

DIALOG

A JOURNAL OF MORMON

A Journal of

MORMON
THOUGHT



Thought



Summer

A JOURNAL



Stanford
University



DIALOGUE

The
most important problems
facing us in working
on a long range pro-
gram for peace
is a tolerant and sympathetic
understanding between
races and creeds.



Hugh B. Brown

TIMES AND SEAS

"Truth will prevail."

Vol. III, No. 3, CITY OF NAUVOO, ILL. MARCH, 1, 1842.

A FAC-SIMILE FROM THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM

No. 1.

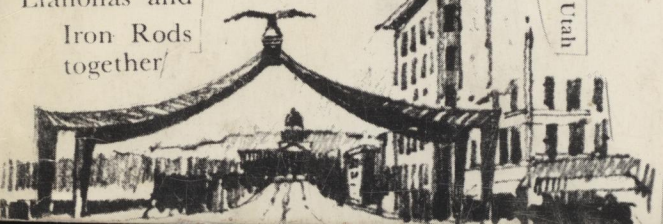


REVIEWS
POETRY
LETTERS
THOUGHT
ROUNDTABLE
ART
MORMON HISTORY
A JOURNAL



Salt Lake City, Utah

Liahonas and
Iron Rods
together

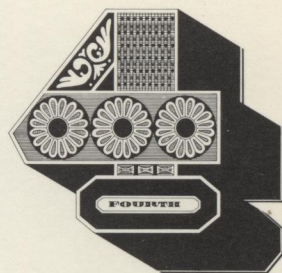


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DIALOGUE

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DIALOGUE: A Journal of Mormon Thought
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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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The sketches in this issue are all by: GERRALD L. PULSIPHER

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To the Public.

WHEREAS reports have been industriously put in circulation, that my son *Alvin* had been removed from the place of his interment and dissected, which reports, every person possessed of human sensibility must know, are peculiarly calculated to harrow up the mind of a parent and deeply wound the feelings of relations—therefore, for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of such reports, I, with some of my neighbors, this morning repaired to the grave, and removing the earth, found the body which had not been disturbed.

This method is taken for the purpose of satisfying the minds of those who may have heard the report, and of informing those who have put it in circulation, that it is earnestly requested they would desist therefrom; and that it is believed by some, that they have been stimulated more by a desire to injure the reputation of certain persons than a philanthropy for the peace and welfare of myself and friends.

JOSEPH SMITH.

Palmyra, Sept. 25th, 1824.

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MORMONISM UNVAILED :

OR,

**A FAITHFUL ACCOUNT OF THAT SINGULAR IMPOSITION AND
D E L U S I O N ,**

FROM ITS RISE TO THE PRESENT TIME.

**WITH SKETCHES OF THE CHARACTERS OF ITS
PROPAGATORS,**

AND A FULL DETAIL OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE FAMOUS

GOLDEN BIBLE

WAS BROUGHT BEFORE THE WORLD.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

INQUIRIES INTO THE PROBABILITY THAT THE HISTORICAL PART

OF THE SAID BIBLE WAS WRITTEN BY ONE

SOLOMON SPALDING,

MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS AGO, AND BY HIM INTENDED TO HAVE

BEEN PUBLISHED AS A ROMANCE.

.....

BY E. D. HOWE.

.....

PAINESVILLE :

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.

1834.

hearts of the disciples with it; they rejoiced in the anticipation of it, and they glorified God that he had ever purposed, in the divine mind, to bring in such a day of glory and rejoicing, as the glorious day of redemption, when they should receive their bodies glorified like the glorious body of the Savior, and obtain the end of their faith, even the salvation of their souls.

The Millenium is that order of things which will follow the second advent of the Savior into the world, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and admired of all them that believe. But previous to the time of the Millenium, there must great changes take place in the world, both political and religious—great revolutions will take place among men to prepare the way of the Son of man; and such revolutions, and changes, as never took place since the world began: changes which will effect the whole inhabitants of the world, to the remotest bounds of the universe—no corner so sequestered as not to feel their influence—no cave too deep to hear the sound thereof, and to feel the influence of the unparalleled events which will precede the Millenium.—The way of this day of wonders will be prepared by a general commotion of all nature: even eternity itself shall feel it: the lightnings shall flash, the thunders shall roar, and earthquakes bellow, until the lower creation trembles: angels shall fly to and fro through the midst of heaven, crying to the inhabitants of the earth, and proclaiming the judgments of God against them: Gentile sectarianism shall fall like a torturing fabric, the foundation of which has given way. Such will be the terrors which will precede the Millenium that all faces will gather blackness, and nation will lash against nation, kingdom against kingdom, empire against empire, country against country, and people against people.—The saints of God, which are scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth, shall be gathered together, both men and heavenly messengers will be employed in gathering them until not one shall be left of all the saints of the Most High, but they shall all be gathered together, and shall be taught and instructed until they are prepared for the reception of their King, and then he will unveil the heavens, and all nations, tongues, kindreds, and languages, shall

