. I am glad I had a leading part in making it what it is today.

DIALOGUE: *With your experience in the Indian Claims Commission and with all the funds that are being held in trust for the Indians by the government, what would you recommend as an Indian policy for the United States?*

WATKINS: Education is now a much more practical thing for the Indians than it once was. There was a time when you could hardly get an Indian youngster to school; now most of them want to go. I believe that much of the money awarded to the Indians by the Indian Claims Commission should go for schools, or to individuals for scholarships so that they will be better prepared to earn a living and to participate in American life.

DIALOGUE: *You feel, then, that with education the problems of poverty that exist among Indians will take care of themselves? As will the question of whether Indians should remain charges of the government or be pushed off into their own reservations?*

WATKINS: Of course there are other things. There are many Indians, many scattered through the state of California, who do not have tribal organizations

which could administer money in their interest. For those I believe we will just have to give them their money, distribute it pro rata, and let them spend it as they want to. Bills will have to be introduced and enacted for this purpose. In addition the Indians have land — some of it good land — but they often lease it to whites rather than farm it themselves. Naturally, I would like to see more Indians farming their own land. Other Indian lands could be developed for their resources and for public recreation if the Indians' money could be used for these purposes. I would like to see the Indians educated and organized to accomplish this and given the funds which the Government holds in trust for them.

DIALOGUE: *We would now like your opinion on the current war situation. As I recall it, you were one of two Senators who opposed our intervention in the Korean War. Would you tell us why you did that and how you would apply your views to the Vietnam situation?*

WATKINS: I could talk all day on this one. The Constitution says, in effect, that only Congress can initiate wars, except when we are under attack from an enemy nation. Up until perhaps fifty years ago no one ever questioned this. Beginning with Franklin Roosevelt there has been a definite break in this interpretation of war-making powers. Roosevelt practically had us in war with Germany, marking off one-third of the Atlantic Ocean and patrolling it, before we ever had a declaration of war. He also sent forces to Iceland.

DIALOGUE: *And in Korea?*

WATKINS: We had the situation where the United States had forces in Korea when World War II ended. Our experts didn't see what was coming, so these troops were mustered out of service. Having helped to create North and South Korea, we failed to see the possibility of the communists from North Korea — aided by the Chinese communists — taking over South Korea. Our Secretary of State gave the impression that Korea was out of our zone of vital interest, and the next thing we knew — after we had sent home our forces — the North Koreans were coming down the peninsula. In any event, President Truman didn't wait. He simply ordered our troops into the war — between the forces of the two nations, without any authority whatsoever from the Congress. Our untrained occupation troops in Japan were thrown into the war to stop the invasion.

DIALOGUE: *Surely there are situations where there isn't time to consult the Congress?*

WATKINS: Yes, when our forces are attacked, when our country is invaded, the President must respond immediately. But, he should then take the matter to the Congress as quickly as possible.

DIALOGUE: *What about Vietnam and the Tonkin Incident?*

WATKINS: We were already deeply involved in Vietnam on an increasing scale by President Kennedy — and without consent of Congress. As to the

Tonkin Incident, there is a great deal of doubt as to what really happened. In any event, I do not believe that the so-called Tonkin Resolution of Congress contemplated our carrying on a full-scale war. The resolution was adapted to provide for repulsion of specific attacks against our naval forces. It wasn't a declaration of war, yet the President acts as if it were. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee — Republicans and Democrats alike — have issued a report detailing what the Committee had in mind.

DIALOGUE: *Do you think that Senator Fulbright and his committee are playing a valuable role?*

WATKINS: Yes, they are. I hope their report[1] can get to the public and the public can have an opportunity to consider the issues. What we are doing in Vietnam threatens to bring down the whole world communist horde on our backs. We are in this alone, for all practical purposes. The major non-communist nations — France, Great Britain, and the rest of them — all stayed out.

