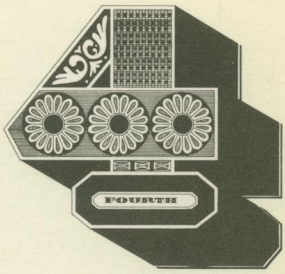
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



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Volume IV Number 1
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DIALOGUE: A Journal of Mormon Thought is an independent national quarterly established to express Mormon culture and examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by 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

ART CREDITS

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Letters to the Editors

The sketches of Salt Lake landmarks which accompany this section are by Gary Collins, an interior designer in Salt Lake City.

Dear Sirs:

Your poemed portraits proveth much
(They prove both plus and minus)
So let old Ernie have his view —
Give deference to his highness.

Robert Baer
El Cerrito, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

I have read with interest the article by Mark Cannon entitled "Mormons in the Executive Suite" in the Autumn 1968 issue of *Dialogue*.

One of the significant consequences of Senator Smoot's interest in advancing the career opportunities for promising young Mormons has been the large number of Mormons who have passed through George Washington University. In fact, with the possible exception of the University of Utah Law School, more Mormons have graduated from George Washington University Law School than from any other law school in the country. Generally speaking, Mormons have enjoyed a very high reputation in all of the University's professional schools. I can recall, for example, when I was serving as Assistant to President Thomas H. Carroll, that he would often go out of his way to point out to alumni groups and other persons interested in the University the fact that law students from Mormon backgrounds tended to be exceptionally reliable, to be very dedicated in their academic commitment, and to go on, in large numbers, to productive personal and professional lives.

This has also been true for our Medical School. For example, in the early 1960's both sons of a leading Southern California Mormon obstetrician and gynecologist, Dr. George E. Judd, graduated from our Medical School. One son is Lewis L. Judd, who went on to do postdoctoral work in psychiatric medicine at UCLA, and the other was Howard Judd, who went on to postdoctoral work in obstetrical medicine at Harvard. At the time that Howard took his M. D. degree at George Washington, his father was invited to attend the ceremonies in his capacity as the National President of the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology. I mention this to you to underscore the close connection between the Mormon community and this University, especially in the professions. I am sure, for example, that a listing of graduates of these schools would turn up many names of Mormons who have been very prominent both in the Church and in their careers, including a number of the men whom you have mentioned in the article.

Robert S. Jordan, Director,
Foreign Affairs Intern Program,
School of Public and
International Affairs,
George Washington University

Following is an unsigned letter sent from Reno Nevada:

Just finished reading your latest edition of what you call *Dialogue* — more properly should it be branded ROTTEN PROPAGANDA — it sounds like words of an apostate. Yet an apostate has enough honor to represent himself as an apostate.

You are making a living for yourself and family there is no doubt in my mind as a person who loves to tear down — certainly you are not a builder.

If there is any thing of poor report or unworth — you seek after those things, certainly you are not a builder.

It is evident that you are educated but surely you are not intelligent.

Some of the most disparaging propaganda accounts of Mormons I have ever read don't begin to come up to the harm a good people can receive from literature such as you publish. I believe if you have enough guts to really want to know your end you can find it by reading the 121 Section of the D & C.

Has any one in this world profited by tearing down other people — not just Mormons but any people. Wouldn't it be so much better if you would try and look for the good in people rather than the bad always, then publish it?

I don't know what your back ground is but in my opinion you would discredit any sect or group by becoming one of them.

It was a pleasure for me to burn your last issue. I predict you will regret before you die every article of rot you have printed.

Did it ever occur to you that there is no perfect person on earth. Surely you have that understanding — then if this be true don't you think you could pick anyone and find plenty material to propagandize. Wouldn't it be so much better to look for the good rather than the bad — and publish it as you do.

It's such an easy thing to tear down — but it takes a real person to build.

[*We certainly agree — Ed.*]

Dear Sirs:

I have just read the latest issue of *Dialogue*, with your interview with me as one of its features. I want you to know that I deeply appreciate the fair way my views were presented. The interview was certainly a model for accuracy and brevity. Fair, understanding treatment was given to the wide range of extremely important subjects discussed.

My most sincere thanks to all of you.

Arthur V. Watkins
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs:

Having taught one Negro in eighteen years obviously qualifies Wilford E. Smith [Review, Winter 1968] as an expert on the Negro question.

John L. Lund
Seattle, Washington

Dear Sirs:

Every time I had the opportunity to talk with Mormons, members of academic communities in various countries, they often complained about the lack of cultural and intellectual creativity in the branches and wards. The missionaries let us partake of the important spirit of the principles of the Gospel, but too often we don't dare to go further, as if the purity of God's Work is threatened by any exterior growth. Meanwhile many hanker after literature, art, philosophy, metaphysics in the light of the Gospel. Probably the apostate results of these sciences in the old Christian European churches scare the members. Also our intellectuals usually stand alone in a branch, and avoid their noetic abilities to bump against the incomprehension of others. So, without creating distinctions between the members as a whole, your advice to start corresponding with scholars will benefit many of us.

As you asked me, a few words about myself: born in 1946, I have been brought up in a good Flemish Catholic family. My father is a historian and art-critic, director of the Mayer van den Bergh Museum in Antwerp; my mother, graduate in Pedagogy and Theology, works intensively for the doctrinal renovation of the oecumenical movement. In high-school (Atheneum of Berchem, Antwerp) I followed the Latin-Greek section (*humaniora antiqua*). In 1964 I went to the State University of Antwerp to study philology. It was then that I met the Elders and received a strong testimony of the Truth. In order to get rid of my "disastrous ideas" my parents sent me in 1965 to the new, severe Catholic university of the Jesuits, "Saint Ignatius." It turned out to be a wonderful time. After two months I was elected President of the Faculty Student Body, a position I held for two years. The Jesuits have given me a thorough knowledge not only of classical languages and history, general and

romantic linguistics and literature, but also of philosophy, metaphysics and medieval history, especially ecclesiastical since the primitive Christian church. In September 1966, after more than two years impatient waiting my parents gave permission for my baptism. In June 1967 I received my bachelors-degree (*candidatura*) with "distinction," as "one of the three best of the year."

For my masters-degree (*licencia*) I went to the State University of Gent, where I continued the former subjects, adding paleography and hermeneutics. I succeeded this year with "great distinction" as first of the Faculty. My thesis is the critical edition of

the Gospel of Mark from a stemma of unknown old-French manuscripts of the early XIII century. Next year I will get a special diploma (*agregate*) allowing me to teach in senior high-school. I speak Dutch and French as mother tongue, English and German as second language, and beside the classical Latin and Greek, essential and active part of my studies, I have had two years passive study of Italian, Spanish and Russian.

Concerning my future plans, I want to do my military service first, this lasting one year. Normally, because of my academic results, I will become Assistant-Professor at the University. But then I'll have to work on a compulsory doctorate-thesis about a dull aspect of romanic medievalism, while I prefer of course to work, in the light of Mormonism, on my favourite subject: "The apostasy through the changes in Biblical manuscripts and through the spreading of Apocrypha," or as a wider field "medieval mythology as ethnical deteriorated traditions of revealed eternal principles." I trust the Lord will show me the best way, as I received my Patriarchal blessing August 22nd.

I hope these lengthy considerations did not bother you too much. Also sorry for language mistakes, it is difficult to have an actual idiosyncrasy reflected in the spirit of a language which is not a mother tongue.

Wilfried Decoo
Ghent, Belgium

Dear Sirs,

I am writing regarding your article in the Summer 1968 issue, "On Mormon Music and Musicians," by Professor Lowell Durham. I enjoyed it very much. I am grateful for these fine musicians in our church who have produced music through the years which has gained us high respect and recognition all over the world. Their music has done much to bring the gospel to the attention of the world.

My other comments are on some of Prof. Durham's observations at the close of his fine article: "Original pop music in the church has mushroomed and spread far more quickly and widely than Robertson's anthems"; "The poetry is generally poor to mediocre and the music is most objectionable"; and "They have NO PLACE in a sacrament meeting or during the Sabbath day."

First, I point to the fact that the top composers named by Professor Durham — highly educated, talented, spiritual and dedicated — are definitely at the top in the Church. Most of us are in the hinterlands — in the trenches, in the Sunday-to-Sunday, Tuesday-to-Tuesday action involving, as dear Alexander Schreiner said, "The rich and poor, young and old, the cultured and the uncultured." I would say 90% of these wonderful people have never studied music.

Where do we get music (outside of our hymns) which will impress and inspire our

rich, poor, young, old, cultured and uncultured?

It is well that our general music committees are constantly trying to pull the standards of music up throughout the church. It is necessary. It is well to do big things, have fine selected choirs, beautiful oratorios, and MIA festivals. It is marvelous! I am proud of them and proud to be part of them and to help train our people for them.

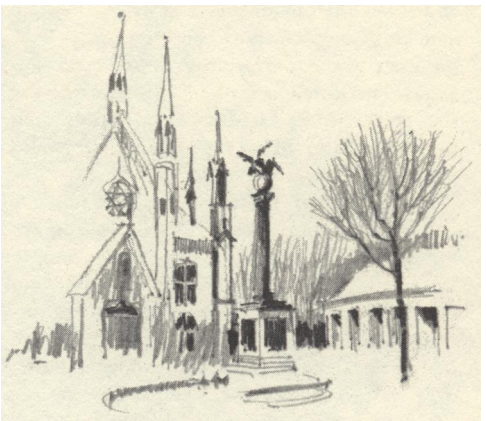
However, personally, I am concerned with music which will impress *listening and singing Mormons, every week of the year* and inspire them to do the things for others and for themselves which they might not otherwise ever do. The people of the 90% majority are inspired to faith, good works, and adherence to God's commandments by simple, beautiful, or stirring melodies, and words which are good and true and carry a plain message which relates to present, everyday life and the commandments which we are trying to live. Do Dr. Robertson's anthems fall in this category?

Here on ward and stake levels we are constantly asked to come up with musical numbers on short notice for sacrament meetings, Dear to My Heart Nights, youth conferences, temple meetings, standards nights, genealogy meetings, etc. We are often asked to train a chorus on short notice for these. This may not be the ideal set-up, but that is how it is. Our singers are busy. Their attention and talents are pulled in many directions. They do not have the time to do difficult numbers. A good many of them are highly capable, but in a ward we cannot pick and choose, especially among the young. We take all who wish to come. We want to keep them singing. *Where is the music for these?*

Our church is built on inspiration and heavenly gifts. If the gift is genuine, it stands the test of time and flourishes because of its own goodness. I think this is a good test for original music by Mormons, whether it comes from the ranks or from the general board musicians. I have seen many of each which young people simply are not interested in singing. I respect the opinions of our church young people. They are a highly intelligent generation. They will choose the good when it is offered them and means something to them.

I say, "Let each song stand or fall on its own merits — judged by singing Mormons." A poor song may be sung a few times, but it will not stand through the years. And no matter how "Good" a song is by high music standards, if our people do not take it to their hearts, what good is it to the work of the Lord?

In 1948, after hearing an inspiring talk on Temple Marriage by Sister Blanche Stod-



dard of the Relief Society general board, I was struck with the realization that we had no music concerning this important part of our religion. I wrote "The Temple By the River" (or "The Temple of the Father"), which Prof. Durham claimed is not fit to be sung on the Sabbath day. His mis-statements concerning this song lead me to believe that he had neither seen a copy nor heard it sung: It is a song of testament and exhortation, not a love song as he intimated. It is written in simple, three-part harmony, not in "close" harmony. It has never been published by the MIA. Through the years it has spread to every part of the world where the church is located. It has been sung in every LDS Temple and translated into several foreign languages. It is used as a sermon in every kind of an LDS meeting, and at weddings and funerals.

One good brother said to me, "When I first heard it I thought it was the most beautiful song I had ever heard in my life." A lady said "The words are wonderful, but where did you ever get such a beautiful melody?" I answered in truth, "From heaven."

I do not speak for others' music, but I believe there is a need for my kind of

music in the church. It is more artful than a hymn, carries a more modern message, and is within the time and talent limits of ordinary singing Mormons. . . .

I now have twelve published songs on LDS themes, which are being used all over the Church as sermons in various meetings. If these are not fit for the Sabbath day, the Church membership should be informed, and I should be informed at once. We are members in good faith and certainly have no wish to be performing "trash. Perhaps I have been led astray in my thinking by the tears, words, letters of gratitude and the enthusiasm of our people in all walks of life, for my Mormon Music.

I have mailed Professor Durham my two dollar packet of 12 songs so that he can see for himself just how "corny" each one is. But until our top composers can put out some real Mormon songs which fit the occasions for which we need them, and which truly appeal to our people, young and old, in a way to *deepen their gospel convictions*, I will have to recommend my own.

Marie Manwaring Anderson
Shelley, Idaho

The following is a response to the letter from Mimi Irving in the Autumn 1968 issue:

I shall not, as you do, deal in *ad hominems*. Suffice to say that I do not concur with your opinions. Modern Egyptologists are not, in fact, saying the same thing as those earlier Egyptologists, great as many of them were. Nibley went to great pains in the *Era* this year to show, via abundant quotation (rather than the unfair censorship, doctoring, and secrecy of Spaulding), just what those Egyptologists *did* say about J. Smith and about each other. I know of no sarcasm in his words. He is direct, and simply repeats what the modernists are all saying: That all of science at that time was far too heady and overconfident, and that it took an Einstein, a W. F. Albright, a Bertrand Russell, an L. Wittgenstein, et al., and a stock market crash, among other things, to bring us back to reality.

This is the age of scientific verification, random sampling, and skepticism of skepticism itself. Nibley is merely one of the best students of the age, and is highly respected in academic circles. A general perusal of his articles (in academic journals *or* Church oriented publications) and books, as well as an acquaintance with the general scholarship of the past 200 years, establishes him in my mind as one of those men of whom we see only 4 or 5 per century.

Prof. David Riesman of Harvard seems to agree with this estimate of his erudition, although he is far more qualified than I to discuss the question. It was in 1963, at BYU, I believe, that he stated that Nibley was the "Thomas Aquinas" of the Mormon Church, and that his own erudition paled before Nibley's. Riesman and I are not Mormons, but religion has nothing to do with following good scientific method, and I believe in a merciless testing of any hypotheses which come my way. The fabric of Nibley's words holds together surprisingly well for a scholar who is supposed to have a "split personality" or "two masters."

Your premise that the LDS Church is built on an edifice of "contradictory beliefs" can only be demonstrated by showing just what those beliefs are, and in what way contradictory, and even McMurrin has a bit of a problem with that, as fine a philosopher as he is.

Robert F. Smith
Ontario, California

Dear Sirs:

I would like to comment on Richard Howard's article in the Summer issue regarding the Book of Abraham and the Reorganized L.D.S. Church. There is considerable evidence showing that the Book of Abraham was more than an item of curiosity in the early R.L.D.S. Church. It is especially important to point out that the doctrine of a plurality of Gods, which this volume teaches, was believed not only by many of the membership but also by the highest leaders in those days.

Mr. Howard states that his church has taken a "conservative" position regarding the Book of Abraham because of its "doctrinal content and implications." He earlier states that the "conservative" position was that of neither endorsing nor condemning the Book of Abraham. He ties this position to the year 1896.

This may have been the "official" position of the R.L.D.S. Church in 1896, but that cer-

tainly was not the case in the early Reorganization. In those days, when the Reorganization was just getting started, the Book of Abraham was treated with utmost respect and was often quoted from by writers in official publications. The first publication issued by the Reorganization, *A Word of Consolation to the Scattered Saints*, referred to the Book of Abraham in support of priesthood lineage.

At the end of a quotation from the Book of Abraham in the first volume of the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* (p. 270), there is the following which certainly indicates the attitude of the leaders of the early Reorganization:

> . . . now she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man. (Book of Abraham, translated through the gift and power of the Holy Ghost by Joseph Smith.)

In 1860 the early Reorganization was arguing with the Temple Lot Church (Church of Christ or Hedrickite Church) in regard to the Doctrine and Covenants, and at that time reference was made to the Book of Abraham as follows:

> Now we propose to prove that *all* revelations which Joseph gave *unto the church*, we are bound to "give heed unto." If the first edition of that book is divine, all the subsequent revelations which are contained in the Book of Covenants, in the Book of Abraham &c., and which he gave *unto the church*, are equally divine. (*True Latter Day Saints' Herald*, March, 1860, p. 63.)

The foundation of the Reorganization was based upon the acceptance of *all* these books as divine.

In the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* for 1860, pp. 280–83, we find almost four pages defending the doctrine of a plurality of Gods, using the title of "A Plurality of Gods." It begins:

> By the quotations of our Utah correspondent from the new translation of the Bible and from the Book of Abraham, it will be perceived that a plurality of Gods is a doctrine of those books. Although it is an unpopular doctrine, it is a doctrine of the common versions of the Bible. It is true that there are "plain and precious things which have been taken away" from the Bible, and this is true in reference to this subject, but there is enough remaining to show that the doctrine is true.

On p. 283 the article concludes:

> These scriptural evidences concerning the order of the Kingdom in the exaltation of the sons of God, show that the revelations in the New Translation of the Bible, and in the Book of Abraham, concerning the Gods, all harmonize together. When this doctrine came forth in these books, it became a stumbling block to some people. We hope that the evidence which we have presented on this subject will be advantageous in the removal of their stumbling block out of the way.

In 1865, the R.L.D.S. Church published a book entitled *A Synopsis of the Faith and Doctrines*. One chapter, or section, deals with the Godhead and a sub-section under that is entitled "A Plurality of Gods." There are several pages following devoted to scriptural references that support this doctrine.

On the basis of these and many other references at my disposal, I believe that the implication made by Howard that his Church membership rejected the Book of Abraham and the doctrines that it taught is inaccurate. In the early days of the Reorganization the membership believed not only in the Book of Abraham as scripture but also in its doctrine of a plurality of Gods.

Ward H. Forman
Tulare, Calif.

Richard P. Howard replies:

My brief *Dialogue* article, "A Tentative Approach to the Book of Abraham" (Summer, 1968, pp. 88–92), made no attempt to document the reverence felt for the Book of Abraham by some of the leading officials of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints during the 1850s and 1860s. To have done this would have accommodated those with a concern similar to that of Mr. Forman; however, such would have been unrelated to the primary purpose of the article.

History agrees with Mr. Forman's point that the early leaders of the Reorganized Church (1852–1866) held the Book of Abraham in high regard; that they promoted its use as reprinted in the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald*; and that they espoused its doctrine of a plurality of Gods. Many other published and unpublished sources demonstrate the esteem held by some of the early

leading officials of the Reorganized Church, both for the Book of Abraham and for the idea of a plurality of Gods. In 1865 a council of top church leaders voiced their belief in the scriptural basis of the plural God doctrine. Published church writings in those early years contained numerous quotations from the Book of Abraham.

An evidence of the emotional and spiritual maturity of the Reorganized Church through the years has been the historical fact that continually its leaders have felt free and obligated to evaluate and question the validity of stances important to our historical traditions. In exercising this responsibility some positions once considered sound have, under closer study and in the light of experience and new understandings, been amended or replaced. The Reorganized Church has discerned that when measured against the demands of the call of Christ to a corporate life of faith in the One Eternal God, some earlier views were theologically unjustified, irrespective of how or when they arose within the church or its leadership.

This is what happened with the Book of Abraham in the Reorganized Church between 1865 and the early twentieth century. Joseph Smith, Jr.'s, speculative doctrine of a plurality of Gods, together with the racial "superiority–inferiority complex" inferred in his Book of Abraham, was being gradually rejected by Reorganized Church leaders in the last generation of the nineteenth century. Thus the early attachment to it of the 1850s and 1860s was responsibly left behind. Today the Reorganized Church neither denies nor is embarrassed because of its early position on these matters; it simply has rejected it as unsound. An emphasis on this in the article might have appeared insensitive to the feelings of those who still view the Book of Abraham as divinely inspired scripture. Obviously it did not matter to the central thrust of the Reorganized Church's present approach to the Book of Abraham in the light of twentieth century developments in Egyptology.

The article, written prior to the publication of the independent analyses of Wilson, Nelson, Heward, et al., could only have speculated whether their conclusions would vindicate the work done by Mercer and others in 1912. But by now much material has been published by the above named Egyptologists, all decisively reinforcing the 1912 Egyptologists' divorcement of the Book of Abraham from any possible connection with that ancient patriarch.

Because of this, some members of the community of Restoration scholars may now desire seriously to consider the Book of

Abraham as simply the product of Joseph Smith, Jr.'s, imagination, wrought out in the midst of what to him must have been a very crucial and demanding and complex set of circumstances. This may call for a consideration of the evidence that the Book of Abraham is neither a scholarly translation (Joseph Smith appears not to have had any understanding or key to Egyptian symbols, either hieroglyphs, hieratic writing or demotic signs), nor an "*inspired* translation," as many have considered Smith's earlier work on the Book of Mormon to have been.

Mr. Forman has responded to a peripheral matter relating only indirectly to the article. Might others perhaps wish to respond to the central issue implied in it? This might more fully satisfy the readers of *Dialogue*, many of whom may be seeking a viable, twentieth century interpretation of the Book of Abraham which not only sustains their integrity but also refines their sense of history.

Richard P. Howard
Church Historian
Reorganized Church of
Jesus Christ of
Latter Day Saints
Independence, Missouri

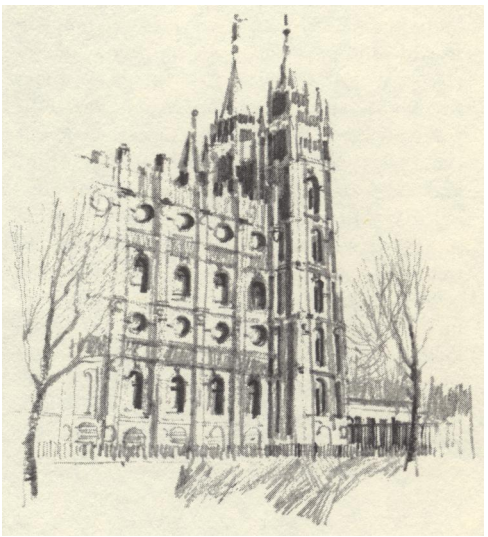
Dear Sirs:

I was intrigued by the article in your Winter 1968 issue, "If Thou Wilt Be Perfect . . ." by J. R. Moss. I took this as a scathing — and perhaps deserved — denunciation of modern materialism in the Church. However, in making his point, the author has repeated every platitude I have ever heard on this subject. Further, he did not drive to the heart of any one of his main points and establish the difficulty of carrying out his recommended practices. Finally, he did not suggest a single way of implementing a plan of action to do better.

Let me point out a few facts about the well-publicized "Other America." I will ignore the problem of the lazy few who do not want to work. I don't know whether they should starve or not. I believe that the majority of men want to contribute an honest day's work for their pay. For these men, neither charity nor "make-work" projects are satisfying. Many of these men cannot be trained to compete in our society for satisfying work. Neither the church nor the government (nor I) have been able to come up with a realistic solution to this problem. Furthermore, most of these men have enormous pride and would prefer me to "keep my nose out of their business." Finally, if I could find a way to help them, I would do it through an impersonal organization so that they would not have to hate me for my charity.

Now, let me indicate the facts of economic and political life. I work hard and unabashedly for money, influence, and power. I work also because I love my work, but I have found that is not enough. The reasons are the following: First, I have a wife and two children, and as a father and husband, my first duty is to them. I have seen enough of the world to know that money and influence can buy opportunities for them to develop their talents which are unattainable by any other means. As an example, I would love to send my children to an excellent private school I know of but I cannot afford it. Second, there are several things that I would like to accomplish before my life is over. Some of these things are projects that could have a positive influence on a large number of people. I have found that most of these projects are impossible unless I have money, influence, and power. The world is full of people whose hearts are in the right place but are completely ineffective in accomplishing good works. I would like to tout the virtues of a man who is willing to do what is necessary (within the limits of morality) to push a good project through.

Finally, I have nothing against rich classes. Many waste their money and are foolish, but many invest their money wisely and provide a capital base for the industrial nation that has provided for me. Brigham Young tried to develop an economy by taxation (tithing) and public investment. The result was that most of the people were without means for private investment and private industry suffered. He was not able to develop the base of small industries he needed so badly in the Intermountain West. (See *Great Basin Kingdom* by Arrington). Also, most of his public investment schemes failed (sugar, iron, lead, cotton, wine, citrus industries). I do not wish to fault Brigham Young or his enterprises or the Mormons in Utah. Remarkable things were accomplished by them in a hostile land. I only wish to point out some of the pitfalls of a system that brings a more "uniform" distribution of wealth. When the Christ sets up His system, He will undoubtedly work out safeguards to allow the "uniform" system to work but we have not been able to accomplish this yet.



If Brother Moss has any clear solutions to these problems I would like to see another sermon printed in the pages of *Dialogue* that outlines them.

Leonard H. Wald
Torrance, California

James Moss replies:

Mr. Wald's simplistic rationalizations are an excellent example of the very attitudes that most concern me. They could appropriately be titled, "How To Avoid Obeying the Scriptures for Fun and Profit," a game of hide-and-seek commonly played by some members of the Church whenever the Word of God requires us to sacrifice our stake in society's material values. His complaints about the problems of economic sharing are a complete evasion of the central fact that the Lord has commanded it and that He has given us a celestial plan to achieve it. Enoch used it successfully; the Nephites prospered on it for two hundred years. The problem is not in obtaining a plan but in finding people willing to live it. And we are certainly not that people if we cling to Mr. Wald's illusion that "money, influence and power" are necessary to accomplish worthwhile personal goals or good in society. Where in such a theology is room for the humble Carpenter from Nazareth?

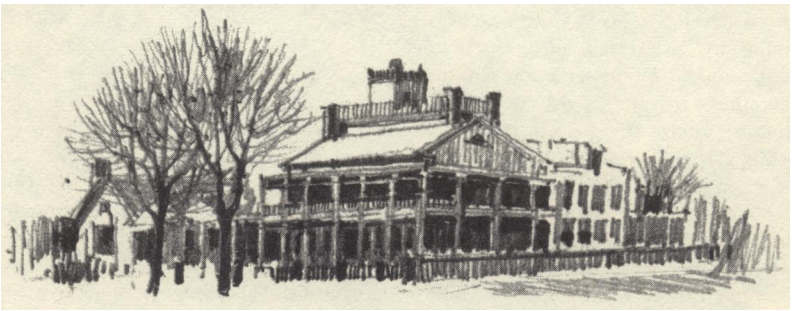
Mr. Wald should be less concerned about the "facts of economic and political life" and more concerned about the facts of eternal life. Brigham Young may have failed in the eyes of a capitalist but he was extremely successful from the viewpoint of the gospel: The Saints learned great lessons in community action, mutual dependence, loving, non-competitive cooperation, and conservation of resources before the influx of gentiles and pressures from the American society and government forced them, late in the nineteenth century, towards the prevailing mode of exploitive individualistic capitalism. If Wald's ideal is a man who is "willing to do what is necessary," he should realize that the first necessity for a Mormon is to obey God's will as revealed in the scriptures. It is obvious that he needs to hear "every platitude" over again, particularly those of Jacob, Alma and the Lord Jesus Christ. The Savior has already set up His system — that is, the Church and the revealed principles my essay reviewed that the Church is to continually struggle to put into practice. As a church we bear the particular responsibility to prepare ourselves spiritually and practically and establish a divine economic system based on the kind of personal sharing and equality the scriptures describe — *before* the Lord will come. We need fewer complainers and more doers.

Dear Sirs:

Just this past Sunday night our *Dialogue* study class voted to split into two groups — along the boundary lines of the 4th and 5th Wards. This split was necessitated by our explosive growth — interest is mushrooming. . . .

May I say that I have received every issue of *Dialogue* — from Spring '66 thru Winter '68 — and, as a result my testimony has grown by "leaps and bounds." I know not about others but I would surmise that if they have been students of the Gospel in depth, a study of *Dialogue* — every issue — cannot help but cause growth in testimony. . . . Am I not right in assuming that some who may have strayed from the fold may have been wooed back to take a more mature look at the Church?

Norman L. Dunn
Portland, Oregon



DIALOGUE
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THE INTELLECTUAL TRADITION OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS

Leonard J. Arrington

Historians and writers have given insufficient attention to L.D.S. intellectual achievements, in the opinion of Leonard Arrington, a High Councilor in Utah State University Stake. Professor Arrington currently serves as President of the Western History Association.

In one of the earliest books of imaginative literature about the American West (published in 1826), novelist–editor–missionary–biographer Timothy Flint reveals a common impression of the time that "in travelling towards the frontier, the decreasing scale of civilization and improvement exhibits an accurate illustration of inverted history." Flint's better-known contemporary, James Fenimore Cooper, although an admirer of the West, acknowledged that "refinement and gentility were conceivable only in members of an upper class with enough wealth to guarantee its leisure, and a sufficiently secure social status to give it poise and assurance." Still another contemporary, Ralph Waldo Emerson, stated that "The pioneers are commonly the off-scourings of civilized society."

Eastern intellectuals were almost unanimous in describing Western settlers as uncouth, unpolished, and culturally degraded. The natural landscape of the West, in which most of the Eastern romantics included the Indians, was often regarded as sublime, but the adjustment to wilderness life encouraged the squatters to slip backward in the scale of civilization. Out of the West, in the opinion of Arthur Moore, came "rank anti-intellectualism."

Adapted from Professor Arrington's address to a plenary session of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, on September 13, 1968, at St. George, Utah. The original address is published with full documentation in *Proceedings of the Utah Academy . . .* , Volume 46, Part 1, 1969.

The reversion-to-barbarism theme was applied with special persistence to the early settlers of Utah, but here it was attributed to the religion rather than to the natural environment. Thus, while the remainder of the West at least had the hope of becoming re-civilized as soon as the physical constraints were removed and the amenities restored, this was not true of Mormon country, where the dominant religion, by virtue of its supposed inherent deciviliz-ing character, condemned the territory and its residents to more or less perpetual savagery.[1] Nearly all of the fifty or more nineteenth-century novels which described life in Utah portrayed the Mormons as incurably ignorant, lecherous, and depraved.[2] But the most damning indictment of all was penned as recently as 1926 by Bernard DeVoto — one of Utah's own sons and probably its most brilliant literary personality. "Civilized life does not exist in Utah," DeVoto wrote. "It never has existed there. It never will exist there." "No poets lingered there, no musicians, philosophers, or scholars." Utah's settlers, he wrote, came "from localities where civilization had never penetrated," and their "only distinguishing characteristics were their servility to their leaders and their beliefs in a low-comedy God." There was "rigorous suppression of individuality, impracticability, scepticism, and all the other qualities of intelligence." As a result, Utah was poor "in everything that makes for civilization." "Who ever heard," he asked, "of a Utah painter, a Utah sculptor, a Utah novelist, or poet, or critic, or educator, or editor, or publicist — who ever heard of a Utahn?"[3]

Believing that Utah's non-Mormon residents were "less fanatical" and "less ignorant" than the Mormons, DeVoto lodged the responsibility for the poverty of Utah's culture on the narrow and unthinking character of its religious heritage. Indeed, in "A Revaluation," written some twenty years after the *American Mercury* outburst, DeVoto admitted that, while his earlier article had been "dishonest" and "irresponsible," he still believed "that Utah, and especially Mormon culture" was more provincial than most of the nation, that it was "extremely sensitive and intolerant to criticism and even to difference of opinion in which there is no criticism whatever," and that "the orthodox Mormon mind cannot tolerate any objective treatment of Mormon history whatever."[4]

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[1]Two recent works which emphasize the positive cultural and intellectual contributions of frontier religious groups and institutions hitherto disparaged are: T. Scott Miyakawa, *Protestants and Pioneers: Individualism and Conformity on the American Frontier* (Chicago and London, 1964); and Charles A. Johnson, *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion's Harvest Time* (Dallas, 1955).

[2]Jon Haupt and I have discussed this in "Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth Century American Literature," *The Western Humanities Review*, XXII (Summer 1968), 243–60, and "The Missouri and Nauvoo Mormons in Ante-bellum Fiction," in a volume to be published by the Southern Illinois University Press under the tentative title *The Mormons in Illinois.*

[3]DeVoto, "Utah," *American Mercury*, VII (March 1926), 319–21.

[4]DeVoto, "A Revaluation," *Rocky Mountain Review*, X (Autumn 1945), 8–10. An earlier Westerner, Bret Harte, complained that the best brains of California — meaning especially his own — were unappreciated. Accepting such statements at face value, some literary critics have alleged that sensitive writers were scorned by their home towns. Psychoanalysts

An intellectual, according to *Webster's New International Dictionary*, is a person of superior intelligence; a person devoted to matters of the mind and especially to the arts and letters; a person given to study, reflection, and speculation, especially concerning large, profound, or abstract issues; a person engaged in activity requiring preeminently the use of the intellect. He is usually viewed as a person who is capable of commenting upon society and its problems "with greater detachment than those more directly caught up in the practical business of production and power."[5]

Were there persons with these qualities among our Latter-day Saint forebears? Did the Mormon community have intellectuals — and are there such persons in our community today?

There is a special problem involved in seeking to denote intellectuals in a religious group as fully committed as the Latter-day Saints. A "real intellectual," it is said, will not subordinate rationalism to other ways of knowing, such as authoritarianism or mysticism.[6] But "good Mormons" will do so, for that is a part of their being good Mormons. So-called Mormon intellectuals, it is said, will rationalize that revelation is superior to reason. Should one water down the word "intellectual" by including the bright and industrious Mormon scholars who have failed the acid test of standing outside their own culture and evaluating it all the way on the basis of the best "thinking of men"?[7] Such a high standard for the classification "real intellectuals" would reduce substantially the number of "real Mormons" who could qualify.[8] Actually, dictionary and encyclopedia definitions of "intellectual" permit the inclusion of persons with religious faith. There is no definition which would disqualify a St. Augustine, an Aquinas, a Thomas More, or a Cardinal Newman.

The primary question is the extent to which one's emotional attachment to certain "final truths" informs his intellectual activity; whether his soul-ties prevent his thought on key issues from being freely detachable from his own cultural traditions. Bertrand Russell suggests that in studying a given phil-

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might see a relationship between such derogatory outbursts and the personal frustrations of Western writers. See, e.g., Franklin Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* (New York, 1939), pp. 266–68.

[5]Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism in America, 1889–1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type* (New York, 1965, 1967), p. ix.

[6]The word "authoritarian" refers to subjection to authority — an undesirable state; "authoritative" means sanctioned by authority and is usually regarded as something desirable. Lowell Bennion cautions that Mormonism is authoritative but not authoritarian. Bennion, *Religion and the Pursuit of Truth* (Salt Lake City, 1959), pp. 24–29.

[7]One reader suggests that some dedicated Mormon scholars fail this acid test because of cowardice, others because of intellectual and/or psychological incapability, and still others because they are unable to make up their minds whether their first loyalty is to objective scholarship or to revered churchmen.

[8]One respondent to the questionnaire described below states that in one sense there have been no Mormon intellectuals because Mormons fled from the strife and contentions of religious and intellectual debate and sought authoritarian ("authoritative"?) answers to intellectual questions. Another opined that anyone who passed the test of evaluating Mormon culture on the basis of the best "thinking of men" would necessarily be *persona non grata*, and thus those Mormons who became intellectuals were, by definition, apostates.

osopher or line of thought "the right attitude is neither reverence nor contempt, but first a kind of hypothetical sympathy." One should cultivate the enlargement of the scope of his mind beyond his own "cherished prejudices" by exercising his historical and psychological imagination.[9] There would seem to be no inherent reason why our more sophisticated thinkers could not thus project their minds as have highly-committed persons in other religions and cultures.

Richard Hofstadter posits two qualities in the intellectual's attitude toward ideas — playfulness and piety. Playfulness, he writes, is openness to the potential of ideas — "sheer delight in intellectual activity."

> Truth captured loses its glamor; truths long known and widely believed have a way of turning false with time; easy truths are a bore, and too many of them become half-truths. Whatever the intellectual is too certain of, if he is healthily playful, he begins to find unsatisfactory. The meaning of his intellectual life lies not in the possession of truth but in the quest for new uncertainties.

The other quality is piety, for the intellectual recognizes that values underlie every question that is posed; the life of the mind has a "kind of primary moral significance. . . . The intellectual is *engagé* — he is pledged, committed, enlisted. What everyone else is willing to admit, namely that ideas and abstractions are of signal importance in human life, he imperatively feels."[10]

How open and pious have Latter-day Saint scholars been in searching for truth? How creative and playful have they been in developing new interpretations and hypotheses?[11]

One might distinguish four stages in the growth of Mormon intellectuality: the formative stage, the stage of elaboration, the purification stage, and the stage of creative adaptation.[12]

The formative stage covers the period from the organization of the infant Church of Christ in western New York State in 1830 to the assassination of Joseph Smith in Illinois in 1844. Four persons were paramount in the introduction of new concepts and policies: Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Parley Pratt, and Orson Pratt. The historian's problem in assessing the intellectuality

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[9]Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York, 1945), p. 39.

[10]Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York, 1962), pp. 27–30.

[11]A prominent non-Mormon historian, who in his capacity as head of his department at a large university has interviewed many young Mormons, tells me that he thinks young Mormon scholars are too tense — too serious — as if they were uneasy in an environment which must play with hypotheses, even with cherished ones. My own experience is that young Mormon intellectuals are quite free in playing around with new ideas and concepts when they are with "kindred souls," and that they become more guarded — and "tense" — when among non-Mormons or highly dogmatic Mormons. As they grow older, they tend to become more relaxed and secure about their faith and commitment.

[12]Four penetrating essays which discuss Mormonism and intellectuals are: Ephraim E. Ericksen, "William H. Chamberlin, Pioneer Mormon Philosopher," *The Western Humanities Review*, VIII (Autumn 1954), 275–85; R. Kent Fielding, "Historical Perspectives for a Liberal Mormonism," *The Western Humanities Review*, XIV (Winter 1960), 69–80; Davis Bitton, "Anti-Intellectualism in Mormon History," *Dialogue*, I (Autumn 1966), 111–34 — also the "Comment" of James B. Allen, *Dialogue*, I (Autumn 1966), 134–40; and Thomas F. O'Dea, "Sources of Strain and Conflict," in *The Mormons* (Chicago, 1957), pp. 222–57.

of Joseph Smith is magnified by the fact that the most sophisticated of his works (Book of Mormon, Pearl of Great Price, Doctrine and Covenants) are theophanous — that is, the ultimate author, translator, or inspirer of the works was represented to be Deity. But whatever the precise relative contributions of Joseph Smith, ancient theologians, and God, the words and ideas contained in these works passed through the Prophet's mind, and thus we are permitted to apply to them the same literary and philosophical criticism that we apply to other works. The noted Catholic sociologist, Thomas O'Dea, undertook to study the Book of Mormon from this point of view and concluded that the book did indeed have significant intellectual content and was worthy of the attention of students of American intellectual history. "The intellectuality of the *Book of Mormon*," he wrote, "is to be seen in its recognition of currents of thought other than and antagonistic to its own point of view, and especially in its awareness of current skepticism and rationalism."[13] The book also provided "a reasonable answer to problems of existence and salvation." While there is no comparable study of the content of the Pearl of Great Price and Doctrine and Covenants by a scholar of national stature, the writings and sermons of Joseph Smith have attracted and motivated several generations of Latter-day Saints. The Prophet exercised leadership in relating individual members and the group to the universe and to society at large, legitimated authority and defined its responsibilities, and interpreted the Church's historical role.[14]

With respect to the other three early leaders, Sydney Rigdon contributed most of the "Lectures on Faith" and many sermons which relate to such early principles and ordinances as faith, repentance, baptism, spiritual gifts, the Millennium, and communitarianism. Parley Pratt wrote *Voice of Warning* (1837), *Key to Theology* (1855), *The Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (1874), and founded the *Latter-day Saint's Millennial Star* (Liverpool, 1840–date). Parley's brother, Orson, often regarded as the foremost Mormon intellectual of the nineteenth century, wrote a series of pamphlets for distribution in England which gave philosophical meaning and depth to many of the theological teachings. Many of these were important enough to be reviewed in the foremost literary and philosophical journals in Europe.[15]

That there was intellectual ferment in early Mormonism is clear; the *History of the Church* as dictated by Joseph Smith or written by his secretaries reports many instances of interchange of ideas and dissent from authoritatively-held interpretations. The dispersion which occurred after his death in 1844 is evidence that Joseph Smith held together persons of a wide variety of opinions and beliefs. Although not always, Joseph Smith often opposed

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[13]O'Dea, *The Mormons*, pp. 30–31.

[14]Among the most admired and respected works of Joseph Smith, in addition to the three mentioned, are his "Inspired Translation" of the Bible, the King Follett Sermon, his letters from Liberty Jail, and his dictated history of the Church.