see him, and at his presence the wicked, which remain, shall perish, and the righteous only be left. And then comes the Millenium, which will last for one thousand years.

BROTHER O. COWDERY:

Having learned from the first No. of the Messenger and Advocate, that you were, not only about to "give a history of the rise and progress of the church of the Latter Day Saints;" but, that said "history would necessarily embrace my life and character," I have been induced to give you the time and place of my birth; as I have learned that many of the opposers of those principles which I have held forth to the world, profess a personal acquaintance with me, though when in my presence, represent me to be another person in age, education, and stature, from what I am.

I was born, (according to the record of the same, kept by my parents,) in the town of Sharon, Windsor Co. Vt. on the 23rd of December, 1805.

At the age of ten my father's family removed to Palmyra, N. Y. where, and in the vicinity of which, I lived, or, made it my place of residence, until I was twenty one—the latter part, in the town of Manchester.

During this time, as is common to most, or all youths, I fell into many vices and follies; but as my accusers are, and have been forward to accuse me of being guilty of gross and outrageous violations of the peace and good order of the community, I take the occasion to remark, that, though, as I have said above, "as is common to most, or all youths, I fell into many vices and follies," I have not, neither can it be sustained, in truth, been guilty of wronging or injuring any man or society of men; and those imperfections to which I allude, and for which I have often had occasion to lament, were a light, and too often, vain mind, exhibiting a foolish and trifling conversation.

This being all, and the worst, that my accusers can substantiate against my moral character, I wish to add, that it is not without a deep feeling of regret that I am thus called upon in answer to my own conscience, to fulfill a duty I owe to myself, as well as to the cause of truth, in making this public confession of my former uncircumspect walk, and unchaste conversation: and more particularly, as I often acted in violation of those holy precepts which I now came from God. But as the "Articles and Covenants" of this church are plain upon this particular point, I do not deem it important to proceed further. I only add, that I do not, nor never have, pretended to be any other than a man "subject to passion," and liable, without the assisting grace of the Savior, to deviate from that perfect path in which all men are commanded to walk!

By giving the above a place in your valuable paper, you will confer a lasting favor upon myself, as an individual, and, as I humbly hope, subserve the cause of righteousness.

I am, with feelings of esteem, your fellow laborer in the gospel of our Lord.

JOSEPH SMITH jr.

[*Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* December, 1834]

Letters to the Editors

The sketches of Europe in this section are by Gerreld L. Pulsipher.

Dear Sirs:

We enjoyed your recent satire on provincial Mormonism (published as a review of *The Graduate* by one Rustin Kaufman). H. L. Mencken could not have inserted the knife more deftly. It takes an optometrist from Rexburg to help us see ourselves as others see us.

We can't help wondering, however, if "Kaufman" isn't a trifle too caustic for a scholarly publication trying to tread the narrow path *Dialogue* has set for herself. Even the master Mencken stepped past the bounds of propriety and good taste all too frequently.

Mr. & Mrs. Dean L. May
Cambridge, Mass.

P.S. If the review is for real, may we offer our services as movie critics?

Dear Sirs:

Although Rustin Kaufman's review of the movie *The Graduate* was a put-on (and this could be the only explanation for it), still the racial connotations that it contained were in unbelievably poor taste. One wonders whether the publication of writing of this nature is in the best interests of either your journal or the Mormon Church.

Gary M. Bell
Pasadena, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

After reading Mr. Rustin Kaufmann's review of the motion picture, *The Graduate*, I was impressed with the saying "beauty is in the eye of the beholder" and "we are shocked only by the things we are most interested in."

My home teacher and I and later, my family and I all saw this picture. I recommend it to all parents who have concern for their children. I view the film as *moral*, dealing with exploitation of youth with the use of sex as the conduit — the review by Kaufmann *immoral*, using bigotry, Jew hatred, and self righteousness as the conduit.