DIALOGUE: *What was your role on Vietnam under Eisenhower?*

WATKINS: I had heard, from various sources, that President Eisenhower was thinking about intervention in French Indo-China. He did say publicly: "There is going to be no involvement of America in war unless it is the result of the Constitutional process." I wrote him a letter complimenting him on this, and telling him of my own position on the Korean incident. It's in the hearings of the Fulbright Committee.[2] Here, let me read how I wound up the letter: ". . . Congress, except in direct attack upon the United States must give the President the authority before war can be waged in the defense of our allies or other nations." Sherman Adams, the President's assistant, called me in to talk about the letter, saying that the President wanted my views. A few days later, Ike himself sent for me. We talked further, and you know, we stayed out of Indo-China. Later he followed my suggestion almost exactly when he came to the Formosa situation and requested Congress to authorize him to defend Formosa.

DIALOGUE: *The Administration claims that had it not intervened in Vietnam as it did that South Vietnam would have fallen to the communists, as would Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, all the dominoes. Have we really been saving the whole of Southeast Asia?*

WATKINS: I don't think all that would happen. It's human nature: all the communists would get together for awhile, but they are human like the rest of us. They couldn't stay united very long, especially without outside opposition to give direction to that unity. All these countries have resisted China for centuries; they have always been at each other's throats. Massive move-

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[1]"National Commitments," Report N. 797, to accompany S. Res. 187 90th Congress, First Session, dated November 20, 1967. Available from Sen. J. William Fulbright, Chairman Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Washington, D.C., p. 260.

[2]"U.S. Commitments to Foreign Powers," Hearings on S. Res. 151, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 90th Congress, First Session, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.

ments have a tendency to break up. We haven't saved anybody out there yet. The question is, can we save ourselves and our armies right now.

DIALOGUE: *If you had the power, if you were President, or were back in the Senate, what would you do?*

WATKINS: I would try to get us out of Asia as honorably and as quickly as possible. While we are in there, I believe that we have to back up our men with appropriations and with material, but our responsibility now is to get them out with as much honor and with as many lives as possible. We have a responsibility to all those people on both sides who are in there fighting. If the majority want peace, they should have it.

DIALOGUE: *What lessons can we learn from Vietnam? What lesson is there in it for Mormons?*

WATKINS: As Mormons, we should always be honorable. We know what it is like to be oppressed. We should respect the rights of others and should seek peaceful solutions. President David O. McKay is a man of peace. I have talked with him. He would agree, I am sure, that we must support and adhere to the Constitution, that one man, the President of the United States, should not have the power to put us into war and to wreak untold suffering upon millions of people. Ours is a Government of laws, not of men. Finally, we should realize that one nation cannot police the whole world.

I thought Governor Romney, in his aborted primary campaign, would take up this issue. I attempted to counsel with him, told him that this was the great issue of our time, that only Congress could initiate war unless we were under attack. As Senator Eugene McCarthy demonstrated, this issue could earn the support of many. I really couldn't get through to Governor Romney. There were too many advisors around him, and everything got watered down. He did make some statements on this — not very clear-cut — out in Oregon in his last speech before his withdrawal. But the press didn't play it up, and he hadn't made the issue very clear.

The people never did discover the real George Romney. He would have made a great President.

DIALOGUE: *There is a common element in everything you have said today. You always seem to return to the subject of the Constitution.*

WATKINS: It is the foundation of our Nation, the protector of all our liberties, and the "Rock of our Salvation." We must maintain the balance of powers provided there. Our great danger at the moment is the tremendous power of the President, as it is being used, to initiate war when we are not under attack. The President is not a king, nor is he Caesar. The people must insist on the right, through their Senators and Representatives, to balance the power of the Executive and to protect the Constitution.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Senator Watkins' book will be published in June 1969 by Prentice-Hall.

"IF THOU WILT BE PERFECT . . ."

James R. Moss

The following is a talk delivered in the Stanford (Calif.) Second Ward during the fall of 1968. James R. Moss is studying law at Stanford Law School and teaches in both the Institute of Religion and Seminary He is a graduate of the University of Utah where he was student body president and served actively on the L.D.S. Student Council.