[15]See F. Mark McKiernan, "The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer, 1793–1876" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1968); Reva Stanley, *A Biography of Parley P. Pratt: The Archer of Paradise* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1937); T. Edgar Lyon, "Orson Pratt — Early Mormon Leader" (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1932).

the dogmatists within the Church who, once they got hold of a "truth," sought to discourage the creative thought of others who continued to experiment with even newer "truths." For this reason, early Mormonism took on the coloration of a fellowship of believers in "Restored Christianity" rather than a sect with inflexible ideology.[16] On one occasion Pelatiah Brown, an older member of the Church, expressed in convincing language some of his own ideas with respect to "the beast full of eyes before and behind" in the Revelation of St. John. Certain members of the community disagreed with his interpretations and "hauled him up for trial before the High Council." Joseph Smith remonstrated with them for doing so, and in the next public meeting devoted the first part of his sermon to a plea for freedom of religious thought:

> I [do] not like the old man being called up for erring in doctrine. It looks too much like the Methodists, and not like the Latter-day Saints. Methodists have creeds which a man must believe or be kicked out of their church. I want the liberty of thinking and believing as I please. It feels so good not to be trammelled. It does not prove that a man is not a good man because he errs in doctrine.[17]

The *elaboration stage* (the second stage) may be said to begin with the murder of Joseph Smith in 1844 and continue to the organization of the School of the Prophets in 1867. Brigham Young, as Joseph Smith's successor (so far as the "Utah Mormons" are concerned), did not envision himself as an innovator, either in theology or in social affairs. The conditions under which Brigham Young and the Twelve Apostles assumed leadership assured a hierarchical structure designed along authoritarian lines. The theophanous works of Joseph Smith were canonized into doctrine, and the doctrine and organizational structure of the Church became more dogmatic and inflexible. Brigham's task was to preach the doctrines, carry out the policies, and administer the programs of the founding Prophet. A man of enormous determination and energy, and able to command the loyalty of men of unquestioned endowments, Brigham Young's intellect did not express itself as freely as did that of his predecessor in the creation of new ideas and symbols.[18]

Thus, the intellectual elaboration and development of the potentialities inherent in the doctrines and policies formulated during the Joseph Smith era focused around three groups in early Utah.

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[16]Dogmatic theology regarding the traditional questions of soteriology, ecclesiology, and the like, were far less important to Mormons than their eschatology. The announcement of the fact of the Restoration, the call to gather, the expected coming of Christ — these were the central elements. These ideas, and the specific programs for which they provided the rationale, were flexible.

[17]"History of Joseph Smith," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, XX (1858), 774; also Joseph Smith, *History of the Church . . . Period I*, ed. B. H. Roberts (6 vols.; Salt Lake City, 1946), V, 340.

[18]In a letter to the writer, Davis Bitton argues that I have overdone the contrast between Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, leaving the impression that there was more fluidity under the former and more hardening under the latter than actually was the case. He cites evidence that Brigham was not really a dogmatist when it came to doctrine.

First, the private secretaries and advisors of Brigham Young, including John Jaques, George D. Watt, Thomas Bullock, David McKenzie, and George A. Smith. The work of these men finds expression in the letters signed by Brigham Young and directed to government officials, apostles, mission presidents, and, most importantly, to Colonel Thomas L. Kane. Having studied these documents in some detail, the writer offers his word that they are often of high quality, with substantial intellectual content.

Second, editors of and writers for *The Deseret News, Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star, The Seer, The Frontier Guardian, The Mormon,* and other publications of the Church. These included Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, Orson Hyde, Franklin D. Richards, and John Taylor. All of these were men of intellectual substance and productivity.

Third, educators and independent writers, including James Linforth and Frederick Piercy, who prepared the 1855 edition of *Route from Liverpool* which was recently republished by Harvard University Press; Edward W. Tullidge and E. L. T. Harrison, the editors of *Peep O'Day,* an independent weekly magazine of literature, science, and art; and Sarah Carmichael, whose poetry attracted the attention of national figures, including William Cullen Bryant, who placed one of her poems in his book of "best American poetry."

The third stage, the *stage of purification,* may be said to begin with the inauguration of the "Protective Movement" in 1867 and end with the achievement of statehood in 1896. The establishment of Protection, it should be explained, is related to the approach of the transcontinental railroad. Many observers, both within and outside of Utah, recognized certain threats posed by the imminent completion of the Pacific Railroad. Eastern and Midwestern enterprisers and laborers would flock in to exploit new mines and markets, thus threatening the continuance of theocratic control of the region. Increased commercial intercourse would threaten the economic autonomy of the Mormon community. Brigham Young and his associates saw this as a time for the Saints to band together to preserve their unique way of life.

A number of economic programs formed the core of Mormon Protectionism: branch railroads were built by the Mormons themselves to connect L.D.S. settlements with the main line; trade was centered in a Parent Wholesale Store (ZCMI) and in cooperative retail outlets in the wards and settlements; new manufacturing and financial enterprises were launched; and various devices were instituted for preserving group loyalties and strengthening community institutions. The group was directed by a community planning council called the School of the Prophets, with a central body in Salt Lake City and branch schools in each of the principal settlements. At the same time, a coordinated program was established to assure the participation of the women of the Church with the organization of centrally-directed auxiliary, the Female Relief Society. This group also had local organizations in each settlement, as did the Young Ladies' Retrenchment Society (later the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association), which was formed at this time to supervise activities of the young women. (A little later, the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association was organized for young men.) Uni-

fying devices included *The Woman's Exponent,* which was founded in 1870 as an independent magazine for women, and *The Contributor* commenced in 1879 as an independent magazine for young men. A central Sunday School organization likewise was established at this time to teach the gospel to young people, and a magazine was inaugurated for their use called *The Juvenile Instructor.*

Unquestionably, this movement of indoctrination for purposes of protecting the Mormon way of life involved a certain surrendering of free thought — or, at least, of the freedom to propagate heretical and hostile thought. Shortly after the protective movement was launched, a group of "liberal" Mormons — comprising several members of the Utah intellectual community — founded a "liberal" journal called *The Utah Magazine.* Boldly, they advocated accommodation to dominant forces at work in the nation. They opposed an "exclusive" social and economic policy, contended that the priesthood was not infallible, and raised questions about the influence of church leadership on economics, politics, and education. The leaders of this group, William S. Godbe, E. L. T. Harrison, Edward W. Tullidge, Henry W. Lawrence, and others, were brought before a church tribunal and excommunicated. Several other "liberals" left the Church in sympathy.

Intellectual leaders during the purification stage included, once again, Orson Pratt, whose *Key to the Universe,* published in Liverpool in 1873, was an early attempt to stretch the gospel beyond a simple theological pattern, thus introducing a wider philosophical meaning to church thought; George Q. Cannon, who edited *The Juvenile Instructor,* wrote several books for young people, kept a diary which one who has read it states to be magnificent, and as congressional delegate supervised the campaign for statehood; Edward W. Tullidge, whose contributions to L.D.S. literature included several articles for magazines of national circulation, the publication of *Tullidge's Quarterlies,* and the authorship of such books as *Life of Joseph the Prophet, Life of Brigham Young, History of Salt Lake City,* and *History of Northern Utah and Southern Idaho;* and Emmeline B. Wells, who edited *The Women's Exponent* during most of this period, and Susa Young Gates who wrote dozens of books, both fictional and non-fictional, and edited *The Young Woman's Journal.*

The purification period witnessed an accelerated educational program aimed at countering the inroads of denominational academies established in several localities in the territory. Although a vehicle of intellectual isolation, perpetuating to some extent the insularity of the period which preceded it, this renewed interest in education prompted the founding of the Brigham Young Academy in Provo (now Brigham Young University), the Brigham Young College in Logan, and the Latter-day Saints College in Salt Lake City. In addition, the University of Deseret was revitalized and converted into the University of Utah; and many academies or high schools were established in the various settlements.

The fourth stage, which might be called *the stage of creative adaptation,* seems to have commenced about the time of statehood and has continued to the present. This stage has involved the adaptation of secular learning to the

needs of the Mormons — or, to put it the other way around, the adaptation of the doctrines and practices of the Mormons to the secular world in which they live.[19]

Several events of intellectual importance have taken place during these 72 years. First, a number of graduates of the University of Deseret, L.D.S. University, Brigham Young College, and Brigham Young Academy began to go East to study at secular institutions. Faced with the problem of reconciling their own teachings with those of "the outside world," they ultimately created philosophies, theories, and explanations which enriched the intellectual content of Mormon doctrine. Second, the growth and expansion of Utah institutions of higher learning, and particularly those where the students were entirely or predominantly of Mormon origin, forced the adaptation of courses of study to bridge the gap between opposing cultures and values. The writing of textbooks, in the sciences and humanities as well as in religion, fostered experimentation with creative philosophies. One of the most important developments during this period was the initiation of "Religion Classes," which attempted to provide training in religion on a level equivalent to that in secular classes. These were ultimately divided into seminary instruction for high school students and Institutes of Religion classes for those in colleges and universities. Third, the intellectual growth and intellectual changes in the nation generally emboldened Mormon educators and students to study the theory of evolution, Higher Criticism, behaviorism, communism, and other crosscurrents.

The adaptation of a fiercely-held faith — a faith which could motivate and propel the successful settlement of a region as arid as most of Utah — was bound to produce a tension. Out of this tension many *causes célèbres* arose: the resignations in 1911 of three prominent staff members of the Brigham Young University who were warned about their advanced views on evolution and Higher Criticism; the 1915 resignations of a number of staff members at the University of Utah who protested controls and interferences by representatives of the dominant culture; and a number of excommunications, releases, displacements, and demotions within the memories of members of the Academy here today. These cases were often more complex than the general public realized, and some of the official decisions were undoubtedly justified as necessary to achieving the basic objectives of the institution or the community, but it is clear that an atmosphere of isolation and fear and an emphasis on indoctrination have at times discouraged free expression and discussion. It is also clear, fortunately, that discussion and criticism, dissent if you will, continued to be heard.

The view of the Church during this "modern" stage thus has varied, as one might expect, from cautious acceptance of the "new learning" to warn-

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[19]Although creative, the period has also been frustrating. Some Mormon intellectuals have not remained to enrich the intellectual content of Mormon doctrine but abandoned both the region and the Church. The problems and negative aspects of this fourth period have been well described by Bitton, Fielding, and Ericksen in the essays previously cited. I am simply recognizing here that there have also been positive achievements during the period.

ings that the "word of God as expressed by the Brethren" is a more safe position than pinning one's faith on the uncertain foundations of a secular learning which holds that there is no final truth. Perhaps the Church's most careful expression of its point of view was that given ten years ago to the students and faculty of Brigham Young University by President Hugh B. Brown:

> We are very grateful in the Church and in this great university that the freedom, dignity, and integrity of the individual is basic in church doctrine as well as in democracy. Here we are free to think and express our opinions. Fear will not stifle thought, as is the case in some areas which have not yet emerged from the dark ages. God himself refuses to trammel man's free agency even though its exercise sometimes teaches painful lessons. Both creative science and revealed religion find their fullest and truest expression in the climate of freedom. . . .
>
> I hope that you will develop the questing spirit. Be unafraid of new ideas for they are as stepping stones to progress. You will, of course, respect the opinions of others but be unafraid to dissent — if you are informed.
>
> Now that I have mentioned freedom to express your thoughts, I caution you that your thoughts and expressions must meet competition in the market place of thought, and in that competition truth will emerge triumphant. Only error needs to fear freedom of expression. Seek truth in all fields; and in that search you will need at least three virtues: courage, zest, and modesty. The ancients put that thought in the form of a prayer. They said, "From the cowardice that shrinks from new truth, from the laziness that is content with half truth, from the arrogance that thinks it has all the truth — Oh God of Truth deliver us."[20]

In preparation for this paper, the writer sent out a questionnaire to some fifty prominent L.D.S. intellectuals — all of them, I think, with Ph.D. degrees or the equivalent. I asked them to list the five most eminent intellectuals in Mormon history.[21] Thirty-eight persons responded. Leading the list of those most frequently nominated was B. H. Roberts. Orson Pratt ranked second, Joseph Smith third, Sterling McMurrin fourth, and James E. Talmage fifth. Others mentioned by at least three persons, in the order of their ranking, were John A. Widtsoe, Lowell Bennion, Hugh Nibley, Parley P. Pratt, Ephraim Ericksen, W. H. Chamberlin, and J. Reuben Clark, Jr. Of the twelve persons who were named on the lists of at least three respondents, three (Joseph Smith and the two Pratts) wrote during the first period, while the remaining nine studied and wrote during the "modern" period of creative adaptation.[22]

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[20]President Hugh B. Brown, "What Is Man and What He May Become," address at Brigham Young University, March 25, 1958.

[21]My definition of "intellectual" was framed in such a way that it seemed to exclude natural scientists. This is unfortunate, since a major contribution to Mormon intellectuality has been made by our natural scientists.

[22]The listings, with number of placings on the responses were: B. H. Roberts, 35; Orson Pratt, 30; Joseph Smith, 19; Sterling McMurrin, 18; James E. Talmage, 17; John A. Widtsoe, 14; Lowell Bennion, 11; Hugh Nibley, 10; Parley P. Pratt, 5; E. E. Ericksen, 4; W. H. Cham-

All of the persons named seem impressive, particularly if judged by the quantity of their writings.[23] Roberts published eight books of theology and nine of history, including the monumental six-volume *Comprehensive History of the Church* (Salt Lake City, 1930). Though in origin a polemical work, the *Comprehensive History* comes nearer to history than many works done subsequently that professed historicity. Roberts also wrote two volumes of biography, three of sermons and commentaries, and one novel. A leading Democrat, successful missionary, soldier's chaplain, and high church authority, Roberts seems fully justified in being regarded — to use Davis Bitton's phrase — as the pioneer Utah equivalent of Renaissance Man.[24] A less flamboyant contemporary, James Talmage, was also a British immigrant; wrote texts on natural and domestic science for L.D.S. high school students; authored two books on aspects of chemical and mineral geology; published seven books on religion, including the *Articles of Faith* and *Jesus, The Christ,* which are still used as standard texts; and prepared hundreds of articles which were syndicated for nationwide newspaper circulation. Widtsoe, a Norwegian immigrant who grew up in secluded Cache Valley, graduated *summa cum laude* in chemistry from Harvard, studied advanced biochemistry at Göttingen, and became president of Utah State Agricultural College and, later, of the University of Utah. He wrote thirty books, seven of which were in his professional field of agriculture and the remainder on aspects of Mormonism. His pamphlets, study courses, literary articles, and editorials run to an estimated 800 titles.

Three persons still in the mid-course of their contributions to Utah and Mormon intellectuality are on the list: Sterling McMurrin, Lowell Bennion, and Hugh Nibley. McMurrin's listing rests primarily on his erudition and careful reasoning in three works which serve to place Mormon theology and philosophy in perspective: *The Patterns of Our Religious Faiths* (Salt Lake City, 1954), *The Philosophical Foundations of Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City, 1959), and *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City, 1965). Lowell Bennion, a graduate of the University of Vienna with a dissertation on the methodology of Max Weber, has specialized in writing manuals for use in the seminaries, Institutes of Religion, and Sunday Schools. His *Religion and the Pursuit of Truth* (Salt Lake City, 1959), as with

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berlin, 4; J. Reuben Clark, Jr., 3. It is significant that no woman received as many as three listings, and that no apostates were listed by that number. The former is probably due to the failure of historians to call attention to the contributions of women in Mormon history; the latter is perhaps due to the manner in which I worded the questionnaire, asking: "Excluding yourself (and myself), who are the five leading Mormon intellectuals in the Church's history?" I should have thought that Eliza R. Snow, Susa Young Gates, and Emmeline B. Wells might have received more listings, and also Sidney Rigdon, Edward W. Tullidge, George A. Smith, and John Taylor. Of course, each respondent was limited to five listings. Several respondents made notes indicating their perplexity about Joseph Smith. Admittedly, he was a towering and inspiring figure, but was he an intellectual?

[23]Obviously, I could not attempt in this brief essay to judge the *quality* of these writings. Certainly I would not contend that all of the writings of these "intellectuals," if such they be, have (or had) solid intellectual worth. Some would no doubt contend that they stand out mainly because of the barren surroundings.

[24]Davis Bitton, "B. H. Roberts As Historian," *Dialogue,* III (Winter 1968), 26.

all his works, is marked by a warm humanity and humble absence of provinciality. Hugh Nibley, a brilliant graduate in classical languages and history from the University of California, has written a large sheaf of articles for professional journals and Mormon periodicals, and has published five books. Perhaps the one which Mormon intellectuals regard as his most distinguished work is *The World and the Prophets* (Salt Lake City, 1954). "With the passing of B. H. Roberts," writes one of his admirers, "Nibley more than anyone else has assumed the role of defender of the faith and the Saints.[25] One might sum up these three current leading Mormon intellectuals in the following manner: McMurrin is concerned with ideas, Bennion with people, and Nibley with the faith.

It is interesting to note that the top three persons — Roberts, Pratt, and Smith — were essentially self-taught. This should give the modern generation of Mormon scholars ample cause for humility. Considering our enormous advantages, we ought to be making far greater contributions than we are. It is humbling to realize that B. H. Roberts, the top person on virtually everybody's list, was the son of poor English converts, that he crossed the ocean and walked across the plains to Utah when he was only nine years of age, and that he worked on farms and in mines with virtually no time or opportunity for schooling. He apprenticed himself to a blacksmith, achieved some local notoriety as the "village blacksmith orator," and was called to a mission among country people in the Southeast. Eventually, he became a general authority of the Church, was elected to Congress, and produced a respectable shelf of books on varying subjects. Who would have guessed that out of such a background would have come the man whom thirty-five learned L.D.S. scholars would select as the most distinguished intellectual in the Church's history!

Intellectuals such as those listed in the survey perform three functions for the societies in which they live. They provide symbolic and other expressions of the relationship of man to the universe, to God, and to the world of men, they initiate and maintain a flow of helpful suggestions for modification and improvement; and they seek to safeguard their societies' standards of excellence by criticizing low performance. Intensely patriotic in the broadest sense, and often ethical purists, they sometimes find their society failing to come up to its expressed ideals, and thus become disenchanted. Their "apostasy" in such instances is merely an inverted manifestation of their loyalty to the ideals.[26] Honest and frank — perhaps excessively so — they may advocate changes which society's leaders have reasons to oppose; they may point out weaknesses when it is not politic to do so; and they may insist upon standards which society and its leaders (including intellectual leaders) are not able to meet. However much we deplore their occasional lack of tact and humility, we must grant, with Daniel Bell, that, "One can be a critic of one's

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[25]Louis Midgley, "Hugh Nibley: A Short Bibliographical Note," *Dialogue*, II (Spring 1967), 119.

[26]Compare Edward Shils, "Intellectuals," *International Encyclopedia of The Social Sciences* (17 vols.; New York, 1968), VII, 410.

country [or church] without being an enemy of its promise."[27] Since there is substantial agreement that the history of societies which lack social criticism is "in the main a record of stagnation and decline," the nurturing of independent intellectuals is society's way of assuring its future.[28]

All of us who are members of the Academy are favored to be associated with bright and spirited young intellectuals, the most honest of whom sometimes express a fear of "joining the Establishment."[29] They do not want to glide over shortcomings or settle for less than they and society are capable of achieving. They imagine a dilemma to be facing them. On the one hand, if the Establishment rejects them it is guilty of philistinism. On the other hand, if it gives them an honored place it is buying them off.[30]

Surely many sensitive souls in every generation have imagined themselves to be impaled on the horns of this dilemma. By and large, as they mature they learn that close identification with the so-called Establishment (be it Church, State, or Commercial) does not, of itself, involve or necessitate a sell-out to the principles of integrity and creativity.[31] "The intellectual who has relinquished all thought of association with power understands well — almost too well — that his state of powerlessness is conducive to certain illuminations. What he is prone to forget is that an access to power and an involvement with its problems may provide other illuminations."[32]

I hope that the members of this Academy share with me an impression of the growing number of "participating intellectuals" within the Mormon culture. Personally, I have been delighted with the increasing number and improved quality of bright young Mormon intellectuals who are strongly committed to their Church and society, and who are equally committed to sound scholarship in the humanities and sciences. On the one hand, they are determined to work within the best traditions of their culture; on the

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[27]Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (Rev. ed.; New York, 1965), p. 17. One cannot deny that some articulate intellectuals abuse their positions and betray doctrinaire and uncompromising attitudes. Intellectuals are susceptible (as we all are) to insidious forces, and may deliberately ridicule the well-meaning and obfuscate the issues. Intellectuals may also lose their relevance by refusing to serve society in a constructive way or to get involved in the "muck and mire" of contemporary organizations and movements.

[28]See Eric Hoffer, *The Ordeal of Change* (New York, 1963, 1967), p. 46; and Stanford Gwilliam, "The Critic in Zion," *Dialogue*, II (Winter 1967), 149–54.

[29]By this they presumably mean accepting a position in the government, the Church, or a large business corporation. As ethical purists they dislike working with imperfect institutions. But can they really know society and its problems without participating actively in its processes?

[30]Compare Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*, pp. 393, 417.

[31]One non-Mormon historian friend has suggested in a letter to the writer that the Roman Catholic attempt to consolidate orthodoxy coincided with intellectual decline in Italy — and still more in Spain where orthodoxy was more complete. The Protestant Reformation, on the other hand, brought an intellectual awakening to Elizabethan England. Thomas O'Dea in *American Catholic Dilemma: An Inquiry into the Intellectual Life* (New York, 1958), intimates that the conservative and defensive theology of American Roman Catholicism has tended to produce sterility, while the more liberal Catholic theology in France, the Netherlands, and Germany has produced intellectual brilliance.

[32]Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*, p. 429.

other hand, they insist upon the highest standards of integrity in their chosen fields. In recognition of their influence and needs the Church has established semi-autonomous university wards, stakes, and Institutes of Religion where L.D.S. students are able to attain spiritual, social, and intellectual maturity under the most favorable conditions. In responding to the challenge of adapting their faith and its practices to the university setting around them, they remind one of the early converts to Mormonism who, nearly all in their twenties and early thirties, restored a faith and founded a community in the wilderness. A most significant development is the founding of *Dialogue*, whose stated aim is "to express Mormon culture and examine the relevance of religion to secular life." Edited by young 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 approaches and viewpoints.

In no field has the growing maturity of L.D.S. scholarship been more welcome than in history. An important article by Moses Rischin in a recent issue of *The Journal of American History* describes scholarly developments in Mormon history as "most exciting." The Mormon story is explored, he states, "with a new depth and perspicacity." Recent books and essays represent "a breakthrough in appreciation and understanding of this strategic historic group," and "reflect an intellectual poise, sophistication, and candor that augur a new secularization of the Mormon posture."[33]

No one will deny that our pioneer forebears were worthy builders — that they were adventurous frontiersmen, devoted farmers, and ingenious engineers. But those who redeemed the wilderness and made the desert blossom also included poets, artists, teachers, and scholars. Not only did they perfect society with their well-articulated criticisms, but they created symbols and images of lasting value. May our studies establish the relevance of our intellectual heritage for the present, help us in stating more explicitly our aspirations for the future, and propel us to higher levels of achievement in all our endeavors.

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[33]Moses Rischin, "Beyond the Great Divide: Immigration and the Last Frontier," *Journal of American History*, LV (June 1968), 49. Also: "The most striking changes of all were in the historiography of the Mormons (Latter-day Saints) of Utah, which only recently had seemed divided between the unsympathetic and sometimes malicious accounts of outsiders and the inexorably dull, painfully defensive annals of the Saints themselves. The new generation of Mormon historians related religion to economic institutions, politics, and immigration, all with remarkable objectivity." Earl Pomeroy, "The Changing West," in John Higham, ed., *The Reconstruction of American History* (New York, 1962), p. 78.

AN INTERVIEW WITH HARVEY COX

Harvey Cox, Harvard Professor of Divinity, is most noted for THE SECULAR CITY: SECULARIZATION AND URBANIZATION IN THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE, *published in 1965. The book departs from the usual commentaries in celebrating rather than lamenting life in the modern city. Professor Cox argues that urban anonymity and mobility free man, and withdrawal of God makes him take responsibility for his own well-being. In both secularization and urbanization we can see Providence leading men toward greater maturity. Christians must accept these tendencies, Professor Cox says, and work to create the more humane existence toward which God, acting in the troubled events of our times, is pointing.*

DIALOGUE *interviewers Chase Peterson and Richard Bushman met Professor Cox in Hayes-Bickford, a cafeteria across the street from Harvard Yard. He often meets people there, he explained, students particularly, because they speak their minds more freely in the informal atmosphere. For the sake of a clear recording, the interview eventually moved to a formal academic office where Professor Cox nevertheless managed to speak his mind freely.*

Dialogue: By way of background, how would you compare your views to those in the death-of-God movement?

Professor Cox: Well, I've had some very strident arguments with the death-of-God theologians. They think I'm kind of a stick-in-the-mud because I don't agree with them. I think when all the sound and fury is past, what they're saying is that some of the conventional images and pictures of God that we've inherited don't seem to be plausible in our time and that we need a new understanding of God. I wish they had said that much more plainly because they have scared people unnecessarily with their strident rhetoric

about the death of God. In some ways they have initiated a useful conversation within theology; in other ways they have hampered it.

The problem is that in theology for the last fifty years we have concentrated on two major areas — on Christology and ecclesiology, that is, on an understanding of Jesus Christ and on what the Church is. We've had some very good work on Christology, a lot of attention to the figure of Christ and the significance of Christ; and we've had a lot of interesting work on the Church, the Church of the modern world and the *aggiornamento,* and all of that, but there has been very little recent constructive work on the doctrine of God. As a result, this movement caught us more or less unprepared.

There are a lot of problems with the doctrine of God; theologians have just not been doing their homework properly. And insofar as this movement is a stimulus to rethinking some of the things we mean about God, it's useful. You know, the Soviet cosmonauts fly around and come back and report they haven't seen any divine beings up there — which is about the level on the side of atheism that corresponds to the kind of simplicity about ideas of God that many believers have.

But our children can't possibly grow up with that kind of belief. I have a seven-year-old boy who knows the names of all the planets and knows about rockets and has theories about outer space. We can't possibly hope that he can hold the kind of simple, uncritical spatial point of view of God as being "up there" somewhere. It's not possible. But my own conviction is that when we get rid of that kind of three-decker universe world view, we'll come to an understanding of God eventually which is much closer to the biblical view of God — the God whose locus is his involvement and participation in human history. So, I'm not a death-of-God theologian at all. But I don't think they should be read out. They have exaggerated, or their rhetoric may have been unfortunate, but I think they raised a good point.

Dialogue: Nevertheless, your book can be read to say that God is withdrawing from an active role in the world, and that it really is not important to believe any more. Is there any value in maintaining faith in God?

Professor Cox: Yes, there is. When I talk about God's withdrawal, I mean something rather paradoxical. God is really most present in the world, in my point of view, where he is seen in weakness and suffering and man's assumption of responsibility. I start from the very Christological point of view, with the crucifixion as central in my thinking. And this is a disclosure of God as one who is among us, as one who gives us our freedom even to crucify him, even to misuse the freedom to that extent. So that God's power in the world is the power of suffering and love and that power is *present,* from my point of view, luring man to some sort of exercise of responsible concern for his fellow-man.

Now there's another point, however, at which I think the belief in God is very important and that's establishing the grounds on which we have any basis to hope for anything, hope for the kingdom of God, hope for a world with less racial animosity, less war, poverty, and hunger. That's really where the difference between the secular humanist and the Christian appears. That

is, I think a person who operates out of the framework of biblical faith keeps working at things, in part, because he believes that there's a certain direction to the whole historical and cosmic process — that it's not just an accident; that there's a ground for his belief that man is really here for a purpose and that the purpose is worked out; that he's not alone in working out this purpose; that there's something happening so that he has a basis for hope other than simply man's somewhat limited ability to solve all of his problems.

I think if I really thought that we had to rely on the wisdom, generosity, and compassion of men alone to solve all of the problems we have, I'd be a cynic or an existentialist or something. But the basis of Christian faith today is that it provides you a basis for hope. You can keep going when the evidence, the *empirical* evidence, indicates there is not much point in going any further. I'm very impressed with this with the poor people I've met, the black people who have to ask themselves really week after week, "What's the point? Why should I try it again?" And it's some kind of vision of what is possible in human life which is grounded in something other than man's own proclivities. So that's where the belief in God, for me at least, is still, and as far as I can see always will be, pretty important.

Dialogue: I guess you would say the same thing about prayer as a specific example?

Professor Cox: Yes. Prayer is an example. And I think there are all kinds of prayer. I don't limit prayer just to what you say on your knees in church or something like that. Prayer is in some ways a way of life; it's a recognition that there is another reality that we have to deal with. Especially important, I think, is that prayer is future-oriented — that is, prayer is the way in which we keep open to the future and recognize that reality is not totally defined by the empirical probabilities.

Dialogue: How do you feel when you hear "We Shall Overcome" being sung?

Professor Cox: Well, I think that's a kind of prayer.

Dialogue: Five years ago it was a very moving prayer. Now it makes some a little embarrassed or discouraged, because the "overcoming" is slow and incomplete. If God is useful because he's not around and not bothering us, who is doing the Lord's work?

Professor Cox: Well, I think that prayer is being answered. I'm made a little uncomfortable by that song because it came out of a particular period in the civil rights movement which now seems a little archaic, I guess, but if you recognize the way in which the overcoming is happening, it's different from what many of us anticipated. The overcoming is a growing feeling of black dignity, and black culture, and black pride, even with its degree of separateness. There is a sense in which something extraordinarily important has happened, *is* happening among black people in this country, which, in my point of view, is largely very positive — that people are getting a sense that they really are important, that they really have a place in the world, that they don't have to be ashamed or apologetic that they're black, because black is beautiful. So I think that it's a very good example that a prayer which seemed

appropriate five years ago or five hundred years ago may not be appropriate today. The intention remains constant but the articulation of the intention changes.

Dialogue: The reason some people feel uncomfortable with the song is that somehow the religious dimension of it is being drained, the militant movement seems so political and so insensitive to the tradition of black Christianity which has been a source of power for black people for so long.

Professor Cox: Well, I'm not really sure that that's entirely true. Tomorrow at Boston University there's a consultation on the black church with about fifteen leading black ministers and people coming together — Nathan Wright, Benjamin Paton, Albert Clegg, Joe Washington, Dick Hood, Vincent Harding, a whole group of people who are really struggling on a new level with the significance of black people and Christianity. In fact, I notice one of the addresses of Al Clegg is "Can a Black Man Be Christian and at the Same Time True to His Heritage?" Now, that's the question; that points it very well, and most of the militant people, the Christians, I know, say, "We think we can, but we don't know how yet."

I don't think many of us have been able to think through and see clearly enough the racist assumptions in so much of our Christianity. *We* haven't been able to see the racist assumptions in other aspects of our lives either, but they are so much deeper and more pervasive than we've been able to see. The kind of Christianity we have taught to black people in North America is a white Western version of Christianity. Now there are other versions. In fact, you've touched on a kind of sensitive point with me because I'm going to be giving a course next semester on black religion in America and its impact on American culture.

One of the things I've been looking into is the ancient black church of Africa, the Ethiopian Church. A lot of people don't know about these churches. I'm collecting some films and slides and things. It's astonishing when people see that there were black Christians a thousand years before Columbus discovered America. So I think it may be that black people in this country will reject most of what we identify as Christianity. But that doesn't mean they are rejecting the gospel. In fact, maybe you've noticed the fascination that most of the Black Muslims have with the figure of Jesus. The minister of the Black Muslim Temple here in Boston talked one time at a meeting I was attending, and he was quite candid about that. He said, "Mohammed is the man who brought us the Koran, but Islam means to *do* the word of God, and the man who actually *did* the word of God is Jesus." Now that's a funny kind of Islam from an orthodox Islamic point of view, but I think that it illustrates that we may find emerging a type of Christianity for which we don't have any precedent, which isn't very easy to classify in one way or another.

I think the vigor and power of Christianity is precisely its capacity to take on new cultural forms and to enter into new kinds of social organizations and culture. It has done this throughout all these years, and I'm relatively hopeful on that and very interested in the people who are working on it.

Reverend Albert Clegg, who is speaking at this conference, is a minister of the United Church of Christ in Detroit who is trying to de-Caucasianize the whole liturgy and curriculum so that people are in the presence of black faces and black figures, and he's doing this in a very interesting way. He's probably correct too, incidentally. I mean the people we usually see pictures of in the Old Testament and the New Testament are much darker than we are. They certainly didn't look like Solomon's head of Christ.

It is true that certain kinds of religious dimensions of the black movement have been left behind. No doubt about that. But I think others are emerging which are equally interesting.

Dialogue: What are the conventional Christian churches to do about this new emerging black Christianity?

Professor Cox: Well, I think the conventional Christian churches are involved in a very serious crisis; they're just not aware of the fact that they're in that kind of crisis. For example, I think the denominational Christianity that we have here in North America is slated for extinction. It's not going to last much longer.

We're divided into churches along lines that emerged with problems which no longer interest anybody. Who's interested in Presbyterian versus Episcopal forms of polity, or interested in whatever it was that divided Baptists from Congregationalists? It's all absolutely irrelevant — a little like the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. My students at Harvard Divinity School are just completely uninterested in these denominational divisions. This includes Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox and Baptists and Lutherans. It's not just that now they're extraordinarily interested in what Christianity has to say, what Jesus Christ can mean for us today, what significance the Kingdom of God has, how one experiences the holy (mysticism is very important today); they're also interested in world religions, which was not the case when I was a seminary student fifteen years ago. Courses in Buddhism and readings in the Bhagavad-Gita and so on are very important, so I think there'll come a time, perhaps rather soon, when we as white North American Christians will see that we have many problems too with the kind of Christianity we've inherited and that we're a rather small minority of people in a largely colored, non-Christian world.

The major things that Christianity has to deal with in the next one hundred years will be first how to be a *minority* with the disappearance of Western dominance — how to live as a minority people — and second how we learn from and influence these great non-Christian religious traditions without moving toward some kind of cheap syncretism. I don't personally believe we're going to have a single great world religion and I'm opposed to that myself. I am convinced that human life is sufficiently complex and varied that we need options of life styles and cultural orientations and religious commitments; I would rather see a real pluralism. But I think we've got to cope with that and the theological resources for coping with that are still not entirely at hand.

Dialogue: You say that ministers and certainly theology students are in-

creasingly prone to blur denominational distinctions. Are their congregations apt to be as pliant?

Professor Cox: Well, I think for many people the fact that they belong to a Presbyterian or a Baptist congregation is an accident of birth and location. We've done sociological studies and we know that most people, when they move to a new town and decide they want to go to church, go to the church most convenient. Only people with a strong, somewhat sectarian tradition will seek out a church of that particular denomination even if they have to go miles to get it. Most people will not. Now a Roman Catholic probably won't join a Baptist church or something like that, but even that may begin to happen. But I think people want something from the church. Man is a religious being and he is a social being and he will continue to put those things together. I don't see the church disappearing. But I think denominationally designated congregations in which that designation has any real significance are really fated for a kind of fadeout.

Dialogue: And to the extent that it does there will be a lot of sorting and reshuffling?

Professor Cox: Yes, I think some people prefer a more liturgical form of worship. For instance, my wife is very much turned on by the very high Anglican service, with incense and chants and medieval vestments. I must admit I like that sort of thing, too, once in a while. I've spent most of my life studying the history of Christianity, and it's very nice to be able to go to a church and find yourself right back in the thirteenth century, especially one that does it well like the Church of the Advent on Beacon Hill where I was last Sunday. But you can also find this in a Catholic church, and if your liturgical interests are different you can find a satisfying form of worship in a variety of churches.

Dialogue: Do you still feel that suburban churches should become involved in inner city life? How can they best help black communities and black congregations?

Professor Cox: I think the major thing now is black people exercising leadership and making real decisions in black communities. The role of white churches is to help that happen, which could mean a couple of things: It could mean financial support and other kinds of support. It could also mean doing the kinds of things one has to do in the white community so that something real can happen in the black community. But I suppose the major thing we have to do in white churches is to ask ourselves really what went wrong with Christianity in North America that we allowed ourselves for so many years the luxury of racism, much of it sanctified by our religious doctrines.

As a kid I went to a church where we didn't allow black people, and nobody even thought it was strange. There must be something wrong with our understanding of the gospel that that happened for so long without our being – well we've been made aware of that, I think. This is one of the great things that's happened. There isn't a thoughtful Christian of any denomination who doesn't recognize that there's something really wrong

about this view of the gospel. But there's a deeper theological and ecclesiological issue that we have to ask about — how we were able to deceive ourselves — and this is really perhaps the major thing we ought to be doing.

Dialogue: That raises the question whether there are blind spots remaining.

Professor Cox: Yes, I was thinking about that: What are they? What are the blind spots remaining?

Dialogue: One might be the increasing intellectual and political alliance of the liberal Anglo-Saxon protestant and the black man that leaves out the blue collar ethnic man — the Poles and Greeks and Italians. Mr. Wallace derived considerable support from the alienation of these people. Is it religious alienation as well?

Professor Cox: That's interesting because the one thing the Black man and the Anglo-Saxon have in common is their religious tradition, an evangelical protestantism, whereas the people you mention were largely from Catholic ethnic background. This shows that these things still make — at least the cultural tradition which bore them makes — a difference to people.

Now my own feeling is that a large factor in the following of Wallace is a sort of covert racism. But a lot of it is something else, that is, the authentic, legitimate feeling on the part of a lot of people that their participation in the polity has been stolen from them, has eroded, and they don't have any way of controlling or shaping their future. And they're desperate. They see the society as a very highly organized, centralized bureaucracy — which it is becoming — and that's the characteristic which is shared by the church and the schools and the government. Everything they touch seems to be an unreachable bureaucracy where you deal at the lowest levels, so at this point in my own thinking I'm leaning very much toward the people who talk about the need for decentralization, or the relocalization of certain aspects of our society. Now I realize quite well that there are many things that cannot be done except on a regional or national level. You can't fight air pollution and you can't plan mass transit on a local level. But if you think of the tasks that we have as a society, there are some — and more than we think there are — that can be done more appropriately at lower levels of organization. It's interesting to me that all the presidential candidates in the election have said something like that. Some have said it in a very sloganeering way: give the country back to the people, and all that stuff.

Dialogue: Proof of what you say lies in the fact that a lot of Kennedy people have become Wallace people. This makes no sense in political ideology, but it makes great sense in terms of their feeling of political alienation.

Professor Cox: That's right.

Dialogue: Then you favor local control of schools, for instance.

Professor Cox: Well, I favor a large share of participation by parents and local people in the determination of school policies. I am not in favor of total local control of schools, but it's gone so far the other way that I'm now involved, in fact in a couple of schools, trying to increase parent participation. And in this case it's not the parents who don't want to participate, but it's the people who run the schools who are afraid of what will happen if the parents *do* partici-

pate. I think there are other areas where we have tended to believe that a higher level of social organization could solve the problems better, but, as a matter of fact, the local level of organization might be able to do it better. I think there's a danger there, an enormous danger, but I think it's time to start thinking about things in that direction.

Dialogue: Are you at all aware of the structure of the Mormon Church?

Professor Cox: Not very much. I know there are the Apostles. Is it a kind of bureaucratically organized church?

Dialogue: It's a peculiar kind of organization that in some ways accords with what you have suggested here. The major policies are made at the center by the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and the First Presidency, but the administration of the Church is entirely decentralized. That is, there is no paid ministry. The head of each congregation, the Bishop, is appointed from among the laity for a period of from three to five years, on the average, and since he retains his regular occupation, he is compelled to foster, and the Church strongly encourages, the widest possible distribution of responsibility throughout the congregation. Every active Mormon has some kind of church job — running one of the auxiliaries, teaching a Sunday School class, or visiting members.

Professor Cox: No mere observers, right?

Dialogue: None at all. As soon as a ward, or congregational unit, gets to a particular size it divides so that there are still leadership roles for everyone.

Professor Cox: That's been the pattern in some other churches, you know, especially churches in so-called missionary areas, and I think the notion of inflicting on the Church a particular Western notion of a paid professional clergy is a terrible bit of cultural provincialism.

Dialogue: One problem presently concerning Mormons is whether or not our congregations can move outside Church boundaries and be of use within the city at large. For example, our women's auxiliary, the Relief Society, is expert at taking care of the poor and the needy within the congregation. But many congregations are now affluent enough that these critical occupations do not fully take up the time and energies of the Relief Society, and some groups resort to making quilts and to other projects that are relatively superficial. There is quite a bit of thought about how we could be of more help outside our own bounds.

Professor Cox: You mean the people that the Relief Society takes care of are other Mormons?

Dialogue: Yes, in most congregations, strictly other Mormons.

Professor Cox: Well, what possible theological grounding is there for that?

Dialogue: Simply that that's where first responsibility lies.

Professor Cox: Why?

Dialogue: Well, why do you take care of your own children before you take care of others?

Professor Cox: Oh, do you? I frankly think there's just no biblical basis for the idea that you should take care of people in your own congregation first. It's precisely the *stranger*, it seems quite clear to me in the New Testament,

the one you don't know — the one who is the foreigner, the Samaritan, the stranger — to whom you owe the first responsibility, to bind up his wounds and care for him.

If you're making quilts because you can't find any more people to take care of, it seems to me your service has already turned in on itself and you're not seeing the kind of deprivation and suffering that Christ saw when he talked about the man on the road to Jericho. This was not a man whom anybody knew as part of the congregation or the whole final judgment scene. No, it seems to me the *first* business is that Christians, of whatever denomination, have an obligation to serve the suffering man, whoever he may be.

But another question, I think, is how, if we're concerned about the poor, do we help the poor? It seems to me that a more difficult question is how do you help the poor not to be poor? So much of our Christian ethic of poverty depends upon having some poor people around so that we can feel good because we're taking care of them, fulfilling our theological obligations. But real care for the poor means social change, I think unavoidably. A Christian conviction that one should be concerned about the poor, I think, invariably drives you into some kind of political participation, so that the unjust distribution of the resources of a society can be more equitable. Now this may not give you actual opportunity to engage in direct kindness to the poor, but I think that's where we've got to start moving, very quickly, away from the Christmas basket notion of how to take care of poverty, towards a society in which the distribution of God's gifts is more in accord with his intentions.