I saw an entirely different picture than Mr. Kaufmann. I saw a young man who after four years was hit with the irrelevancy of his studies to human needs, the hypocritical tinsel of the homecoming. Disillusioned, confused, not a person but a commodity to be used by friends and parents, he became easy prey for one (Mrs. Robinson) who had selfish exploitation as her definite goal.

If we Mormons would admit (like our ancestors used to) that sensuality and sex exist, maybe we could see how one so uneducated (to life) would be easy prey for those who use men and women as means to acquire wealth and self-gratification. The main objection I have to the picture is that the unrealistic use of the bed scenes could easily obscure the moral impact present.

I wish more of our young girls would fall in love with men who are tender and compassionate though not sophisticated, and maybe look Jewish — rather than blue eyed Nordics, who in the finest American tradition look for kicks among our virgins and count conquests like our ancestors counted scalps. Then, maybe we would not have to add so many young girls (though legally wed to a fraternity brother) to the list of the formerly married.

The wedding scene depicted the oftentimes legal facade which sounds good in church,

but is devoid of the tender feelings of two who should accept each other for what they are. It showed the irrelevant form and sham of modern Christianity. I saw true love prevail over the sick force of empty form and parental ego. Thank goodness, the lack of consummation gave legal sanction to this triumph of young love.

I saw little of civilized and decent people at the wedding — only the masses of non-responsible and soulless bodies which had no moral conscience for their conduct.

To me, a great day will bloom when hatred of Jews or someone different is gone, sexual acts and emotions are not dirty, men in business and church accept each other as brothers, and we humans quit playing God.

Del C. Haws
Sherman Oaks, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

My first reaction was that there must have been a mote in the good doctor's eye; then I reasoned that such a blatant example of mental myopia and spiritual astigmatism was included as an example of "How *not* to be a rational reviewer." But the name haunted me . . . Rustin Kaufmann (spelled Kaufman on page 3)?

After dialing 208-555-1212 and harrasing the Idaho information operators while they double-checked every village from Porthill to Riddle, from Fruitland to Victor (beginning with Rexburg) my third suspicion was confirmed. Again *Dialogue* has scored with a prodigious put-on; was the Reno blast on page four from the same bag? If most readers were as curious as I the *Journal* owes that Rexburg operator an apology!

Roger Wayne Knight
Santa Barbara, California

P.S. And so à propos, an optometrist!

Dear Sirs:

As I first began to read Rustin Kaufmann's review of *The Graduate*, I thought I was encountering a rather amusing bit of satirical writing. Continuing however, I discovered that the writer was actually in dead earnest.

Brother Kaufmann is entitled to whatever opinions he wishes to hold concerning

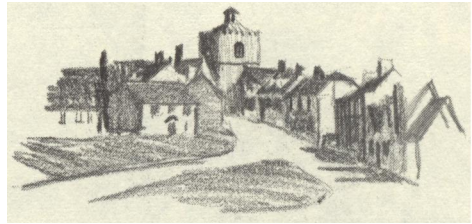
the film. However, there was no excuse for the vicious anti-semitism which he used to justify his criticisms. I suppose one could go through the article and pinpoint examples of Brother Kaufmann's bigotry, but this would be to belabor the obvious. Of more immediate concern is why *Dialogue* printed this kind of demagoguery in the first place.

In short, was the purpose of Kaufmann's article to get what appeared to be a perceptive review of *The Graduate* or show up bigotry within the Church?

If the purpose was a review, then there must have been qualified individuals available and able to argue their position in a manner calculated to invite meaningful debate. Kaufmann's criticisms are more likely to generate heat than light.

On the other hand, if you wanted to reveal member attitudes toward Jews, then call for specific articles concerning this issue. Kaufmann's article does not deal adequately with either the film or why he has certain attitudes toward Jews.

Philip Langer
Concord, California



Dear Sirs:

How ridiculous and ineffectual was the review of *The Graduate* by "Rustin Kaufmann" (Spring, 1969)! It was intended as parody, I suppose, or satire; it failed in these, and succeeded only as monotony and coarse taste. Such a hodge-podge neither enlightens nor amuses. A pity, since the truly moral issues raised by the film could have been seriously discussed, or the provinciality and prejudice of fanatic religionists successfully lampooned.