One of the most obvious forms of Mormon adjustment to contemporary American society is our increasing acceptance of its economic doctrines and attitudes concerning the proper accumulation and uses of material wealth. Indeed, to many Mormons, free enterprise has become synonymous with free agency, to be as earnestly defended and occupying almost as important a place in our theology. Where once we likened ourselves to the City of Enoch and held inspired hopes of a society where all would share in the abundance of an earth in which "there is enough and to spare" (Doctrine and Covenants 104:17), we now have enslaved ourselves to the vain quest for material satisfaction.

In doing so, we have abandoned those less fortunate than ourselves to work out their own temporal salvation. Work has been enthroned not only as the basic law of economic accretion, but as the sure cure for every economic ailment regardless of circumstances, and programs which seem to infringe upon this principle are vigorously resisted out of a concern that they will destroy incentive and the desire to progress. We have become so concerned with the dangers of the means that we have forgotten the end. And all too often, our professed piety and devotions have been bought with the suffering of a fellow child of God.

When was the last time you passed a stranger in trouble on a lonely road and dark night, and though ridiculed by those who "don't want to get involved," had compassion, went to him and gave of your substance to take care of him? Or were you "a certain priest," hurrying to help prepare the sacrament in time for meeting and "passed by on the other side," or "a Levite" trying not to miss the 5:30 temple session so you could get home early enough to watch that favorite television show, and you "came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side" (Luke 10:30-37)?

How long has it been since we opened our hearts and our purses and personally found someone "an hungered, and gave him meat"? "thirsty, and gave him drink"? "a stranger, and took him in"? "naked, and clothed him"? "sick, and visited him"? "in prison, and went unto him"? Or, little knowing and less caring, have we fulfilled the prophecy of King Benjamin and said "The man has brought upon himself his misery; therefore I will stay my hand, and will not give unto him my food, nor impart unto him of my substance that he may not suffer, for his punishments are just" (Mosiah 4:17)? If so, well do we deserve the judgment King Benjamin pronounced — that "whosoever doeth this the same hath great cause to repent; and except

he repenteth of that which he hath done he perisheth forever, and hath no interest in the kingdom of God" (Mosiah 4:18). We have forgotten that second only to loving God is the great commandment to "love thy neighbor as thyself" (Matthew 22:39). We have forgotten that "when ye are in the service of your fellow beings, ye are only in the service of your God" (Mosiah 2:17). And we have forgotten that it was Jesus of Nazareth who said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me" (Matthew 25:40).

It is ironic that we who claim to have the greatest program of care for the poor in all the world are yet many times the most guilty of turning our backs upon them. We are so busy working on our Sunday School lesson, sewing beautiful doilies for the Relief Society Bazaar, or reading out of the "best books" that we just don't have time for the poor. If we are forced to cross the railroad tracks on our way to meetings, we salve our conscience with "ye have the poor with you always" (Mark 14:7) and get back to concentrating on whether to charge one dollar or two for that MIA party or who is going to start at center in the next ward basketball game.

But I hear you complain, "Why talk to me of all this? I am not guilty of such sins, for I work on the stake farm, I donate each month to the fast offering, I give tithes of all that I possess, and I have a temple recommend to prove it!" I suggest to you that if God relied on our "voluntary contributions" to fulfill our gospel responsibility to the poor of the earth, let alone the members of the Church, their hopes for temporal salvation would be less than that of a fish in the desert. Just how willing are we to devote even one or two mornings a month to work on the stake farm? What percentage of Mormons pay a full or even partial tithe on their increase? And what kind of a meal could you provide for the average amount donated as a fast offering?

Along with this abandonment of the poor in our midst, we have come to exalt a gospel of material wealth. We have become the modern-day Calvinists, and the new car in the garage, the pool in the backyard, the color television in the living room are the sure signs that we are indeed God's Elect, His Chosen People.

Our eyes are focused on the horizon of an advancing stock market, our hearts are filled with the love of financial security, and our lives are dedicated to the proposition that success can be measured by the size of a salary. With joyful heart, we truly thank God for a profit. If the money-changers have not regained the temple, they have certainly recaptured the home. That many of our local leaders are not only financially secure, but also wealthy, reinforces the perverse idea in our own minds that one way to gain a reward in heaven is to make your own on earth.