Dialogue: You would buy pluralism even there, wouldn't you? Certainly complicated social political maneuvers to eliminate poverty would appeal to some people and be possible for some people. Other people need a more simple expression of generosity, and they're going to have to rely on the Christmas basket.

Professor Cox: No. Starting with the Christmas basket is a way of starting people to think about why it is that I'm giving you the Christmas basket instead of the other way around: What is it about our whole deformed polity that puts me in this position in preference to you and how can we really be brothers rather than benefactors?

So I would accept some degree of pluralism here; but I would want to say that a more mature and thoughtful Christian approach would suggest that maybe with a high school youth group or junior high group you could use Christmas baskets, but by the time they're in college they ought to be a little more sophisticated and aware of the dynamics of inequitable distribution and the irresponsible use of power.

Dialogue: Then the problem arises, how does a church engage itself in problems on that level?

Professor Cox: Here I would give the same kind of answer that I gave for the whole question of decentralization. There are certain issues that a national denomination can do something about but that a local congregation cannot do very much about. There are other issues that have to be handled by a local congregation or by a combination of congregations in an area, let's say,

and there are still others that I think the church as an organization should not become involved in but that Christians should become involved in, individually, through political processes, electoral offices, pressure groups, political education, whatever it is. And I find myself hard put to give illustrations.

I think you can think of issues that are quite obviously issues on a national scope. I think it's good, however, for a local group, occasionally, to have to decide as a congregation about some very difficult moral issue, the Vietnam war or the bombing halt or the Civil Rights Bill or something like that – that is, a public issue which is obviously moral, or has moral overtones. To force a congregation – that's a strong word – but to make a congregation ask, "What does our faith have to say to this issue as a congregation?" And then to argue it out. It strains the congregation sometimes. But if we really believe that the unity of the body of Christ is not the fact that we happen to agree with each other on some things, but there is, you might say, a supernaturally granted community here, then we can trust each other and we can do things which are controversial and we can discuss things which are decisive without feeling that we're going to blow the whole thing apart. If it can be blown apart by that, then it's not worth keeping together.

Dialogue: That would be a test case for the whole society, too. If you learn it on the congregational level, then you can agree to disagree nationally.

Professor Cox: That's right, but so many times in local congregations it's "Don't bring that issue up!" When you talk about something, "Not that – it will divide the Church." And yet I've had experience, and friends of mine who are members of churches have also, where we say, "Let's see what would happen if we discussed this," and we took each other seriously, and continued to stay together, even though we disagreed.

Dialogue: What would you say about the university in those terms? Same answer?

Professor Cox: No, not exactly, because I think there are some premises and rules of the game in the university that at this stage are not subject for further discussion. That's my point of view. I don't think that certain things the university has developed so that various views could be presented with the protection of free speech and free argumentation are up for debate. Some of the rubrics of the university are for me sufficiently precarious that they are not subject to emendation or revocation at this point, and we don't discuss them. I'm a little conservative on that issue.

Dialogue: What would you say to the argument that modern pastors become so concerned about large social issues that they no longer minister to individual souls?

Professor Cox: I don't think that's true. Some of the men I know who are most concerned about what we call social issues are also the people who are most competent and compassionate in their ministry to individual persons.

Last night I spent the evening with Mr. Harold Frey, who is a minister of Elliot Congregational Church at Newton and who has been one of the most active people in the peace movement. And he's done a lot of things his congregation disagrees with, has presided at services where people have turned in

draft cards. Although he doesn't approve of that particular act, he feels that we owe support to people whose consciences have led them in this direction — things like that. And everybody in his congregation will say, "Even though I disagree with Harold Frey on this and that, when it comes down to being a pastor, to people who need him, he's always there." And when you ask him he says, "Well, I can do both because they are not conflicting." In my point of view, it's a mistaken notion of theology that on the one hand we have individual pastoral problems and on the other hand we have social problems. If it is true that one finds Christ at least in part in the suffering neighbor, and if the task of the minister is to help people to be healed by encountering Christ, then helping them to be sensitive to the suffering neighbor is not diverting them from their soul's salvation; it's really contributing to it, I think.

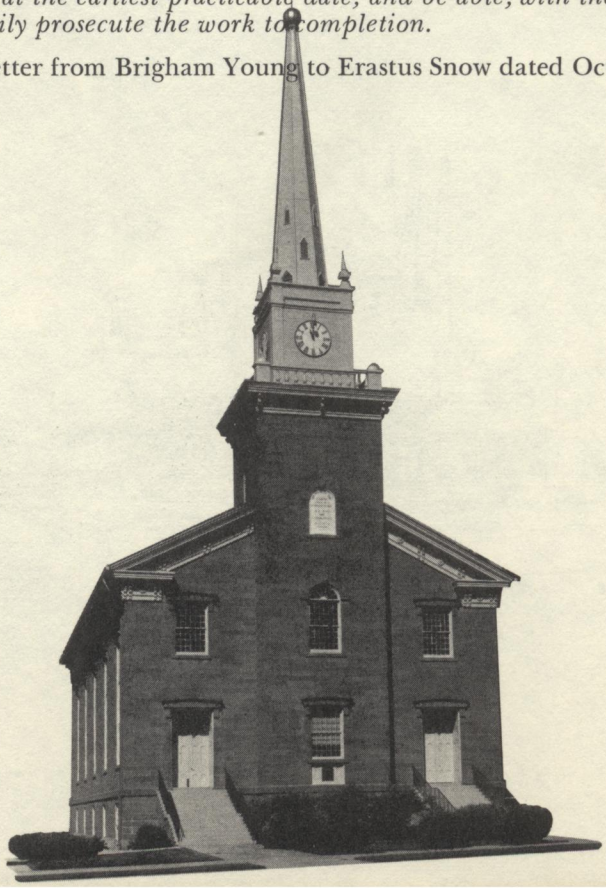
I don't restrict the presence of Christ entirely to the suffering neighbor, although there's very strong evidence in the New Testament that this tends to be the major way in which we meet God in the world. I'm not terribly influenced religiously by sunsets and things like that. I think it is in *persons* that God comes to man — other persons, especially persons who make a claim on us, for our mercy or our interest or our compassion. This is one of the ways in which we are addressed by the world of God, by the presence of Christ, if you only recognize it — if you *can*. We expect it in other ways — God always seems to come in unexpected guises, at unexpected moments. So I don't think that's a serious problem. I think the best minister is the one who is able to see his ministry as a total package and to help his people to overcome some of these dichotomies that we have perpetuated.

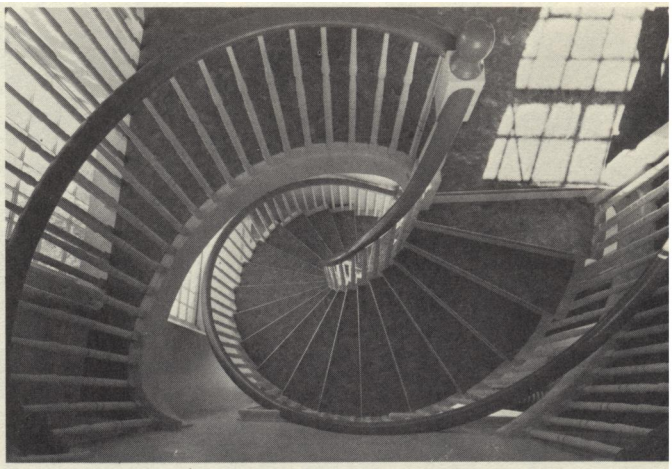
a heritage of excellence: the st. george tabernacle

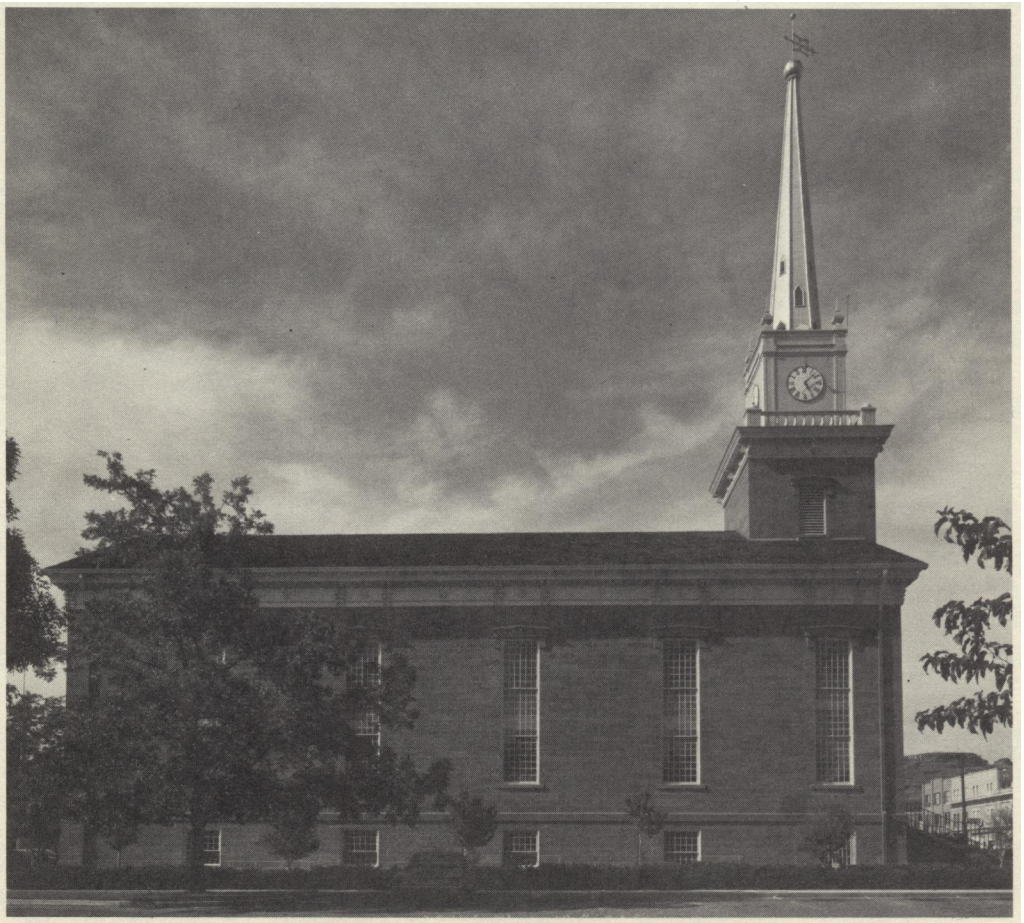
As I have already informed you, I wish you and the brethren to build, as speedily as possible a good, substantial, commodious well furnished meeting house, one large enough to comfortably seat at least 2000 persons, and that will not only be useful, but also an ornament to your city, and credit to your energy and enterprise.

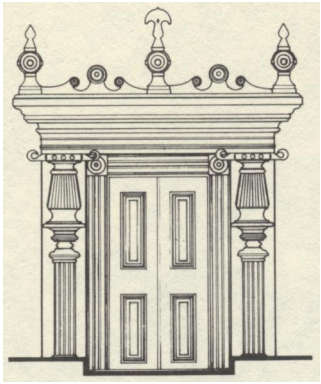
I hereby place at your disposal, expressly to aid in the building of aforesaid meeting house, the labor, molasses, vegetable and grain tithing of Cedar City and all other places south of that city. I hope you will begin the building at the earliest practicable date; and be able, with the aid thereby given, to speedily prosecute the work to completion.

— Letter from Brigham Young to Erastus Snow dated October 1, 1862









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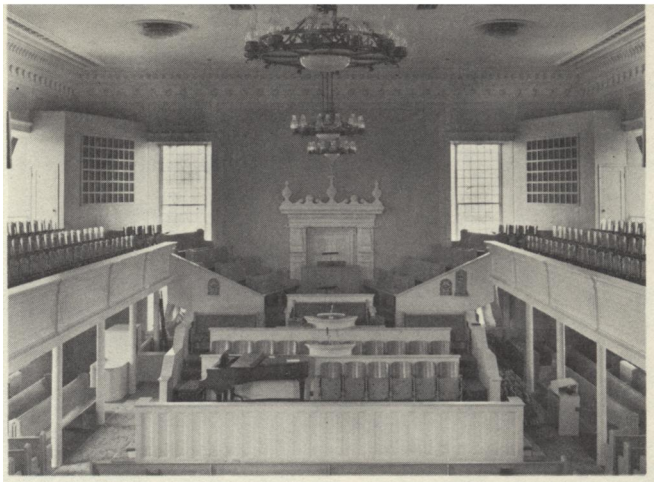

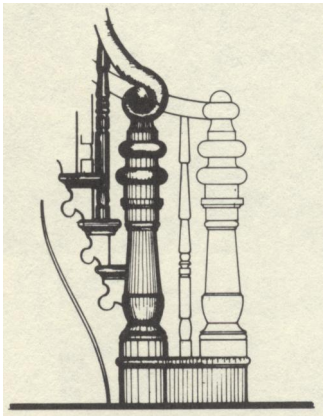

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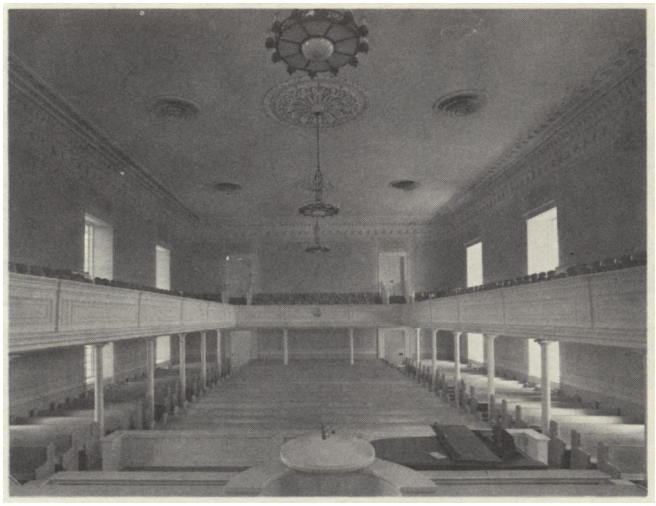
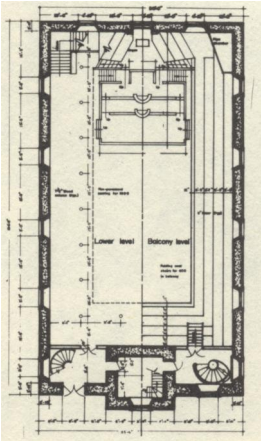
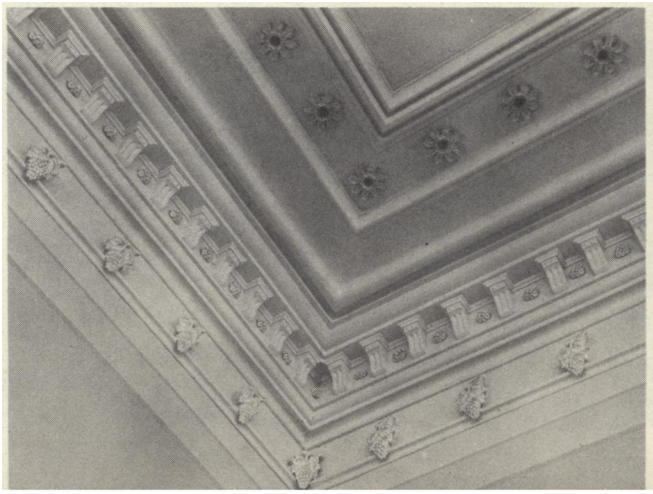


The corner stones of the St. George Tabernacle were laid on Brigham Young's birthday, June 1, 1863 and the interior was completed in 1875. The Tabernacle is still used extensively today and stands as a monument not only to the pioneers who sacrificed to build it but to the leadership of St. George Stake and the people of St. George who have maintained it in immaculate condition — have added modern improvements with unusual sensitivity. The photos are by Kent Fairbanks and photos and detailed drawings are courtesy of The Utah Heritage Foundation. They were made as part of a continuing survey of the historical sites — a project funded jointly by the National Park Service and the Utah Heritage Foundation.



FLOOR PLAN



The World Church

MIDDLE BUDDHA

How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?

Psalm 137:4

Robert J. Morris

DIALOGUE *inaugurates a new section,* THE WORLD CHURCH, *which will expand our dialogue with the non-American world and give our readers an enlarged perspective on the Church overseas.*

The following essay by Robert J. Morris of Brigham Young University's Asian Studies Department pinpoints some of the problems involved in presenting Mormonism to other cultures. The author served as a missionary in the Far East.

If anybody asks me where I've been, I say Utah and China. When I realized that "Southern Far East Mission" didn't mean Florida, I had to buy a map to locate Taiwan, my own mission field. I was dutifully packed off to the plane with remarks about proselytizing the Chinks, and don't drink the water. Thus my part in this story begins.

Since it is the story of two missionaries, one of whom is myself, it will not be objective. These little scenarios from actual experience are exercises in contrasts and thoughts as West approaches East, as the Church approaches China. It is variations on a theme, for indeed the timbre of my own soul had not been prepared for the "all-pervading music in an alien mode."[1] My dialogue with my companion described below accomplished one thing for each of us: it raised questions about the meaning of Mormonism and Sinimism — the sore spots and the problems, the joys and the visions. It did not provide the answers. There are none in this story.

The occidental concept "typical Chinese" eludes us. Do not generalize Jen Mou Hsing into all Chinese today. He is not a symbol but a man.

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[1]Vincent Cronin, *The Wise Men from the West* (New York: Dutton, 1955), p. 45. An account of Matteo Ricci and the Jesuits in fabled Cathay.

He was the only Chinese I lived with and knew well enough to write about. For twenty-four hours a day I was with a man young enough to have grown up between Traditional China and Modern Taiwan, spiritual enough to have mature Gospel insights in that frame of reference, and lucid enough to bring the two together in meaningful dialogue. He was released in December, 1967, after two honorable years as a Beautiful Island missionary, but his story really begins nearly a half century ago.

In 1921, in an icy Peking cyprus grove, David O. McKay knelt to "dedicate and censecrate and set apart the Chinese realm for the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as restored in this dispensation through the Prophet Joseph Smith, saying:

> Heavenly Father . . . break the bonds of superstition and may the young men and young women come out of the darkness of the past into the glorious light now shining among the children of men. Grant, our Father, that these young men and young women may through upright, virtuous lives and prayerful study be prepared and inclined to declare this message of salvation in their own tongue to their fellow men. May their hearts and the hearts of this people be turned to their fathers that they may accept the opportunity offered them to bring salvation to the millions who have gone before.[2]

My call from that same David O. McKay came in August 1964 and I arrived a month later in Taipei. I was a green bean. An array of senior companions and I early battled Chinese theological mind-benders: why polygamy? why the Negro question? why Vietnam? why are we yellow (the Indians being red)? can we burn incense? Chinese schools teach by rote learning, and most educated members wanted rote answers. We had none.

I lost patience with one or two cheating merchants and doors punctiliously shut after the resident's bow. I discovered that in liking the food, using

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[2]As early as August, 1852, the Church was thinking about China, but the official dedication waited until President McKay's visit. This mission was opened July 14, 1949, in Hong Kong; Taiwan on March 9, 1956. For details of the old days, see the following:

"An Historical Overview of the Missionary Activities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Continental Asia," by Robert C. Patch, at Brigham Young University.

The Southern Far East Mission and You, a pamphlet published by the Church in Hong Kong, June 1961.

Quarterly Historical Report for the Southern Far East Mission, March 31, 1956; June 30, 1956; June 30, 1961.

R. Lanier Britsch, *Early Latter-day Saint Missions to South and East Asia* (PhD. dissertation: Claremont Graduate School, 1967).

Joseph Fielding Smith, "Why Take the Gospel to Asia?" *Answers to Gospel Questions*, Vol. IV (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co.), pp. 201–207.

Gordon B. Hinckley, "The Church in the Orient," *Improvement Era*, pp. 166 ff, and pp. 440 ff, 1967.

Don Hicken, "The Church in Asia," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Vol. III, No. 1 (Spring 1968), pp. 134–42.

President McKay's prayer, given on the Sabbath, January 9, 1921, is a fascinating study in prophecy. The entire thing, recorded by his companion Hugh J. Cannon, contains these major points:

1) He characterized it a "solemn and momentous occasion";
2) he prayed that Peking "may be held sacred in thy sight";

chopsticks, tossing off some slang – all the less important issues – I was doing fine but in dealing with outsiders, farmers, pedicab drivers, and bellboys, I was looking with impatience down my long American nose, and that was lethal. I did not overcome this flaw until I began to know Jen. He became, slowly, a purge and a catalyst. I first knew him when I was there a year – long enough for the language to be less a Great Wall and more just a Bamboo Curtain.

His call to the work heralded a prestige leap for the missionary class in China. He was the only indigenous male missionary in captivity then (though there were six lady missionaries) and that was special.

During the first weeks he began memorizing the Uniform System for Teaching Investigators – the famous Six Discussions. He lived for a week in our apartment with six American Elders and compiled an IP notebook. He learned the rules; he honed his tools. Gifts came from friends: a gilt-edged Bible, a trunk, clothes, money, love.

At our new and expensive chapel[3] in Taipei, the members and his friends met together and filled the red guest register with carefully brushed characters. His parents were there, perhaps the only non-graduated non-member Taiwanese in attendance. The Church uses exclusively Mandarin because it

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3) he characterized the land and the people as "bound by the fetters of superstition and false doctrine, and *who have never been given the opportunity even of hearing the true message of their redeemer*";

4) he said that "the time has come when the Light of the Glorious Gospel should begin to shine through the dense darkness that has enshrouded this nation for ages"; it is a "religiously misguided nation";

5) he prayed God to stabilize the Chinese government, "if not by the present government, then through the intervention of the allied powers of the civilized world";

6) he prayed God to avert famine and "stay the progress of pestilence";

7) he asked that those who would ever deal with China in the Church be given special insight to develop "the best methods to adopt and the best plans to follow in establishing thy work among this ancient, tradition-steeped people"; "may the Elders and Sisters whom thou shalt call to this land as missionaries have keen insight into the mental and spiritual state of the Chinese mind. Give them special power and ability to approach this people in such a manner as will make the proper appeal to them";

8) his dedication concerned "one end of this realm to the other," not just a part.

Cyprus is the symbol of sadness to the Chinese. Perhaps it is metaphorical in the sense that the first L.D.S. missionary efforts a century before had failed, because they had been undertaken during the T'ai P'ing Rebellion. For journalistic accounts of these early events, see the following:

Millennial Star, XVII (June 26, 1855), 607.

The Eleventh General Epistle of the First Presidency, dated April 10, 1854.

[3]Land prices in Taiwan are high, especially in Taipei. The current Taipei chapel is said to be worth three times now what it was before completion early in 1965. Because of the high water table and soil problems, special materials and methods are required. Another chapel has subsequently been completed at Kao Hsiung in the south. All contracting and construction have been done under supervision of American couples on building missions, assisted by their families, the missionaries, and the local members. The trend now, by coordination through Japan, is toward numerous smaller chapels for the smaller branches. When I left there were sixteen branches and 3500 members of record.

is the national language by which Government and School operate. Thus Jen's parents were slow of speech and hearing, yet they were *there.*

Two sentences remain with me from the meeting. The first from the District President: "If you are faithful as a missionary, you will have the opportunity of seeing your parents into the Church." The second from his father, who said only, "Thank you, everyone, for sending off my son tonight. Thank you."

Jen was becoming a missionary for two reasons. The Vietnam war drain was making the need for local missionaries great. And he was fulfilling a self-promise.

His brother had been a building missionary for this chapel, and these two sons, both former Marines, were proud of their family. It was a preach-in of the first water. Nobody loves a story and a song like the Chinese, so he told of his conversion, with a tear; and a young lady, who was also of the M.I.A., sang *The Holy City.* That night he stood as tall as a pagoda, and as straight.

He left Taipei and us, and no one told him about preaching to the Chinks and he didn't need a map. I saw him six months later when we became companions.

Our prayers together those first nights must have sounded strange to Heaven's ears, since I always prayed in Mandarin, and he always in English; and when the one praying didn't know the expression in his adopted tongue, the supplication was half and half. We were in Hua Lien on Taiwan's east coast, and it was May. Everything was summer-damp in the humidity. He always asked to be humble, and he always slept wrapped up like a rice cake in his comforter, and never perspired though the humidity was ninety.

At two the third morning I lay awake from the heat. I looked down and his bunk was empty beneath me and I knew he would be on the roof in the moonlight, meditating. He did so most nights because he could think better then, he said. Our rented building was a three-story cube and our good earth a cabbage field by a river, a five-minute pedicab ride from the ocean. We lived above the chapel, which was above the recreation hall.

It was at such times, on the roof, he would compose the day's events into a meaning for his journal, or focus on a branch problem that needed an honorable solution, or compose Sunday's theology lesson from his respectable knowledge of memorized scripture, or perfect his discussions.[4]

I went up. A wester full of cassia assailed my damp pajamas and rustled palm fronds. When he saw me he grinned and reminded me of the hour.

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[4]The topics of each one-hour discussion are these: a) The Church of Jesus Christ; b) The Book of Mormon; c) "Ye Shall Know the Truth"; d) The Gift of God is Eternal Life; e) The Plan of Salvation and Law of Eternal Progression; f) "Be Ye Therefore Perfect." Most missionaries have enough Chinese after six months to use these discussions effectively. Contrary to popular opinion, spoken Mandarin is easy to learn — devoid of grammar and syntax mostly and with an English word order.

Most of the experienced missionaries felt that the discussions needed modification, sometimes extensively, in each situation, and that especially the first discussion — "The Only True and Living Church" — is more an onslaught than a learning experience for most Chinese contacts.

We talked for a couple of hours about missionary work and the Gospel and his China. I questioned him about tracting that day: We had come to a gate where a child told us her mother wasn't home. I had seen the mother inside, being, well, inconspicuous, and I felt piqued at their lying to us. We were losing face! On the roof that morning Jen explained that this is the way of saying no thanks, and that the woman probably felt she was saving *our* face, by not telling us she didn't want to listen, and *her* face by not having to tell us to *our* face! This was a cultural jade puzzle box with a new key. I had oughta learn it, being from Utah and all.

The night made us very awake and our talk was clear. Jen knows the flavor of the Gospel and is master of himself. I was about to decry the little girl's lying when he told me, with a hand on my shoulder and a voice soft, part of the "Jen Theorem of Personal Relations": "Don't try to change people's customs and traditions by polemic. Let them preserve to themselves that which makes them themselves, and be restful. With the Gospel they will change what needs to be changed in themselves."

He despised "littleness of soul"[5] in people, although he was patient with those afflicted. "*Man man lai*" — slow and sure does it — was the basic principle in the "Jen Theorem." Prime targets of his analyses were two-week tourist-experts on China ("Action is easy; knowing is difficult."), and parents who failed to teach their children moral principles.[6]

Whenever *he* got angry at a merchant's cheating, he would ignore it. So Jen taught me patience and understanding most of all. He was impatient at being a junior companion, yet he followed well.

That morning on the roof we decided that the Church in Taiwan is in a position to make several able and unique contributions:

1. The Gospel experience in such a culture contrapuntal to Western culture is forcing Gospel scholars on both sides of the ocean to examine *ultimate* issues and values in religion; a lot of fat has been cut away from Gospel rhetoric and dialogue as we have got down to grass roots and laws irrevocably decreed: What really is the Gospel; what *really* are Church laws versus opinion; what *will* we do to be saved?

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[5]Doctrine and Covenants 117:11.

[6]Taiwan is becoming irrepressibly westernized, and has become a sort of peephole on Red China and the West, a hybrid floating between them trying to be independent of the West, and needing the West to do it. Competition for all levels of education, which is not compulsory beyond the ninth year (fifteen years old), is heart-stopping. The lure of universities in our own Great White PX in the Sky is great, and everybody wants to Go West, Young Man, at any cost to body and soul. Materialism has formed its clot, and too many eyes and hearts are overworked and undernourished on too many tests and texts with too great a lack of loveliness in their lives. Immorality in the right places, as everywhere in our mod, mod world, is as a bamboo castle in the typhoon.

Nor is nationalism dead. Chinese are Chinese, and are proud of the Red Chinese bomb. Youth seldom blame other youth, and they can identify easily with the Red Guards.

There is a leadership problem in the Church posed by two Chinas — branches led often by an American branch president, his one counselor a Taiwanese and his other a Mainlander — and the fact that here spirituality and nationalism both find difficulty in being separate concepts.

2. Because we have discovered that we need special creative approaches to proselyting here in order to teach well, we have gained experience in effectively presenting Gospel materials in the Chinese context, not modifying the Gospel but the approach, as President McKay's prayer indicated; we still need improvement here; hence, necessary materials and programs have yet to be molded uniquely for the total effort as they have for the Lamanite effort; things are progressing, wisely, with restraint, and better ways are coming.[7]

3. By escalating the number of branches, services used, and goods consumed, the Church aids the provincial economy, as well as by land and business dealings.

4. The missionaries are doing an ambassadorial work in behalf of the several cultures foreign to China which the majority of them represent. For example, the coordinator of the USIS Visual Aids Office in Taipei told me that he felt we were doing a more effective job than his organization in publicizing America because of our closer awareness and understanding of the people on a "gut level."

Mou Hsing's favorite lessons were The Plan of Salvation and the Spirit of the Priesthood (for its resemblance to the thinking of karate: shame a would-be opponent by the radiating integrity of your soul). He believes that the Gospel is not the opposition of Chinese tradition, but the cohering and fulfilling of truths given by Confucious, Mencius, and others, as it was to Moses' Law. "All truth can be circumscribed into one great whole."

For him, the Priesthood is the power to take Confucius' Golden Rule, say, and seal it as a commandment in Heaven and Earth and Man. The Chinese are not heathens becoming Christians becoming Mormons, but rather they are making from the mosaic of oriental ethics and metaphysics a "creative synthesis" with the Gospel. Then they can become Saints by the Priesthood.[8]

The deity known in China at least as early as the Chou Dynasty as *"Shang Ti"* — God on High — becomes to a Mormon the *"Yung Heng Ti Fu Shang Ti"* — O God, the Eternal Father on High — of the sacrament prayers. This king of grafting and updating gave the Book of Mormon's allegory in Jacob 5 a real appeal to Jen. Thus, the Restoration of All Things, for him, can mean the restoring of all that has been great and good in China's dynasties. *That* is eclecticism.

And in the Jen Theorem he often used local stories, traditions, and sayings to make his brand of Gospel more than just the best available footnote of a translation from the American Church.

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[7]Under the Regional Advisers, all Church translation, printing, and visual aids will be coordinated under regional offices, the East Asian Church being under Japan. Currently B.Y.U. is preparing filmstrips and tapes for use in the new Project Temple, whereby Taiwan Saints are preparing to fly to Hawaii and attend the temple at Laie two summers hence. Our stake missionaries here are hoping to meet them at the temple. See the "Church News," January 20, 1968, p. 4.

See also Alma 29:8; 2 Nephi 31:3; D&C 5:10; D&C 105:24; D&C 1:24; I Corinthians 14:9, 24–33; Isaiah 49:12.

[8]See *Hymns*, p. 211, verse 6; also, *Mormonism — A Message For All Nations*, a Brigham Young University Extension Publication, by Spencer J. Palmer, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History and Religion at B.Y.U., and recently Korean Mission President.

It is not "expedient" (D&C 45:72) in China to be a Christian. Mormons are as forks in a rice bowl. Yet I was often to sit with him in the ensuing weeks on the curbs with passersby, or the steps at a Buddhist temple, underneath glass gargoyles and bug-eyed wooden gods, comparing notes and obtaining opinions of the bonzes or noodle-makers who gathered there daily to play mahjong or their role. And they would listen and comment, and they gave this Chinese youth respect. Rescue the weak, lift up the fallen. "Most precious," said Mencius, "are the people. . . ."[9]

Our talk that morning was a turning point in time. Thereafter I proselyted with a new vision of the job at hand, and I continued to marvel at this personality who was my companion. He would ask often about America. Yes, I have a girl waiting. She writes every week. Yes, his girl in Taipei is attending the Cultural Arts College. (She was the one who sang at his Farewell. Ah so.)

Most events were teaching opportunities to practice the Jen Theorem. When he checked into Hua Lien at the police station, the chief looked amazed. "You're a missionary? Ha!" Unfazed, "though the enemy deride," Jen asked the man some golden questions, had a discussion, and made a contact. We left with Jen grinning again — and myself having been taught about Christlikeness by a Buddha. Jen was no paper tiger, but compliance with things was as simple as his command of English slang was considerable: "*Roll* with it, baby!" It gained him friends and baptisms. He kept his cool like a pagoda at nap time. Never strength against strength, but love with love.

Yet on other things his Chinese wouldn't budge. He had been a missionary a month when the Chinese Book of Mormon was published, in January, 1966, and he hugged his copy like an heirloom.[10] (It is as a "familiar

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[9]Here was the setting of another brain-bender. Ever since the Jesuits first tried to preach, teach, expound, and exhort things Catholic to Chinese, and even down to the present, everyone has been asking, "Can a Christian Chinese genuflect, burn incense and paper money, and ceremonize in temples and shrines for his dead and Confucious?" Where does ancestral veneration end and idolatry begin? This is the infamous Rites Controversy which has perplexed Popes and proselyters since the Ming Dynasty. Does the popping of firecrackers at the M.I.A. New Year's party signify the repudiation of devils or just a lot of loud fun? For ourselves and our house, we decided to teach the scriptures and let each one who faced the question govern himself. Thus we and everybody's ancestors saved lots of face.

See Jesse G. Lutz, *Christian Missions in China: Evangelists of What?* (Boston: Heath, 1966), p. 108.

To defend the Chinese Rites, Matteo Ricci quoted the *Doctrine of the Mean*, in which King Wu and the Duke of Chou were said to have "served the dead as they would have served them had they been living, which is the summit of filiality."

[10]At the present time the Book of Mormon is undergoing a fifth edition, including for the first time the footnotes and complete index. Translator Hu Wei I informs me that many translation corrections will be included as well. He still expects to get feedback from readers to make an even "clearer" sixth edition. (The first Chinese Doctrine and Covenants and Pearl of Great Price will be published within the year. Translator Ch'e Tsai T'ien began working on it in summer, 1966.)

President Hu, who is also a counselor to the mission president, has said this about the Chinese Bible: "Its style is neither Mandarin nor classical nor modern, but a nebulous mixture." That is the general feeling of many people who know their Chinese and their base languages — to say nothing of the doctrinal errors of the Chinese Bible. The reason is not

spirit" to him too.) When I tried to persuade him five months later to buy a new third edition, he said, "Your first book of Mormon and Bible are special. Like a mission call or a set of Classics on rice paper hand-brushed."

He used the scriptures to teach, and emphasized points by gesturing a "mama-mia" with his hand. He would switch to Taiwanese or Mandarin at the drop of a silk cap, and we disagreed heartily on that point, because the language of the Church, and those who have been schooled, is Mandarin.

"Look," I said, "suppose you do baptize someone who understands only Taiwanese. What can they do in the Church besides just *come and sit*, which defeats your purpose anyway?"

"Just because they don't speak a given dialect, can't they have the Gospel?"

"Yes, but the time isn't yet. When we teach, how can I bear testimony to a lesson I haven't understood?"

"How could you when you were a green bean and the only thing you knew in Chinese was one rote testimony?"

I wasn't convinced, but things went on as they had before. His scripture knowledge, like his appearance always, was extremely sharp. His ebony hair was carpet-thick and he wore it with a slight bang, his companion's semi-baldness being a standing joke. At the barber shop (we went oftener than I needed it, but not often enough for him) he attributed my problem to all the salt lying around Sanitary Utah, and made jokes with the barbers in Taiwanese. I speak Mandarin, as you recall.

Leaving the barber shop one drizzling day (the rain in Taiwan fell mainly on me), we saw three young recruits walking together toward a wine house. The one in the middle, a teenager, and a head shorter than the others, walked about twice as fast just to keep up. Jen said, "How about a cottage meeting?" "Of course." He was never above walking up to, or along with, these new friends, talking Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon and "Church at ten on Sunday if you're in town"; and these kitty-cornered street meetings attracted many and became our first trademark. He handed them a tract and pointed them to a movie down the street, and ping pong at our place after.

Then we hopped on our bikes to scout some more cottage meetings. The people of Hua Lien knew when we were coming by our second trademark: his warped bike wheel scraped the frame rhythmically, and his two-piece rain suit swished in time, making him an à-go-go monk with hood and trousers.

We had monickers for each other — he called me *Ta Fo* (Big Buddha) and I called him *Chung Fo* (Middle Buddha), and whenever his proverbially long showers reached the hour mark, I would yell down, "Hey, Chung Fo, don't waste water! There are people going unwashed in America."

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so much the carelessness of the translators as just plain pain at having to translate a Western alphabetic concept into an Eastern ideographic one. The problems are enormous. "Exaltation" for example becomes "ch'ao sheng," an old Buddhist term. Is that ok? Who is to say? See my article on this subject in the July 1966, Vol. 8, No. 3, *Voice of the Saints*, pp. 35–38, in Chinese and English.

See also H. Grant Heaton, "Comments on Translation Work in Chinese," January 31, 1963, pp. 11–13 et al., unpublished manuscript. Mr. Heaton is a former mission president for the Southern Far East Mission of the Church.

On Diversion Day an anxious father came to ask us to administer to his little daughter; she was running a fever. At the house, Jen tried to perform the ordinance — the first for him and the baby — but she kept turning her face up to watch, and they both were covered with oil. The sealing took the three of us, and she did get well.

We learned that this family was related to Jen (It seemed that sooner or later half the population of Hua Lien turned out being in his clan). So we always visited two or three a week and talked "Gospel story." But most of them did not join the Church. Many were farmers or small business operators; the Church's membership is predominantly educators and educated, non-soldiers and non-officials, the young and youthful.

By this time, other Chinese missionaries were teaching Jen's parents in Taipei, and his father wrote regularly asking questions of his son. Middle Buddha is a Chün Tzu — a Confucian Superior Man — who would be ashamed to die without accounting for himself in the eyes of his ancestors and posterity. He always did his best by that ideal, and his people. ("Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear.")

When I returned to Sanitary, Utah, exchanging one island for another, Taiwan became my *cause*, my defense, the *raison d'être* for any knowledge I had of the world.

And the day before this essay goes to the editor, I receive a letter from Jen and in it a farewell program. The cover is embossed red with phoenixes and dragons, and inside a picture of his brother — the Marine, called to serve his second mission in Taiwan for the Church. His call, signed by President McKay just forty-eight years out of Peking's cyprus grove himself, seems to give to the first prayer its most efficacious amen. If there is joy in the Gospel, then for me it is this: regardless of different coefficients for different Saints, the Gospel-equation is everywhere the same. The Lord's song can be sung, but never by "foreign devils," for the hybrid counterpoint and meter are elusive, and the pitch must be true. In every land it must be indigenous, this Gospel.

I saw Jen last as we returned to Taipei and *our* chapel for an All-Island Conference. From the plane we went straight to his parents' electric repair shop where they welcomed us like Mandarins, with cold pears (it was June and you could have fried a bird nest on the sidewalk) and candied pineapple. It was a reunion-farewell for my second family and me. Jen and I had been long separated since Hua Lien a year ago, but had flown together as a last journey.

Next, we joined the other eighty-six missionaries for kettleball at the National University lawns where eight Chinese elders and lady missionaries beat us foreign devils by a score too high to mention here. On the ball field he was called the Yellow Peril by his Chinese team, all very fast and agile, and I the White Man's Burden of mine.

Finally, after two days of ball, testimony, and workshops, it was time to split up again. I had to catch a plane for home, and he a train for points south. But we had a baptismal service beforehand that for me has come to

define the meaning of our work in Taiwan. The speaker was T'ang Tung Yüan, the second Chinese elder of our day. He was a green bean, having been called a month before, but he didn't need a map. He spoke of the future and the work, articulately and movingly. Then the Jen brothers and I baptized the Jen parents, and we all became ancestors to them in the Gospel, for by us they were born of water and spirit. There was a time for pictures and gifts. They gave me a hand puppet that said *Ta Fo* on the front. I was afraid of going home, but I had thrown away my map of China long ago.

Revelation is unfolding truth whether in the test tube, the human mind, or a message from the Creator. It is the infinite becoming known. Death is not extinguishing the light but putting out the lamp because the dawn has come. Night never has the last word. The dawn is irresistible.

Both religion and science teach us that nothing is ever annihilated; forms change and patterns are altered, and we do not even attempt to anticipate the details, but it is unreasonable to conclude that a law which operates everywhere else in life ceases to operate only in life's highest, noblest form — human personality. The human spirit shrinks from extinction. It refuses to believe that the departed have vanished like the flame of a burned-out candle. There has never been an age in which the hope of life, immortal and eternal, has not flamed brightly.

In this world of indestructibility each of us is a timeless, spaceless unit of energy. Is it not absurd to assume that the infinitesimal electron is of more import in the economy of the universe than the creative consciousness that is I?

President Hugh B. Brown
General Conference, April, 1967

From the Pulpit

IN MEMORY OF P. A. CHRISTENSEN (1888-1968)

Hugh B. Brown

During a career that spanned some sixty years of teaching at all levels, from grade school to the university, thousands of students knew P. A. Christensen as a great teacher. He was a member of the faculty at Brigham Young University from 1927 until his retirement in 1965, serving as chairman of the English department for twenty-five years. He was also well known as a lecturer and essayist; much of his writing was collected in ALL IN A TEACHER'S DAY *(1948) and* OF A NUMBER OF THINGS *(1962). The following sermon was delivered by President Hugh B. Brown of the First Presidency of the Church, a long-time friend and once a fellow faculty member at BYU, at Professor Christensen's funeral, October 1, 1968.*

Sister Ruth, family, in-laws, friends and relatives, Brothers and Sisters, it is an honor, but a humbling experience, to be invited to speak at the funeral of a great man, a great soul. I appreciate very much the invitation to come. I should not have come if I had not had in my system something of P. A.'s independent disposition. I was told by my physicians that due to a slight indisposition I should not come, but I couldn't stay away, because Parley was my friend, and at times I've tried to be his friend.