H. O. Dendurent
Evanston, Illinois

6/DIALOGUE: A Journal of Mormon Thought

Dear Sirs:

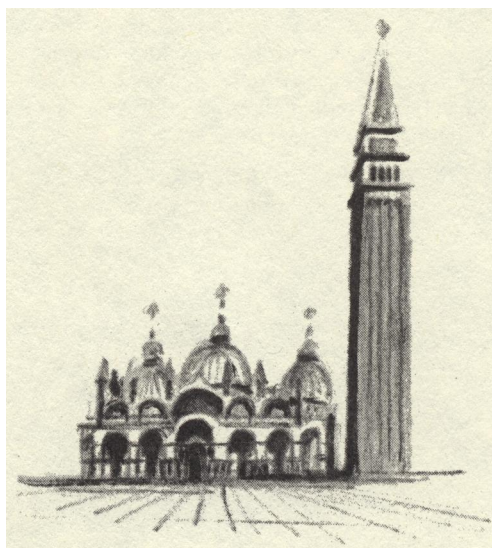
I might quibble with your editorial judgment but not with your sense of humor in publishing the movie review of *The Graduate*. Let me know if you would be interested in a review of "Goodbye, Columbus."

Ben J. Richards
Hollywood, California

P.S. I am a Sunday School teacher.

Dear Sirs:

You are to be congratulated for filling a need that has long been lacking in your publication — humor. I have, from time to time, recognized your clever little way of inserting it under the guise of "History," "Interviews," "Art," and some of



the "Notes and Comments" had an underlying chuckle here and there, with, once in a while, an eye-twinkle.

On an occasion or two (no more, I promise) I almost giggled out loud at the laughable reasoning cleverly hidden in some of your authors' work. But your Volume IV, Number 1 issue has really brought Spring to my life — Mormon humor has been brought forth to the light! — and it is you who have done it. I now can look forward from this Spring of awakening to a never-ending Summer of thigh-slappers in future issues which, if the rollicking item in this one is any example, will en-

shrine your efforts alongside those of the Black Theater of Prague, Grand Guignol of Paris and the colorful phraseology of Mussolini's eldest son when describing the effects of a bomb on a crowd of Ethiopians as a "thing of beauty — opening up like a beautiful crimson flower" which, as you remember, broke people up all over the world a few years ago.

How delightful of you to tuck away among "Reviews," unannounced and unheralded like a rose in a thorn bush — or is it the other way around?

And how cleverly you camouflaged the author's name, but I recognized in a moment that "Rustin Kaufman" is really Dustin Hoffman, currently incommunicado, writing a sequel to *The Graduate* based on the thoughts of an optometrist in Rexburg, Idaho. And the style! So refreshingly reminiscent of "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion"!

Ah, well, DIALOGUE, you've done it again.

Michel M. Grilikhes
Los Angeles, Calif.

P.S. But seriously, it has to be put on. Someone who writes like that would have to be receiving his *Dialogue* in a plain brown wrapper.

Dear Sirs:

Who was the clever but caustic reviewer of *The Graduate* in the Spring issue? What a devastating put-on!

I'm alternately amused and dismayed. I thought yours was a serious journal. Most readers will not be deceived, of course; still it's neither kind nor fair (especially to the citizens of Rexburg) to play that sort of game.

Geraldine Monson
Hayward, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

You certainly hit an all time low when you published Rustin Kaufmann's review of *The Graduate*.

The inclusion of this review in a publication which has won national recognition for its academic and literary excellence seems pointless and farcical. Reviews like

this can be heard in almost any barbershop in America.

It appears that its inclusion is a deliberate attempt by the editorial staff to represent the conservative point of view as something just a little less than ridiculous. The selection of this particular person and review over others which might have been available represents a bigotry almost equal to the thoughts expressed by Mr. Kaufmann.

If it is grist for the liberal mill you were looking for, you certainly got a bagfull with this one. I would hope that in your search for fodder for your academic cannons you might consider the possible pain and misery caused the naïve contributor in the process.

Max W. Swenson,
Director, Institute of Religion
Boulder, Colorado

Dear Sirs:

Rustin Kaufmann's review of "The Graduate" (Spring 1969) is not so much a commentary on the film as an exposition of his own value system. He constructs out of pure empty air the notion that the protagonist is a Jew, and then proceeds to infer that short, dark, dirty, hippy Jewish movie producers, actors and singers are using the film to corrupt our "tall," "neat, blond-haired, blue-eyed," "Nordic," "traditional American" ideals. Strange how one who demonstrates such disdain for Jews could express shock at the blasphemous use of our Lord's Jewish name. It's like an echo from another place and time — say, Germany in the late '30's.