In short, we have become an integral part of a society that is founded upon a theology of affluence. We today are part of a society that enjoys a family income of over $8,000 a year, that owns sixty million automobiles, seventy million television sets, and over five hundred billion dollars worth of common stock. And we are part of this society while all around us, another society — an "Other America" — is dying on a dirt floor from disease

and exposure and chronic malnutrition. I say this is wrong, materially wrong, and more than that, it is a sin in the sight of God.

I believe that the gospel of Jesus Christ and the historical experience of His Church upon the earth demand something far different from this. I believe they suggest that free enterprise is not an essential part of the plan of salvation, that the profit motive is not one of the fundamental principles of the gospel, that the worth of an individual is not measured by the size of his securities portfolio. I believe they suggest that we are still our brother's keeper, that the only real service to God is service to man, and that earthly goods are given to be used, not to be collected and hoarded in the idolatry of wealth.

Lest I be misunderstood, let me make it clear that I fully accept the doctrine that men are to work for their economic substance in this life (D&C 42:42; 68:30), and that prosperity in that work will come as a result of living the gospel (D&C 38:39; Mosiah 2:22). Work has been a standing law of gospel economics from the time Adam and Eve left the Garden of Eden (Moses 4:23-25) and prosperity is implicit in the divine command to gain dominion over the earth (Moses 2:28-29).

But nowhere in the gospel do I find any justification for the idea that work is the only acceptable method of economic accumulation when one has not been trained to work in a highly technical society or is deprived by circumstances beyond his control from doing so. Nowhere do I find justification for prosperity for one individual or group of people when another is living in hunger and poverty. And nowhere do I find justification for the fatal illusion that economic success is a mirror of spiritual progression.

On the contrary, the gospel of Jesus Christ proclaims that work and resulting individual prosperity alone are not enough for men to live in economic accordance with the Divine Will. The motive for that work must also be a righteous one — not to accumulate material wealth as the final and supreme purpose of human activity, but only as a means to the great end of serving others in building the society of Zion upon the earth. To Jew and Nephite alike the Savior emphatically declared that men must set their hearts upon service to God alone and not on the riches of this world, for "no man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon" (Matthew 6:24; III Nephi 13:24).

If our chief concern in life is acquiring material wealth for our personal use, we cannot possibly obey even the first of the commandments given by God to the Children of Israel at Sinai: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" (Exodus 20:3). That which was meant to mirror the divine becomes instead an instrument of enslavement and delusion. Where once it was a path to God, it now leads us away from him, for "where your treasure is, there will your heart be also" (II Nephi 13:21), and we join the ranks of economic blasphemers whose "hearts are upon their treasures; wherefore, their treasure is their God" (II Nephi 9:30).

It is only when we reject this gospel of material wealth that we can begin

to achieve the Christ-like attitude of "every man seeking the interest of his neighbor, and doing all things with an eye single to the glory of God" (D&C 82:19). Then, and only then, can we respond with full heart to the admonition of Jacob:

> And after ye have obtained a hope in Christ, ye shall obtain riches, if ye seek them; and ye will seek them for the intent to do good — to clothe the naked, and to feed the hungry, and to liberate the captive, and administer relief to the sick and the afflicted. (Jacob 2:19)

Much could be said of specific economic attitudes and practices present among us today that are opposed to the gospel of Jesus Christ. The great danger of pride in financial success was so prevalent among the Nephite people that in warning our own dispensation about this attitude, the Lord said to "beware of pride, lest ye become as the Nephites of old" (D&C 38:39). How we in an affluent society should remember this when we are fortunate enough to share in such abundance, lest we too walk in the pride of our hearts and deny the source from whom all blessings flow.

Our standard of dress today is another good indication of our failure to obey the economic principles of the gospel. The gospel is specific in proclaiming that men — and women — are not to wear costly apparel (Jacob 2:13-14; Mormon 8:39). This admonition becomes even more important when coupled with a standard of modesty by the fact that the price of dresses seems to be inversely related to the quantity of material in the garment. The standard of dress recorded with approval by Alma was instead that righteous Nephites were "neat and comely," while avoiding the excesses of expensive clothing (Alma 1:27). For us today, the Lord has said "And again, thou shalt not be proud in thy heart; let all thy garments be plain, and their beauty the beauty of the work of thine own hands" (D&C 42:40). To any sisters who continue to maintain the need for a new and more expensive wardrobe each season, I commend Isaiah 3:16-24 for your individual reading under the hair-dryer.