We celebrate birth and marriage and other events by song and dancing, exchanging presents, etc. But when we come, as today, to celebrate death (and I think some of you might question the use of the word "celebrate" in that connection, but that's what we're doing) — when it comes to that, we come to church. To celebrate, according to the dictionary, is to honor, observe, solemnize with rites and ceremonies, to extol or proclaim. Sometime ago, when Dr. Karl G. Maeser died, someone wrote a little poem that was sometimes sung in our worshiping assemblies, "The Teacher's Work Is Done." I never quite agreed with that thought. I do not agree that his work is done

today. If we knew the truth, Parley is still carrying on; he is still teaching and will continue to teach and to inspire throughout the ages to come. For that I humbly thank the Lord.

I have consulted some of his students of late, since I visited him in the hospital. I had a cousin who was in his classes years ago, and just before she died she wrote something I would like to share with you. It seems applicable to the spirit of P. A., though she doesn't mention him.

If there remains a word to say of me
When I no more with you shall sing my song,
Oh not in final tribute let it be,
For life is short, Eternity is long;
And this husk of me that sheltered all
That really lived — and lives — my hopes and fears,
My loves and loyalties, was but the stall
Where tethered spirit chomped at bridled years.

But if, when first convulsive grief has passed,
You then shall speak of little things I did,
And laugh, and so remembering, raise the lid
Of memory on my ultra-mundane past,
You may be sure that I, from off my star,
Shall lean to hear, laugh too, and you for.

(Zina Woolf Hickman)

We have been talking today almost exclusively in his own words. In truth it may be said that he is preaching his own sermon, and I have not heard better. Most fitting that we should quote from his writings, most fitting that we should listen to what has been read so beautifully by Brother Romney, his biographical sketch, filled with humor (and he had a keen sense of humor, but it was never unkind). I always found him to be great in the best sense of the word. He had the courage to step out of the beaten path occasionally and see what lies just beyond. And though he ran into some thorns, occasionally, because of that daring adventure, he always came back with a little good fruit. I appreciated that venturesome spirit and so I think the best thing I can do, the best thing I can say, is to continue along the line Brother Romney and Sister Ballif have indicated.

I appreciate very much the singing of "The Lord Is My Shepherd, I Shall Not Want," taken from the Twenty-third Psalm. I appreciated this beautiful instrumental selection because it would have delighted Parley — in fact, I think it did. My faith is so simple that I cannot believe that this life ends with death. He still lives and he will be waiting for you, Ruth, and the rest of you as you go. I expect to join him very soon, if I'm worthy.

I'd like, then, to refer to some things that were said of him and about him, continuing the trend of this occasion. I wanted first to read from his *All in a Teacher's Day* a tribute paid by another student of his. She was a very close friend of mine in England many years ago, and Parley befriended her, as was his wont:

> Those thousands who have passed through the lecture rooms presided over by Dr. Christensen, will find in *All in a Teacher's Day* a

> source of rich delight not untouched with the magic of reminiscence and recollection.
>
> Through its pages run the author's superb feeling for all that is beautiful, particularly in the works of the masters. Sometimes, as when he teaches his "deuced irony" flashes out —

How well we know that and how we loved him for it — this that she calls "deuced irony" —

> do you not love an excellent wit even when it is slightly corroded with satire? There is, too, smooth satisfying Logic, Reason mated with Daring-do, Wisdom which is more exalted than either Logic or Reason, like that evinced in such maxims as "Love your enemies" — and, sometimes, even a certain blessed un-Reason which lends strange, joyous verification to the words "Christ is risen."

I brought these two books along and am indebted to Parley for having indicated some of the things he loved.

Someone has written, "with all the ingenuity of scientific hypothesis it has to be said that no advance whatever has been made since Aristotle or before in answering the question, How from a mindless universe or a mindless organism, a mind could emerge." I think he would have enjoyed that. I'm sure he did; I think he memorized it. But then listen to his own words:

> Greatness in nations, as in individuals, is a process. It is not a "having and a resting but a growing and a becoming." Greatness is an eternal search for whatever is virtuous, or lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy. But it is more than a search. It is a weaving of the best that is thought and felt and done in the world into the warp and woof of the national life and character. It is even more than that. It is helping to make the mental and spiritual accomplishments of the human race the common possession of all nations. (*All in a Teacher's Day*, p. 9)

I happen to know that he liked something that was written by Cicero, and I think I'd like just to refer back to that for a minute because it has a welcome ring and a joyful sound to me. Cicero said, and Parley knew this very well,

> I am well convinced that my departed friends are so far from having ceased to live, that the state they now enjoy can alone with propriety be called life. I feel myself transported with impatience to rejoin those whose characters I have greatly respected and whose persons I have loved. Nor is this earnest desire confined alone to those excellent persons with whom I have been connected. I ardently wish also to visit those celebrated worthies of whom I have heard or read so much.

I thought of this the other day, Ruth, when we stood together by his bedside. How he, as I thought then and as has been confirmed by time, was about to join some of his worthies of whom he had heard and read so much. And he wanted to join them, and when he does — now that he has — he'll bring luster to all the best that is in them, and he'll add to that something that many of them did not have — a deep and abiding faith in God.

This that Brother Romney has read about his early youth, his troubles on the farm, can be appreciated by those of us who are almost as old as he was.

But some of us, too, went barefoot. Some of us trod through snow and mud to school. But all of us did not reap from those experiences as richly as did he.

And so Cicero continued,

> To this glorious assembly I am speedily advancing; and I would not be turned back on my journey, even on the assured condition that my youth should be again restored. The sincere truth is [and this sounds like Parley], if some divinity would confer on me a new grant on life, I would reject the offer without hesitation. I have well nigh finished the race, and have no disposition to return to the starting point. I do not mean to imitate those philosophers who represent the condition of human nature as a subject of just lamentation. The satisfactions of this life are many; but there comes a time when we have had a sufficient measure of its enjoyments, and may well depart contented with our share of the feast. I am far from regretting that this life was bestowed on me; and I have the satisfaction of thinking that I have employed it in such a manner as not to have lived in vain. In short, I consider this world as a place which nature never intended for my permanent abode; and I look on my departure from it, not as being driven from my habitation, but simply as leaving an inn. (Cicero's "Essay on Old Age," *Fifty Years and Beyond*, by Lathrop, pp. 106–107.)

And so I bring you that thought in connection with what he has thought and said so often.

The philosophers, the scientists, the poets, the prophets have agreed in large measure — in fact there is almost complete unanimity among them — on the one eternal truth, that man is a child of God. And that being true, there is something of God in man. And that being true, man is immortal, and eternal, and death does not end conscious existence. That is my testimony to you today, as I think of him.

One of the modern scientists wrote a little something quite recently which I have appreciated and which Parley knew of. Von Braun said:

> Many people seem to feel that science has somehow made "religious ideas" untimely or old-fashioned. But I think science has a real surprise for the skeptics. Science, for instance, tells us that nothing in nature, not even the tiniest particle, can disappear without a trace. Nature does not know extinction. All it knows is transformation.
>
> Now if God applies this fundamental principle to the most minute and insignificant parts of his universe, doesn't it make sense to assume that He applies it also to the human soul? —

I ask you to think on that. He continues —

> I think it does. And everything that science has taught me — and continues to teach me — strengthens my belief in the continuity of our spiritual existence after death. Nothing disappears without a trace. (Dr. Wernher Von Braun)

"If we believe," said another, "in man's divine origin, we must conclude that manhood has a mission, that power has a purpose, that every faculty has a function, even though some are not in evidence in our earthly environs." That's the kind of thing that he liked to hear and read and contribute to.

And then let's turn again to our teacher, let him speak for himself. In fact, I think I have never before attended a funeral service in which it seemed the one in the casket was doing the speaking. For as we repeat his words, we are aware of the fact that he, deep down, knew that when he left his body, consigned it to the earth, his soul would go on and on and on. This he wrote in one of his books:

> . . . Jesus' purpose was to find a universal remedy, one that would strike at the taproot of all evil. He found the taproot of all social ills in the workings of the human spirit. His prescription was therefore for the mind and heart.

He took that kind of thing seriously as he thought on it, and he was unafraid of criticism — was sometimes disturbed a bit, but I am glad to be on his side when it comes to announcing the truths of the gospel of Christ in their entirety. He continues —

> He [Jesus] accordingly attempted to establish the Kingdom of God, not at first as a substitute for the secular state, but as a complement to it, a complement to exist, not in the trappings of external authority, but rather in the promptings of the inner life. Men must be born again. They must cease to live by bread alone, and begin to live by the things of the mind and heart. The two great demands of the Kingdom were love of God as Father, and love of fellowmen as brothers. Love of God and fellowmen was not an arbitrary prescription. Rather it was an assertion of Jesus' conviction that in the universal scheme of things the personality of God and the personality of man are of first importance. It was merely a call to men to give themselves in love and loyalty to the supreme values in the universe.

This is the man himself, speaking at his funeral.

> If Jesus could help men to find in their world a God who is indeed an all-wise and loving Father, if he could help them to discover in one another common qualities and latent powers of infinite worth, then he could do more than statesmen with social programs had ever done, or ever could do, because then all the social inequalities, the injustices, and the brutalities among men would tend to disappear. Man's inhumanity to man cannot exist where men really love and respect one another. In a society conscious of God as a Father to be lived and worshipped, and of fellowmen as brothers to be loved and respected, slavery, sex discrimination, cruelty to children, perversions of justice, intemperance, exploitation of the underprivileged, and war with all its attending evils would naturally disappear. Not perhaps without leadership, but in such a society the necessary leadership would always be at hand. Leaders schooled in the principles and ideals of the Kingdom of God would inevitably apply those ideals and principles to the solution of the problems of the kingdoms of men. Jesus' task, therefore, was to provide the mental and spiritual soil and climate congenial to the germination and growth of the leadership that the world needs. . . .
>
> Let nations, as well as individuals, seek first the Kingdom of God [said Parley A. Christensen] and all other things that really matter will naturally follow after. Let nations like men discover that they cannot live by bread a lone, that ultimately it will profit no nation to gain or dominate the whole world in material things,

> if in doing so it lose its soul, its sense of eternal values. (*All in a Teacher's Day*, pp. 12–13.)

I must not read all that I have excerpted from his book here, but he has a final thought that I am sure all of us would appreciate. Before reading that final thought I bring to you a thought of my own with respect to what men seek in life and apprehend with respect to the subject of death – which in my mind is improperly designated. I do not believe Parley Christensen is dead. I do not believe he has ceased to be. I bear witness that he still lives, and is conscious, recognizable, and I would like to grasp his hand again, and doubtless will, rather soon.

Even the best of men, when they come to the end of their days, feel their life has been marred by incompleteness. In other words he did not do all he wanted to do; he did not write all he had to say. Remember Victor Hugo said "I haven't said a thousandth part of that which is in me." If they did not do what they dreamed or resolved they would do, may not this be a confirmatory suggestion that there is a design still to be carried out?

The mind of man is never satisfied with its accomplishments. We seem to be built upon a scale that only eternal life can satisfy. Perhaps this is what Browning meant when he said, "A man's reach should exceed his grasp, else what is heaven for?" No earthly change, no earthly vicissitude affects the integrity and the permanence of the self.

May I divert for a moment? Thirteen of her children were standing around her bedside when she died – my mother. She was just about the age of Parley when he died, and she reached out her hand and took mine as I was standing nearest to her, and she said, "My children, I must leave you. This body is worn out, but I want you to know, before I go, that I'm as much alive as I ever was. I'm as much interested in what's going on as ever I was." She said, "There is something about me that time has not touched, although it has practically destroyed my body. And if it could not touch that something in eighty years, I want you to know that I believe it never will touch it." I thought that was a tremendous sermon on the subject of the immortality of the soul.

And then Parley said:

> Jesus saw for his mission an ultimate triumph. Always he would have a few enlightened and courageous witnesses to his truth, men who would advance his torch and spread his light. Through their unwearying efforts and through the harsh, relentless lessons of history, more and more minds and hearts would be prepared for his message. Eventually all knees would bend in homage to him and all tongues would acknowledge him Lord, not through external compulsion, but through the discovery that the human race, in its deeper nature, in its most imperative need, is indeed a brotherhood, a family, in which the welfare of each is the responsibility of all; through the discovery that only in losing themselves in the larger life of mankind can men really find themselves. (*All in a Teacher's Day*, p. 16.)

I am compelled to look over many things I want you to read for yourselves in these books and I commend both of them to you, but he said this not so long ago –

> I do not know at what time in life, or as a result of what study and discipline one is justified in holding and expressing a deep personal conviction. But whether justified myself or not I feel that I must close this discussion with an expression of a conviction which I have come to hold firmly.

I wish you children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren would remember this, it is like a final testament:

> Whether justified or not, I feel that I must close this discussion with an expression of a conviction which I have come to hold firmly. It is that no matter what one's oracle of truth may be, human or divine, its utterance can never become effective in a world of competing oracles until they have been subjected to the unhampered scrutiny of human thought. They will never win, I am sure, universal acceptance until they have been tested and approved in the clear, white light of a free and universal human reason. For even a divine oracle, to be permanently effective among men, must be assimilated to the thoughts of men. God himself is limited when men cease to think. *(Of a Number of Things,* p. 25.)

That is worth remembering.

Sometime, when all life's lessons have been learned,
And sun and stars forevermore have set,
The things which our weak judgments here have spurned,
The things o'er which we grieved with lashes wet,
Will flash before us out of life's dark night,
As stars shine most in deeper tints of blue;
And we shall see how all God's plans are right,
And how what seemed reproof was love most true.

And we shall see how, while we frown and sigh,
God's plans go on as best for you and me:
How, when we called, He heeded not our cry,
Because His wisdom to the end could see.
And e'en as prudent parents disallow
Too much of sweet to craving babyhood,
So God, perhaps, is keeping from us now
Life's sweetest things, because it seemeth good.

And you shall shortly know that lengthened breath
Is not the sweetest gift God sends His friend,
And that, sometimes, the sable pall of death
Conceals the fairest bloom His love can send.
If we could push ajar the gates of life,
And stand within and all God's workings see,
We could interpret all this doubt and strife,
And for each mystery could find a key.
But not today. Then be content, poor heart;
God's plans, like lilies pure and white, unfold.

We must not tear the close-shut leaves apart —
Time will reveal the calyxes of gold.
And if, through patient toil, we reach the land
Where tired feet, with sandals loosed, may rest,
When we shall clearly see and understand,
I think that we will say, "God knew the best."

—May Riley Smith

In these rather ramblng remarks, I cannot close without a witness. The most glorious literature in the world, and this was believed in by Parley, is the Holy Scriptures. You remember that wonderful occasion when Mary and some other women were at the tomb. You remember how they looked in the tomb and saw that the body of Jesus had been removed or had left and they saw two persons sitting one at the head and the other at the foot of where Jesus had lain. One of them said, "Woman, why weepest thou. Whom seekest thou?" And she said, "They have taken away my Lord and I know not where they have laid him." And as she stepped back (and here I'm interpolating a little), as she stepped back she became aware of someone whom she thought was the gardener, for she had not lifted her head, so great was her sorrow. She saw the ankles and the knees of this person who was standing there, and she heard a voice which sounded a bit familiar and yet was unbelievable to her even then. And he said, "Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou?" And she said, "They have taken away my Lord and I know not where they have laid Him."

Then she became aware of an outstretched hand and she heard her name spoken in such a manner as only one in all the universe could say it. He pronounced only the one word, "Mary." Oh, the ecstasy of her soul as she lifted her face and beheld her Lord, resurrected, immortalized, her friend, her Redeemer. And He told her not to touch Him for the moment but to go and tell the brethren, which she did. And they didn't believe her.

It seems remarkable that after His sojourn among them they had not really understood the purpose of His mission, the full meaning of it. — And they didn't believe it. And ten of them were in the room and the doors were closed when suddenly there appeared before them the Master and Redeemer of the world, the risen Son of God, and they fell back, affrighted. They thought it was a spirit. And He said to them, "Come, handle me and see, it is I, myself. A spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." There was one of the Twelve who wasn't there. His name was Thomas, and when they told him later of the appearance of the Lord, he doubted it. He said, I cannot believe it, unless I can feel the prints in His hands and thrust my hand into His side. Eight days later He came again in the same room. There were eleven of them there then, and He, the Master, spoke to Thomas and said, "Thomas, come hither, feel the wounds in my hands and side, and know that it is I." Thomas did just that and then said, "Oh, Lord, my God."

Brethren and sisters, I bear witness to you that the soul of man is immortal. The soul — the body and the spirit together — live on, and I hope you will remember that because it is a concluding statement I like to make on occasions such as this, as a short supplement to what Parley has so often thought and so constantly believed. God bless you Parley. Thanks for your friendship, for your understanding, for your courage and fortitude. Thanks for what you have done for all of us. And may He give us courage to continue in faith until the end, I pray in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

Roundtable

THE QUESTION OF THE PALMYRA REVIVAL

Participants: Rev. Wesley P. Walters,
Richard L. Bushman

The following essay was submitted to DIALOGUE *in late 1967 by Reverend Wesley Walters, who is pastor of the United Presbyterian Church in Marissa, Illinois. When scholars at Brigham Young University became aware of the challenge it presents to a chronology of early Mormon history in New York, the essay provided an additional stimulus to their decision to form a special committee of outstanding Mormon historians and scholars under the leadership of Truman G. Madsen, Director of the Institute of Mormon Studies at Brigham Young University, to direct concentrated research in the available records in New York relevant to Mormon history. The committee included Leonard Arrington and Richard Bushman, two members of the* DIALOGUE *Board of Editors. Under the committee's direction a good deal of original research was done, particularly in the summer of 1968, and a special issue of* BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY STUDIES *was planned to report the findings. In the meantime* DIALOGUE *editors decided to hold publication of Reverend Walters' essay until there could be some opportunity for a Mormon scholar to prepare to respond, particularly until he could take advantage of the research directed by Professor Madsen's committee (which had been organized with the title "Mormon History in New York"). Reverend Walters decided to allow his essay to be published as a tract by The Evangelical Theological ("Utah Christian Tract") Society and it was so published in their Fall Bulletin of 1967, Volume 10, Number 4. Normally* DIALOGUE *does not reprint previously published materials, but this tract had very limited circulation and we felt that the issues Reverend Walters raises should be dealt with directly and in the context of a full statement of his arguments. We therefore present his essay here with a response from Professor Richard L. Bushman, formerly of Brigham Young University and a recent winner of the Bancroft prize in history for his book* FROM PURITAN TO YANKEE *— now completing a year's historical research at the Charles Warren Center at Harvard where he is Bishop of the University Second Ward. Professor Bushman had available*

to him the following articles reporting last year's research: "Prologue" by Truman Madsen; "The Origins of Mormonism: An Introductory Analysis" by James B. Allen and Leonard J. Arrington; "The Early Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision" by Dean C. Jessee; "Awakenings in the Burned-over District: New Light on the Historical Setting of the First Vision" by Milton V. Backman, Jr.; "Reverend George Lane — Good 'Gifts,' Much 'Grace,' and Marked 'Usefulness'" by Larry C. Porter; "Circumstantial Confirmation of the First Vision through Reminiscences" by Richard L. Anderson. These articles, together with others which deal with different topics unrelated to the Reverend Walters' essay, will appear in the Spring issue of BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY STUDIES. *Anyone interested in the issues raised in this Round Table should obtain a copy in order to get complete reports of the findings in New York. Following Professor Bushman's response is a rejoinder by Reverend Walters.*

A western camp meeting in 1819. After lithograph by J. Miller —THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

NEW LIGHT ON MORMON ORIGINS FROM THE PALMYRA REVIVAL

Reverend Wesley P. Walters

Since the year 1838, when Joseph Smith, Jr., set down the official account of his first vision, the story has continued to grow in importance in the eyes of Mormon leaders until it has come to be looked upon as the very foundation

of their church and the greatest event in the world's history since the resurrection of the Son of God.[1]

The first vision story states that Joseph Smith, in the year 1820 when he was but a lad of fourteen, was greatly stirred up by a religious revival that broke out in the vicinity of Palmyra, New York. Uncertain as to which church he should join as a result of this excitement, Joseph retired to a nearby grove where in answer to his prayer, "two glorious personages," identified as the Father and the Son, appeared to him, informing him that all the religious denominations were wrong. He was told to await further enlightenment, which came three years later in a second vision on September 21, 1823, when an angelic visitor to his bedroom informed him of the existence of the golden plates of the Book of Mormon.[2]

This account of Joseph's first vision has recently been given more careful study because of a number of difficulties that have been uncovered: the earliest Mormon and anti-Mormon writers know nothing of such a vision; the text of the present printed version has been altered at several points; the early leaders in Utah repeatedly speak only of angels and not of the Father and Son visiting Smith at age fourteen.[3] These and other conflicts have forced Latter-day Saint scholars to write in defense of their Prophet's first vision story. In all their writing they have *assumed* that Joseph Smith's account must be correct wherever it is at variance with the statements of other Mormon or anti-Mormon writings.

However, the point at which one might most conclusively test the accuracy of Smith's story has never been adequately explored. A vision, by its inward, personal nature, does not lend itself to historical investigation. A revival is a different matter — especially one such as Joseph Smith describes — in which "great multitudes" were said to have joined the various churches involved.[4] Such a revival does not pass from the scene without leaving some traces in the records and publications of the period. In this study we show by the contemporary records that the revival which Smith claimed occurred in 1820 did not really take place until the fall of 1824. We also show that in 1820 there was no revival in any of the churches in Palmyra and its vicinity. In short, our investigation shows that the statement of Joseph Smith, Jr., can not be true when he claims that he was stirred by an 1820 revival to make his inquiry in the grove near his home.

I

In 1834–35, nearly four years before Joseph began to write his "official" first vision story, the Mormon Church published an account of the origin of their movement written by Joseph Smith's right-hand man, Oliver Cowdery. Cowdery claimed to have received his information from the Prophet himself, making it virtually Joseph Smith's own narrative, and Joseph, in a separate column, added some details about his birth and early life.[5] Like Smith, in his later account, Cowdery begins the story with a description of the revival

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Because the footnotes accompanying these articles are so extensive, they will appear at the end of this essay.

that happened in the Palmyra area. However, this early account makes no reference to any vision occurring in 1820 and places the revival in 1823.[6] According to this version, Joseph was stirred at age seventeen by a revival that broke out under the preaching of a Mr. Lane, a presiding elder of the Methodist church. Retiring to his bedroom, he prayed for forgiveness and enlightenment on which church was right. In response, an angel appeared and informed him about the golden plates and assured him of his forgiveness.

Except for Joseph's moving the revival date back three years and adding the first vision story, both Smith's later account and this earlier Cowdery-Smith account record the same features as connected with the revival. In both accounts the revival began under Methodist preaching, the earlier adding the name of Reverend Lane as the key figure in the Methodist awakening. Both state that soon Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians were sharing unitedly in the effort; both claim that rivalry developed over who should have the converts; both mention that large additions were made to the denominations involved; both note that Smith's mother, sister, and two brothers were led to join the Presbyterian church; in both accounts Joseph refrained from joining any church because he was confused as to which group was right; and finally, in both accounts he sought direct guidance from the Lord about this matter and was answered by a heavenly visitation.

Mormon writers have for some time seen that both the earlier and later "official" accounts had the same revival in view.[7] This is quite clear not only from the many identical features in both accounts, but also from the fact that some of these features could not have taken place twice. For example, Smith's family could not have joined the Presbyterian Church in 1820 as a result of a revival in the area, and then joined the same church again in 1823 as a result of another revival. Again, Joseph Smith, Jr., could not have been confused about which group was right in 1820, been enlightened that all were wrong, and then have been confused on the same point again in 1823. It is also extremely unlikely that churches which had had a bitter outcome to their united efforts at a revival would have joined forces again just three years later only to end in more bitter contention. In addition, to consider two different revivals would place Joseph in the contradictory position of having, with great certainty (J. S. 2:24-25), seen both the Father and the Son in 1820, and then three years later finding this so ineffectual that he was not even certain "if a Supreme being did exist."[8]

Recognizing that both accounts are describing the same revival, Mormon writers have already credited Cowdery with an error in dating, but have been quite willing to accept the other details given in this earlier account and work them into an 1820 framework. We find Latter-day Saint writers like historians B. H. Roberts and Hyrum L. Andrus, and Apostle John A. Widtsoe speaking of Reverend Lane as participating in an 1820 revival.[9] An account by William Smith, Joseph's brother, adds the information that it was Reverend Lane who suggested the text from James ("If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God"), to which Joseph refers, as a means of determining which group to join. William also introduces the name of Reverend Stockton, the Presbyterian pas-

tor, as presiding at the meetings.[10] This information, since William does not give it a specific date, is also placed back in the year 1820 and is used to fill out Joseph Smith's official account.[11]

However, this very account of William Smith, to which Latter-day Saint writers so willingly refer for details, indicates that the revival did not occur in 1820. William states that after the joint revival meeting had closed, Reverend Stockton insisted that the converts ought to join the Presbyterian church since it was their meeting. However, William states, "as father did not like Rev. Stockton very well, our folks hesitated." William had already mentioned the reason for his father's dislike of the Presbyterian minister. Mr. Stockton had preached the funeral sermon of William's brother, Alvin, and had strongly intimated that he had gone to hell because he had never been a member of any church. Since the tombstone on Alvin's grave gives the date of his death as November 19, 1823, it is clear that the revival must have followed that date.[12] William earlier gave the date of the revival as "1822 and 1823" and on another occasion he stated that Joseph Smith was "about eighteen years old at this time," which would place it in 1824.[13] In order to maintain the integrity of Joseph Smith's first vision story, however, Mormon writers have not only charged the Cowdery narrative with error, but have also dismissed the setting given by William Smith and arbitrarily transported both Lane and Stockton back to an 1820 date.

The records, however, of both the Presbyterian and Methodist churches to which Mr. Stockton and Mr. Lane respectively belonged, make it clear that neither of these men was assigned to the Palmyra area until 1824. Benjamin B. Stockton, from March 4, 1818, until June 30, 1882, was serving as pastor of the church at Skaneateles, New York.[14] While he did visit Palmyra for a speech to the Youth missionary society in October 1822, the Palmyra newspaper still describes him as "Rev. Stockton of Skaneateles."[15] The earliest contemporary reference to his ministering in the Palmyra area is in connection with a wedding November 26, 1823, just a week after Alvin Smith's death. Following this date there are several references to his performing some service there, but he was not installed as pastor of the Presbyterian church until February 18, 1824.[16] It is in this latter year, 1824, that Reverend James Hotchkin, in cataloguing the revivals that occurred in the churches of Geneva Presbytery, writes, under the heading of the Palmyra church that a "copious shower of grace passed over this region in 1824, under the labors of Mr. Stockton, and a large number were gathered into the church, some of whom are now pillars in Christ's house."[17]

In the summer of 1819 Mr. Lane, whom Mormon writers have correctly identified as George Lane,[18] was assigned to serve the Susquehanna District in central Pennsylvania, over 150 miles from Palmyra. He served this area for five years and not until July of 1824 did he receive an appointment to serve as Presiding Elder of the Ontario District in which Palmyra is located.[19] This post he held only until January of 1825, when ill health in his family forced him to leave the ministry for a while.[20] Except for Elder Lane's brief presence at the 1819 meeting that appointed him to serve in Pennsylvania, there seems

to be no evidence whatever that he even came near the Palmyra area during the 1819-20 period.[21] Since the assigned fields of labor, for both Lane and Stockton, were so far from Palmyra, any revival in which both of these men shared must fall in the latter half of the year 1824, and not in the year 1820.

An even more surprising confirmation that this revival occurred in 1824 and not in 1820 recently came to light when we stumbled upon Reverend George Lane's own account of the Palmyra revival. It was written not at some years distance from the event — as the Mormon accounts all were — but while the revival was still in progress, and was printed a few months later.[22] Lane's account gives us not only the year, 1824, but even the month and day. With the aid of this account, supplemented by numerous additional references which we shortly thereafter uncovered, we are able to give nearly a month-by-month progress report on the spread of the revival through the community and surrounding area, and it was indeed an outstanding revival.

According to George Lane's report, the Lord's gracious work in Palmyra and vicinity "commenced in the spring, and progressed moderately until the time of the quarterly meeting, which was held on the 25th and 26th of September," 1824. A note in the local Palmyra newspaper showed the progress of the work shortly before Lane came upon the scene at the September conference.

> A reformation is going on in this town to a great extent. The love of God has been shed abroad in the hearts of many, and the outpouring of the Spirit seems to have taken a strong hold. About twenty-five have recently obtained a hope in the Lord, and joined the Methodist Church, and many more are desirous of becoming members.[23]

As yet the revival had not touched the Baptist church, for at the annual meeting of the Ontario Baptist Association held September 22, the church reported only two baptisms.[24] The local Presbyterian church, likewise, remained untouched, for the report at the meeting of Presbytery held September 8 stated "there has been no remarkable revival of religion within our bounds."[25]

About the time of the Methodist Quarterly Conference, September 25 and 26, the revival, Lane tells us, "appeared to break out afresh." About this time the revival fires must have spread through the Presbyterian church, for the Synod which met October 5 acknowledged "with gratitude to the great head of the church four instances of special revival," among which was that "in the church at Palmyra of the Presbytery of Geneva."[26]

November found fresh encouragement given to the movement through the death of a nineteen-year-old girl who had been converted just five weeks before, following the September Quarterly Conference. She died in great happiness and, as Lane stated, "it greatly strengthened believers, especially young converts."

By December the revival had spread into the area beyond the bounds of the town. When George Lane returned to the circuit for the Quarterly Conference at Ontario on December 11 and 12, he stated: "Here I found that the work, which had for some time been going on in Palmyra, had broken out from the village like a mighty flame, and was spreading in every direction."

By December 20 reports had reached Avon, some 30 miles distant, that "about 200 . . . are sharers in this great and precious work."[27] When Reverend Lane left the area December 22 he noted that "there had, in the village and its vicinity, upwards of one hundred and fifty joined the society, besides a number that had joined other churches, and many that had joined no church." The Baptists were among the "other churches" who shared in the harvest. Many people needed only an invitation in order to respond. On Christmas Day a Baptist preacher wrote to a friend that, "as I came on my journey this way, I tarried a few days, and baptized eight."[28]

By the end of January the effects of the revival upon the town had become apparent. The whole religious tone of the village was altered by its impact. In glowing terms the committee on the "State of Religion within the bounds of Geneva Presbytery" was able to report:

> In the congregation of Palmyra, the Lord has appeared in his glory to build up Zion. More than a hundred have been hopefully brought into the kingdom of the Redeemer . . . . The fruits of holiness in this revival even now are conspicuous. The exertions for the promotion of divine knowledge are greater than formerly. Sabbath Schools, Bible classes, Missionary & Tract Societies are receiving unusual attention, & their salutary influence is apparent.[29]

Meanwhile the revival fires continued to spread in the neighboring towns. By February, revivals were reported to have broken out in the towns of Williamson and Ontario to the north, in Manchester, Sulphur Springs, and Vienna to the southeast, in Lyons to the east, and in Macedon to the west. Even towns at a greater distance from Palmyra began to experience revival fires, with Mendon to the west and Geneva to the southeast sharing in a divine outpouring.[30] By March, although the work was subsiding in the village of Palmyra, it continued to spread in the adjacent towns. Gorham, considerably south of Vienna, was soon reported as receiving "a shower of Divine mercy," and shortly thereafter the area of Clyde, farther east beyond Lyons, was touched and not less than 150 harvested in by the first part of May. By this time "no recent cases of conviction" were being reported from Palmyra itself, but the work was "advancing" in the Sulphur Springs area and still continuing at Geneva.[31] No wonder Joseph could say that the revival occurred not only in the place where he lived, but "became general among all the sects in that region of country" and that "the whole district of country seemed affected by it."

As the "multitudes" of converts began to fill the churches, men began to take stock of their numbers. By January the Methodists estimated that on their Ontario Circuit two hundred had joined their society.[32] A Baptist pastor in Bristol, New York, reported to a friend under the date of March 9, 1825, that in Palmyra "Multitudes have abandoned their false hopes, and false schemes . . . . About three hundred have united with the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches; and to each in about equal numbers."[33] The Palmyra newspaper for March 2, 1825, reprinted a report from the *Religious Advocate* of Rochester.

> More than two hundred souls have become hopeful subjects of divine grace in Palmyra, Macedon, Manchester, Phelps, Lyons, and Ontario

> since the late revival commenced. This is a powerful work; it is among old and young, but mostly among young people. . . . The cry is yet from various parts, "come over and help us." There are large and attentive congregations in every part, who hear as for their lives.

Since the *Religious Advocate* was a Presbyterian-related periodical, the figures probably reflect only the Presbyterian gains. A note in the same issue of the Palmyra paper adds this balancing information: "It may be added, that in Palmyra and Macedon, including Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist Churches, more than 400 have already testified that the Lord is good. The work is still progressing. In the neighboring towns, the number is great and fast increasing."[34]

By September 1825 the results of the revival for Palmyra had become a matter of record. The Presbyterian church reported 99 admitted on examination and the Baptists had received 94 by baptism, while the Methodist circuit showed an increase of 208.[35] Cowdery's claim of "large additions" and Joseph's statement that "great multitudes united themselves to the different religious parties" were certainly not overstatements.

When we turn to the year 1820, however, the "great multitudes" are conspicuously missing. The Presbyterian church in Palmyra certainly experienced no awakening that year. Reverend James Hotchkin's history records revivals for that church as occurring in the years 1817, 1824, 1829, etc., but there is nothing for the year 1820.[36] The records of Presbytery and Synod give the same picture. Early in February 1820 Presbytery reported revivals at Geneva (summer 1819), and Junius and Cayuga ("lately"), all a considerable distance from Palmyra, with "prospects of a revival" at Canandaigua and Phelps (now Oaks Corners), fifteen and twenty miles distant.[37] While the "effects" of these revivals were reported in September 1820 as continuing, the remainder of that year and the next showed "no distinct mention of a revival," "no special revival in any of our congregations," "no general revivals of religion during the year."[38] Since these reports always rejoice at any sign of a revival in the churches, it is inconceivable that a great awakening had occurred in their Palmyra congregation and gone completely unnoticed.[39]

The Baptist church records also show clearly that they had no revival in 1820, for the Palmyra congregation gained only 6 by baptism, while the neighboring Baptist churches of Lyons, Canandaigua, and Farmington showed net losses of 4, 5, and 9, respectively. An examination of the figures for the years preceding and following 1820 yields the same picture of no revival so far as the Baptist church of the area is concerned.[40]

The Methodist figures, through referring to the entire circuit, give the same results, for they show net losses of 23 for 1819, 6 for 1820 and 40 for 1821.[41] This hardly fits Joseph Smith's description of "great multitudes" being added to the churches of the area. In fact, the Mormon Prophet could hardly have picked a poorer year in which to place his revival so far as the Methodists were concerned. For some time prior to 1820 a sharp controversy had existed in the denomination, which in the Genesee Conference had resulted in a decline and a "loss of spirituality" throughout the entire conference.[42] In addi-

tion, the Presiding Elder of the Ontario District reported July 1, 1824, that: "Four years since, Unitarianism or Arianism, seemed to threaten the entire overthrow of the work of God in some Circuits on this District, and on some others, divisions and wild and ranting fanatics, caused the spirits of the faithful in a degree to sink." Referring to the years just prior to 1823, he added that "for two or three years we saw no great awakenings."[43] In the light of such depressing circumstances it is impossible that Palmyra could have experienced a glorious revival and the Presiding Elder of the area have failed to take note of it at all.

Another significant lack of information concerning an 1820 revival lies in the area of the religious press. The denominational magazines of that day were full of reports of revivals, some even devoting separate sections to them. These publications carried more than a dozen glowing reports of the revival that occurred at Palmyra in the winter of 1816–17.[44] Likewise, the 1824–25 revival is covered in a number of reports.[45] These magazines, however, while busily engaged in reporting revivals during the 1819 to 1821 period, contain not a single mention of any revival taking place in the Palmyra area during this time. It is unbelievable that every one of the denominations which Joseph Smith depicts as affected by an 1820 revival could have completely overlooked the event.[46] Even the Palmyra newspaper, while reporting revivals at several places in the state, has no mention whatever of any revival in Palmyra or vicinity either in 1819 or 1820.[47] The only reasonable explanation for this massive silence is that no revival occurred in the Palmyra area in 1820.

II

In the light of this new historical evidence, what lines of approach are open to the student of Mormon history as he considers Joseph Smith's first vision story? Some may still try to imagine that a great revival occurred in Palmyra and vicinity in spite of the evidence against it. We are convinced, however, that they will meet with no more success than Willard Bean in his attempt to substantiate Smith's story. Bean, a Mormon and one-time sparring partner of Jack Dempsey, has put together an account that Mormon writers are still appealing to.[48] According to Mr. Bean, a revival did break out in "the spring of 1820," sparked under the ministry of Reverend Jesse Townsend, whom he describes as "a young Yale graduate, but recently set apart for the ministry." "The revival started the latter part of April" and by the first of May was well under way. Bean adds an account from "the Religious Advocate of Rochester" to show how extensive the awakening was. All this sounds very authentic until one begins to examine the story more closely. Jesse Townsend was not a "young Yale graduate" in 1820, since he was fifty-four years old and thirty years had expired since his graduation from Yale. He was not "recently set apart for the ministry" for he had been ordained in 1792.[49] Instead of sparking a revival in Palmyra in "the spring of 1820," he was in reality on his way west, arriving near Hillsboro, Illinois, May 25, 1820.[50] Furthermore, the *Religious Advocate* did not begin publication at Rochester until about 1825, and the account which Mr. Bean quotes from that journal is the same one

which appeared in the Palmyra newspaper in March of 1825 in reference to the 1824–25 revival.[51] We do not believe that this avenue of approach will yield any fruitful results.[52]

A second approach maintains that the revival was at some distance from the area where the Smiths lived, that it caused considerable stir in their immediate neighborhood, but ended "on a negative note." It consequently left no visible traces either in the local or denominational papers of 1820 or in terms of substantial membership gains for the churches of the Palmyra and Manchester area.

In developing this approach, Joseph's words, "region of country," "whole district of country" are understood as though they referred to some kind of statewide revival, without notice of the fact that he is talking about a revival that commenced with the Methodists "in the place where we lived" and then "*became* general among all the sects in that region of country." Consequently Latter-day Saint writers frequently cite any revival in New York state as supporting Joseph's story and as illustrating the revival's "widespread nature," whether it was a revival spreading "eastward" from Albany, some 200 miles from Joseph; or at Ulysses, 75 miles away; or a list of Presbyterian revivals, regardless of the distance from Palmyra.[53] Doubtless, in this manner a list of thirty or more towns of western New York experiencing revivals in 1820 could be compiled in support of Joseph's account, but such an appeal is not sufficient, for this statewide condition prevailed nearly every year during the early nineteenth century.[54] What it is important to notice is where these revivals were occurring, for the communities experiencing them changed from year to year. The point of the Prophet's story is not that there were revivals occurring throughout the state that year — for this was true every year. His point was that "an *unusual* excitement" was going on right there "in the place where *we* lived." Multitudes of his neighbors became "converts" and "united" with the various churches of his community, and it was this situation that led him to ask "which I should join."

Some Mormon writers, however, realize that the revival must be centered some place near enough to affect young Joseph, and the trend at the moment is to name Vienna as the place to which "the Prophet undoubtedly had reference."[55] It is questionable whether Vienna had any serious awakening in 1819 or 1820, but through a series of assumptions a large-scale revival is reconstructed there. First, it is assumed that, because the Methodists' Genesee Annual Conference met at Vienna that July 1–8, 1819, all such conferences "were characterized by revival meetings and this conference was no exception."[56] While camp meetings at times were held in conjunction with these annual *business* conferences, the conference minutes reveal no such arrangements being made for the 1819 session.[57] Next, when Reverend Abner Chase speaks of the spiritual decline which existed at the time of the 1819 Conference being "followed by a glorious revival," it is *assumed* that he meant that this revival broke out *at Vienna* immediately following the Conference. When Mr. Chase mentioned this revival, he added that he planned to speak of it "more particularly" further on in his narrative. After carrying his recollections through the years

1820 and 1821, however, his book ends abruptly before coming to the revival period, which from his earlier writings is known to be the 1824–25 period.[58] Finally, a passing reference to Joseph's "catching a spark of Methodism in the camp meeting away down in the woods on the Vienna road" is assumed to show that he actually attended revival meetings at Vienna, some fifteen miles from his home. The most natural reference of this quotation, however, is to the Methodist camp grounds a mile from Palmyra, in the wooded area adjoining the Methodist chapel *on the Vienna road.*[59]

Although the evidence cited fails to establish a revival at Vienna,[60] the chief fault of writers lies in their failure to match the description given in Joseph's official account. Even granting a Methodist revival at Vienna,[61] it not only failed to become general among all the sects in that region of country, but apparently even failed to affect the other churches on the circuit, for the circuit reported a substantial loss of members that year. Even if one counts the 38 gained by the Phelps Presbyterian Church in 1820 and the 23 added to the Phelps (Vienna) Baptist congregation in 1821, this hardly matches the "great multitudes" of Joseph's story and leaves nothing happening "in the place where we lived."