While I completely agree that *The Graduate* is not a film for L.D.S. families, I suggest that one could also entertain some qualms about values that children might pick up in a certain Sunday School Class in Rexburg.

Sam Henrie
Berkeley, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

I am curious why *Dialogue* published the review of *The Graduate*. Please check one or more of the following reasons listed below.

- 1. *Dialogue* is hard up for material, so a staff member contributed an inconsistent, inaccurate article.

- 2. Satire on Mormons who see controversial movies and enjoy complaining about them.

- 3. *Dialogue* has an Arab on its staff.

- 4. *Dialogue* staff member saw the movie and did not understand it.

- 5. Optometrist saw the movie thru his glass darkly.

- 6. Article was submitted by a graduate student in sociology to stimulate response by *Dialogue* readers.

- 7. There really is a Rustin Kaufman? There really is a theater in Rexburg, Idaho?

- 8. *Dialogue* is adding a humor section.

- 9. *Dialogue* is accepting rejects from *The Improvement Era*.

- 10. Other:
(please explain)

Mike Nichols
San Francisco

P.S. "The words of the prophets are written on the subway walls."

Joseph Jeppson, a staff member who is in continual contact with Rustin Kaufman, tells us that Rexburg is a typographical error; that he is gratified to find that Mormon liberals share with him the conviction that some opinions should be suppressed; that he is no longer teaching Sunday School; and that he is currently working on a review of John and Mary at a location which will not be disclosed because of possible vigilante action by the aforementioned liberals. (Ed.)

Dear Sirs:

The discussion by Hunt and Blacker on Mormons and Psychiatry (Winter, 1968) provokes the following response from one who is basically sympathetic to their message but not quite ready to throw in the towel. The criticism centers around the right of psychiatry to claim anything but a semantic victory in altering the non-psychotic patient's life for the better. Hunt and Blacker would imply Mormonism leaves its followers with many unanswered questions and conflicts. Being involved almost constantly with qualified and respected psychiatrist colleagues, I take license to point out psychoanalysis has done little better. How much does supposed insight alter behavior? And is not insight often the view of the

psychiatrist unintentionally transposed into the patient? If all the unbalanced and disturbed souls who enter into psychotherapy came out productive and stable citizens there would be little room for criticism. That the result is something less than this needs no support.

Hunt and Blacker see the strongest man as the one who stands most alone, "... one whose decisions are authentically his own." This heuristic approach forms a major basis for their system, and of course their system is "scientific." (Once again science is invoked to support a group of preconceptions that are really philosophical). One of the great sources of strength in the Church has been its cohesiveness and unity. This helped the Church in a migration across this continent, in the establishment of a community in the West, and in sending out an army of young men to win by dialogue what our nation is losing by the sword. These feats were accomplished at times by the sacrifice of "my will" for "Thy will." The psychiatrists of course realize the necessity of balancing this independence with obedience, but so often they fail to convey that balance to the patient. Their finished products, with newly discovered independence but the cohesiveness of an explosion, are left struggling for a place in a society whose basis is conformity. At this point the patient is more in need of psychiatric help than before. The weaning is often financially determined.

The authors introduce psychiatry, then explain some common misconceptions concerning their discipline. They proceed to explain religious belief and experience in terms of their discipline. They would tend to establish the psychiatric approach as the standard of reference, and their own value judgments are then made in the context of their newly formed vocabulary. Some of us would prefer to think the "standard reference" is yet just beyond the fingertips' grasp. It is not professional heresy to say "Who says so?" when the psychiatrist says, "Mr. B. is really expressing his hostility to his father when he kicks the dog." It is difficult to argue semantics with the men who wrote their own dictionary, however. But where is the court review for the psychiatrist? The pathologist reviews the specimens of the surgeon. The radiologist

keeps the orthopedist honest. The conclusions of the psychiatrist are not subject to such review. He is professionally autonomous except for those of us who occasionally say, "Who says so?" Just one week before writing this letter we removed a brain tumor from a young lady who had been followed for seven years by a psychiatrist with a diagnosis of involuntal melancholia. Under the microscope the tumor looked more like astrocytoma than melancholia.