But the dangers of pride in financial success, the wearing of costly apparel, and the equally insidious persecution by rich of poor in so many subtle ways could all be eliminated in society today if we would but adhere to one of the most basic economic doctrines of the gospel. Historically, a distinguishing feature of societies at their highest peak of spiritual progression is that there is relative economic equality, a lack of either rich or poor. The little information available about the Zion of Enoch indicates that "they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them" (Moses 7:18). In our own day, the Lord has said "It is not given that one man should possess that which is above another, wherefore the world lieth in sin" (D&C 49:20), that "if ye are not equal in earthly things ye cannot be equal in obtaining heavenly things" (D&C 78:6), and that "in your temporal things you shall be equal, and this not grudgingly, otherwise the abundance of the manifestations of the Spirit shall be withheld" (D&C 70:14).

Following the visit of the resurrected Savior to this continent, "they had

all things common among them; therefore there were not rich and poor, bond and free, but they were all made free, and partakers of the heavenly gift" (IV Nephi 3). In contrast to this economic equality, the Prophet Jacob condemned his people for sins arising out of the fact that "the hand of providence hath smiled upon you most pleasingly, that you have obtained many riches; and . . . some of you have obtained more abundantly than that of your brethren. . . ." (Jacob 2:13). The condition of "great inequality" in society was accounted a condition leading to unrighteousness by both Alma (Alma 4:12) and the Apostle Nephi (III Nephi 6:14). And a contributing cause of the apostasy of the Nephites after the golden age was that "they did have their goods and their substance no more common among them. And they began to be divided into classes" (IV Nephi 25-26).

On the basis of this scriptural record, I suggest to you that God does not now and never has intended for His people to be arranged, stratified, and separated into economic classes of rich and poor. He does not want one group to be lifted up above another on such an artificial classification, such a false measure of individual or group worth. Instead of allowing such classes to exist or even helping to establish and perpetuate them by our negative attitudes toward programs of economic redistribution, we of all people should be in the forefront of those seeking creative and gospel-oriented ways to bring about our own golden age of prosperity for all.

To those of us who are students, a special concern should be noted from the writings of the Apostle Nephi. He recorded that just prior to the visit of the Savior, the people were divided not only by stratification of wealth, but also "their chances for learning, yea, some were ignorant because of their poverty, and others did receive great learning because of their riches" (III Nephi 6:12). Well should those able to afford education today remember the disapproval of this type of dichotomy by Nephi, and work to provide the opportunity of learning for all God's children, regardless of their financial position — a position that usually is not even theirs through the criteria of being "earned" or "deserved" but is a mere accident of inheritance.

We must not conclude that perfect economic *uniformity* is essential. The chief concern of the gospel teachings is that a social and economic structure be achieved in which there are no rich and poor *classes.* This can be accomplished in society without having every house, every car, every set of clothing be the same. But there should be no separation of people or groups of people on the basis of wealth in society. All should have opportunity for the necessities and the comforts of life, and none should possess such an abundance that he becomes distinguished for that quality alone.

Equally as important in the gospel as the doctrine of economic equality is the method by which it is to be achieved — by the rich willingly imparting of their substance to the poor, for "this is the way that I, the Lord, have decreed to provide for my saints, that the poor shall be exalted, in that the rich are made low" (D&C 104:16). Among the teachings of the Savior in the eastern hemisphere is the remarkable story of the rich young ruler who, after living what must have been a life of exceptional obedience to the Mosaic law,

inquired of Jesus what he must do to obtain eternal life. The Savior's reply was meant specifically for that individual, but can well be taken as a pattern for all men: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me" (Matthew 19:21).