Finally, therefore, this approach must manipulate Joseph's words so as to account for the fact that his immediate neighborhood shows no evidence of an 1820 revival. Accordingly it is noted that Joseph Smith speaks not of a "revival," but of an "unusual excitement" in the place where he lived. This, however, overlooks the fact that in the nineteenth century the terms were synonymous.[62] It further ignores the parallel Cowdery–Smith account which specifically calls it a "reformation," the same term used in the Palmyra paper in reference to the 1824 revival. Joseph himself in 1843 employed the same term, "reformation," in relating his first vision story to a news correspondent.[63] In addition, the Cowdery–Smith account makes it abundantly clear that this reformation activity took place "in Palmyra and vicinity,"[64] while the interview, in an equally clear statement, quotes Smith as saying that the reformation was "in the neighborhood where we lived."

It is further suggested by those who approach the problem by this method that when Joseph spoke of great multitudes "uniting with the different religious parties," he did not necessarily mean that they joined the various churches, but rather that they split up into little cliques which merely took sides in a general controversy.[65] To put such a construction on the word "parties" is to fail to notice that the Prophet uses this very term to refer to the various denominations. In the "war of words" among Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists, Joseph speaks of the denominations as "endeavoring to establish their own tenets and disprove all others" and this leads him to ask, "Who of all *these parties* are right?" Even members of his own family had been "proselyted" to the Presbyterian faith, while "converts" filed off to the different parties. That these converts actually *joined* the churches of Palmyra and vicinity is made clear when the Cowdery–Smith account states that "large additions were made to the Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist churches." To suggest that these multitudes merely aligned themselves with various feuding

groups and that consequently the revival was "abortive" and ended "on a negative note" is to completely miss one of the main points of Joseph's narrative. The entire thrust of his story is that right there where he lived multitudes were joining the various churches, but with so much conflict in their tenets he was at a loss which one to join himself. The year 1820, however, was not the period when any great multitudes were joining the churches of Palmyra and vicinity. It is not until the revival of 1824–25 that we find a situation that matches the conditions described in this official first vision story.

A third, and perhaps simpler, approach is to assume that Joseph's first vision story is essentially correct, but that his memory failed him as to the date of its occurrence. If we pursue this line of thought, several major revisions will have to be made in Joseph Smith's story. Since Joseph presents his vision as occurring in the spring,[66] the date of the vision would accordingly have to be moved to the spring of 1825, following the revival. This would then also necessitate changing the date of his second vision from September 21, 1823, to not earlier than September of 1825. In turn, this would require another change in his story, for he mentions visiting the hill where the plates were buried in each of the three years that elapsed between 1823 and 1827.[67] The revised dating would allow for just one visit — in the year 1826. With this much readjustment, Smith's memory for events becomes somewhat suspect. Furthermore, such a realignment of dates calls for an entire recasting of the context of his story. Instead of being the naïve boy of fourteen, as he presented himself, he would in 1825 have been a young man of nineteen, who in less than two years would find himself eloping with a young woman from Pennsylvania.

Furthermore, this reconstruction would only aggravate the problem of harmonizing Smith's final and "official" account with another first vision account written earlier by the Mormon leader himself. This narrative, which has been dubbed a "strange account," had remained locked in the archives of the Latter-day Saints Church until brought to light by Paul R. Cheesman in 1965.[68] Unlike the official account, which presents Smith as wondering at age fourteen which church was right, the "strange account" presents him as having "from age twelve to fifteen" studied the Scriptures and already concluded that all were wrong. Instead of seeing two glorious personages at age fourteen, he sees at age sixteen only the Lord Jesus Christ, who confirmed his conclusions that all had "turned aside from the gospel." Finally, in the "strange account" he admits that at the first he "sought the Plates to obtain riches," while in the official version he receives only a warning to beware of such a temptation. This "strange account" substitutes Joseph's Bible reading in place of the revival as the predisposing factor for his heavenly inquiry. Cheesman regards this earlier account as a first draft of the first vision story which Joseph laid aside and never completed. If we feel that Smith's memory was hazy in his official account, a comparison with the "strange account" would lead to the further conclusion that his memory was extremely confused. The matter is far deeper than a mere lapse of memory as to dating, for it enters into the very fabric of the story itself.

III

A final, more realistic, approach is that Joseph began with a substantially different story than the one he put forth later in his career. He altered and expanded the story in several steps as occasion required, arriving at the official version he published in 1842. A sketchy outline of the development, based on all the available accounts known to us, is, we believe, somewhat as follows.

The earliest form of the story which the Smiths circulated was that Joseph, Jr., had discovered the plates through the aid of the seer-stone which he used to locate buried treasures. The united testimony of the inhabitants of Palmyra who knew the Smiths is that Joseph and his father were engaged for some length of time in these money-digging activities.[69] Just a year after the Book of Mormon appeared in print, the editor of the Palmyra *Reflector*[70] noted that Joseph Smith, Sr., followed the "popular belief that these treasures were held in charge by some *evil* spirit." "At a time when the money digging ardor was somewhat abated, the elder Smith declared that his son Joe had seen the *spirit* (which he then described as a little old man with a long beard), "who told him he would furnish him with a book containing a record of the ancient inhabitants of this country." At first, the story "had no regular plan or features," and several variations have been preserved by those who knew the Smiths.[71] In October 1827, when Martin Harris first heard that Joseph Smith had unearthed golden plates, he visited the Smith home and interviewed each of the members independently. All, including Joseph Smith, Jr., himself, gave the same story: "He found them by looking in the stone found in the well of Mason Chase."[72] Harris' narrative makes it clear that Joseph had already determined to produce a book, but needed someone to back it financially. Since Harris was deeply moved by religious ideas, Smith added that an angel had told him to quit the money-digging business, and that he had been shown Martin as the man who would help him with the new project. Harris replied, "If the Lord will show me that it is his work, you can have all the money you want." A "still small voice" told Harris to become financially involved and he ultimately became one of the witnesses for the new publication.

From this point on the story takes on a religious tone, with an angel taking the place of the "spirit" as custodian of the plates. *The Reflector*, however, is careful to point out that, "It is well known that Joe Smith never pretended to have any communion with angels, until a long period after the *pretended* finding of his book."[73]

Once Joseph had recast his story in a religious framework, he had to explain how it was that one with a questionable reputation, who had never even joined a church, should be favored with such a special visitation from heaven. W. W. Phelps, who lived for a while at the neighboring town of Canandaigua and later joined the Mormons, pointed out that the cry was soon raised that if God were going to reveal anything it would be to some great person in the church.[74] Smith's answer was to admit his sinfulness, and to have the plates no longer found in his search for treasure as at the beginning, but divinely revealed to him as a result of his search for forgiveness and truth. His

earliest known attempt at this is found in the so-called "strange account," which was probably composed shortly after the organization of the church.

In developing this new approach Joseph followed a familiar pattern of that day. Alexander Campbell complained of a prevalent "enthusiasm" that had one man "regenerated when asleep, by a vision of the night. That man heard a voice in the woods, saying, 'Thy sins be forgiven thee.' A third saw his Savior descend to the tops of the trees at noon day."[75] In this same vein Joseph depicted himself burdened with guilt and receiving a personal visit from the Son of God, who assured him of his pardon and confirmed his conclusion that all the churches were in error.[76]

This claim to personal intercourse with the Lord did not stop here, however, for others soon joined Smith in their claims to have seen the Lord face-to-face.[77] By February 1831 it was reported that the Mormons claimed not only that "Smith . . . had seen God frequently and personally," but "commissions and papers were exhibited, said to be *signed* by Christ himself."[78] Yet for all the heavenly encounters enjoyed at this period, no idea is yet introduced that the Father and the Son are two separate flesh and bone Gods. Even as late as 1835, when it is taught that there are *two* personages who constitute the Godhead, the Father is presented as being "a personage of spirit," while only the Son is "a personage of tabernacle."[79] The "strange account," therefore, is a step forward in developing Smith's official story, but still has some way to go in its alteration and development.

One alteration that occurs by 1834 is a change in the motivating factor which produced Joseph's sense of sin and guilt. In the "strange account" it is his searching of the Scriptures that produces both the certain knowledge that all the churches are wrong and his deep feeling of sinfulness. For some reason this entire approach is set aside, perhaps as being rather out of character for the unlearned boy Joseph was presented as being. In its place a better motivation is found in the revival that swept Palmyra about 1823, as Joseph recalled. Consequently, in 1834, when the first printed article on the origin of the Mormon Church appeared, it spoke of a search for forgiveness that was motivated by the revival and answered by the angel's visit to Smith's bedroom, and it left no room for any earlier heavenly vision.

Late in 1835 he again made alterations in his story. On November 9, 1835, in telling his history to a visitor who called himself Joshua, the Jewish Minister, he related how in a silent grove two personages had appeared to him, adding that one of them had testified "that Jesus Christ is the son of God." Apparently Joseph at this point intended his two personages to be nothing more than angels, for he adds that he "saw many angels in this vision" and continues, "When I was about 17 years I had another vision of angels."[80] Furthermore, five days later he told Erastus Holmes that "the first visitation of *angels*" occurred when he was about fourteen years old.[81] This would account for the confusion that later developed, even among the church leaders, who often spoke of Smith's first vision as an angel visitation. In telling his story to Joshua, Joseph made no attempts to fit it into the framework of the account his paper had published earlier that year, for apart from two Bible references he men-

tions nothing about a revival or any other motivation that led him to the grove to seek heavenly guidance. This account was also left unpublished when his history was put into print in Utah, and remained largely unheard of until it was recently brought to light from the archives of the Mormon Church by James B. Allen of Brigham Young University.

Three years later, in 1838, when he begins his official history, the Mormon leader tackles the problem of working a first vision story into the setting of the story that had already been released in his own paper. Now far from Palmyra where anyone might be likely to remember the dates, Joseph moves the date of the revival back to 1820 to accommodate his first vision narrative. While he is writing in 1838, he is facing division in his own ranks and strong opposition from the established churches. We are not surprised, therefore, to find the strong note of seeking forgiveness shoved into the background in favor of a condemnation of all the churches by his heavenly visitors. At this point in his career it is not so important that he be sorry for his sins as it is that he be endorsed in his claims. By this time, also, his theology has changed so that he is now advocating a plurality of physical gods. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the two personages have apparently become, for Smith, two separate Gods, the Father and the Son.[82]

It may be asked why the discrepancy in the revival date was not noticed earlier. The answer lies in the complex course the story has taken. When the revival date was initially published, some ten years after the event, it was off by only one year, which is excusable and would be noticed by few. After nearly twenty years, when Joseph finally published the date as 1820, he was in Illinois, far-removed from the Palmyra area. In addition, the shift from an angel to Christ, then to angels, and finally to two personages introduced such haziness that even the Mormon leaders appeared confused as to the nature of the story itself. Furthermore, when the story of Mormon origins was linked with Rev. 14:6 ("I saw another angel fly . . . having the everlasting gospel"), the focus was placed upon the earliest form of the story, the angel visitation, as best matching this prophecy. With this approach the revival tends to fall into the background as a thing of relative unimportance.[83]

Finally, it has only been in the last decade that an attempt has been made to harmonize the various accounts. This was our aim when we turned to a consideration of the existing records for help in unscrambling the accounts. This study has been the result of that search. While some will disagree with our reconstruction, all students of Mormon history will be forced to reconsider the reliability of Joseph's first vision story. We believe that the firmness of the revival date as the winter of 1824-25, the features of Smith's story as fitting only that date, and the absence of any revival in the Palmyra area in 1820 are established beyond any reasonable doubt, and will force upon Mormon writers a drastic reevaluation of the foundation of their church.

FOOTNOTES

[1]"The appearing of the Father and the Son to Joseph Smith is the foundation of this church." David O. McKay, *Gospel Ideals* (1953), p. 85; "The greatest event that has ever occurred in the world since the resurrection of the Son of God . . . was the coming of the Father and of the Son to that boy Joseph Smith." Joseph F. Smith, *Gospel Doctrine* (1919), p. 627; "This glorious vision of God the Father and his Son Jesus Christ . . . is the greatest event that has transpired in this world since the resurrection of our Lord." Ezra Taft Benson, *Deseret News*, Dec. 23, 1967, "Church News," p. 12; "This vision was the most important event that had taken place in all world history from the day of Christ's ministry to the glorious hour when it occurred." Bruce McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (1966), p. 285; "Thus the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the story of Joseph Smith must stand or fall on the authenticity of the First Vision and the appearance of the Angel Moroni." Paul R. Cheesman, "An Analysis of the Accounts Relating Joseph Smith's Early Visions," (hereafter referred to as "Joseph Smith's Early Visions"), thesis, Brigham Young University, May 1965, p. 75. Cf. similar statements in Joseph F. Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (1953), p. 46f; LeGrand Richards, *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder* (1950), p. 15; David O. McKay, *Deseret News*, Sept. 7, 1968, "Church News," p. 4.

[2]*Times and Seasons*, III (Mar. 15, Apr. 1, 15, 1842), 726–28, 748f, 753f. Reprinted: *Millennial Star*, III (beginning June 1842), 21ff; also in XIV supplement, and in *The Pearl of Great Price* (Liverpool, 1851; hereafter referred to as PGP), p. 36ff. Reprinted with textual alterations both in Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, I (ed., B. H. Roberts), 1ff, and in present editions of PGP, where it is entitled "Joseph Smith 2" (hereafter J.S. 2) and divided into verses. Cf. Joseph Smith's shorter published accounts of his first vision in *Times and Seasons*, III (Mar. 1, 1842), 706f, and in I. Rupp, *An Original History of Religious Denominations* (1844), p. 404f.

[3]On silence see: Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (1946), p. 23f; James B. Allen, "The Significance of Joseph Smith's 'First Vision' in Mormon Thought," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, I (Autumn 1966), no. 3, 30ff. On alterations see: Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Changes in the Pearl of Great Price* (1965), p. 36ff; LaMar Petersen, *Problems in Mormon Text* (1957), p. 3f; and cf. the original manuscript at the opening of Book A-1 of "Documentary History of the Church" (hereafter DHC), microfilm copy in LDS Library, Salt Lake City, and in Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis. Cheesman's transcription ("Joseph Smith's Early Visions,") has numerous inaccuracies, making it unsuitable for checking the original text. On leaders' statements see: Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Mormonism — Shadow or Reality* (1964), p. 118ff; P. Cheesman, "Joseph Smith's Early Visions," P. 31ff, and cf. the Tanners' critique of this in their *Joseph Smith's Strange Account of the First Vision* (1965), p. 8ff.

[4]J.S. 2:5.

[5]*Messenger and Advocate*, I (Oct., Nov., Dec. 1834, Feb. 1835) 13, 27f, 40ff, 78f. This "full history of the rise of the Church of Latter Day Saints" is a series of letters from Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, the preface to which states: "That our narrative may be correct, and particularly the introduction, it is proper to inform our patrons, that our brother J. Smith, jr. has offered to assist us . . . . With his labor and with authentic documents now in our possession, we hope to render this a pleasing and agreeable narrative" (p. 13). Mormon writers have, therefore, rightly concluded: "Joseph Smith's association with Cowdery in the production of these *Letters* make [*sic*] them, as to the facts involved, practically the personal narrative of Joseph Smith" (B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, 1930, I, 78fn); "It should be remembered that these letters which these statements [re: the location of Cumorah] are made were written at the Prophet's request and under his *personal supervision.*" (Joseph F. Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 1956, III, 236); cf. similar statements in: Francis Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America*, I (1960), 54, 75, 77; and P. Cheesman, "Joseph Smith's Early Visions," pp. 44, 64.

[6]*Messenger and Advocate*, I (hereafter *MA*), 78.

[7]B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, I, 52f; John A. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith, Seeker After Truth* (1952), pp. 16, 22fn; Hyrum L. Andrus, *Joseph Smith, the Man and the Seer* (1965), p. 64f.

[8]*MA*, I, 78. It is interesting that Cowdery originally placed the revival event in Joseph's fifteenth year (p. 42) and then expressly corrected this to the seventeenth year (1823) in the

next installment (p. 78). If at this time Joseph had had in mind an 1820 revival, the change to 1823 would certainly never have been made.

[9]See references in note 7. Mr. Widtsoe even adds (22fn), "Reverend Lane himself confirms the dates of the revival. It was 1820, not 1823." A letter (Dec. 7, 1966) from Mr. Lauritz Petersen, Research Supervisor, L.D.S. Library, states that this "could not be verified." He adds, "I asked Mr. Widtsoe not to insert it in the book, but he did anyway."

[10]*Deseret Evening News* XXVII, (Jan. 20, 1894) 11. From an interview of William Smith by E. C. Briggs as reported by J. W. Petersen to *Zion's Ensign* (Independence, Mo.). No copies of the *Ensign* printing seem to have survived. Because this statement was made in William's old age and presents some chronological conflicts with other statements (see below, note 13) made by him, recently a few L.D.S. writers have in private dismissed William as entirely unreliable. The Church, however, still publicly appeals to this interview (*Deseret News*, Mar. 16, 1968, "Church News," 11, 13) and no evidence has yet appeared that William ever contradicted his assertion that both Lane and Stockton shared in the revival.

[11]B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History*, I, 52f; Preston Nibley, *Joseph Smith the Prophet* (1944), p. 23f; H. Andrus, Joseph Smith, p. 65. Cf. also the script for the opening section of a recent filmstrip, "The First Vision," Part I of The Restoration of the Church of Jesus Christ in these the Latterdays.

[12]Inez Davis, *The Story of the Church* (1959), 39fn, and Hyrum L. Andrus, "The Historical Joseph," *Dialogue*, I (Winter 1966) no. 4, 123fn, both report the headstone date as Nov. 19, 1823. A notation above the line in the manuscript of Joseph's history gave the date as Nov. 19 [?14], 1823 (see Book A-1, DHC, 1; Cheesman reads 14 and fails to note that the date is written above the crossed out words, "who is now dead"), but J.S. 2:4 now reads Nov. 19, 1824. The latter date is clearly an error, for beginning Sept. 25, 1824, several issues of the *Wayne Sentinel* carried an announcement by Joseph Smith, Sr., that he had disinterred Alvin's body. The error may have crept in from the history written by Joseph Smith, Jr.'s mother since she gives the 1824 date (see Lucy Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith* [1853], pp. 40, 87ff).

[13]William Smith, *William Smith on Mormonism* (1883), p. 6; *The Saints' Herald*, XXXI (Oct. 4, 1884), 643.

[14]For installation date see: *Evangelical Recorder*, I (Mar. 7, 1819), 111, or *Religious Intelligencer*, II (May 2, 1818), 800. On the terminal date see: James H. Hotchkin, *History of the Purchase and Settlement of Western New York and . . . of the Presbyterian Church* (1848), p. 341 (and 207–10 for some of Stockton's activities during 1820).

[15]*Palmyra Herald*, II (Nov. 6, 1822), 3. Stockton remained a member of Cayuga Presbytery through 1823 (see: Geneva Synod, "Records," I, 211, 238, 258, 374) until he transferred to Geneva Presbytery Feb. 3, 1824 (see Geneva Presbytery, "Records," Vol. C, 252). The Presbytery and Synod records are in the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

[16]For references see: *Wayne Sentinel*, I, 3 of following issues — Dec. 3, 31, 1823; Jan. 7, 14, 21, 28, 1824. For installation see issues of Feb. 18, 1824, 3, and Feb. 25, 1824, 2; also Geneva Presbytery, "Records," C, 253f, 274, and J. Hotchkin, *History of . . . the Presbyterian Church*, p. 377.

[17]*History of . . . the Presbyterian Church*, p. 378.

[18]J. Widtsoe, *Joseph Smith . . .*, p. 16; I. Davis, *The Story of the Church*, p. 32fn.

[19]For sketches of Lane's life see: *Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (1860) VIII, 40f; William Sprague, *Annals of the American Methodist Pulpit* (1861), VII, 810f; Hendrick B. Wright, *Historical Sketches of Plymouth* (1873), pp. 309, 346ff; Oscar Jewell Harvey, *The Harvey Book* (1899), pp. 128–34; George Peck, *The Life and Times of Rev. George Peck*, D.D. (1874), pp. 96f, 104, 108f; George Peck, *Early Methodism* (1860), pp. 492–95, and scattered references 166f, 235–38, 309, 346, 428, 431, 441f, 447–49, 509, and for some of his activities in Pennsylvania in 1819–20 see 313–15, 337. For official confirmation of Lane's assigned field of labor see: *Minutes of the Annual Conferences* (1773–1828) I, 337, 352, 373, 392, 418, 446. Lane's portrait appears in *The Methodist Magazine*, April, 1826, and later in H. Wright, *Historical Sketches of Plymouth*, facing p. 346.

[20]*Minutes of the Annual Conferences*, VIII, 41; *The Methodist Magazine* (April 1825) VIII, 161.

[21]Mr. Lane went with Rev. George Peck to the 1819 session of the Genesee Annual Conference (G. Peck, *Life and Times*, p. 104). This eight-day annual business meeting met July 1–8 at Vienna (now Phelps), a village some fifteen miles from the Smith home. The

"Journal" of the conference does not indicate whether preaching services were held or who preached, but they certainly touched off no revival either at Palmyra or at Vienna, for the Ontario Circuit (on which Palmyra was located) showed a net loss of 6, and the Lyons Circuit (on which Vienna was located) a net loss of 299 for the period between the 1819 and 1820 conferences (see *Minutes of the Annual Conferences*, I, 345f, 330 — figures for 1820 compared with 1819). It can be established that Lane was also present at the 1820 conference beginning July 20 in Canada. There is no evidence, however, that he passed through Palmyra either traveling to or from this conference. He can be definitely located in central Pennsylvania at the end of June (G. Peck, *Early Methodism*, p. 337), and a July date is too late to give any support to a "spring of eighteen hundred and twenty" story. Cf. "Journal of the Genesee Conference" (1810–1828, 2 vols in 1) I, 76–84 for 1819 session; 85, 101f for Lane at 1820 session. The original "Journal" was most likely lost in the 1933 fire that destroyed a number of Genesee Conference records at Rochester. Citations (hereafter JGC) are to the duplicate copy made for the Wyoming Conference and stored in a dormitory basement of Wyoming Seminary, Kingston, Pa.

[22]*The Methodist Magazine* (April 1825) VIII, 158ff.

[23]*Wayne Sentinel* (Sept. 15, 1824) I, 3.

[24]*Minutes of the Ontario Baptist Association* (Convened at Gorham, September 22 and 23, 1824), p. 4. The *Minutes* are in the American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, N. Y.

[25]Geneva Presbytery, "Records" (Sept. 8, 1824), D. 16.

[26]Geneva Synod, "Records" (Oct. 5, 1824), I, 404f.

[27]*American Baptist Magazine* (Feb. 1825), V. 61f.

[28]*Latter-day Luminary* (Feb. 1825), VI, 61.

[29]Geneva Presbytery, "Records" (Feb. 2, 1825), D, 27f.

[30]*Gospel Luminary* (Feb. 1825) I, 42; (Mar. 1825), I, 65f; *American Baptist Magazine* (Apr. 1825), V, 125; *The Methodist Magazine* (Apr. 1825), VIII, 161.

[31]*American Baptist Magazine* (Apr. 1825), V, 125; *Boston Recorder* (May 6, 1825), X, 74; *Western Recorder* (May 10, 1825), II, 74.

[32]*The Methodist Magazine* (Apr. 1825), VIII, 161.

[33]*American Baptist Magazine* (Apr. 1825), V, 124f; also in *Boston Recorder* (Apr. 29, 1825), X, 70; *New-York Observer* (May 7, 1825), III, 74; *Religious Intelligencer* (May 7, 1825), IX, 778.

[34]*Wayne Sentinel* (Mar. 2, 1825), II, 3, 4.

[35]Geneva Presbytery, "Records" (Sept. 21, 1825), D, 40, and Geneva Synod, "Records" (Oct. 6, 1825), I, 431; *Minutes of the Ontario Baptist Association* (Sept. 28, 1825), p. 5; *Minutes of the Annual Conferences*, I, 471 compared with previous year, 447.

[36]J. Hotchkin, *History of . . . the Presbyterian Church*, p. 378.

[37]Geneva Presbytery, "Records" (Feb. 2, 1820), C, 37. At this meeting the Phelps congregation was reported as having received only 10 on examination and 6 by letter (p. 38). By the end of 1820 the total had reached 38 (Oaks Corners Session Records for 1820), and by some time in 1821 the number for the two-year period totaled 62 members (J. Hotchkin, *History of the . . . Presbyterian Church*, p. 380). Canandaigua had to wait until a later date before their "prospects" materialized (Hotchkin, p. 400). No Presbyterian church within any reasonable distance of Joseph's home can be found adding the great multitudes Joseph attributed to them in 1820. The Farmington area to the south and west was predominantly Quaker and not, therefore, fruitful soil for Presbyterianism (Hotchkin, p. 378f), and an attempt to start a Presbyterian work in Manchester in 1823 had to be abandoned the following year (*New-York Religious Chronicle* [Oct. 2, 1824], II, 126). The fact that the names of Joseph's mother and brothers appear as members of the *Palmyra* Presbyterian Church is further evidence that Smith's revival story had in view the local Palmyra church, and not some other Presbyterian congregation in another town (see Western Presbyterian Church of Palmyra, "Session Records," II, 11f; Vol. I, which would have shown the exact date the Smiths joined, has been missing since at least 1932).

[38]Geneva Presbytery, "Records" (Sept. 5, 1820), C, 64; Geneva Synod, "Records" (Oct. 4, 1820), I, 221 (also printed in *Evangelical Recorder*, Nov. 18, 1820, II, 151); Geneva Presbytery, "Records" (Feb. 8, 1821), C, 86; Geneva Synod, "Records" (Oct. 4, 1821), I, 253.

[39]Since the 1820 meetings of Presbytery were held at Phelps (Feb. 2) and Canandaigua (Sept. 5), that Presbytery should have been ignorant of a great awakening at Palmyra is completely beyond possibility.

[40]The records of the Palmyra Baptist Church are preserved in the American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester. They are regarded as the records of the Macedon Baptist Church since part of the original congregation moved into the village of Palmyra about 1835 and the parent body moved to Macedon. The records show a total of 11 members received between September 18, 1819, and September 23, 1820, 6 of these being by baptism (pages unnumbered, see p. headed "Added" for years 1817–1820). The printed *Minutes* of the Ontario Baptist Association for the year 1820 are lost, but from the *Minutes* for 1819 and 1821 the net gain or loss can be computed. These *Minutes* show receptions by baptism for 1819: Palmyra 5, Lyons 3, Canandaigua 0, Farmington 22; for 1821: Palmyra 1, Lyons 8, Canandaigua 0, Farmington 0 (See *Minutes*, Sept. 22, 1819, p. 2ff; Sept. 26, 1821, p. 2ff). The only bright note in this drab picture seems to be in the Church of Farmington, located in the village of Manchester, during the spring of 1819. By the end of May, 14 had been received on profession of faith (see the pastor's letter in *Western New York Baptist Magazine* [Aug. 1819], II, 342; and cf. their Record Book for 1819 at the American Baptist Historical Society), and by September 8 more were added totaling the 22 reported above. This could hardly be called "great multitudes" and it was followed by a net loss of 9 in 1820. In fact, the total number received by baptism from Sept. 1804 to May 1828 was only 94, as many as the Palmyra church added in just a few months during the 1824–25 revival (cf. *Minutes of the Ontario Baptist Association* [1871], p. 14). Even if we couple the 22 of Farmington with the 38 gained in 1820 by the Phelps Presbyterian 13 miles to the east, and assume that the Methodists had some success following their 1819 conference at Vienna, this still falls short of the revival Joseph describes, and his narrative would have to be changed to read, "it commenced with the Baptists."

[41]*Minutes of the Annual Conferences*, I, show white and Negro membership for the Ontario Circuit as follows: 1818—700, 3; 1819—674, 3; 1820—670, 1; 1821—621, 1 (see pp. 312, 330, 346, 366). The work at Palmyra was still only a "class meeting" on the circuit in 1820. It wasn't until the summer of 1821 that it was organized into a church and still another year before they were able to begin construction of a meeting house (see Ontario County, "Miscellaneous Records," Book C, 385f; *Palmyra Herald* [June 19, 1822], II, 2).

[42]Abner Chase, *Recollections of the Past* (1846), p. 125f. Chase says that the period of "declension was followed by a glorious revival of the work of God among both preachers and people, which I design more particularly to notice hereafter." He carried his recollections only through the year 1821, however, and never did speak more particularly of the revival period, which is most certainly the 1824–25 revival dealt with in an earlier report (see following note). Mr. Chase served as Presiding Elder of the Ontario District from July 1820 until he was replaced by George Lane in July of 1824.

[43]*The Methodist Magazine* (Nov. 1824), VII, 435f. He states that "Though for two or three years he saw no great awakenings . . . last year [1823] the Catherine Circuit was peculiarly favored" and "the present year we have had some glorious revivals."

[44]Reports of the 1816 revival can be found in: *The Christian Herald and Seaman's Magazine* (Sept. 28, 1816; May 10, June 7, 1817), II, 16; III, 103f, 164; *Religious Remembrancer* (Oct. 5, Nov. 2, 1816; May 17, 1817), 4th Series, pp. 24, 39, 151f; *Religious Intelligencer* (Apr. 19, June 7, Nov. 1, 1817), I, 750 (misnumbered 760); II, 23, 363–65; *American Baptist Magazine* (July 1817), I, 153; *Boston Recorder* (Sept. 17, 1816; May 13, Oct. 21, 1817), I, 151; II, 88, 180. See also Joshua Bradley, *Accounts of Religious Revivals . . . from 1815 to 1818* (1819), p. 223.

[45]In addition to references cited above, the 1824 revival is reported in: *New-York Religious Chronicle* (Nov. 20, 1824; Apr. 9, 1825), II, 154; III, 58; *Western New York Baptist Magazine* (Feb. 1825), IV, 284; *Western Recorder* (Nov. 9, 1824; Mar. 29, 1825), I, 90; II, 50; *Boston Recorder* (May 20, 1825), X, 82; *The Christian Herald* (Portsmouth, Mar. 1825), VIII, 7 (this last publication is the organ of the Christian-Connection church and should not be confused with *The Christian Herald* of Presbyterian affiliation).

[46]We examined all the issues of the following without finding a single reference to a Palmyra revival: Baptist: *American Baptist Magazine* (Jan. 1819–Nov. 1821), *Latter-day Luminary* (Feb. 1818–Nov. 1821), *Western New York Baptist Magazine* (Feb. 1819–Nov. 1821); Presbyterian: *Religious Remembrancer* (Jan. 1818–Aug. 18, 1821), *The Christian Herald and*

Seaman's Magazine (Jan. 2, 1819–Jan. 6, 1821), *Evangelical Recorder* (June 5, 1819–Sept. 8, 1821); Methodist: *The Methodist Magazine* (Jan. 1818–Dec. 1821); Congregational: *Religious Intelligencer* (Jan. 1819–May 1821); Christian-Connection: *The Christian Herald* (May 1818–May 25, 1821); Other: *Boston Recorder* (Jan. 1818–Dec. 1821); *Palmyra Register* (Jan. 13, 1819–Dec. 27, 1820).

[47]*The Palmyra Register*, III, has revivals reported in the state under the dates of June 7, Aug. 16, Sept. 13, Oct. 4, 1820 (pp. 1, 1, 3, 4, respectively). Even the Methodist camp meeting being held in the vicinity of the village has nothing more significant reported about it than that a man had gotten drunk at the grog shops while there and died the next morning (issues of June 28 and July 5, 1820, p. 2).

[48]Willard Bean, *A. B. C. History of Palmyra and the Beginning of "Mormonism"* (1938), p. 21f. Utilized in P. Nibley, *Joseph Smith the Prophet*, 21ff; P. Cheesman, "Joseph Smith's Early Visions," p. 12; Pearson H. Corbett, *Hyrum Smith, Patriarch* (1963), p. 18f. On Mr. Bean, including his pugilistic prowess, see Morris Bishop, "In the Footsteps of Mormon" in New York State Historical Association *Proceedings* (1941), XXXIX, printed as *New York History* (1941), XXII, 161–63; also cf. Thomas Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity* (1930), pp. 220, 256.

[49]For Townsend's life see: Franklin B. Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College . . . July, 1778–June, 1792* (1907), IV, 695f. Cf. also *Religious Intelligencer* (Apr. 12, 1817), I, 730, and his obituary in the *New-York Observer* (Sept. 1, 1838), XVI, 140.

[50]*Palmyra Register* (Sept. 20, Dec. 20, 1820), III, 2f; IV, 3; *Palmyra Herald* (Dec. 25, 1822), II, 2; and on the date of his arrival near Hillsboro, (Palmyra) *Western Farmer* (Mar. 21, 1821), I, 1. For examples of traveling time to Illinois about 1820 see: A. T. Norton, *History of the Presbyterian Church in . . . Illinois* (1879), I, 14f, 52f, 78, 133, 147f.

[51]*The Religious Advocate* began publication in 1822 at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., moving to Rochester about October 1824. See Gaylord P. Albaugh, "American Presbyterian Periodicals and Newspapers, 1752–1830 with Library Locations," *Journal of Presbyterian History* (Mar. 1964), XLII, 62, and cf. advertisements for this periodical as "now established at Rochester," dated Oct. 1, 1824, in *Supplement to the Ontario Repository* (Nov. 10, Dec. 1, 1824) p. 2 (On file at the Ontario County Historical Society, Canandaigua, N. Y.).

[52]Joseph Smith's mother creates two revivals by quoting her son's 1820 account and giving her own account of an excitement following Alvin's death (1824). She even includes Joseph's statement about the family joining the Presbyterian Church following the 1820 revival (L. Smith, Biographical Sketches, p. 74), but her own account of the 1824 revival contradicts this. According to her narrative, while contemplating church membership following the 1824 revival, Joseph informed them that it would do "no injury to join them," but he cited "Deacon Jessup" as an example of the wickedness of heart they would find among them (p. 90f). That this story has reference to their intention of joining the *Presbyterian* church is obvious from the fact that "Deacon Jessup" was an officer in that church and was frequently referred to as "Deacon Henry Jessup" and "Deacon Jessup." See (Palmyra) *Western Farmer* (Dec. 12, 1821) I, 4; T. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 18; *Western Presbyterian Church of Palmyra*, "Session Records" II, *passim*, where his name appears as an elder; and "History of the Rise and Growth of Western Presbyterian Church," a news clipping in the files of the Presbyterian Historical Society.

[53]Hyrum L. Andrus, *God, Man and the Universe* (1968), I, 93f. When appeal was twice made to the L.D.S. Library for help in establishing an 1820 revival at Palmyra, letters (Dec. 7 and 15, 1966) made reference to: Rev. R. Smith, *Recollections of Nettleton and the Great Revival of 1820* (1848); *A Narrative of the Revival of Religion within the bounds of the Presbytery of Albany in the year 1820* (1821) (both dealing with the revivals in the Albany area and moving "eastward" — R. Smith, p. 104); *History of Wayne County, New York* (1877), p. 150 (which states only that "revivals occurred" and gives no date); Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District* (1950) (a learned study of revivalism in western New York, but throwing no light on an 1820 revival at Palmyra); and William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism* (1959) (a work on revivals beginning with Charles Finney, who didn't begin preaching until 1821—p. 11— and did not come to the Palmyra area until 1831).

[54]Cf. the list of Presbyterian revivals for various years in J. Hotchkin, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, 134ff. In a similar manner, by considering only the total national picture A. G. Meacham (*A Compendious History of . . . the Methodist Church* [1835], p. 415ff) can write as though every year was a year of great revival for the Methodist Church.

A careful reading of both these works, however, shows that the areas affected changed from time to time.

[55]H. Andrus, *God, Man and the Universe*, I, 39. Some might shift the setting to Victor, 15 miles southwest of Joseph's home, since it is credited with 100 Methodist converts in "a revival in the winer of 1820–21, conducted by Reverends Philo Woodworth, Daniel Anderson, and Thomas Carlton" (*History of Ontario County, N. Y.* [1876], p. 203). The date, however, should read 1830–31 — first since this was the only year all three ministers were assigned to the "Victor and Mendon" circuit, and the membership reported as 277 in 1830 increased to 600 by the summer of 1831 (*Minutes of the Annual Conferences*, II, 72, 73, 111). Secondly, P. Woodworth was not received into the Genesee Conference on trial until 1826, while Anderson and Carlton were not admitted until 1829 (*Minutes*, I, 501; II, 30). Finally, Mr. Carlton was only twelve in 1820 and did not even become a member of the Methodist Church until 1825 (Matthew Simpson, *Cyclopaedia of Methodism* [1878], p. 167). Except for a Daniel Anderson received in 1825 by the Illinois Conference, these are the only early Methodist ministers bearing these names (see "Alphabetical List of Preachers' Names" in the back of Nathan Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* [1853], IV, 2, 3, 8–10, 42).

[56]Andrus, I, 39.

[57]J. M'Clintock and J. Strong, *Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Cyclopaedia*, VI, 171; cf. JGC, I, 76–84.

[58]H. Andrus, *God, Man and the Universe*, I, 39, quotes Chase's words from F. W. Conable's book (*History of the Genesee Annual Conference* [1885], p. 159) where the full context is not given and consequently he misunderstands Chase as though he were saying that the revival followed the 1819 Conference. For the full statement Chase's own work should be consulted (see notes 42 and 43).

[59]The "spark of Methodism" quote is from O. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* [1851], p. 214. On the location of the Palmyra Chapel and campgrounds see: *History of Wayne County*, p. 148f; T. Cook, p. 252; *The Methodist Magazine* (Aug. 1826), IX, 313.

[60]H. Andrus (*God, Man and the Universe*, I, 41) finds evidence that the Methodist Church "was giving considerable attention to Ontario County where the Smith family lived" in the newly-formed Ontario District, created at the 1819 conference. The only new thing about the district, however, was the name, for it had been formed by dividing the Genesee District in half. This undoubtedly grew mainly out of a desire to reduce traveling distances involved, as had been the case in forming the Genesee Conference itself (JGC, I, 9), and even at this reduced size the district extended considerably beyond the limits of Ontario County, embracing at least two other counties. The remark of Bishop George about the ability of the Genesee Conference preachers to get people converted likewise proves nothing about a revival near Palmyra since the Genesee Conference took in all of western New York, part of Canada, and the whole of central Pennsylvania.

[61]There is a possibility that a revival took place on the Lyons Circuit between the summers of 1820 and 1821, for the membership figures show an increase of 280 over those of the previous conference year. However, since the amount gained nearly matches the number lost the previous year, it may merely indicate that the previous year's figures were incorrectly printed. There is also an 1876 reminiscence which speaks of a revival at Vienna sometime following the 1819 conference (*History of Ontario County, New York* [1876], p. 170), but this reminiscence is mistaken in placing Bishop George at the 1819 conference and in placing the 1826 conference at Vienna (cf. JGC, I, 76, 84; II, 20, 23) and therefore should be used with caution. Since the Presiding Elder specifically said "we saw no great awakenings" during those years, it seems better to reserve any revival period at Vienna for the 1824–25 period as does C. L. Vannorman's study (*Phelps Methodism* [1931], p. 12f).

[62]William B. Sprague, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, 1959 (reprint). Cf. especially the Appendix where letters from the early nineteenth century are reproduced. For example: Of the Kentucky revival of 1800–1801 "This excitement began in Logan county . . ." (p. 32); New York, 1822 "The history of the great excitement in the time of Davenport . . ." (p. 109); of an 1831 revival under a Mr. Tomb "A great excitement was produced in almost every part of the town, which has resulted in the addition of a large number in our churches" (p. 82). Cf. also how Brigham Young interchanges the words "revival," "reformation" and "excitement" (*Journal of Discourses*, XII, 67) and how H. Andrus substitutes "revival" for "excitement" when retelling Joseph's story (*Joseph Smith, the Man and the Seer*, p. 67).

[63]*New York Spectator* (Sept. 23, 1843), XLVI, 4.

[64]*MA*, I, 42. Although the Smiths lived just across the county line in Manchester township, they really were a part of the Palmyra vicinity, living only two miles from the center of that village, while they were over five miles from the village of Manchester. A contemporary understanding of the limits of the "vicinity" can be seen from a correspondent who reported that the 1824 revival was progressing "with power in the vicinity of Palmyra" and continues "several hundred have already become hopeful converts within six or seven miles of that village" (*Western Recorder* [Mar. 29, 1825], II, 50).

[65]When Rev. Abner Chase speaks of a "state of *agitation*" within the Methodist Church being *followed* by a glorious *revival*, Mr. Andrus (*God, Man and the Universe*, I, 42) selects only Mr. Chase's remarks about the agitation and uses them to support Smith's story that the *revival* was *followed* by a state of *agitation*. Furthermore, when Rev. Chase speaks of the conflict that took place at the *General Conference*, Mr. Andrus erroneously states that Mr. Chase is "writing of the conference at Vienna." Apparently, Mr. Andrus is unaware that a *General* Conference (the nationwide meeting) and an *Annual* Conference (like that at Vienna) are two entirely different affairs. While the Annual Conference compromised on the "presiding elder question," the General Conference (held at Baltimore in 1820) made many fear for the Church's unity and some seceded (1828–30) to organize the Methodist Protestant Church (see *The History of American Methodism*, I, 640ff).

[66]J. S. 2:14.

[67]J. S. 2:53–54.