Finally a word about semantics and morality. Without trying to criticize or defend the situation ethic concept let me relate the absurd extent to which it can be carried. Last year a psychiatrist was censured by his colleagues (a group of neurologists and psychiatrists) for having sexual relations with three of his patents. His defense was that the act was therapeutic in each of these particular cases. Majority rule rather than semantics continues to determine moral value even among psychiatrists and despite the "context," "relationship," "motives," etc. he was censured. There are of course good and bad psychiatrists, and this necessary value judgment, rather than the textbook and journal infatuation with method, influences my Mormon attitude toward the psychiatrists with whom I work. After all, the method can at times be quite ridiculous, as exemplified by a ward nurse who when asked by a patient, "What time is it?" replied, "What time do you think it is?"

Fred K. Christensen, M.D.
Division of Neurosurgery
University of Kentucky
Medical Center
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Sirs:

Recently I read an Associated Press dispatch from Salt Lake City stating that the Church would drop cigarette advertising on its 11-state-five-state chain of radio and television properties:

MORMONS BAN CIGARETTE ADS ON
CHURCH-OWNED STATIONS
SALT LAKE CITY (AP)

Cigarette advertising will be dropped from an 11-state-five-state chain of radio and television properties owned by the Mormon Church, which opposes smoking.

Arch L. Madsen, president of the Church's Bonneville International Corp., made the announcement Monday. He said cigarette advertising provides more than \$250,000. per year, or about 10 per cent of Bonneville's gross revenue.

Madsen said the board of directors made the decision over the weekend, based on evidence gathered by government agencies.

Madsen said the advertising will be dropped June 1, or when current contracts expire.

Bonneville, owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) has these properties: KSL-TV-AM-FM, Salt Lake City; KIRO-TV-AM-FM, Seattle; KMBZ-FM Kansas City; KBIG-AM-FM, in Los Angeles and Avalon, Calif; and WRFM in New York City.

Madsen said network cigarette ads would be out locally.

I have written Arch L. Madsen, expressing my reaction to this announcement, but have received no answer.

When I read Mr. Madsen's announcement I was amazed, and I would respectfully suggest that Bonneville, a commercial arm of the Church, reach over and review the longtime teachings of the Church Doctrinal Division. Mr. Madsen said the board of directors made the decision, "based on evidence by government agencies." He also says that the Church has received more than \$250,000 per year from tobacco advertising.

I think Mr. Madsen is being somewhat less than frank. The Church has received millions of dollars from tobacco advertising, and has also received many many dollars from beer and coffee advertising. The thought of my Church receiving money for services they render tobacco people, whose sole object in spending this money is to induce young people into using tobacco bothers me no end. As one who has spent his life in medicine I have seen the ravages caused by the use of tobacco. Furthermore I question the motives of Bonneville in discontinuing tobacco advertising. I think they concluded that the golden goose would soon be killed, as evidenced by a recent article in the *Wall Street Journal* which says that the Federal Communications Commission intends to remove tobacco advertising from television and radio outlets. I have strong feelings on this sub-

ject and simply cannot understand that which to me is a complete contradiction.

Research over a long period of time has led to the following conclusions:

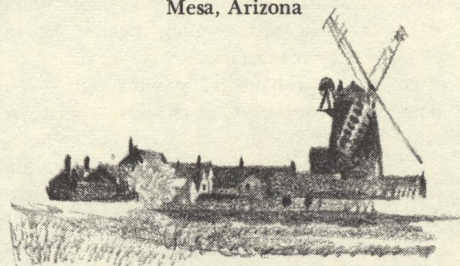
1. The tobacco habit if begun in youth will shorten the life of the average user by 6 years.

2. It is a causative factor in lung cancer, emphysema, and circulatory diseases.

3. Only 25% of tobacco users who decide to discontinue the habit are able to do so.

Why should my Church preach tobacco abstinence (and rightfully so) from the pulpit and then accept millions of dollars from tobacco companies for subtly and effectively nudging thousands into tobacco addiction? Why should my Church advertise the beauties and pleasures of beer drinking and thereby transform young people into alcoholics with all the physical, mental, moral, and economic sorrow which such a course of action entails? Why should my Church advertise coffee with emphasis on the pleasure and companionship experienced at coffee-breaks, and then as official doctrine tell Church members they should not partake of this beverage?

Melvin Lloyd Kent, M. D.
Mesa, Arizona



Dear Sirs:

It was a lazy Sunday afternoon; I was enjoying the Sunday paper. The two youngest boys had read the funnies and left them all over the floor. The oldest one was devouring the sports page (or at least that is what I thought he was doing) and their mother was doing the dishes in the kitchen.