That the members of the Church in Jerusalem following the resurrection of Christ applied this principle is attested to by the fact that they "sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need" (Acts 2:45). To the Church in our dispensation, the Lord has said that "he that doeth not these things ,the same is not my disciple" (D&C 52:40). And moreover, "if any man shall take of the abundance which I [the Lord] have made, and impart not his portion, according to the law of my gospel, unto the poor and the needy, he shall, with the wicked, lift up his eyes in hell, being in torment" (D&C 104:18).

The Book of Mormon also teaches that the imparting of material wealth by rich to the poor is a necessary characteristic of a righteous society. The Prophet Alma in particular commanded his people to "impart of their substance, every one according to that which he had; if he have more abundantly he should impart more abundantly; and of him that had but little, but little should be required; and to him that had not should be given" (Mosiah 18:27). The extent to which this was applied by Alma's followers should be of special interest to those of us who feel they have fulfilled their gospel responsibility to share by paying a grudging tithe or donating the monthly pittance we euphemistically call an offering:

> And thus, in their prosperous circumstances, they did not send away any who were naked, or that were hungry, or that were athirst, or that were sick, or that had not been nourished; and they did not set their hearts upon riches; therefore they were liberal to all, both old and young, both bond and free, both male and female, whether out of the church or in the church, having no respect to persons as to those who stood in need. (Alma 1:30)

The extreme importance of this principle to our own salvation can be shown in the statement of Benjamin that imparting of one's substance to the poor is necessary "for the sake of retaining a remission of your sins from day to day" (Mosiah 4:26); in Amulek's testimony that to one who fails to do this "your prayer is vain, and availeth you nothing, and ye are as hypocrites who do deny the faith" (Alma 34:28); and in the Prophet Nephi's word that sharing of wealth is a necessary element of the great attribute of charity, for "if they should have charity they would not suffer the laborer in Zion to perish" (II Nephi 26:30). To those who fail to abide by this principle, the consequences are that they "shall be hewn down and cast into the fire except they speedily repent" (Alma 5:56), and that "the sword of vengeance hangeth over you; and the time soon cometh that he [God] avengeth the blood of the saints upon you, for he will not suffer their cries any longer" (Mormon 8:41).

One can only conclude from a comparison of these gospel teachings with our present attitudes and practices that many of us today are living in gross

economic apostasy, as surely lacking in the stuff saints are made of as those we condemn in our smug self-satisfaction for other forms of apostasy. The voice of God's prophets from Enoch to David O. McKay cries out to us with Peter, "Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out" (Acts 3:19), for God will not be mocked!

It is a tragic irony of history that we bear witness of a Prophet of God who proclaimed, "I intend to lay a foundation that will revolutionize the whole world,"[1] when we today are numbered among the exponents of many of the very social and economic attitudes and conditions he condemned. And it is a self-condemning testament in hypocrisy when we now sustain as an Apostle of Jesus Christ a man who has said, "The Church is a continuing revolution against any and all norms of society that fall below the gospel standards,"[2] and yet we consciously and deliberately choose to fall below those standards by adopting and defending society's unrighteous norms. Well one might echo the words of Orson Pratt, spoken so many years ago but still so applicable today:

> How much longer will this continue? How long will every family be for themselves, every man's energy and ability be exerted only for himself and his family, every man grasping to enrich himself? When do you see a rich man among the Latter-day Saints who, when he makes a great feast, invites the poor and the lame, the halt and the blind, and those who are in destitute circumstances? What kind of a revolution would it work among the Latter-day Saints if the revelation given in March, 1831, were carried out by them — "It is not given that one man should possess that which is above another, wherefore the world lieth in sin"? How much of a revolution would it accomplish in Salt Lake City if this order of things should be brought about? I think it would work a greater revolution among this people than has ever been witnessed amongst them since they had an existence as a Church.[3]

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[1]*Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, Joseph Fielding Smith, ed (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1942), p. 366.

[2]Elder Harold B. Lee, *Conference Report*, April 1966, p. 64.

[3]*Journal of Discourses* (London, 1873), Vol. 15, pp. 355–56.

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WORKS REVIEWED — 1968

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

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

/s/ Paul G. Salisbury, *Publisher & Trustee*

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