[68]P. Cheesman, "Joseph Smith's Early Visions," pp. 126–32; published by Jerald and Sandra Tanner in, *Joseph Smith's Strange Account of the First Vision* (1965) and extracted in *Dialogue*, I, (Autumn 1966) no. 3, 39f. The manuscript itself is unbound in the front of the "Kirtland Letter Book," which Mr. Andrus speaks of as "History of Joseph Smith, Jr., by himself" in "Joseph Smith's Letter Book at Kirtland, November 27, 1832 to August 4, 1835" (*God, Man and the Universe*, I, 36fn). The book this writer saw, however, has copies of letters by Smith and others that go back to 1829. The suggestion of one Mormon that this account is not authentic because it is not in the Prophet's own handwriting would make the official history unauthentic as well, since this also is not in his own handwriting.

[69]See the ten statements collected in E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (1834), 232–66; also, Rev. John Clark, "Gleanings by the Way," *Episcopal Recorder* (Sept. 5, 1840), XVIII, 94, or his book *Gleanings by the Way* (1842), p. 225; O. Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 214; Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism* (1867), p. 19ff; *History of Wayne County*, p. 150; Statement of Daniel Hendrix, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (Feb. 21, 1897), XXII, 34.

[70]Files of the Palmyra *Reflector* are at Yale (first 16 issues) and the New York Historical Society (remaining issues). Excerpts of main portions in F. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 407–410.

[71]"In the commencement, the imposture . . . had no regular plan or features." (*The Reflector* [Feb. 14, 1831], II, 101). Note also the testimony of Parley Chase, "In regard to their Gold Bible speculation, they scarcely ever told two stories alike" (in E. Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 248); and the letter of Rev. Jesse Townsend, "questioned on the subject from time to time, his story assumed a more uniform statement" (in P. Tucker, *op. cit.*, p. 289, and cf. 33 for Tucker's statement that the claim of Smith to have "received a revelation of the existence of the records in 1823" was an "after-averment" and a "secondary invention"). For the testimony of those who heard the story from the Smiths themselves, see the statements of Willard Chase, Henry Harris, and Abigail Harris in Howe, *op. cit.*, 242f, 252f; and the statement of Fayette Lapham in *Historical Magazine* (May 1870), VII (2nd series), 305ff.

[72]*Tiffany's Monthly* (August? 1859), V, 169, and cf. 163, 167. Joel Tiffany, editor of this spiritualist monthly, in the April 1859 issue (IV, 568), promised to print an interview with Martin Harris, together with some other material on the Mormons. The other material appeared in the May and July issues (V, 46–51, 119–21) and the interview was printed in the same volume pp. 163–70, which presumably was the August issue. For a photomechanical reprint made from the copy in the Berrian Collection of the New York Public Library, see Jerald Tanner, *Revealing Statements by the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon*. The interview is also reprinted in Francis Kirkham, *op cit.*, II, 376ff, and excerpts are in William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, *Among the Mormons* (1958), pp. 30–32. For other references to Smith finding the plates by means of the seer-stone, see the diary of Hosea Stout

edited by Juanita Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier, The Diary of Hosea Stout 1844–1861* (1964), II, 593; and O. Turner, *op cit.*, p. 216.

[73]*The Reflector* (Feb. 28, 1831), II, 109; Cf. also (Feb. 1, 1831), II, 92, "it appears quite certain that the prophet himself never made any serious pretentions to religion until his late pretended revelation"; (Feb. 14, 1831), II, 101, "It will be bourne in mind that no *divine* interposition had been *dreamed* of at this period." For accounts of the early religious story see: Rev. John Clark, *op cit.*, pp. 222–28; O. Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 215f; Lucious Fenn letter of Feb. 12, 1830, in Mulder and Mortensen, *op. cit.*, p. 28; two Rochester newspaper reports in F. Kirkham, *op. cit.*, I, 150ff; *The Reflector* (Feb. 14, 1831), II, 103; and an 1831 letter of Lucy Smith to her brother in *The Elders' Journal*, IV, 59–62 (also printed in Ben E. Rich, *Scrapbook of Mormon Literature*, I, 543–45); cf. also John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints* (1839), p. 12.

[74]MA (Apr. 1835), I, 97.

[75]*The Christian Baptist*, I, 149, quoted from Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *The Case Against Mormonism* (1967), I, 108. See 108–10 for other examples.

[76]Asa Wild (*Wayne Sentinel*, Oct. 22, 1823) had a similar encounter with the Lord who told him all the churches were corrupt. Joseph's reference (*The Evening and the Morning Star* [June 1832], I, 1) to it being "manifested" "that he had received a remission of his sins," then sinning, repenting and then "God ministered unto him by an holy angel" may be a reference to the story set forth in the "strange account," but it could also represent a preliminary stage in the development of that account (now printed as Doctrine and Covenants 20:5–6).

[77]See diary citations in Max H. Parkin, *Conflict at Kirtland* (1966), pp. 50, 80, 84f; and newspaper citations in John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations* (1960), p. 337; Hugh Nibley, "Censoring the Joseph Smith Story," *Improvement Era* (Nov. 1961), LXIV, 812; H. Andrus, *Joseph Smith, the Man and the Seer*, p. 68fn.

[78]*The Reflector* (Feb. 14, 1831), II, 102.

[79]Doctrine and Covenants (1835), pp. 52f, 55.

[80]DHC, at the back of Book A-1, 120–21. Published in *Dialogue*, I (Autumn 1966) no. 3, 40–41.

[81]*Deseret News* (May 29, 1852), II, 1; also in *Millennial Star* (July 2, 1853) XV, 424. "I received the first *visitation of angels*, which was when I was about fourteen" has been altered in B. H. Roberts' edition of Smith history to read, "I received my *first vision*, which . . ." (II, 312). The manuscript reads "visitation of angels" (DHC, back of Book A-1, 129).

[82]Although Mormon calls Moroni "my beloved son" (Moroni 8:2) and the reference could be to an appearance of these two, the context of the story favors taking the personages as the Father and the Son. Furthermore, at the same time Joseph was writing his story, Joseph's paper was reporting that Thomas B. Marsh's son at age nine and "a remarkable vision, in which he talked with the Father and many of the ancient prophets face to face, and beheld the Son of God coming in his glory" (*Elders' Journal* [July 1838], I, 48). It is not likely that the Mormon Prophet will let himself be outdone by a nine-year-old boy.

[83]Cf. this recurring theme in *Journal of Discourses*, XIII, 324; XIV, 365; XVI, 46, 79; and a similar use of Rev. 14:18f and Matthew 13:38ff in VI, 335. See also Orson Spencer's amplification of the theme in his *Letters* (1874), 79ff.

Baptising Scene: Jane & Horatio Streets. Near the White Fort, Hudson River, New York. The horse stands at about the exact spot where Alexander Hamilton was landed after having been shot by Burr. Lithograph, 1834. —THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

THE FIRST VISION STORY REVIVED

Richard L. Bushman

The Reverend Mr. Walters' article on the first vision raised quite a stir among Mormon scholars when an early version circulated about a year and a half ago. The essay was clearly another piece of anti-Mormon writing, a genre familiar enough to Mormon scholars. Mr. Walters' purpose, like that of many of his predecessors, was to discredit Joseph Smith's account of the first vision and all that depended on it. But the style of his attack was both refreshing and disconcerting. In the first place, it was free of the obvious rancor characteristic of anti-Mormon writers from E. D. Howe to Fawn Brodie. However fervent their claims to objectivity and mere scholarly curiosity, sooner or later anti-Mormon authors disclose their antipathy. They cannot resist twisting the knife. Mr. Walters, by contrast, sticks to his facts. He foregoes the attacks on Joseph's character and the credibility or veracity of his followers. He candidly presents his argument and bluntly tells Mormons to reevaluate the foundations of their church. That kind of frankness is far more disarming than the more pretentious variety.

The article also set us back because Mr. Walters took an entirely new track and followed it with admirable care. Instead of hauling out the tire-

some affidavits and reviving the money-digger stories, for the most part he passed over these and concentrated on a brand-new question: Were there revivals in 1819–20 in the vicinity of Palmyra as Joseph said? Everyone up until now had assumed that of course there were. Walters said no, and the sources of his answer were impressive. They stood apart from the biased materials on which most anti-Mormon work is based. They were contemporaneous with the event, and they were right to the point. Our consternation was a genuine compliment to the quality of Mr. Walters' work.

While Mr. Walters has put us on the spot for the moment, in the long run Mormon scholarship will benefit from his attack. Not only was there an immediate effort to answer the question of an 1819 revival, but Mormon historians asked themselves how many other questions about our early history remain unasked as well as unanswered. Not long after we saw his essay, a committee on "Mormon History in New York" sent a group of scholars east for special research. The results of the first year's efforts will soon be published in *Brigham Young University Studies,* and presumably like investigations will continue.[1] Without wholly intending it, Mr. Walters may have done as much to advance the cause of Mormon history within the Church as anyone in recent years.

Meanwhile, of course, we have to assess the damage he has done to Joseph's story of the first vision. Is it now impossible to hold that a revival occurred near Palmyra in 1819 or 1820 as Mr. Walters would have us believe? In attempting to answer that question, it is wise to remember the difficulties in recovering a true account of past events, especially when the witnesses tell their stories many times, over many years. Behind the simplest event are complex motives and many factual threads conjoining that will receive varying emphasis in different retellings. In all accounts of his early religious experiences, for example, Joseph mentions the search for the true church and a desire for forgiveness. In some accounts he emphasizes one, in some the other. Similarly, in the earliest record of the first vision he attributes his question about the churches to personal study; in the familiar story written in 1838 or 1839 he credits the revival and the consequent disputes as raising the issue for him.[2] The reasons for reshaping the story usually have to do with changes in immediate circumstances. We know that Joseph suffered from attacks on his character around 1834. As he told Oliver Cowdery when the letters on Joseph's early experiences were about to be published, enemies had blown up his honest confession of guilt into an admission of outrageous crimes.[3] Small wonder that afterward he played down his prayer for forgiveness in accounts of the vision. Such changes do not evidence an uncertainty about the events, as Mr. Walters thinks, as if Joseph were manufacturing new parts year by year. It is folly to try to explain every change as the result of Joseph's calculated efforts to fabricate a convincing account. One would expect variations in the simplest and truest story.

Because the footnotes accompanying this response are so extensive, they will appear at the end.

The audacity of Joseph's story complicates his narrative and our recovery of the truth. As a more mature and worldly-wise person would have expected, Joseph's boyish report of his vision met skepticism and reproof. The appearance of the Father and the Son to a fourteen-year-old was beyond the bounds of credibility and blasphemous as well. In the lexicon of the revivalists, it was an egregious form of enthusiasm, the belief that the divine visited you in special vision or with extraordinary power. Enthusiasm had been the bane of revivalists and other equivalents for centuries. Every camp meeting preacher was prepared to denounce it when it raised its ugly head. Not knowing what hit him, so to speak, Joseph marveled at the anger he aroused.

As his protracted meditations on the incident attest, the rebuff scarred him;[4] his reticence to tell the details of the story for some time afterward is perfectly understandable. The revelation received just prior to the organization of the Church in 1830 merely made passing reference to a manifestation of forgiveness before the visit of Moroni.[5] Until 1838, in accounts for non-Church members he called the beings in the first vision personages or angels, covering the fact that he claimed to see the Father and the Son. Only in the private narrations for his history written in 1831 and 1838 did he frankly say the Lord had come to him.[6] As Mr. Walters rightly points out, some Church members in the early years may have been unaware of the actual identity of the heavenly visitors.

With that much said by way of preface, what evidence does Mr. Walters present to discredit Joseph's story? The gist of his argument, as I understand it, is that Joseph held two events in his mind which he tried to bring together in his 1838 account. One was an actual event, the revival of 1824 when an unusual excitement occurred in Palmyra, and great multitudes, among them members of the Smith family, joined the churches. The other was a fictitious event, the first vision, which was gradually forming in his imagination after 1830. In the process of combining his manufactured story with historical reality, Joseph found it convenient to set the vision in the time of the revival to help explain why he prayed. But it was necessary to move the story back to 1820 to leave room for the coming of Moroni and the reception of the plates. The falsity of the account shows up when we uncover the discrepancy in dates. The revival Joseph remembered occurred in 1824, not 1819 or 1820. Had the vision actually occurred in 1820 Joseph would not have put it in the wrong context. He would have told the story without contradiction. With that structure in mind, Mr. Walters sets out to prove that the revival Joseph had in mind must have been the revival of 1824, which fits his description exactly, while in 1819 and 1820 nothing came close.

The first evidence he offers is not Joseph's account but Oliver Cowdery's. In the first extended attempt to draw together the events of the early years, Oliver wrote a series of letters to the Church newspaper published in Kirtland, the *Messenger and Advocate*. The letters began in October 1834 and continued more or less regularly for a year. In December 1834, Oliver told of a revival during which Joseph had been awakened and in which Mr. Lane, a Methodist preacher, had played a part. Oliver connected this revival with

the conversion of the Smith family and other events similar to the ones Joseph associated with the unusual excitement of his own, later account. Mr. Walters concludes Joseph's revival and Oliver's were one and the same. The connection is important because the Lane who figures so prominently in Oliver's story was not assigned to the Palmyra area until 1824 and is known to have visited the region only briefly in 1819. Therefore, Oliver was not thinking of a revival in 1819. The one revival he had in mind was the 1824 awakening when Lane was more likely to have made an impression. And Joseph presumably had the same episode in mind when he remembered a revival.

The argument falters in two spots. The first is in Oliver's trustworthiness as a witness to these events. He did not experience them himself. All of his evidence is hearsay, and the consequent flaws are evident. Mormons can object that Oliver mixes up the first vision and the visit of Moroni because in his narrative the revival and Joseph's question about the churches led not to the grove but to his bedroom and the visit of Moroni. The first vision itself is skipped entirely. Oliver seems to have scrambled the two events, putting together parts of two stories to make one. Even Mr. Walters must agree that Oliver errs on the dates. In one letter he says these events occurred in Joseph's fifteenth year. In the next, claiming a typographical error, Oliver places them in the seventeenth year which would be from December 1821 to December 1822 — at least two years before the 1824 revival which Mr. Walters claims Oliver meant to describe. Neither Mormons nor Mr. Walters can accept the validity of the account uncritically. Not that Oliver's veracity is in doubt. But remember that he is the first to prepare an account of the early years. He has bits of information from various sources: stories picked up at the Smith's while living there, tales from the neighbors in Palmyra, and, as Oliver emphasizes, the assistance of Joseph. Probably the individual details are accurate enough; the whole narrative need not be discarded because of a few obvious flaws. But he misses on the chronology, sticking together pieces that do not belong. Mr. Lane did indeed leave his mark on Palmyra as Oliver could have learned from the residents, but he was not necessarily the revival preacher who affected Joseph. Joseph himself never mentions Lane. Oliver was the one to insert the name in the story.[7]

The possibility remains that Lane did take part in an awakening near Palmyra, and that Oliver did not confuse the story quite as much as Mr. Walters thinks. In the summer of 1819, Lane was at a Methodist Conference next door to Palmyra in Phelps (Vienna village). It is at least conceivable that his preaching started an "unusual excitement" and did touch Joseph in some way. Oliver only says that Mr. Lane "visited Palmyra and vicinity," which might have meant the quick visit of a minister attending the conference.[8] We must not exclude Mr. Lane entirely while the evidence is still so inconclusive.

The second flaw in the argument is Mr. Walters' belief that Oliver's confusion, however serious, was no greater than Joseph's — that Oliver's account is "virtually Joseph's own personal narrative." That is a large assumption

to make when the only evidence is Oliver's claim that "Joseph Smith, Jr., has offered to assist us."[9] Oliver began the letters while he was in Missouri and Joseph in Kirtland, and close cooperation was impossible. Joseph said that he first learned that the narrative was to include his life as well as the rise of the Church from the *Messenger and Advocate*.[10] After he moved to Ohio, Oliver lived in Norton, in another county from Joseph. They could not have worked together very closely. Indeed, on one point in the story they were quite at odds: Oliver said Joseph's interest in religious questions began in his seventeenth year. In his 1831–32 narrative, Joseph said his interest began when he was between twelve and fifteen. In 1835, a year after the Cowdery letters were printed, Joseph said on two occasions that his first vision took place when he was about fourteen. Had Joseph carefully edited Oliver's account, the error would not have passed.[11] The account was Oliver's, not Joseph's, and chronological discrepancies, such as the appearance of Lane, must be credited where they are due.

Rather than rely on Oliver's dubious report as the foundation of his case, Mr. Walters stresses that Joseph's own description in the official 1838 account does not fit the events of 1819 and 1820 while they accord perfectly with the revival of 1824. Joseph said that "there was in the place where he lived an unusual excitement on the subject of religion. It commenced with the Methodists, but soon became general among all the sects in that region of country. Indeed, the whole district of country seemed affected by it, and great multitudes united themselves to the different religious parties. . . ."[12] Walters concentrates on two points: the location of the revivals and their size. He admits there were revivals in 1819 and 1820, but they were not in Palmyra or nearby. And what activity did occur close to the Smith farm did not bring "great multitudes" into the churches. Only the 1824 revival fills the bill.

Reduction of the argument to essentials reveals the difficulties of the case. In effect Mr. Walters has to say how near is near and how big is big. When Joseph spoke of "the place where we lived" did he mean his own neighborhood, the village of Palmyra just two miles away, Manchester village about five miles from the Smith farm, the ring of surrounding villages whose news neighbors would bring to the Smith house, or the western New York region? And of what did "great multitudes" consist for a young boy? Ten or twenty converts in three or four churches, fifty or sixty in ten, or hundreds in twenty or thirty? The uncertainty should be obvious. One cannot "conclusively test" Joseph's story as easily as might be thought.

It must be recalled that when Joseph spoke of "the place where we lived" he wrote in Illinois hundreds of miles from Palmyra, he may have referred only generally to a section of western New York, just as southern Californians from scores of little towns claim Los Angeles and its happenings as their own when at a distance. All the historian can do under the circumstances is to line up the places where revivals were reported in 1819 and 1820 and let the reader judge whether religious excitement occurred near enough to Joseph's house to meet the description.

I have not searched any of the records myself, but Mr. Walters names a

number of places and Professor Milton Backman of Brigham Young University, in an article shortly to appear in *Brigham Young University Studies*, locates others.[13] First, by way of comparison, notice the number of towns Mr. Walters mentions as having revivals in 1824 when the excitement was close enough in his judgment to fit Joseph's description. In addition to Palmyra, he lists Williamson, Ontario, Manchester, Sulphur Springs, Vienna, Lyons, and Macedon as nearby towns, a total of eight, and Mendon, Geneva, Gorham, and Clyde, another four, at a somewhat greater distance. For 1819 and 1820 Professor Backman and Mr. Walters together name Farmington, Penfield, Rochester, Lima, West Bloomfield, Junius, and Oaks Corners, a total of seven within twenty-five miles, and within forty-five miles, Cayuga, Geneva, Auburn, Aurora, Trumansburg, Ogden, East Riga, West Riga, Bergen, and LeRoy, with prospects of an awakening in Canandaigua and Waterloo, a total of twelve. That comes to eight nearby in 1824 and seven in 1819–20; and four more distant in 1824 and twelve in 1819–20. The 1819–20 season was really not so dull religiously as Mr. Walters says.

Mr. Walters' main argument is that no revival occurred in Palmyra itself. But even that fact cannot be established absolutely. It is a negative claim and depends on negative evidence, which is always tenuous. Mr. Walters relies on the absence of revival reports, but just because someone failed to write a report of an event does not mean it did not occur. In this case we even lack some of the records that would contain important traces. The Palmyra Presbyterian Church records are missing and Methodist figures take in an entire circuit and fail to note changes in smaller locales. Furthermore, lots of things happen that are never recorded. "An unusual excitement on the subject of religion," all that Joseph claims for the place where he lived (the "great multitudes" were joining the churches in "the whole district of country"), might have been passed over in the national religious press covering as it did countless small towns. The news included in the Palmyra paper depended on the taste and inclinations of the editor. We know that he failed to report a Methodist camp meeting in June 1820 because a report of the death of a local citizen incidentally mentioned his attendance at a camp meeting the day before his death.[14] The point is that although we think a revival should have been recorded, there are many reasons why it could have been missed. We cannot know for sure that an event did not occur unless reliable witnesses on the scene say no, and thus far Mr. Walters has found none such to testify.

But apart from the possibility that some awakenings occurred right next door, as it were, the major question is whether or not seven revivals within twenty-five miles is enough to justify a statement eighteen years later and hundreds of miles away that there was an unusual excitement in the place where Joseph Smith lived. Perhaps the heart of the matter is the effective horizon of the Smith household. Was everything beyond Palmyra village alien territory, news of which they did not associate with their own place? Or did their psychological environs extend farther? Remember that they sold cakes and beer at gatherings of various sorts and that the boys had to

range about for work to supplement their scanty farm income. Joseph went to Pennsylvania for employment when he was in his early twenties. If the older sons followed a similar pattern, the Smith family would keep up with events over a rather broad territory. Fifteen or twenty miles would not take them into foreign parts. All this must be taken into account when judging dimensions of the district they called their own.

In assessing Mr. Walters' second line of reasoning, the inferior size of the 1819–20 revivals, two considerations must be kept in mind. The first is that the revivals of 1824 were not the standard for people in 1819. In his article, Mr. Walters tells us first of the hundreds converted in the later years and then goes back to 1819 to show how insipid by comparison. After reading about the carnage of the Civil War, we may think the War of 1812 no war at all. The important question, of course, is how it looked to the participants, and in this case to a boy of fourteen. Without knowing anything greater, did the excitement of 1819 strike him as unusual? Did the reports of conversions in the surrounding area sound like great multitudes joining the churches? Remember that he was just developing personal religious concerns and, judging by the 1831–32 narrative of the first vision, was sensitive to religious sincerity and hypocrisy. Would reports of awakenings and conversions, however modest by comparison to later revivals, have registered with this sensitized young man as unusual and great?

The second consideration is that admissions to membership do not necessarily measure the intensity of a revival. The first stage in the conversion process was awakening or conviction, when the preacher aroused fears in the prospective convert. At this point, he began to realize his danger and to worry about pleasing God. This was the most violent period. An awakened person was filled with anguish and might faint under moving preaching. The intense concern could continue for a few days or a few years. Sometimes it simply faded away and never reached a climax in conversion. In Calvinist churches, which would include the Presbyterians and most Baptists, the person remained outside the church until he received grace and with it assurance of salvation. Some converts would pass through periods of awakening two or three times before they knew grace and joined a church. There might be an unusual excitement about a religion and only a few people actually qualify for admission. High admissions are a good sign of a revival; absence of admissions does not necessarily mean no religious excitement. Without being at the scene, one cannot accurately measure the intensity of religious excitement.

The point is important in the interpretation of Joseph's narrative, for all that he says went on in "the place where we lived" as "an unusual excitement on the subject of religion." The "great multitudes" joining churches occurred in "the whole district of country." The excitement may have been an awakening or a prospect of a revival, not a shower of grace itself with the resulting increase in memberships and reports in the national religious press.

But to get down to the facts, what indications are there of the size of the revivals in 1819 and 1820? Methodist figures are most elusive because, as

mentioned before, they summed up membership for an entire circuit, and activity in one area could be lost. What we do know is that perhaps a hundred Methodist ministers met in the village of Vienna next door to Palmyra during the first week in July in 1819. It is likely that either during the conference or as it broke up these ministers preached in nearby towns. An historian of Methodism in Phelps, where the village of Vienna was located, says that in the following year a "flaming spiritual advance" occurred in the area. A convert during this revival series spoke late in life of "a religious cyclone which swept over the whole region round about" at this time, when "the kingdom of darkness was terribly shaken.[15] As Mr. Walters says, the Ontario Methodist circuit shows no growth in these years, but there is evidence that the next circuit, which came very close to the Smith house, did. The figures may be a little uncertain, but the Lyons circuit minutes nonetheless show a jump from 374 to 654 in 1820, fully as many as Mr. Walters mentions in 1824 for Ontario Methodists.[16] Mr. Walters also cites a local Methodist who wrote about the years before 1823 that "for two or three years we saw no great awakenings." That certainly implies that two or three years earlier, right around 1820, there was an awakening. The significance of the comment is heightened when it is noted that the Methodists first advanced from a class meeting to a church the next year and the following year began chapel construction.[17] Orasmus Turner, a newspaperman in Palmyra who knew the Smiths personally, recalls that Joseph caught "a spark of Methodism in the camp meeting" somewhere along the road to Vienna, the place where the big Methodist conference was held. Since Turner left Palmyra in 1822, we can presume that the camp meeting and Joseph's awakening occurred before that date.[18] All told, there can be little doubt that the Methodists were up to something in 1819 and 1820.

The absence of the minutes of the Ontario Baptist Association for 1820, the Association that included the area around Joseph's home, handicaps work on the Baptists. Mr. Walters gives loss and gain figures which are deceptive because in a transient community the numbers moving out might outweigh a considerable number of converts. He does tell us in a footnote that six people were baptized in the Palmyra church between September 18, 1819, and September 23, 1820.[19] The Baptist church in Farmington (Manchester), just five miles away, baptized twenty-two in 1819, a sizable number in a congregation consisting of eighty-seven members in 1818.[20] Walters himself admits that must have been a revival. The Freewill Baptists in Junius, a town just east of Vienna, also reported a revival and added fifteen members in 1820.[21] Whether or not that counts as unusual depends, of course, on the standard one sets. But for these people the additions were not commonplace. Palmyra's six converts in the year following September 1819 compared to one in 1821; Farmington's twenty-two in 1819, to none in 1821.[22]

Presbyterian figures for the Palmyra congregation itself are also missing for 1819 and 1820. The local church's own records are lost, and the congregation failed to report at the February 1820 meeting of the Presbytery. Mr. Walters relies on the absence of reports in newspapers and general histories

to reach his conclusion of no revivals. We do know that there was a substantial awakening at Geneva, within the same presbytery as Palmyra. From 1812 to 1819 the average increase in membership was nine; from July, 1819, to July, 1820, eighty joined, most of them in the fall of 1819.[23] Next door to Palmyra in Oaks Corners (located in the town of Phelps), the place where the Methodist Conference had met, the average admissions between 1806 and 1819 was five, with nine as the previous high. Thirty were admitted in 1820, the bulk of them in the winter and spring. The Presbyterians also reported "in gatherings" at five other churches within twenty-five miles of Palmyra.[24] When the Presbytery of Geneva, which included Palmyra, met in February, 1820, sixteen churches reported two hundred new members. However we may judge the magnitude of the revival, the representatives felt that "during the past year more have been received into the communion of the Churches than perhaps in any former year.[25]

The question for us is whether or not the Smiths would have agreed with the judgment of the Geneva Presbytery. Did 1819 and 1820 seem like big years with "great multitudes" joining the churches in the "whole district of country"? Doubtless this was an important year for religion in New York as a whole and upstate particularly. All of the major denominations reported large increases. Methodist membership for 1820 in western New York increased by 2,256 members, the largest annual increase ever reported for the region to that time.[26] Presbyterian and Baptist growth was comparable. The Presbyterian annual report for 1819 said "the past has been a year of signal and almost unprecedented mercy" as far as "genuine religious revivals" went, and six of the eight areas of special grace were in New York.[27] Baptists in western New York grew by more than 1,500 in 1819.[28] Some of this news filtered through to the Smiths via the *Palmyra Register* which was publishing accounts with such extravagant statements as "the face of the country has been wonderfully changed of late" with reckonings of church admissions to back up the excitement.[29] Believing for a moment that four members of the Smith family had joined a church themselves that year as Joseph said, we can understand how reports like these would have registered and very possibly left the impression that great multitudes were uniting with various religious parties.

Doubtless the accounting will vary in succeeding years as some reports prove unfounded and evidence of additional revivals is discovered. The details of the picture are bound to change. As it now stands, however, I am satisfied myself that enough was going on in 1819 and 1820 to have impressed a religiously oriented young boy. Putting aside the possibility of revivals in Palmyra itself for the moment, there is hard evidence to prove activity in nearby Farmington and Phelps (Oaks Corners), both close to the Smith farm, and substantial revivals in the next circle of villages. Beyond that western New York was very lively indeed. At best, critics of Joseph's story can claim that there was not enough excitement close enough to Palmyra to satisfy them. But again that all depends on how near is near and big is big. I doubt very

much that historical inquiry will ever settle that question to the satisfaction of all.

The weakest portion of Mr. Walters' essay is the attempt in the last pages to explain the various narratives of the first vision and if Joseph was making up the story as he went. As I suggested at the first, there are bound to be variations in the reports of any event, simply because the narrator emphasizes one portion or another of the story. Simple slips may account for other differences. In the 1831 story, for example, Joseph places the first vision in his sixteenth year instead of his fifteenth, a mistake I for one can easily excuse considering how I always have to stop to calculate just how old one is in his fifteenth year. Perhaps the only fundamental conflict in the facts is between the money-digging Joseph of the years before 1827 and the religious Joseph afterward who must have pious motives for everything he does. That conflict, of course, also coincides with the anti-Mormon accounts of Joseph's early life and the Prophet's own story. Mr. Walters assumes an impossible task when he tries to reconcile the stories of those who hated Joseph and wished to discredit him and the more sympathetic accounts. I think the evidence from the enemies of the Church and the evidence from Joseph's own mouth will always be contradictory. Bringing the two together as Walters does results in hopeless difficulties. He has Joseph concerned only with buried treasure and bearded spirits until 1827 when suddenly the need to mulct Martin Harris leads Joseph to introduce a religious note. From there on the money-digging precipitously disappears and all we have is religion. The Book of Mormon, finished just two years later in 1829, is over five hundred pages of substantial religious narrative with only a few references that could be connected by any stretch of the imagination to the money-digging enterprises that presumably obsessed Joseph in 1827. That assumes a more drastic change in character than anything the revivals produced. It seems much easier to believe that Joseph had always been religious as everything he and his mother say leads us to think. The money-digging side of his character was almost wholly the invidious creation of the neighbors, based on his employment for an individual or two who were seeking treasure. If we exclude this embittered gossip from the picture, the first vision story, rather than being a late concoction, fits perfectly with the deep religious interests which Joseph says preoccupied him from age twelve, and which show through in virtually everything we have from his own mouth from 1829 on.

If Mr. Walters has not undercut the first vision story as he meant to, Mormons might profit nevertheless by inquiring what would happen to our faith if he had succeeded. Or what would we do if six eminent anthropologists presented "conclusive proof" that the Book of Mormon were fraudulent. The question I have in mind is how much does our faith depend on supporting historical evidence. On the one hand, we make a great deal of it. Mormons delight in Hugh Nibley's arguments in behalf of the Book of Mormon. We all hope he will be equally successful in proving the authenticity of the Book of Abraham. On the other hand, we are prone to dismiss all this as irrelevant. I have heard Professor Nibley himself summarize a long argu-

ment for the Book of Mormon, to which his Mormon audience had listened raptly, by saying that, of course, none of this really matters. The important point for him was that God had revealed the truth to Joseph by the Holy Spirit; the historical case was mere trimmings, the game played for the sheer fun of it.

Looking on from the outside, an observer might think Mormons are hopelessly mixed up. If testimony is all that really matters, why worry about the historical evidence? Since an airtight case would fail to convince believing Mormons, they should forget about proofs for the Book of Mormon and replying to the Reverend Mr. Walters and concentrate on their religious experiences and the satisfactions of their group life.

Granted that negative historical evidence would not destroy the faith of the faithful. For those blessed with it, spiritual experience is the most compelling data. Honesty requires that one remain true to it even in the face of other evidence to the contrary. Were a case made against the Book of Mormon, our sense of balance and personal integrity would compel Mormons to hold on to their beliefs. But I wager that we would search heaven and earth to break the case and prove the book true historically. Mormons are determined to have both material and spiritual evidence for their faith. The spiritual is the more important, but the material must have its place.

There is good reason for this combination. Mormons are committed to a God who acts in history. He led ancient Israel; He came to earth to redeem the world; he guides prophets in our time; and He helps individuals day by day with mundane problems. Our most basic commitment is to the power of God acting concretely in the lives of men. He comes and leaves footprints. To give up on historical proofs would be to relinquish in part our faith that God enters the here and now to lead and help and illuminate. Mormons feel divine power mainly in their spiritual experiences, but they believe traces of it can also be detected in the history of His people and His prophets. So long as we embrace that faith, we will, I think, search for proofs and evidences and reply to the likes of Mr. Walters when they try to confute us.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For a brief summary of the composition and work of the committee see the article by James B. Allen and Leonard Arrington in the Spring 1969 issue of *Brigham Young University Studies.*

[2]One of the articles in the special issue of *Brigham Young University Studies,* Dean Jessee's "The Early Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision," reprints three narrations by Joseph.

[3]See his letter to Oliver Cowdery in the *Messenger and Advocate,* November 6, 1834, reprinted in Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America: The Book of Mormon* (3rd ed.; Independence, Missouri: Press of Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1951), I, 78–79.

[4]Joseph Smith 2:21–25.

[5]Doctrine and Covenants 20:5, 6.

[6]See the accounts in the Jessee article cited in note 2.

[7]William Smith's account is as suspect as Oliver's. William was only nine when Joseph had the first vision and would have had to rely on others to supplement his own memory.

Furthermore, the interview with William took place in 1893 when he was eighty-two. As Mr. Walters notes, William, like Oliver, was foggy about the date of the revival.

[8]Kirkham, *A New Witness*, I, 84.

[9]Kirkham, *A New Witness*, I, 78.

[10]Kirkham, *A New Witness*, I, 78.

[11]It may be that Joseph corrected Oliver only after the letters appeared. One reading of the letters, a conjectural one like Mr. Walters' reconstruction at the end of his essay, would hold that Joseph stopped Oliver after he read in print the December letter telling of the revival in Joseph's fifteenth year. It sounded like Oliver was going on to relate the story of the vision which Joseph still held back for fear of misunderstandings. Joseph may also have seen other flaws in the account. At any rate, in the next letter Oliver changed the time of the story from Joseph's fifteenth to his seventeenth year and hurried on to the visit of Moroni.

[12]Joseph Smith 2:5.

[13]"An Awakening in the Burned-Over District: New Light on the Historical Setting of the First Vision."

[14]*Palmyra Register*, June 28, July 5, 1820. Cited in Backman, "An Awakening," note 19.

[15]M. P. Blakeslee, "Notes for a History of Methodism in Phelps, 1886," pp. 7–8, copy located in the Brigham Young University Library. Cited in Backman, "An Awakening," note 16.

[16]*Minutes Taken at the Several Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1820), p. 27 (referred to hereafter as *Methodist Minutes*); *Methodist Minutes* (1821), p. 27. Cited in Backman, "An Awakening," note 26.

[17]Walters, note 43.

[18]For the full story on Turner, see Richard Lloyd Anderson, "Circumstantial Confirmation of the First Vision Through Reminiscences," in the special issue of *Brigham Young University Studies*.

[19]Note 40.

[20]*Minutes of the Ontario Baptist Association* (Canandaigua, 1818), p. 3; *Minutes of the Ontario Baptist Association* (New York, 1819), p. 2. Cited in Backman, "An Awakening," note 27.

[21]Marilla Marks (ed.), *Memoirs of the Life of David Marks* (Dover, N. H., 1846), p. 26. Cited in Backman, "An Awakening," note 28.

[22]Walters, note 40.

[23]"Records of the Church of Christ in Geneva, State of New York," pp. 146–56, 158–59, 136–38, located in the First Presbyterian Church, Geneva, New York; "Minutes of the Session, 1819–1826," pp. 260–86, located in the First Presbyterian Church, Geneva, New York. Cited in Backman, "An Awakening," note 22.

[24]"Session Book of the First Presbyterian Church in Phelps," Book II, 11–19, located in the Presbyterian Church, Oaks Corners, New York. *Extracts from the Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1821), p. 22; "Records of the Synod of Geneva (1812–1835)," pp. 220–21, copy located in the Brigham Young University Library; "Records of the Presbytery of Geneva," Book C, p. 37, copy located in the Brigham Young University Library; J. Jemain Porter, *History of the Presbytery of Geneva, 1805–1889* (Geneva, 1889), p. 25. Cited in Backman, "An Awakening," notes 23 and 24.

[25]"Records of the Presbytery of Geneva," Book C, pp. 37–38. Cited in Backman, "An Awakening," note 25.

[26]*Methodist Minutes* (1821), pp. 27–28. Cited in Backman, "An Awakening," note 38.

[27]*Extracts from the Minutes of the General Assembly* (1820), pp. 321–22. Cited in Backman, "An Awakening," note 35.

[28]*Proceedings of the Baptist General Convention in the United States, at their Second Triennial Meeting, and the Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Managers* (Philadelphia, 1820), pp. 308–309. The figure of 1,500 was the total from only five associations. There were others which failed to report.

[29]*Palmyra Register*, June 7, September 3, 1820. Cited in Backman, "An Awakening," note 33.

Methodist camp meeting, after a drawing by Allison. —THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

A REPLY TO DR. BUSHMAN

Reverend Wesley P. Walters

I appreciate the magnanimous spirit of *Dialogue* in printing my essay and this reply. Dr. Bushman's courteous and able polemic is regrettably marred by some historical inaccuracies and by a tendency to set aside historical data in favor of unsupported conjectures.

First Dr. Bushman tries to harmonize Joseph Smith's differing vision accounts by some suggestions that themselves do not agree with the details of Joseph's official 1838 version. While reference to his sinfulness and forgiveness is markedly absent from the first vision portion of this official version, Smith's acknowledgment of "the gratification of many appetites" prior to the Moroni vision is really a much bolder admission that ever before. This invalidates the attempt to explain the absence as a playing down due to attacks upon his character around 1834. Furthermore, while persecution and rebuff may have "scarred him," Joseph shows no intention of deliberately "covering" his first vision claim by reference to "personages or angels." In fact, he says, "I could not deny it, neither dare I do it." It is also incorrect to call a narrative written, as the Prophet says, "to disabuse the public mind" a "private" narration, and it is hardly proper to maintain that in the 1838 account Joseph did "frankly say the Lord had come to him" when this must be inferred from the wording and even some of the Mormon leaders did not grasp it, as Dr. Bushman acknowledges.

Dr. Bushman turns next to the task of relieving Joseph of the responsibility for the conflicting account written by Oliver Cowdery in 1834–35. Cowdery represents himself as merely a journalist who writes this account with the assistance of brother Joseph's "labor" and aided by "authentic documents," a role familiar to him during those years from his service as Clerk of Conference. Oliver, therefore, parenthetically adds at this point, "neither is he [Smith] able to inform me," and further along introduces Joseph's description of Moroni with the words, "to use his own description." Dr. Bushman, on the other hand, wishes to place Cowdery in the role of a collector of hearsay, "sticking together pieces that do not belong," and erroneously states that "close cooperation was impossible" at the time the articles were being produced because Smith and Cowdery were widely separated geographically. From Joseph Smith's own *History* it can be shown that the two were together on several occasions in the latter part of 1834, including a leisurely boat trip to Michigan, prior to the appearance of the article in December 1834 dating the revival to Joseph's 15th year (*HC* ii, 162, 165f, 168, 172f, 174f, 176). Again, they were together for a conference Feb. 14, 1835 (ii, 186f) while the issue containing the correction of the date to 1823 did not go to press until the end of the month (cf. obituary dated 19th; ad dated Feb. 27, 1835 – *MA*, I, 74, 80). Stanley Gunn's biography of Cowdery speaks of the two during this "Kirtland Period" of Cowdery's life as "constant companions" (p. 121). Dr. Bushman in a later footnote (no. 11) considers the possibility that the Prophet himself may have caused the confusion by editing out ("held back") a reference to the first vision which Cowdery had started to make, which implies that the two conferred together.

Dr. Bushman places all of Joseph Smith's accounts in opposition to Cowdery's accounts on the point of when Joseph's interest in religious questions began. The point of importance, however, is when it culminated, not when it began, for even Cowdery remarks that the subject "had so long agitated his mind." If we accept Dr. Bushman's plea for age 16 (although Cowdery probably meant age 17 but wrote 17th), then Cowdery's 1834–35 account stands in agreement with Smith's own Strange (1831–32) Account and in opposition to all the later (1835 and 1838) accounts which move the culmination date back to age 14.

Recognizing how impossible it is to find large numbers joining the churches when the Mormon leader was 14, and that "for these people additions were not commonplace," Dr. Bushman tries to help his cause by making that which was small seem large and that which was far seem near. Here he appears torn between two opposing viewpoints. On the one hand he tries to show that the revival only seemed large in the eyes of young Joseph and it is therefore compatible with the smallness indicated by the data. On the other hand, he tries to show that the revival was really much larger than the data would indicate and therefore fits the largeness of Joseph's description.

In support of the first of these propositions he mistakenly suggests that "the revivals of 1824 were not the standard for the people in 1819." Actually, the Palmyra Presbyterian Church received more converts in their 1817 re-

vival ("126 have been hopefully born again, and 106 added") than they did in the 1824 revival (99 added). Most of the people who lived through this 1817 revival were still living in 1819 and in 1824, Joseph's own family to name just one example. In addition, Dr. Bushman cites a revival near Albany in 1820 in which "the face of the country" (200 miles from the Smith home) had been "wonderfully changed," which the Palmyra paper reported as having produced 1,200 converts. It would appear that the people in 1819 were quite capable of recognizing a great revival when they saw one.

In developing his second proposition, Dr. Bushman offers three explanations that relate to one another in a manner reminiscent of the Arab who was accused of having broken a jug he had borrowed. The Arab explained that he hadn't borrowed it in the first place; it was broken when he got it; and there was nothing wrong with it when he returned it. Dr. Bushman suggests that Joseph did not mean there was an unusual excitement in Palmyra, but only somewhere within 25 miles or so of it; that the revival really was at Palmyra but was never recorded; and that Palmyra experienced only an unusual excitement while the great multitudes all joined somewhere else.

In regard to the first of these suggestions, Dr. Bushman seeks by mere conjecture to enlarge the "effective horizon of the Smith household" by speculating that they ranged far and wide in their beer and cake sales. Here, however, he undercuts his point about Joseph's naïveté, for any young man who got around that much would surely know a great multitude from a small one. Conversely, any boy who thought that ten or twenty converts constituted "large additions" would not be likely to call a town 15 miles away "the place where we lived."

To help enlarge Smith's "psychological environs" Dr. Bushman tries psychologically reducing the distances involved, speaking of Oaks Corners (18 miles from the Smith home) and Vienna (15 mi.) as "next door," Junius (25 mi.) as "just east of Vienna," and the Lyons circuit, the closest point of which was about 10 miles away, as "very close to the Smith house." In a day when most travel was by foot or by horse and wagon, when experiments with canal transportation carried 100 persons 4 miles an hour, equal to a stage in bad weather (*Palmyra Register*, Nov. 5, 1819, II, 3), it is certainly not accurate to speak of towns 15 miles or farther away as "next door." Even today a town which takes two hours to reach by car is not considered "next door." Dr. Bushman labels as "nearby," towns which I had listed as fitting the description of "the whole district of country": Williamson (15 miles from the Smiths), Ontario (15 mi.), Manchester (5 mi.), Sulphur Springs (10 mi.), Vienna (15 mi.), Lyons (15 mi.) and Macedon (5 mi.). Even after drawing this 15 mile radius of "nearby" towns, he still cannot find any revival there in 1819–20, with the possible exception of Farmington (Manchester), which I did not "admit" was a revival. He consequently has to extend his "nearby" radius 10 miles farther before he can find a few isolated signs of revival, and we are told that this nearly 2,000 square mile area was what Joseph meant by "the place where we lived."

It is true that someone out of state could refer to an entire area as "the place where we lived" when speaking of generalities, but not when the reference is to specific events directly affecting the individual. For example, if someone said, "There was a bank failure in the place where we lived and I lost all my money," who would conclude he was talking about a bank in a town 25 miles away, especially if there was a bank in the very town where he lived? This is the character of Joseph's story. The excitement was near enough to his home for him to feel the pressure to join the local Methodist Church, just as members of his family had joined the local Presbyterian Church. It was local enough that Smith could observe the Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians scrambling for converts, take note of the "great love" the converts "expressed at the time of their conversion," and see them "file off, some to one party, and some to another." It was close enough to observe that "a scene of great confusion and bad feeling ensued" and to conclude that "the seeming good feelings . . . were more pretended than real." It was so near that his "mind at different times was greatly excited, the cry and tumult was so great and incessant." It was local enough that he could claim to have personally told his vision story to the same minister who had shared in the awakening. It was right there "among the different religious denominations in the neighborhood where I lived," as he says elsewhere. That's how near "near" is in Joseph's story. How by any stretch of the imagination can all this activity be transferred to a location 15 to 25 miles or more from the Smith home?

This same local atmosphere is present in the Cowdery-Smith account. The "religious excitement" was "in Palmyra and vicinity" where under Rev. Lane's preaching, "calculated to awaken the intellect, . . . in common with others, our brother's [Joseph's] mind became awakened." This "great awakening, or excitement" was more than a mere state of anxiety, for the anxious "professed a belief in the pardoning influence . . . of the Savior." But then "a general struggle . . . for proselytes" followed and "in this general strife for followers" members of Joseph's family joined the Presbyterian Church, thus becoming themselves a part of the "large additions" made to the churches of Palmyra and vicinity. Joseph himself received "strong solicitations to unite with one of these different societies" while others were seen to manifest "equal warmth" in proselytizing.

This type of local coloring is strikingly present in the 1824–25 revival. After progressing moderately through Sept. 26, 1824, the revival "appeared to break out afresh" when on Monday, Sept. 27 four were converted and the next day seven made profession at a prayer meeting at the home of Dr. Durfee Chase, son of the active Methodist family whose farm adjoined the Smith homestead. Among the seven converted was 19-year-old Lucy Stoddard, relative of the [Russell?] Stoddard who had been the principal workman in building the Smith home. Lucy had apparently been a Baptist until her conversion to the Methodists, and her zeal for "persuading others to embrace that religion in which she had found such solid happiness" and her dramatic death five weeks later (to which Rev. Lane devotes nearly a page of his three page

report) greatly impressed the whole community and especially the young people. The following spring Lucy's cousin, Calvin Stoddard (the future brother-in-law of Joseph Smith) along with his parents and sister were converted and joined the Baptist Church, while his future wife, Sophronia Smith, along with other members of the Smith family, had joined the Presbyterian Church. Knowing how zealous such young people in their late teens and early twenties can become in seeking converts, and how this particular 1824 revival, as the Palmyra newspaper noted, was "mostly among young people," we cannot doubt that the unconverted Joseph at this time received many solicitations to join the various churches which the neighboring young people of his own age had recently entered.

There are signs of Dr. Bushman's longing for evidence of such a revival at Palmyra in 1819–20. Else why suggest that the revival may have gone unrecorded, or that they had an unusual excitement, but the multitudes joined beyond this area, or why minimize any evidence which might preclude an 1820 revival at Palmyra? Dr. Bushman dismisses the Methodist membership figures because they take in an entire circuit, involving at most a dozen small Methodist groups, clustered so as to be served by one circuit-riding preacher. However, he does not hesitate to appeal to the nationwide report of the Presbyterian Church which speaks of a year of "unprecedented mercy" with six of the areas of special grace being in New York — yet not one of the six is in western New York or anywhere near Palmyra. Again, he dismisses William Smith's statements because it is a late reminiscence of a boy of 9 (although he would have been about 14 if the revival occurred in 1824–25), while he appeals to an equally late reminiscence by a Mr. Sarsnett reporting a camp meeting near Vienna. This reminiscence, unlike that of William Smith, does not even give the date of the occurrence, but it is dated by the writer, Mr. Blakeslee, to the year 1820.

At another point Dr. Bushman infers from Rev. Abner Chase's statement ("for two or three years we saw no great awakenings") that prior to 1820 there was a great awakening, yet he objects to deducing anything from loss and gain figures for the Baptists in 1820 because such figures "are deceptive." While one might logically deduce an 1819 revival from Rev. Chase's report, actually this is ruled out by the fact that Mr. Chase was not even in that area prior to 1820 and he is merely making his concluding report of his own four-year term of office (1820–24). What Mr. Chase's report does imply is that the membership figures for the Ontario Circuit do correctly reflect a situation where no revival was occurring during the 1820–23 period, and these same figures show this situation prevailed also in 1819.

The Baptist figures, on the other hand, do provide a legitimate basis for meaningful deductions. The Ontario Baptist Association *Minutes* are extant for the entire period, except for the years 1820 and 1827. The 1821 report shows the Farmington (6 mi. s. of the Smiths) Congregation with no gains and 4 losses (2 by letter, 1 excluded, 1 death) and a total membership (as of Sept.) of 93. This means the membership stood at 97 in Sept. 1820, and compared to the Sept. 1819 total of 106 shows a net loss of 9 for the year

1820. No matter how great the gain may have been, the loss must exceed it by 9. Since the total number of losses in any year between 1816 and 1825 never exceeds 16, it seems most improbable that any "large additions" were made there in 1820. Furthermore, from the church's own records, extant through June 1819, we learn they added by baptism 20 (1 in Feb., 3–Mar, 3–Apr., 7–May, 6–June) of the 22 reported in the Sept. 1819 *Minutes.* This means that between July and September they added only 2 by profession and approached the year 1820 with no significant signs of a revival.

For the Palmyra Baptist Church (3 mi. n.w.) the local records are extant from 1813 on, and show 5 received by baptism (2–Dec., 1–Feb., 1–Apr., 1–July) from Sept. 1818 to Sept. 1819, and 6 received (1–Mar., 1–June, 4–Aug.) from Sept. 1819 to Sept. 1820. In fact, between June 1819 and June 1820, where one might expect the greatest increase if a revival had really occurred that touched Joseph in the spring of 1820, we find the Palmyra congregation with only 3 professions.

With regard to the Presbyterians, Dr. Bushman passes by the monumental history of Rev. James Hotchkin, whom Dr. Whitney Cross described as "a close and accurate observer" (*The Burned-Over District,* p. 13). Mr. Hotchkin lists no revival for the Palmyra church in 1819 or 1820; he wrote backed by Synod's official order for all churches to open their records to him and he carefully notes when such materials were unavailable. Instead Dr. Bushman only comments that the local records are now missing and the congregation failed to report to Presbytery in Feb. 1820. This is true but it does not mean Presbytery was ignorant of what was happening, for Canandaigua also failed to report yet Presbytery specifically noted it as a place with "prospects" of a revival. In addition, Lyons reported more professions (14) than did Phelps (10), yet Presbytery credited only Phelps with "prospects." This is because 10 of Lyons' 14 were received in May (with 3–July, 1–Aug.) and all prospects had clearly disappeared by Feb. 1820. Phelps, on the other hand, was just beginning to show hopeful signs (1–Aug., 7–Jan., 16–Apr.), but by the summer of 1820 the prospects here also diminished (5–Aug., 2–Nov.) and no further mention is made in the September Presbytery meeting. Presbytery was certainly keenly aware of the spiritual condition of all of its churches.

Dr. Bushman does contribute a most useful observation when he notes that Mr. Turner's testimony must have reference to the period prior to 1822. For one thing, it will establish that the Smiths' money-digging activities, of which Mr. Turner speaks in the same context, date considerably prior to his working for Josiah Stoal and certainly cannot be attributed to anti-Mormon sentiment following 1827. It also shows that as late as 1822 Joseph was still associated with the Methodist Church, since this is the image Mr. Turner, "who knew the Smiths personally," carries away with him. Since the Methodists did not acquire their property in Palmyra "on the Vienna road" until July 7, 1821 (Deeds of Ontario Co., Bk G, 345) we may even be able to fix the lower limits of this camp meeting experience. This may have provided the one core of truth around which he later wove his various vision stories.

Furthermore, any telling of his story over the extended period in which he "continued" to affirm his vision, and any subsequent "great persecution which continued to increase . . . at the hands of all classes of men" must date after Turner has left Palmyra. In his position in the office of the local newspaper he could not have missed an item of this magnitude and interest. Unless we also attribute this to the over-activity of a 14-year-old's mind, or to "reshaping" done later to meet changing circumstances, any period of persecution must be moved to a time following 1822.

Even in his failures Dr. Bushman has helped to clarify the picture. We can see how extremely difficult it is to make Joseph's story fit an 1820 setting. It involves a reshaping that ignores the natural sense of his words, dismisses much of the evidence, minimizes distances between towns and injects conjectures in place of facts. Instead of a period of intense religious activity, one finds only less than two dozen joining the Manchester Baptist Church in the spring of 1819; a July 1–8, 1819 Methodist annual business meeting 15 miles away with conjectural week-end preaching; two dozen becoming Presbyterians 18 miles away in the winter and spring of 1820; and a possible Methodist camp meeting at Vienna in the latter half of 1820 or the first part of 1821 (the 654 figure was reported in the July 1821 Conference, the church year running from summer conference to summer conference). Beyond this one must look a considerable distance before anything religiously significant can be located. One need not present such a strained interpretation with the revival of 1824. All the factors are there, and there in just the magnitude in which both Smith and the Cowdery–Smith account describe them. I tried myself for a considerable length of time to establish an 1820 revival, but it was the stubbornness of the facts themselves that led me ultimately to abandon this position.

Reviews

Edited by Edward Geary

ARE WE STILL MORMONS?

Klaus J. Hansen

Mormonism in the Twentieth Century. By James B. Allen and Richard O. Cowan. Provo: Extension Publications, Brigham Young University, second ed., 1967. Pp. vi + 162. $2.00.

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"Are we still Mormons?" Surely most readers will feel that this question cannot be anything but rhetorical, at worst a cheap journalistic trick to attract an audience, or at best a pretext to affirm proudly what all committed Mormons know, that in spite of all the obstacles placed in the path of the gospel of Jesus Christ in modern days — obstacles perhaps worse than persecution — Mormonism has come through with flying colors. And so Professors Allen and Cowan, who have written this little volume primarily for an audience of B.Y.U. and L.D.S. Institute students, answer this potentially uncomfortable question, which in any case they raise only implicitly, with a predictably positive flourish:

> In the twentieth century the Church became, in a real sense, world-wide, as its membership spread beyond the isolation of the Intermountain West, and as other historical forces began to affect its program. Social and economic transitions, developments in transportation, dramatic technological advances, and national and international political activities have each played their role in the development of the modern Church. Through it all, however, it has been suggested [by the authors] that the Church has been able to meet the challenges of the changing world, bringing the benefits of modern developments into its programs and at the same time retaining its basic principles — the great and unifying "constants."

Unfortunately, the authors have relegated a precise definition of these constants to the very end of their book, to a quote from an address by J. Reuben Clark to church educators in 1938, in which the "latitude and longi-

tude of the actual location and position of the Church both in this world and in eternity" are essentially defined as belief in the mission and atonement of Christ, and in the first vision and the mission of Joseph Smith — surely a liberal definition for a Church leader who is usually looked upon as a staunch conservative. And lest there be any doubt, the authors have reminded us what this implies, namely "that a definitive stand on many concepts is not considered fundamental to salvation, and a multitude of issues may still be debated within the Church."

The tone of the book, however, is set by an even more liberal text chosen from President Lorenzo Snow's New Year's address of 1901, which in the opinion of the authors "represents the enduring goals of Mormonism which had been among the great unifying forces of the Church in the nineteenth century, and which have continued to guide its growth and activity in the modern age":

> May righteousness increase and iniquity diminish as the years of the century roll on. May justice triumph and corruption be stamped out. And may virtue and chastity and honor prevail, until evil shall be overcome and the earth shall be cleansed from wickedness. Let these sentiments, as the voice of the "Mormons" in the mountains of Utah, go forth to the whole world, and let all people know that our wish and our mission are for the blessings and salvation of the entire human race. May the Twentieth Century prove the happiest as it will be the grandest of all the ages of time, and may God be glorified in the victory that is coming over sin and sorrow and misery and death. Peace be unto you all!

Yet even a careful analysis of these words reveals little that is peculiarly *Mormon*. Without the specific references to "Utah" and "Mormons," the same address could have been delivered by the Pope or the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Still, although the sentiments are vague, the authors, almost uncannily, have chosen a marvelously apt quote. Surely, the style of Snow's speech accurately launched and predicted the style of Mormonism in the twentieth century: the desire to overcome prejudice and persecution by making the appeal of Mormonism more ecumenical; the emphasis on those ideas and ideals which unite us with the mainstream of humanity. Who, if he was a man of good will, could have disagreed with Snow's sentiments?

And so, in the main, the world has been agreeing with us ever since. One of the most significant underlying factors in the success story that is twentieth-century Mormonism in the eyes of the authors has been the emergence of a positive image for the Church. But such an image, it seems to me, can be a two-edged sword. It is something in which we all naturally take great pride; and yet, ought we not to be wary? Aren't images, by definition, derived from appearances? The authors themselves admit that the change in image became permanent as the world began to focus on the "*program* [my italics] of the Mormon Church rather than in its theology." To the mass media Mormonism has become yet another American success story in a society that measures success largely by material standards: Mormons have become eminently

adept at imitating and assimilating American middle-class values; therefore, Mormons are okay.

But I wonder to what degree this acceptance, that has gone far beyond mere toleration, is not merely a subtle indication that Mormonism has lost its identity in the twentieth century — that it is a harmless idiosyncrasy in which otherwise decent folk may be allowed to participate just as some choose to collect stamps and others play the ouija board. And by emphasizing this theme of acceptance, I wonder if the authors have not played into the hands of the critics of Mormonism, such as social historian Christopher Lasch, who argued in *The New York Review of Books* (January 26, 1967) that

> It is not as a *religious* force that Mormonism now makes itself felt. It makes itself felt precisely in the degree to which Mormon influence has ceased to be distinguishable from any other vested influence. As long as the Mormons were different from their neighbors, their neighbors hounded them mercilessly. Only when they gave up the chief distinguishing features of their faith did the Latter-day Saints establish themselves as a fixture of the ecclesiastical scene, another tolerated minority.

This is the lesson, if you like, of Mormon history. Lasch's criticism is particularly telling in the light of the book under review, for Allen and Cowan have themselves focused on the "program of the Mormon church rather than in its theology"; they have not exerted themselves in examining Mormonism as a *religious* force in the context of twentieth-century society.

Is it therefore possible that we have identified so completely with our image that it is reflecting back on us, ironically turning us into the kind of religion which the outside world sees in us? If this is true, is it not we who have changed, rather than the image? And if this is so, is not Mr. Lasch legitimately challenging our belief, our unquestioning assumption, that we are still Mormons? If we still are, indeed, I am not so sure that Allen and Cowan have fully demonstrated so either to me or to the more sophisticated Gentiles such as Lasch.

If we are indeed still Mormons, must we not seek our identity beyond the rising membership statistics, the growing success of our Welfare Plan, and even the increasing number of temples, not to speak of the impressive gallery of businessmen, politicians, actors, cabinet members, golf players, astronauts, and educators to whom we point with justifiable pride? Must we not turn to those values which are rooted in our history, even if that history may sometimes be uncomfortable? This raises the question whether or not it is possible for B.Y.U. faculty members to address themselves searchingly to the kinds of historical questions which the Church would prefer to sweep under the rug. If it is possible, surely the authors have not made the effort. Rather, they have chosen to conclude their work with a rather curious (for historians) quote from a sociologist:

> Most of all, it is the future which concerns us. The past is gone. We cannot call it back or alter it one iota. For better or worse, "The moving hand has writ, and having writ, moves on." But we do nurse the hope that we can do something about the future. Just as the

> founders of the Church turned their faces toward the future rather than focusing them on the past, so the present generation can with profit and adventure turn its face forward.

It is of course obvious even to historians that the past cannot be changed. But what historians do believe is that the past can serve, as Staughton Lynd once put it, "as a source of alternative models of what the future might become." And if the Church, as the authors submit, "is only on the verge of its true greatness," then they should also recall the warning of George Santayana that those who forget the past will be condemned to live it over again.

This admonition leads me to more specific comments on the dilemmas which Mormons face as a result of a failure to come to terms with problems that confront them at their very core. The most fundamental of these is posed by the transformation of the Church from what Ernst Troeltsch would have called a sect to a worldwide church of major dimensions. The historical development of this trend the authors have chronicled admirably, given the limited space available to them. They have, for example, revealed considerable sophistication in their treatment of the transformation of the doctrine of the gathering, showing why, today, it "could be accomplished anywhere in the world."

But they have failed to see the full implications of this change. For it has involved the Church in a paradox, still largely unperceived, because this worldwide movement occurred at a time when the Church has ever more closely allied and identified itself with American nationalism, thus producing a potential conflict of loyalty among an ever-growing number of foreign Mormons, particularly when they are not only encouraged but almost commanded to remain in their native lands, lands whose governments do not always operate in accordance with the broad principles of the western political tradition, especially the American Constitution. In other words, though the Church has become physically more universal, ideologically it has grown more parochial. In the nineteenth century, paradoxically, when the Church was physically more parochial, it was capable of developing a strong cosmopolitan strain beyond its sometimes narrow provincialism through the concept of the political kingdom of God.

This larger vision enabled nineteenth-century Mormons to stand aside from the various nationalistic wars and witness them as fulfillment of prophecy leading to world government. Nevertheless, if Mormons were spared the agony of fighting Mormons, it was of course largely because of the isolation of their kingdom. And with the decline of that kingdom in the twentieth century, Mormons inevitably faced this tragic dilemma, just as their Catholic and Protestant brethren. But when the authors discuss President Joseph F. Smith's attempt to clarify the Church's position on war in April 1917, they fail to get to the heart of the problem:

> He reminded the Saints that even in the face of conflict the spirit of the gospel must be maintained. He declared that even in war the people should maintain the spirit of humanity, of love, and of peacemaking. He instructed prospective soldiers to remember that they

> were ministers of life, not death, and that they should go in the spirit of defending liberties of mankind rather than for the purpose of destroying the enemy.

Since the Church has chosen to interpret every American war as having been in defense of the liberties of mankind, such a position has certainly eased the conscience of *American* Mormons. But does not such a doctrine force Mormons on the other side into a serious moral dilemma, even though the Church has partly solved this problem by opting for the Twelfth Article of Faith as the better part of valor? Was it not such a position that led to the cruel dilemma of those local German Church authorities who finally saw no way out but to excommunicate a loyal Mormon whose death sentence by the Nazis proved that he had violated the Twelfth Article of Faith?

I am not suggesting that the Church can find a detour around this blind alley, unless it chooses to follow the Jehovah's Witnesses, who accepted death in the concentration camps with courage. I am merely suggesting that it is wrong for the authors to imply that the Church can easily solve and in fact has solved the dilemma. It seems to me that as Mormons in the twentieth century we have to accept the fact that the Church simply has no answer or solution to some of the most cruel dilemmas of our time, at least not as long as the Church chooses to operate within the existing social, political, and cultural framework. And to the degree to which the Church is incapable of a solution to these problems, it is irrelevant to them. I think we are simply deceiving ourselves if we do not accept this harsh fact.

The authors have chosen to believe that "the challenge of the modern age is to create an atmosphere in which the student can *comfortably* [my italics] accommodate himself to modern thought and new discovery, and yet maintain the basic fundamentals of faith which have guided the Church to its present status." If that "present status" involves nothing more than adherence to a few peculiar doctrinal abstractions which the world has learned to tolerate in view of our immersion in American middle-class values, I have no quarrel with them. But if it involves recognition of Mormonism as a historical, living reality, then that accommodation, if it can be made at all, can be made only at the cost of considerable sacrifice, both physical and spiritual, as the history of Mormonism in the twentieth century has indeed borne out.

Does this mean, then, that I want the Church to return to the political kingdom of God, to polygamy, and to communitarianism, the "fundamentals" or "constants" insisted upon by all those internal dissenters who want to lead the Church back to its sectarian origins? Emphatically not! I do not believe that we should return to the past or repeat it. But I do believe that only through an understanding of our historical roots will we be able to find our position in the world, that only through an acknowledgment of our past will we be able to establish a priority of values that will help us to discern that which is essential to Mormonism and that which is not. By way of illustration, it seems to me that the equation of Mormonism and American cultural nationalism by our missionaries around the globe simply reveals that they are ignorant of our history. If Mormonism truly wants to become worldwide,

not merely in a physical, parochial sense, it has to relinquish its claim that the gospel of Jesus Christ and the American Way of Life are identical. Perhaps the political kingdom of God represented a somewhat crude attempt to effect this separation. But if the method was perhaps unrefined, the goal was not. Shall we be accused of showing less sophistication than our ancestors?

Furthermore, our excessive identification with American middle-class values has led us to a myopia of staggering proportions *vis-à-vis* some of the most pressing social and moral issues of our time. In a recent *Dialogue* article, those Gentiles who were giving us a bad time on the "Negro Question" were asked to get off our backs because sociological evidence had proved that we are neither more nor less prejudiced than they. Fair enough! But does not this evidence contain a most devastating indictment of Latter-day Saints, namely that on a very fundamental question of Christian ethics their religion is totally irrelevant? Does the total silence of Allen and Cowan on the controversial position of Blacks within the Church imply agreement with this assessment?

Finally, I must admit that although I believe that these are all questions the authors ideally ought to have raised, their failure to do so most likely cannot be attributed to their lack of perception. At least we have substantial evidence that Professor Allen, for one, has revealed a great deal of sophistication on questions of Mormon history elsewhere. The fact that the authors, as members of the Brigham Young University faculty, were required to submit their manuscript to a reading committee may have tempered their desire to deal with the more fundamental but highly controversial issues of Mormonism in the twentieth century. Moreover, the very limited scope of what was after all only intended as a modest Extension Division publication dictated adherence to a chronological and topical outline precluding any large extent of analytical discussion. We must, indeed, be grateful for the valuable data they have assembled for the first time in their pioneering study. But now it must be the task of the historian to interpret these, and as an inevitable result face the challenge of their disturbing implications.

WORSHIP AND MUSIC

Newell B. Weight

Worship and Music in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. By Verena Ursenbach Hatch. Privately published, 1968. Pp. xv + 287. $5.95.

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Worship and Music in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints can be had as a single volume or in two separate bindings. One volume (separately reviewed) includes the first seven chapters of the complete book and deals with the worship service of the Latter-day Saint Church with special emphasis on architectural designs and functions. The balance of the book deals specifically with music in the L.D.S. Church. It is with this section of the book that this review is concerned.

In her introduction Mrs. Hatch expresses a firm conviction that such a book is needed because "there are some practices of human origin which appear to be theologically sound and which may be considered as obstacles to the complete realization of effective assembly worship. These traditions should receive objective scrutiny from time to time lest they deepen into dogma." The music section of the book begins with a very short history of church music from Old Testament references to the restoration of the gospel in the nineteenth century. Highlights of events, places, and people are well presented and should be of interest to the layman as well as the amateur church musician. The frustration here is in its brevity and definition. The continuing history of Latter-day Saint church music is likewise exceedingly brief. The history does have continuity, if perforated with omissions, but much more interest and emphasis could be added here. The important word *hymn* often lacks clarity of definition between hymn text and hymn tune.

The author points out that music education in the Mormon Church has lagged far behind, and she argues that the organist should be the director of hymn singing, as in the Protestant tradition. (Arguing against this is the lack of enough qualified and trained organists.) She also offers some excellent challenges to today's L.D.S. musicians and states qualifications for musicians in the Church. "The Church musician does not have to lower his artistic sights to communicate to the common man. . . . Quality music can be simple." She presents some excellent studies of conventional hymn texts and hymn tunes with brief explanations of poetic meter, syllabic emphasis, and tune construction. The author encourages Church musicians to be creative in bringing forth new music for the Church, especially hymn texts and tunes. "No typically 20th Century hymns are included in our Hymns 1950."

Even though the contemporary in music is touched upon, the descriptions given of good worship music are more past than future. This seems to be an attempt to catch up with the past rather than to contemplate the future. This reviewer agrees with the author in that church music may be forced into a much more contemporary pace because of the extremely rapid changes that are being forced upon each new generation.

The volume concludes with criteria for selecting music for worship in the Latter-day Saint Church — an excellent guide — and also a practical discussion of organs and organ music. The final chapter should be especially helpful to the young Church organist. The author gives a brief summary of her philosophy of the purpose and power of worship, and she lists ample subject reference material.

The music portion of *Worship and Music* should be of excellent help and interest to the amateur Church musician. All ward leaders can gain many useful helps and ideas from the entire volume. In spite of small weaknesses the book is sincere in spirit, positively written, easily read, and generous in ideas. If you feel any need for improvement in reverence in worship and music in worship, then read this book.

It is the opinion of this reviewer that the Church will eventually see fit to enlarge its music program. The contemporary is being so rapidly forced

upon the younger generations that this conclusion seems inevitable. An enlarged and revitalized General Church Music Committee would result in enlarged music programs at the ward level in preparation and training of Church musicians. Surely the new hymn-tunes of 1889 were a vast improvement over the gospel songs and folk ballads used to accompany the texts of Emma Smith's hymn book of 1835. Another renaissance of hymn tunes for the Mormon Church may be as revolutionary as flying to the moon. Perhaps such efforts as Verena Hatch's will hasten this day.

WORSHIP AND ARCHITECTURE

Ralph Folland Evans

Worship in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. By Verena Ursenbach Hatch. Privately published, 1968. Pp xiv + 119. $3.95.

Ralph Folland Evans is an architect in private practice in Salt Lake City.

The irreverence in the Church today "is not irreverence of disdain for spiritual things, but rather the irreverence of undeveloped spirituality." So writes the author of *Worship in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.* "Worship, the realization of communion with God, continues to be the greatest comfort available to mortal man," stated President David O. McKay in 1963. The attainment of this goal in the Church has prompted the author to compile ideas and scriptural references which take the reader through an outline of analytical thoughts.

The book, written to "share findings with others," is presented in a direct though unimaginative way, with the definition and purpose of worship followed by a more detailed discussion of a method of attainment. The book recognizes candidly that in the Church "1) assembly worship is not as successful as it should be, 2) reverence in worship services is a direct result of worship experience; order or discipline is a pre-requisite, and 3) true worship is realized through an understanding of the nature and purpose of worship, through skillful planning and conducting of services and through enlightened participation of the congregation."

A significant portion of the book is devoted to the relationship of the architectural environment to effective worship, with chapters on theological architecture and the Latter-day Saint chapel. Since the Lord has always required his children to build places of worship, the author (with assistance from her husband, an architectural programmer at BYU) has, as a layman, discussed briefly and at minimum depth the recognition that environment has a real effect upon the beholder, and that that influence must be either positive or negative in character. This influence — physical, emotional, or spiritual — can and should be positive. The book includes a brief history of theological architectural developments which give the lay reader a casual understanding of architectural responses to methods of worship. It then discusses the construction of L.D.S. chapels designed for the real purpose — worship. These suggestions, while potentially interesting to Church members, will

not likely promote a change in present Church construction policies which seem to guarantee mediocre, if not totally unsuccessful, solutions to facilities required for meaningful worship. "Square foot" programs with allowances for circulation handed to an architect by a programmer, as suggested by the author, may result in a "well thought out plan," but will not result in a space contributing to satisfying worship.

The book's unpretentious presentation is not likely to interest the casual reader, nor would it incite a deep personal commitment to the attainment of more perfect worship in the Church. But it could serve as a legitimate guide to the individual needing "lesson manual" assistance in understanding the essence of worship.

A MORMON PLAY ON BROADWAY

C. Lowell Lees

Dr. C. Lowell Lees is well known in the Mormon community for his life-long involvement in the theater. He is currently Director of the Drama Department, Rutgers University.

Woman Is My Idea, a comedy by Don C. Liljenquist, was produced and directed by Don C. Liljenquist at the Belasco Theatre in New York on 111 West 44th Street on Wednesday, September 25, 1968. The critics and reviewers of the play were unanimous in condemning it. The play closed after four or five performances. The last two sentences are a familiar summary of at least seventy-five percent of the plays that open on Broadway. The only difference to be recorded here is that this is a play about Mormons, written and directed by a Mormon. Not too long ago such an event might have created much comment in the press and even a discussion of Mormon principles. Be it said for the reviewers that not one of them made any derogatory reference to Mormonism. One critic even said defensively that the play "makes Mormons morons, which they are not." Since Mormon culture does not produce many playwrights and rarely one who seeks a Broadway production for his

writing, an evaluation of this play seems in order. It can readily be said that as a producer, Liljenquist chose too tough an assignment in presenting an unknown director and playwright and a cast relatively unknown to Broadway. Yet most critics praised Liljenquist's direction and had commendation for his cast. The crux of the failure was the plot of the play and its writing. Liljenquist insists that his play is simply about a confirmed bachelor who is pressured into marriage. Unfortunately, this plot is almost as overworked and hackneyed in the theatre as is doggerel verse on a Mother's Day greeting card. A fresh point of view, perception, humor, and satire must be used to bring success to such a plot.

The author of *Woman Is My Idea* has tried for some uniqueness by placing the situation in the Mormon community of 1870, at the high point of the polygamy crisis. The author declines, however, to explore this material to any depth. There is, to be sure, an authentic setting, the home of John R. Park; there are Mormon jokes about polygamy and an offstage crowd singing Mormon hymns. Brigham Young appears in the play, his main function being to perform Park's two marriage ceremonies. Park, the founder of the University of Deseret, is characterized only through the whimsical story of his marriage. He surrenders to church and community pressures and marries a young woman "for eternity" supposedly on her deathbed. Immediately after his marriage Park arranges to pay his wife's funeral expenses and departs for a five-month trip to the East. Expectedly to the audience, if not to him, Park returns to find his wife completely recovered. She greets him in a wedding dress made by the Relief Society and shows him his redecorated house and the double bed in his bedroom. The young bride, aided by her two irrepressible sisters, convinces Park that he should not only resign himself to being a happy husband for her, but might do well to marry the other two. Although the historical facts of the polygamy crisis are forthrightly stated, they are used only as background. Even though Brigham Young is jailed by order of the Gentile judge (one of Park's boarders) who in turn runs away in fear of both Young's predictions and his Danites, these factors have little effect upon the plot other than to make the tone more serious and the pace slower than required for light comedy. The religious and church elements used in the play are stated without debate. The author is not up to the large order of making eternal marriage comic material. He has his character Park dispose of it with the statement that God can take care of eternity. The total effect of the use of the religious, historical, and comic in this play is inoffensive and even wholesome, but the play is not buoyant enough (despite some moments of charm) to keep an audience entertained for two hours; neither is it strong or virile enough to support its historical characters. The opening night audience, composed largely of well-wishers and Mormons, was jittery and over-anxious, while the critics were obviously bored.

Surely, the characters of the play should illustrate the desirability of marriage or the joys of bachelorhood. Neither is developed to any extent and the amusing lines and situations are far too infrequent. A comic polygamous character calculating that the number of his posterity in two genera-

tions will be roughly a million people adds zest to the play, whereas his female counterpart, the neighbor housekeeper, insisting incessantly on Park's marriage, is maddeningly tedious. (The audience must have thought she had forgotten all her lines except the one she repeats.) The character of the federal judge played for comedy seemed almost a villain out of a melodrama. The actors carrying the major plot action tried to bring warmth and buoyancy to their characters in a play that permitted little depth or ebullience; their portrayals as a result were uneven and frequently static. John Heffernon's John Park was convincing and personable, although the philosopher-president was not much in evidence. Hugh Marlowe as Brigham Young brings support, dignity, and strength to a character which has little bearing on the plot. David Huddleston and Richards add comedy to the play. The bride, Lara Parsons, is gracious and charming, and her two sisters bright and spirited. The young nephew piques curiosity and seemingly has a real conflict: his love for the bride versus his loyalty and devotion to Park, but little is made of this conflict which might have resulted in a more interesting play or at least a more unpredictable one.

Perhaps the problems that confronted Liljenquist will plague any Mormon playwright trying to write in a comic vein on a Mormon theme. Is it possible to make religious history comic? Perhaps we will have to wait for a Mormon Sholem Aleichem before we can have a Mormon "Fiddler on the Roof."

THE GRADUATE

Rustin Kaufmann

Rustin Kaufmann is an optometrist and Sunday School teacher in Rexburg, Idaho.

This is a very disturbing film. Members of the Church ought to be warned to avoid it and to keep their children away from it. Its philosophy is "loaded"! It assumes that the immoral is acceptable and that proven American values are not worth observing. I cannot help but wonder what our Father in Heaven must think of the people who produced this film, let alone the curious L.D.S. people who flock to see it.

The film is about what appears to be a Jewish family in Los Angeles whose son has just returned from four years of college. The son looks Jewish, anyway. No mention is made as to whether or not the family is orthodox in their Jewish faith. I consider this to be one of the major flaws of the film. Another incomprehensible thing to me is that singers Simon and Garfunkel (also Jewish) expanded their "Mrs. Robinson" song to include lines about Jesus, in whom Jewish people do not even believe. They have the gall to sing "Jesus loves you more than you will know. . . ."

Anyway, the story opens with a homecoming party for Benjamin, the "hero" of the film. Everyone there is perfectly nice to him, but he stalks off to his room and sulks. Nobody can figure out why, including the audience. I talked to at least fifty people in Rexburg who saw the film the same night I did, and none of us knows why he stalked off to his room.

While he's in his room, a woman old enough to be his mother-in-law lures him out into her car, over to her house, and up to her room where she disrobes and stands naked before him. "Jesus Christ!" he shouts, as though he believes in Jesus. The lady's husband comes home and the boy runs downstairs to the bar. Supposedly the husband doesn't know what's been going on, but I think he did know because when the boy asks for bourbon, the husband pours him scotch. The husband is no dummy: he is a successful lawyer.

Then follows what is perhaps the most disgusting part of the film: The boy phones up the older woman and invites her over to a hotel room (because he is "bored," he explains later). The moviemakers actually show them in bed together! To try to make the scene palatable to the audience, the writers try to show that Benjamin is a respectful boy by having him call the older woman "Mrs. Robinson" even in the midst of their most intimate moments. But the writers could not pull it off, for the audience suspects that when Benjamin calls her "Mrs. Robinson," he is cynical about it, and therefore is not genuinely sincere about being respectful.

The boy's father and mother try to get him to take out Mrs. Robinson's daughter Elaine, but Mrs. Robinson is against it. However, he does take her out anyway, because his parents insist. Cruelly, Benjamin makes Elaine cry by challenging her to try to duplicate the act of a bump and grind dancer who can twirl propellers positioned in vulgar places. Anyway, Benjamin kisses Elaine and they begin to fall in love.

Elaine finds out that Benjamin has been having an affair with *somebody*. But she doesn't seem very concerned about it (probably because she has been going to school at the University of California at Berkeley). In other words, the message that comes across to the young people watching the film is that it is acceptable for young men to have affairs.

Of course when Elaine finds out that the object of Benjamin's attentions has been her own mother, this turns out to be too much even for a Berkeley student. She returns to school, and Benjamin follows her north. He finds himself competing for her affection with a nice-looking, neat, blond-haired, blue-eyed medical student. By contrast, Benjamin is slovenly, footloose, and a college dropout. What she sees in Benjamin is almost beyond the comprehension of the audience. Perhaps the real secret is that Benjamin looks Jewish and the medical student looks Nordic, and the Hollywood producers (many of whom are also Jewish) want to show that a Jewish hippie is more attractive than the finest example of traditional American young manhood. Maybe this goes over big in New York City, but not in Zion where most people are of Ephraim and not of Judah.

With all the cunning of the Adversary, Benjamin woos Elaine and nearly persuades her to marry him, when suddenly her father arrives to talk some sense into her head. Elaine leaves Benjamin a note of regret, and her parents arrange a secret wedding for their daughter and the medical student in Santa Barbara. But by stealth and cunning, Benjamin discovers the location of the wedding by misrepresenting himself to the fraternity brothers of the medical student. Benjamin rushes down the coast in his sports car.

Now follows the most blasphemous part of the film. When Benjamin arrives, the essentials of the wedding ceremony are already completed. Elaine is legally married to the medical student. Finding himself up above and to the rear, in a glassed-in balcony, Benjamin commences to bang on the window, his arms extended outward, shouting, "Elaine! Elaine! Elaine!" almost as though he were Jesus crying "Eli, Eli, lama sabach-thani?" Rather than raising a sponge filled with vinegar to his lips, the wedding party lifts its curses to Benjamin. Yet Elaine calls out for him. This sets in motion the rescue tumult that rocks the church, as though "the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent." Somehow Benjamin manages to find Elaine's hand, and pulls her out the front doors, jamming them with a large cross which he has been swinging to ward off attackers. In other words, the cross of Jesus is used to prevent the decent and civilized and law-abiding wedding attenders from stopping the anarchistic Benjamin from running off with another man's wife.

Benjamin and Elaine board a bus and ride away. He has triumphed. There he sits with his dazed catch, lovely in her wedding dress. Benjamin, smiling and reminiscing, looks like a hippie. If the play were *Faust* rather than *The Graduate,* we would be at the point where Mephistopheles is belly-laughing at seeing Marguerite surrender to the devilish wiles of Faust. In *Faust,* Marguerite leaves the "hero" and repents and is saved. No such hope is offered for the heroine in *The Graduate.*

Among the Mormons
A Survey of Current Literature

Edited by Ralph W. Hansen

Write on your doors the saying wise and old,
"Be bold! Be bold!" and everywhere, "Be bold;
Be not too bold!" Yet better the excess than
the defect; better more than less . . . .

Longfellow, *Morituri Salutamus*

Having entered our fourth year of publication, it seems appropriate to rehearse for our new readers the purpose behind "Among the Mormons." In our first issue, the editors of *Dialogue* wrote, "Many of our subscribers have asked to have a bibliographical column included as a regular feature" of the journal. Thus, it was agreed that in three of the four issues of each year there would be a bibliographical essay on three different types of literature. The Spring issue was assigned books, pamphlets, records, and photo-reproductions published during the past year. The Summer issue covers dissertations, and the Winter issue, journal articles. The criterion for inclusion — merely that the material relates to Mormonism in some manner. Generally speaking, books by Bookcraft and Deseret Book and articles in Mormon journals such as the *Improvement Era* and the *Church News* were not included under the assumption that our readers would be aware of these materials. It is now our feeling that this is not necessarily the case, and in the future our umbrella will cover this area to a greater extent. We gratefully acknowledge our debt to the bibliography *Mormon Americana*, edited by the eminent Utah librarian Chad Flake, for most of the citations used in "Among the Mormons."

In each Autumn issue, "Among the Mormons" is devoted to an essay of bibliographical interest, such as the brief report by Robert Rees which follows the bibliography in this issue. Generally, these essays have included descriptions of Mormon collections at various institutions, or similar works designed to guide the scholar seeking sources for Mormon studies. As has been noted before, contributions to all aspects of "Among the Mormons" are eagerly accepted.

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The BOOK OF MORMON Collection in the William Andrews Clark Library

Robert A. Rees

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Douglas Wilson's recent article on the Book of Mormon (*Dialogue,* III [Spring 1968], 29–41) has prompted me to write a note about the Book of Mormon collection in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library in Los Angeles. When William Andrews Clark, Jr., purchased the library of Charles N. Kessler of Helena, Montana, in 1924, he acquired one of the finest private collections of editions of the Book of Mormon to that time. The collection includes sixty-two separate editions of the Book of Mormon, from the first American edition in 1830 to the fifth German in 1924. There are fifteen foreign language editions (including the Deseret edition). Some of the books originally belonged to prominent church leaders. Two copies belonged to Orson Hyde (as gifts from Erastus and Lorenzo Snow), two belonged to Francis M. Lyman, and one belonged to Charles C. Rich (as a gift from John Taylor).

In his article Douglas Wilson suggests the desirability of establishing a definitive text of the Book of Mormon through horizontal and vertical collation of important editions. A happy circumstance for the Clark Library Book of Mormon collection is that it is located in the same building as the only Hinman collating machine on the west coast.

For those interested in using the Clark Library (which is part of the UCLA library, but not on the campus), it is located at 2520 Cimarron Street (at West Adams Boulevard), three blocks west of Western Avenue and three blocks south of the Santa Monica Freeway. The hours are 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Monday through Saturday.

The following is a list of the editions of the Book of Mormon in the Clark Library. *American*: Palmyra, New York, 1830 (first American edition; two copies); Kirtland, Ohio, 1837 (second American); Nauvoo, Illinois, 1840 (third American) and 1842 (fourth American); New York, New York, 1858 ("Wright" edition; not authorized by the Church); Salt Lake City, 1871 (first Utah edition), 1874, 1876, 1877, 1881, 1882 ("Orson Pratt" edition), 1888, 1888 (first large type edition), 1891; Independence, Missouri, 1899 (title, "The Nephite Records"; first Reorganite edition?); Salt Lake City, 1900, 1904 (two copies), 1906, 1906 (large type edition), 1906 (vest pocket edition), 1908; Chicago, Illinois, 1909 (Eastern states edition); Independence, Missouri, 1916 [1913?] ("Joel Ricks" edition); Salt Lake City, 1918, 1920, 1921, 1921 (with Doctrine and Covenants and The Pearl of Great Price).

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French?); *German*: Hamburg, 1852 (first German); Bern, Switzerland, 1873; Salt Lake City, 1893; Berlin, 1900; Basel, Switzerland, 1924. *Hawaiian*: San Francisco, 1855 (first Hawaiian); Salt Lake City, 1905. *Italian*: London, 1852 (first Italian). *Japanese*: Tokyo, 1909 (first Japanese). *Maori*: Auckland, 1918 (second Maori?). *Samoan*: Salt Lake City, 1903 (first Samoan), *Spanish*: Salt Lake City, 1886; Independence, Missouri, 1920. *Swedish*: Copenhagen, 1878 (first Swedish); Stockholm, 1907, *Tahitian*: Salt Lake City, 1904 (first Tahitian). *Welsh*: Merthyr Tydfil, 1852.

Notes and Comments

Edited by Joseph Jeppson

CONCERN FOR THE URBAN CONDITION

Stanton L. Hovey

Stanton Hovey is a social worker in Mesa, Arizona while working towards an advanced degree in sociology.

The urban age — with all its complexities, opportunities, and monstrous problems — is upon us. How are Christians — and Mormons — responding to this new environment? This article will present exploratory research comparing Mormons and non-Mormons and will be followed by a look at what other churches are doing.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Dr. Frederick L. Whitman, an assistant professor of sociology at Arizona State University, undertook to study the "role religious groups play in motivating their adherents to an awareness of and willingness to act toward solution of contemporary urban problems.[1] The research was based upon the assumption that one's religious beliefs and membership may affect attitude, feeling, and overt behavior in *non-religious* areas.

Three dimensions of behavior were studied: (1) holding of abstract, *generalized values,* such as "all men are created equal," (2) translating abstract values into *specific attitudes,* such as "I believe in sending my children to integrated schools because I believe all men are created equal"; and (3) *overt behavior* consistent with both generalized value and resultant specific attitudes, such as willingness to join a committee working for integrated schools.[2] Questions designed to measure these three dimensions of behavior were focused on subjects' responses to five urban problems in the Phoenix area. These were (1) inadequate wages of certain occupational groups, (2) inadequate financing of schools in low-income districts, (3) sub-standard housing, (4) an inadequate

public transportation system, and (5) inadequate public mental health facilities. The questionnaire was administered to all residents of two single-dwelling, middle class areas in Tempe, Arizona. The sample size was too small to suggest any inferential statistical treatment of the data; however, simple comparisons of percentages between religious groupings were made.

The questionnaire also consisted of two additional parts: indexes both of social background factors and religious involvement; social class position, rural-urban background, duration of residence in the Phoenix area, and political orientation were background factors studied in relation to the respondents' concern for urban problems. The religiosity index was included on the assumption that the most religiously active respondents would show greater concern because of more frequent exposure to church discussion of these problems.

Catholics, as a group, scored highest, followed by Protestants and those professing no religious belief; L.D.S. respondents scored lowest of the four groupings. Seventy percent of L.D.S. respondents scored in the low concern category.

The hypothesis regarding religious involvement was found to be incorrect. Those moderately active in their church scored higher than those with either high or low religious involvement. This finding is in general agreement with the research findings of Dr. Victor Cline, who found little difference between the non-religious and the religious person, no matter what his faith, in his being a "good Samaritan," or "having love and compassion for [his] fellowman."[3]

The social background factors were found to be more important than was religious belief or membership in the formation of attitudes and behavior toward the secular world. Rural-urban background and general political orientation were especially significant. The chain of causation, however, may not be so simple, but may be circular instead, since a Mormon's politics may be conditioned or reinforced by certain Church doctrines or principles. However, sophisticated statistical procedures and large samples are needed for the thorough investigation of the interrelationship between the many relevant variables.

Whitman's study, though inadequate in sample size and research design, provides a springboard for discussion of important issues. Replication of this and similar research (such as Armand Mauss's study of "Mormonism and the Negro"[4]) would be helpful in identifying those blind spots Mormons share with others. Regardless of the causes of apparent lack of concern, it is important to know what other Christians are thinking and doing.

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[1]Frederick L. Whitman, "Religion and Response to Urban Problems," *Essays in Urban Affairs*, William S. Peters, ed. (Tempe, Arizona: Urban Systems Report #2, Center for the Study of Urban Systems, October, 1967), pp. 13-23.

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

[3]Victor B. Cline, "What Does It Mean To Be Religious?" *The Instructor*, (March, 1968), p. 106.

[4]Armand Mauss, "Mormonism and the Negro: Faith, Folklore, and Civil Rights," *Dialogue*, II, 4, 19–40.

ACTIVITIES OF OTHER CHURCHES

The urban crisis seems to revolve around two interrelated issues — race and poverty. Concern for both is widespread, extending from top to bottom in church ecclesiastical organizations. The Second Vatican Council and the World Council of Churches are active. Some major denominations have felt the city is the place to hammer out solutions to major issues of our time. Prior to five years ago church efforts were directed toward sensitizing congregations to urban problems and collecting data. In the last five years money has been available and programs have begun.[5] National organizations are assisting local churches in establishing programs and in issuing information and guidelines for decision-making. The most burning question for Christians seems to be in deciding how far *corporate* action should extend into the world. Lewis Mudge states, "There is less difficulty in our minds about the propriety of Christians acting as private individuals, taking political stands, working for social justice, seeking to influence legislation and so on."[6]

Among involved Christians motivation varies. Some respond out of fear of riots, others out of a desire to "get on the bandwagon," still others out of a deep commitment to help out. Since 1964 the War on Poverty has provided churches with funds and with psychological incentive. Church women's groups have been especially active. Involvement has brought sharp awareness of the general lack of the knowledge and skills necessary in dealing with urban needs. Therefore, major denominations have banded together in forming special training facilities for the training of clergy and laymen.[7]

Individual churches have found it impossible to work alone, and many churches have combined in their ecumenical activity. One of the more promising experiments is the Ecumenical institute in Chicago, where 200 or more church men and women of different faiths have moved into a sixteen-block area in a ghetto called "Fifth City"[8] — a demonstration project designed to be a prototype for operation of the local church in the city.

Training teams from the Institute are sent throughout the country to share their experience and know-how with local church groups. The goal of the Institute is to work itself out of existence by building community identity and by creating new social structures whereby residents can begin to meet

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[5]Much of the material used for this section was obtained from interviews with Mr. William Baker of the Long Range Planning Committee of Synod of Arizona; the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Rev. A. Leonard Miller, Coordinator of Inner City Work of United Methodist Churches of Metropolitan Phoenix; Rev. Richard Moyer, Assoc. Director of Catholic Charities for Diocese of Tucson (Roman); Rabbi Albert Plotkin of Temple Beth Israel, Phoenix, Arizona; Rev. Donald R. Jessup, Pastor of Grace United Methodist Church, Phoenix, Arizona.

[6]Lewis S. Mudge, *Why Is the Church in the World* (New York: Board of Education, 1967), p. 8.

[7]Two such are (1) Metropolitan Urban Service Training Facility, 220 E. 49th St., New York, 10017, (2) The Urban Training Center for Christian Mission, 40 No. Ashland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60607.

[8]A description of the Institute is given in the fourth issue, Summer 1967, of its publication *Image: Journal of the Ecumenical Institute*, published by the Division of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, 3444 Congress Parkway, Chicago, Ill., 60624.

their own needs. Programs are varied and intensive, extending from the creation of new community symbols such as hats, insignia, and songs to be used at community functions to organizing Negro senior citizens, teaching Negro history in local schools, and holding community art festivals. They attack such economic problems as housing, employment, consumer education, practical education, voter education. Job training, pre-school programs, after-school programs, and work with youth gangs are also conducted at the Institute. All age groups are dealt with in an attempt to destroy the negative "victim image" of the Negro.

Not all involvement by churches is so well defined, coordinated and executed as the work done by the Ecumenical Institute. The bulk of individual and church involvement is found in examples of Phoenix activity below. Some of the activity is inter-faith and inter-racial.

Many churches have food and clothing banks; St. Vincent de Paul (Catholic) has a dining hall in Phoenix for indigents. Thrift and salvage stores are operated by churches, and some have joined with governmental units (receiving OEO funds). Headstart centers, staffed with professionals and volunteers from churches, are prevalent. Neighborhood and community centers contribute funds, building materials, physical labor, and workshops of all kinds.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews and its local affiliates have been active in setting up bi-racial and inter-faith summer day camps for young children and human relations seminars for teenagers and adults. All of the Methodist churches in Phoenix have committed themselves to a two-month study of the Kerner Commission Report as top priority for adult classes. One youth group from a Jewish synagogue has constructed on weekends a recreation center at a migrant farm labor camp. Other church groups are buying old homes, remodeling them and selling them to low-income families at 3 percent interest, with approval of a new FHA program. Visiting rest homes and conducting cultural and recreational programs there utilizes many other talents of Phoenix church members.

Despite all the good intentions represented above, involvement by institutions as opposed to individual involvement is difficult for many church members to understand. The most significant fact is the gradual movement away from simple provision of food and clothing, representative of charity, toward more sophisticated efforts designed to enable the ghetto resident to become his own master. The variety and quality of programs are limited only by the imagination of participants.

RESISTANCE TO INVOLVEMENT

Involvement in the urban crisis is not without its problems. Some church members contribute money but resist personal involvement, feeling such activity to be the job of the ministers. Others interpret involvement by the church as political action, encroaching on old church–state traditions. Those favoring political action feel the church is of necessity already involved in the life of the community and therefore is part of the decision-making process whether the church realizes it or not. As mentioned earlier, many members may feel satisfaction in taking a sack of groceries to the church for the needy

but cannot accept institutional approaches where the corporate body may assume advocacy, even legally, for the poor. Obviously the institutional approach requires strong individual and church commitment to a given task. Other church members feel that divergent political views held by a congregation make corporate action impossible. Lewis Mudge states, however, that positive action will reconcile people who differ without squelching differing viewpoints.[9] Others feel that churches are not competent to act where public policy is technical and where expert knowledge is needed to unravel problems. This argument ignores the numerous skills and talents to be found in most congregations.

The most significant argument leveled against church involvement can be found in the fear that too much involvement in community action can cause the church to forget its central purpose, which is the salvation of the individual soul and its relationship with God. Professors Rodney Stark and Charles Glock found that religious orthodoxy tends to decrease as ethicalism increases (ethicalism is defined as concern for social justice).[10] As churches direct their members toward social work, fewer members seem to adhere to a literal interpretation of the supernatural tenets of Christianity.

Mormon response to the challenge of secularism is discussed elsewhere in this section and specific suggestions for involvement in city planning are presented. However, it may be helpful to point out several myths concerning the nature of the urban crisis which seem to be in vogue among Mormons.

In addition to our myth regarding the Negro (also discussed elsewhere and in past issues of *Dialogue*) others are obvious in the areas of (1) the causes and cures of poverty, (2) the omnipotence of our Welfare system, and (3) ecumenical activity.

A FOLKLORE OF POVERTY

The mythology on poverty has three parts: (1) The myth that starvation is the motivating force that keeps the shoulders of the masses to the economic wheel; (2) the belief that everyone can find a job who wishes to do so, and (3) the "belief that all men have the necessary resources, if they will but use them to compete on even terms for available opportunity"[11] — the myth of the self-made man. In our culture it is often sinful to be poor, a mark of inferior moral character and evidence of a lack of spirituality. Where productive work was once the essence of social status, now consumption seems to be the god of all avid consumers. Mormons have adopted, unknowingly, the Protestant ethic, which is based on the Calvinistic notion that the evidence of a man's grace is in his worldly position and his wealth. This in turn seems to reinforce the idea that somehow if one pays tithing and is a good Church member, it will be impossible to be poor.

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[9]Mudge, *op. cit.*, Ch. 3.

[10]Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock, "Will Ethics Be the Death of Christianity?" *Transaction*, V, 7 (June, 1968) 7–14.

[11]Alan D. Wade, "The Guaranteed Minimum Income: Social Work's Challenge and Opportunity," *Social Work*, XII, 1 (January, 1967) 96.

Another myth closely associated with this one is that poverty is individually caused. On the contrary, the poverty found in a highly technological society like ours is structural. This means that entire groups of persons may lack marketable job skills regardless of spirituality or moral character. Thus, many minority groups are locked into poverty because of inequity in social structure.

Certain elements in the Church have so distorted the achievements of capitalism that it is nearly impossible to be objective in discussing the merits of cooperative political programs. As a result, any highly pragmatic solutions are called "socialism" and are doomed to failure. If we are to succeed in solving city problems, however, cooperative action *must* be stressed.

I have found many Americans (and many Latter-day Saints) to be ignorant about the Public Welfare System which imprisons so many Americans. The Welfare System is blamed for idleness and many other social problems. One constantly hears of the value and nobility of hard work, yet such paeans are irrelevant when many people simply do not have access to employment. Although many aspects of the Public Welfare System — such as its low grants, its asinine laws and regulations which violate not only constitutional rights but human dignity, and its bureaucratic red tape — should be denounced, many of us denounce them for the wrong reasons. Many public works projects for welfare recipients and Title V training programs make the Church's welfare projects look small and insignificant by comparison. In fact, one of our biggest pitfalls is the assumption that Church welfare programs are perfect. Several years ago, it seems, mass advertising sold Church members the slogan "We Take Care of Our Own" and we have believed it ever since. Perhaps our welfare program *is* more comprehensive in the production and distribution of concrete services (food and clothing) than programs of other churches. But it must be obvious by now that it does not engage in other related services, like job training (other than Deseret Industries). It is not likely that we could sustain our own in case of a real national emergency. And if we continue to serve people by first separating the worthy poor from the unworthy poor, a large mass of humanity will certainly go unserved. An urban society is so complex, requiring paid professionals in so many aspects of social welfare, that sometimes the traditional functions of family and church *must* be assumed by those governmental units with sufficient resources.

Ecumenical activity may mean different things to different people. However, many Mormons seem to feel that any cooperation between themselves and other churches will result in dilution of their own doctrines and practices. But this need not be the case. If some of our best minds would work on construction of an appropriate ecumenical program, we could work with other churches in solving urban problems and would find that our own image had grown thereby.

Discovering and correcting folklore no longer useful to us should be a project for all Mormons. We can base this undertaking upon understanding of what our own unique contributions can be. There are five phases of involvement, including both individual and corporate types which might be

helpful: (1) the exorcising of our folklore (cultural and theological), (2) an increase in services to our own members, (3) information gathering and indirect service to others, (4) direct involvement by individuals, and (5) direct involvement by the Church in humanizing social institutions. The role of the Church will differ. Sometimes it will discern what is happening, sometimes it will speak, sometimes it will act. As Lewis Mudge puts it, "Nothing the Church does will be of any avail unless what it works for in the world is already becoming a reality within its own fellowship."[12]

EPILOGUE

Taking action in the world carries with it the risk of failure. Mistakes will be made; programs or approaches will be dropped; but this will not mean that God is Dead, or that we do not have revelation in the Church. We must be willing to admit that the Church *is* political, whether we like it or not, that it *is* involved in community life and that it plays a part in solving community problems, either by direct action, or by its silence.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS HENCE — 1945

In a day when the Saints, as well as members of many other churches, hoped that the millennium would soon come, the MILLENNIAL STAR *(October 15, 1845, Vol. VI, pp. 140–42, reprinted from* THE NAUVOO NEIGHBOR*) published this prognostication of events which might be expected to take place in the year 1945. We are indebted to Dale L. Morgan of the University of California's Bancroft Library for calling this piece to our attention. Following this note is a contemporary forecast by an L.D.S. economist as to what we might anticipate in the year 2000* A.D.

God, through his servants the prophets, has given all men a clue to the future. In view of this, we were cogitating upon our bed the other night, what would be the state of the world a hundred years hence. In quick succession the events and periods which have filled up nearly six thousand years passed before our mind's eyes, together with the accompanying, "Thus saith the Lord, I will destroy the earth with a flood, after one hundred and twenty years. There shall be seven years of plenty and seven years of famine in Egypt. Israel shall be held captive in Babylon till the land enjoys her Sabbath's seventy years;" and then came Daniel's numbers; and the exact time when the Saviour should be was born, his crucifixion, and second coming.

While thus looking over the "has beens," we fell into a deep sleep, and the angel of our presence came to the bedside and gently said, "Arise!" Now, it mattereth not whether we were in the body or out of it; asleep or awake; on earth or in heaven; or upon the water or in the air; the sum of the matter is like this: — Our guide, for such we shall call the angel or being that conveyed us, soon brought us in sight of a beautiful city.

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[12]Mudge, *op. cit.*, Chs. 1 and 2.

As we were nearing the place, a "pillar of fire," seemingly over the most splendid building, lit the city and country for a great distance around, and as we came by, THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD IN ZION, in letters of a pure language, and sparkling like diamonds, disclosed where we were. Our guide went round the city in order to give us a chance to "count the towers;" and, as it was nearly sunrise, he conducted us into one, that we might have a fair chance to view the glory of Zion by daylight. We seemed to be swallowed up in sublimity! The "pillar of fire" as the sun rose majestically mellowing into a "white cloud," as a shade for the city from heat. The dwellings, so brilliant by night, had the appearance of "precious stones," and the streets glittered like gold, and we marvelled. "Marvel not," said our guide, "this is the fulfilment of the words of Isaiah:—'For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron: I will also make thine officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness.' "

Now the eyes of our understanding began to be quickened, and we learned that we were one hundred years ahead of "common life," and we glorified. The "veil" that hides our view from the glory of the upper deep had been taken away, and all things appeared to us as to the Lord. The great earthquake mentioned by John, and other prophets before him, had levelled the mountains over the whole earth:—the "sea" and rolled back as it was in the beginning, the crooked was made straight, and the rough places plain. The earth yielded her "increase," and the knowledge of God exalted man to the society of resurrected beings.

The melody and prayers of the morning in Zion, showed that the "*Lord was there,*" and truly so; for, after breakfast the chariot of Jesus Christ was made ready for a pleasure ride; and the chariots of his "hundred and forty-four thousand" glittered in the retinue of "earth's greatest and best," so gloriously, that the show exhibited the splendour of *gods,* whose Father's name they bore on the front of their crowns.

Our curiosity excited us to inquire, what day they celebrated? To which the guide replied, "This is the *Feast-day* of the Lord to JOSEPH AND HYRUM SMITH, for being martyred for the truth, held yearly on the 7th day of the fourth month, throughout all the tribes of Israel!"

Flesh and blood cannot comprehend the greatness of the scene; the worthy of the earth, with Adam at their head; the martyrs of the different dispensations, with Abel at their head; and honourable men from other worlds composed an assemblage of majesty, dignity, and divinity so much above the little pageantry of man in his self-made greatness, that we almost forgot that mortals ever enjoyed anything more than misery, in all the pomp and circumstance of *man's power over man*! This was a feast-day for truth! This was the reward of integrity!—This was the triumph of "kings and priests" unto God, and was a holiday of eternity! Who could be happier than he that was among the holy throng? No one; and away we rode out of Zion among her stakes.

At the first city out, we found the same spirit—ALL WERE ONE. While there, the following news, by post, came from the east. It was read from one of the papers just published that morning.

"In digging for the foundation of our new Temple in the 124th city of Joseph, near where it is supposed the city of New York once stood, a large square stone was taken from the ruins of some building, which, by a seam in it, indicated more than mere stone. The seam being opened, disclosed a *lead box* about six by eight inches square. This box was soon found to contain several daily papers of its time, together with some coin of the old government of the United States. It will be recollected that all the inhabitants of this city, which were spared from calamity, were 'slung out when the earth was turned upside down,' some forty or fifty years ago for their wickedness."

The account of "fires" in one of these papers was truly lamentable, destroying, as the paper said, more than *twenty-five millions worth of property* in about three months. Each contained a large number of murders, suicides, riots, robberies, and hints of war expected, with columns of divisions among the sectarian churches about "*slavery*, Onderdonking, and the right way." The *Archer of Paradise* remarked, as these horrors of "old times" were being read, that "*all that* was transacted in the last days of Babylon, before Satan was bound."

Joseph Smith said, "Lord, we will put those papers and coin in the repository of relics and curiosities of Satan's kingdom of the old world;" which was agreed to by all, after exhibiting the coin. The silver coin contained the words "United States of America," and "half dollar," round the image of an eagle on one side, and a woman sitting upon the word "LIBERTY," and holding up a night cap, between thirteen stars over "1845," on the other.

The only idea that could be gathered from all this was, that the government had fallen from the *splendour* of an eagle to the pleasure of women, and was holding up the night cap, as a token that the only liberty enjoyed then, was star-light *liberty*, because their deeds were evil.

Another coin had the appearance of gold, with "five dollars" upon it, but upon close examination it was found to be nothing but fine brass.

While this was going on, the Lord said, "beware of the leven of old. — Let us enjoy our day."

In a moment this band of brethren were off, and what could equal the view? No veil, no voice; the heavens were in their glory, and the angels were ascending and descending. The earth was in its beauty; the wolves and sheep; the calves and lions; the behemoth and the buffalo; the child and the serpent, enjoyed life without fear, and all men were one.

As we were passing to another city, amid all this perfection of the reign of Jesus before his ancients gloriously, we discovered the fragment of a hewn stone, of a lightish blue colour, with an abbreviated word "Mo," and the figures "1838" upon it. To which the "Lion of the Lord" exclaimed, "*The wicked are turned into hell*, and forgotten, but the righteous reign with God in glory," and it seemed as if the echo came from a redeemed world — "*glory*."

At about two, after five hours' ride among the cities and stakes of Zion, we returned to the capital, to partake of the feast of the martyrs.

The preparation was perfect. A table through the grove of Zion, for more than three hundred thousand saints, where *Jesus Christ* sat at the head of the

fathers and mothers, sons and daughters of Israel, was a sight which the world, even Babylon in its best days, never witnessed. Says Jesus, as every eye turned upon him,

"Our Father, and thine,
Bless me and mine. Amen."

After the feast (the sentiments, words of wisdom, and other touching matters were to be published in *Zo-ma-rah*, or *Pure News*, and are omitted) we stepped into the News Room, and the first article in the *Pure News*, which attracted our attention, was, the Minutes of the General Conference, held in Zion, on the 14th day of the first month, A.D., 1945, when it was motioned by Joseph Smith, and seconded by John the Revelator, "that *forty-eight* new cities be laid out and builded, this year, in accordance with the prophets which have said, 'who can number Israel? who can count the dust of Jacob? Let him fill the earth with cities.' Carried unanimously."

Twelve of these cities to be laid out beyond eighteen degrees north, for the tribes of Reuben, Judah and Levi. Twelve on the east, at the same distance, for the tribes of Joseph, Benjamin, and Dan. Twelve on the south, at the same distance, for the tribes of Simeon, Issacher, and Zebulon; and twelve on the west, at the same distance, for the tribes of Gad, Asher, and Napthali.

The paper contained a notice for the half yearly conference, as follows:

"The general half yearly conference will be held at Jerusalem, on the 14th day of the seventh month, alternately with the yearly conference in Zion.

"It is proposed that the high way cast up between the two cities of our God, be decorated with fruit and shade trees between the cities and villages, (which are only eighty furlongs apart), for the accommodation of wayfaring men of Israel. Gabriel has brought from paradise some seeds of fruit and grain which were originally in the Garden of Eden, and will greatly add to the comfort and convenience of man."

While we were engaged in reading, a strain of music from some of the "sweet singers of Israel," came so mellowly over our sensations for a moment, that we hardly knew whether the angels or saints of the millenium, were chanting a vesper to their Saviour. We were so delighted with the performance as we saw the "musical chariot" pass, filled with young men and maidens, all in white robes, that we only remember the following verses:—

"Death and Satan being banish'd;
And the 'veil' for ever vanish'd;
All the earth's again replenish'd,
And in beauty appears:
So we'll sing hallelujah's;
While we worship our Saviour,
And fill the world with cities
Through the *'great thousand years.'* "

Our eye next caught a map showing the earth as it was *and is.* We were delighted with the earth as it is. Four rivers headed a little south of Zion, for Zion, is situated in "the side of the north." The first river is called "Pasown," and runs west. The second is called "Giau," and runs south. The third

is called "Haudakal," and runs north; and the fourth is called "The Fraters," and runs east. These four rivers divide the earth into *four quarters,* as it were in the days of Adam, and with their tributaries give an uninterrupted water communication over the face of the world, for in the beginning the earth was not called "finished" till it was "very good," for every thing.

By the paper we were reading, we learned that rain was expected in the beginning of the seventh month, according to the law of the Lord, for the promise is, "it shall rain moderately in the first and seventh month, that the ploughman may overtake the reaper."

Contemplating the greatness of the earth in its glory, with Jesus Christ for her king, president, and lawgiver, with such wise counsellors as Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Elijah, Peter, and Joseph, we were imperceptibly led to exclaim, "Great is the wisdom, great is the glory, and great is the power of man with his Maker!" — when on a sudden our guide came in and said, "you must drink wine with the Lord in his kingdom and then return." This we did, and many things which we saw are not lawful to utter, and can only be known as we learned them, by the assistance of a guardian angel.

When we were ready to return, our guide observed, "perhaps you would like to look through the urim and thummim of God, upon the abominations of the world in the day of its sin." "Yes," was our reply, and he handed us the "holy instrument." One look, and the soul sickened. Eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man what folly, corruptions, and abominations are wrought among men to gratify the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the cunning of the devil. But they shall come. We returned, and awoke, perfectly enamoured with the beauty and glory of Zion *to be,* as well as the splendour and harmony of the "feast of the martyrs;" determining in our mind, at some future day to give a sketch of the TEMPLE wherein Jesus sat and reigned with the righteous, when there was "not a Canaanite in the land," nor anything to hurt or destroy in all the holy mountain — when the earth should be full of the knowledge of God as the waters cover the sea. In short, the heavenly reality of *one hundred years hence.*

INCOME AND MEMBERSHIP PROJECTIONS FOR THE CHURCH THROUGH THE YEAR 2000

Jack W. Carlson

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It is currently fashionable to look ahead to see what the future is likely to be, and, if what is seen is unsatisfactory, to consider alternative futures and means necessary to achieve them. This is based upon a recognition that the future is in part what we make it. If we know the consequences of cur-

rent actions, society – and that part of society influenced by churches, and more particularly the Mormon Church – can reshape the future in a more satisfactory way.

My comments are limited to a simple forecast of Church membership and average individual and family incomes of Church members through the year 2000 A.D. More specifically, national and Mormon population are projected forward to the year 2000 based on historical information and modified by some speculation of the likely forces operating to influence Mormon membership growth during the next 32 years. The forecast will include some estimate of geographical location and urban–rural split, and average and total Mormon income through the remainder of the twentieth century. All forecasts are necessarily based on the assumption that thermonuclear warfare or other highly destructive and disruptive catastrophies will not occur during this period of time.

POPULATION CHANGE

By the year 2000, while the United States population will probably grow from 200 million to just over 300 million, the Mormon Church is likely to grow from two million (1 percent of the U.S. population) to six million members (2.3 percent of the probable U.S. population) or at an annual rate of 4 percent for the remaining 32 years of the twentieth century. This growth rate is considerably more than that of the nation as a whole and about the same as Mormon membership growth during the preceding 32 years (1936–1968) but less than membership growth during earlier years in the history of the Church. A lower forecast may be justified because of (1) the likelihood of a continued decrease in the number of children per family as society becomes more urbanized; (2) the great difficulty of maintaining a dynamic proselytizing program in a larger, necessarily more bureaucratic, organization; (3) the impact of new immigration restrictions on the long-run flow of foreign converts; and (4) other factors.

A lower forecast figure is not suggested because average income and health standards will likely act to increase the life expectancy of Mormons and thus offset lower birth rates and less dynamic proselytizing efforts. Life expectancy may increase about 10 percent for the population as a whole from an average of 70 to 77 years. But for the average white, middle-income, active Church member, the average life expectancy might rise from about 75 years now to nearly 83 years in 2000 A.D.

This forecast could be unduly pessimistic because membership growth could accelerate based on increased proselytizing efforts and a more favorable environment for traditional values represented by the Church. Therefore, I have provided an estimate for a higher growth rate for the optimist and a lower rate for the pessimist.

Although Mormons will not loom large as a proportion of the nation's population, there will be sizable numbers of Mormons in such states as Utah, California, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, and Nevada. Although their numbers will increase in size in each of these states, Mormons may become a

smaller proportion of the inhabitants of western states — particularly Utah and Idaho; this could occur because of the significant migration of non-Mormons into these states and the continued migration of Church members to other areas.

Mormons in the United States will increasingly be located in suburban areas in the West. The larger average family size of Mormons, the stress on open spaces for physical exercise and recreation, and the larger proportion of Mormons in the middle-income bracket are indicators that they will continue to locate in suburbia. As is the case for the United States as a whole, Mormons in rural areas will find fewer opportunities for jobs because agriculture, mining, forestry, fishing and other extractive industries generally located in rural environments will decrease not only as a relative proportion of all industrial output but absolutely as well. Moreover, the greater opportunities for personal development in urban areas will act as a magnet drawing rural Mormons — particularly the young — to the suburbs.

Mormons will be disproportionately underrepresented in central cities because their middle incomes will give them the ability to live in suburban areas and because few of the minority groups found in the cores of large cities will provide members of the Church.

The growth of the Church in foreign countries is more difficult to forecast. There are reasons to expect that the growth in foreign Church membership will be greater than in the United States, even though in the future American value systems might be less popular in developing countries. The larger growth rate in the less developed areas such as South and Central America will probably occur because of large families, some decrease in the death rate, and the greater ease in proselytizing people with more traditional values. Considering both favorable and unfavorable factors, the present number of one-half million Church members abroad will probably reach two and one-half to three million by 2000 A.D. — increasing at a rate of 6 percent per year.

The concentration of Mormons in a few Christian or Americanized countries is likely to continue as it does today, although Mormons are being converted in such unusual places as Southeast Asia. In decreasing order of Mormon population size, these countries are now Canada, New Zealand, England, Scotland, Brazil, Germany, Uruguay, Samoan Islands, Australia, Argentina, Tongan Islands, Guatemala, Chile, Japan, Peru, Netherlands, France and South Africa. The growth in Church membership will probably continue to concentrate in these countries during the remainder of the twentieth century.

The Mormon population in the world is therefore likely to rise from 2.6 million or 0.08 percent of the 3 billion inhabitants of this planet in 1968 to 8.5 million or 0.28 percent of the projected population of 5 billion people forecast for 2000 A.D.

INCOME CHANGE

The average personal income of Mormons in the United States may presently be about $3,500 or the income of Americans adjusted for the approximate mix of race and locational factors peculiar to Mormons. This is com-

pared to the national average of $3,410. The estimate of a slightly higher average income for Mormons in comparison with other Americans can be explained by a higher average level of skill attainment and, perhaps, by a greater emphasis by Mormons upon excelling in their jobs and making money. These factors are partially eroded by the generally lower average income of people living in Utah and Idaho and some other western states as compared to other states.

By the year 2000, the average personal income may be about $9,000 for Mormons and $8,000 for other Americans, assuming full employment of resources and growth in output of goods and services at the nation's current potential, which is about 4 percent — excluding the artificial rise in income caused by inflation.

The median Mormon *family* income is presently estimated to be about $8,700 compared to about $8,400 for the United States population as a whole. By 2000 A.D. the median Mormon *family* in the United States could be receiving an income of $23,000.

Families headed by professionally trained individuals will generate even larger incomes. The average gross income for families with a parent skilled in some of the professional specialties of economics, law and medicine could reach an average of $75,000 or more per year.

Income will rise because of large increases in the goods and services provided for each hour worked which in turn will come about because of technological change. New techniques will be developed and embodied in new machines such as fourth generation computers or developed and applied by people through increased use of applied mathematics and engineering. For this to occur, continued high investment in machines and investment in education and training must be fostered. Both types of investments account for the reason that man-hour productivity increases by about 3 percent per year.

Education among the Mormons is already high, perhaps higher than the 15 percent of Americans in their late twenties who have graduated from college, and by the end of this century the proportion completing college will likely soar to nearly twice this figure in the United States. In the year 2000, perhaps as many as 75 percent of all Mormons will have completed a year or more of college by their thirtieth birthday.

Education and technological knowledge transferred by education will make it possible to increase the proportion of people who are imaginative, who persevere, and who have the ability to think clearly. Some scientists contend that the achievements that distinguish man from the animals and that are responsible for man's civilization, art, literature, and science are attained by only 1 percent of the human population. The proportion is likely to increase to perhaps as high as 2 percent in the next 32 years.

By 2000 A.D., technical knowledge will probably increase by 200 percent of that which has accumulated since the dawn of man. Thus a college graduate who masters the current technical knowledge in his field and lives off this bank of knowledge for 32 years may find his knowledge two-thirds inadequate. And technical knowledge and its application do influence "wisdom" and "val-

ues." Assuming that there is no technical knowledge generation gap now — which is obviously an unreal assumption — there could be a two-thirds "gap" by the year 2000 if older people do not progress rapidly. This places a high premium on those who remain current and understand technological change and its impact on our society. More members of the Church will live to be 100 years old; for these centenarians, five generations will pass from birth to death. They will live about four generations beyond elementary and secondary schooling and college, the time when they accumulated their basic technical knowledge and developed their set of values. Church leadership is and should be conscious of the fact that aging leadership must be tempered with continuous education and open communication channels with younger generations and high-level leadership opportunities for all adult generations if the Church is to remain dynamic and viable in a rapidly changing world.

Table 1
ESTIMATED MORMON, UNITED STATES AND WORLD POPULATION
1936, 1968, AND 2000 A.D.
(Millions)

	1936	1968	2000	Percent Annual Increase 1936–1968	Percent Annual Increase 1968–2000 (Est.)
World Population					
Total	1,800	3,000	5,000	1.6%	1.6%
			6		2% U.S.; 4% elsewhere
Mormons	0.8	2.6	10	3.6%	4% U.S.; 6% elsewhere
			16		6% U.S.; 6% elsewhere
Percent of World			0.12%		2% U.S.; 4% elsewhere
Population	.04%	.08%	0.20%		4% U.S.; 6% elsewhere
			0.32%		6% U.S.; 6% elsewhere
United States					
Total	128	200	300	1.4%	1.3%
Urban[1]	66	75%	90%		
Rural	44	25%	10%		
			4		2%
Mormons	0.7	2	7	3.3%	4%
			13		6%
Percent of U.S.			1.29%		2%
Population	0.5%	1%	2.26%		4%
			4.19%		6%

[1]Places with over 2,500 population.

Source: All estimates are based in part on historical data from the U.S. Census Bureau and the Church offices.

Table 2
ESTIMATED INCOME OF MORMONS AND ALL AMERICANS
1936, 1968, AND 2000 A.D.
(1968 Prices)

	1936	1968 (Est.)	2000 (Est.)
United States Total			
Gross National Product	$241B	$861B	$3,072B
Total Personal Income[2]	$200B	$686B	$2,408B
Income per Person (Average)[3]	$1,418	$3,410	$8,024
Income per Family (Median)[3]	$3,300	$7,526	$18,800
Average Tax Burden	18%	34%	40–50%
Mormons in the United States (Est.)			
Personal Income of All Mormons[2]	$1B	$7B	$63B[1]
Income per Person (Average)[3]	$1,418	$3,500	$9,000
Income per Family (Median)[3]	$3,400	$8,700	$23,000
Full Tithing (10%)	$110M	$700M	$6.3B[1]
Partial Tithing (3%)	$33M	$210M	$1.9B[1]
Average Tax and Average Tithing as a Percent of Personal Income[4]	21%	36%	42–52%
Average Tax and Full Tithing as a Percent of Personal Income[4]	26%	41%	47–57%

[1]All estimates based on 4% annual growth in Church membership.
[2]Total income to individuals before deduction for personal taxes.
[3]Before personal taxes (Personal Income).
[4]Includes tithing as an income deduction.

Source: All estimates of income and population are based in part on historical data from the Commerce Department and the Church offices.

The bountiful rewards for Mormons from the future American economy can be used for a variety of goods and services such as increases in the quantity and quality of food, clothing, housing, entertainment, education, medical care and Church activities. Some purchases will likely be made directly in the market place, such as for food, clothing, and shelter. Other purchases will be made jointly with other consumers through the government for such things as urban transportation, environmental pollution control, communication systems, and national security; such purchases are far too expensive or unavailable if purchased by individuals alone. Consequently, government at all levels — local, state, federal and even international — will have to provide these. In addition, members of society may wish to redistribute a larger proportion of their income to the disadvantaged than they do now (e.g., to the handicapped, the unskilled, the poor).

Both of these last uses of personal income will likely increase the average tax burden from the current level of 34 percent to at least 40 percent by 2000 A.D. This will mean an increase in community purchases and redistributive

activities of about 400 percent between now and 2000 A.D., while direct purchase of goods and services will increase about 300 percent.

In addition, Mormons will likely continue to give part of their income for new Church facilities, the upkeep of older facilities, the operation of Church programs, and the needs of other Church members. If a full tithing is paid by all Church members, then the potential source of annual revenue for the Church may rise from an *estimate* of current *potential* of about $.75 billion to over $6 billion by 2000 A.D. But the tithing potential is undoubtedly larger than what is now and will be paid. Perhaps 3 percent is the average rate contributed now. At this rate, receipts from tithing could rise from about $216 million in 1968 to $1.9 billion in 2000 A.D. And if the Church reaps another $100 million from other sources now, then the nearly $1 million dollars a day income could rise to over $6 million per day. This is equivalent to 11,000 chapels each year ($200,000 each) or the education of 440,000 Mormons ($5,000 per year per student).

Both "actual" tithing and average taxes will likely increase from the present level of about 36 percent to at least 42 percent in 2000 A.D. In the case of the full tithepayer and average taxpayer, the increase could be from about 41 percent to 47 percent.

CONCLUSION

The remaining years of the twentieth century will increase the relative and absolute size of Church membership. Church members will increase in wealth to an unprecedented level and benefit from rapid technological change. Both wealth and new knowledge purchased with it will undoubtedly require the Church and its members to adjust to a rapidly changing world or run the risk of being in the world and out of it all at the same time.

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FIRST PRIZE: DAVIS BITTON, University of Utah for his essay, "B. H. Roberts as Historian." (Winter, 1968).

Honorable Mention: STEPHEN TAGGART, Cornell University for his essay "Social and Historical Origins of Mormonism's Negro Policy" (to be published in Summer, 1969 issue).

Judges: *Dallin H. Oaks, Professor of Law, University of Chicago.*
O. Meredith Wilson, Director, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California.
David E. Miller, Professor of History and Chairman, Dept. of History, University of Utah.

Religious Literature (Theology, Philosophy, Sermons).

FIRST PRIZE: LENET READ, Durham, North Carolina for her sermon "Isaiah's, Samuel's Shadows on Our Time" (to be published in 1969).

Honorable Mention: MARDEN J. CLARK, Brigham Young University, for his essay "Some Implications of Human Freedom" (to be published in 1969).

Judges: *Lowell Bennion, Associate Dean of Students, University of Utah, and member of the L.D.S. Church Coordinating Committee for Youth.*
Jay Butler, Assistant Professor of Religion, Brigham Young University.
Joe J. Christensen, Director, Institute of Religion, University of Utah; Coordinator of Seminaries and Institutes, Salt Lake District.

Imaginative Literature (Fiction, Poetry, Personal Essays).

FIRST PRIZE: DOUGLAS H. THAYER, Brigham Young University, for his short story "The Red Tail Hawk" (to be published in 1969).

Honorable Mention: SYLVIA RUTH, for her poem "For Our Consummate Passover" (Spring, 1968).

Judges: *Wayne Booth, Dean of the College and Professor of English, University of Chicago.*
Cherry B. Silver, Ph.D. in English Literature from Radcliffe and member of DIALOGUE'S *Board of Editors, Denver, Colorado.*
Wallace Stegner, Professor of English and Director of the Creative Writing Center, Stanford University.