"What do you think of people who make up advertisements for cigarettes, Dad?" the oldest asked in a very serious voice.

I didn't answer for some time as I was just barely conscious that someone had asked a question. I finally felt the silence, flipped the corner of the paper downward

so I could see his face. He was waiting patiently for my answer.

I put the paper all the way down on my lap and started out kind of slowly. "Well, I guess that I think that it is pretty bad." It hardly seemed enough, so I continued. "What it amounts to is men using their God-given creative talents and resources to entice other men into an evil, useless, dirty, addicting habit." I was sounding much stronger than I intended, especially since I knew from the tone of his first question that he was leading to a second. But parents have to take every opportunity to preach the gospel to their children. I even thought about using the incident in a sacrament talk sometime. I'd call it, "Exploiting Opportunities for Testimony Building." He started to say something else, but I thought I had better throw in a little scripture just in case I did use it in a talk. Not many parents quote scripture to their kids any more, and this would set a good example. "The Doctrine and Covenants tells us that the warning against the use of cigarettes and other things was given because there would be evil and conspiring men in the last days who would take advantage of people. I guess that's where the cigarette selling people fit in: evil and conspiring men."

He was waiting until I was through, "Why does the Mormon Church advertise cigarettes?"

"They don't, son," I said flatly and sternly, my voice betraying disappointment at the ignorance of his question.

"It says right here that the Mormon Church has decided to stop advertising cigarettes on their television stations."

"Where?" I took the paper and read the news release, taking an extra long time so that I could answer his question properly. "You see," I hesitated, wondering if I could make a twelve-year-old understand some of the intricacies and realities of the adult world. "It is the Bonneville corporation; it's not the Church. They are a business."

"Well, if they aren't run by the Church, how can the Church tell them to stop?"

"I guess in a way the Church does run it, but. . ."

"Why have they been advertising cigarettes?"

"There were probably good reasons."

"But Dad, you've always told me there weren't any good reasons for smoking cigarettes; how can there be good reasons for telling others to smoke?"

"Maybe the government wouldn't let them have a license unless they agreed to advertise cigarettes."

"The government is telling people to stop smoking; in fact, they might stop cigarette advertising over TV all together."

"I don't know, when the Church started KSL it was different. Government and business didn't like us then like they do now. Maybe they thought we would take advantage of the public airways, so to get a license the Church went along with everything."

He bowed his head and started rereading the article. "It says here that they weren't the first stations to quit."

I didn't say anything. He kept reading.

"Oh, I see." His eyes were glued to the paper as he talked, "They didn't want to lose the profit that they were making from advertising cigarettes, that's why they were so slow."

"I don't think the Church would advertise cigarettes just to get a little profit. We're not that kind of people who spend hours and hours of time and energy telling people how bad it is to smoke cigarettes on the one hand and with the other hand accept a few pennies to tell people with all the cleverness of Satan how great it is. The Church has plenty of money already and the one thing we wouldn't do is sell our birthright for a mess of pottage. There are some good reasons for advertising cigarettes and we'll find them out as soon as they tell us." My voice was getting higher and higher. I calmed myself down and continued, "I know it's hard for you to understand, but you will when you get older."

"I understand, Dad, I understand."

I thought it was over, I began reading the paper when he said, "Does the Church advertise beer, wine, coffee and tea over their stations?"

I pretended like I didn't hear him. It is very difficult to explain advanced ideas and principles to youngsters.

R. Garry Shirts

Del Mar, California

Dear Sirs:

In your next issue of *Dialogue* would you please correct the erroneous biographical sketch of myself which prefaced my article, "Concern for the Urban Condition," which appeared in the Spring, 1969 issue. I hate to see myself misrepresented to your readers. I am a social worker in the Phoenix Head Start program, live in Tempe, Arizona and *am not* working on an advance degree in Sociology.

Now to a more important matter. Since the Spring issue came out, a couple of *Dialogue* readers have told me that my article stopped where it should have begun — feeling that they want to know more about how to get involved. I am concerned that more L.D.S. members are not involved in voluntary services in their communities — particularly in the areas of race relations and poverty. Some who have expressed their interest to me appear timid, perhaps fearing a negative reaction from their Mormon friends. Others appear to lack direction of how to get involved. The section last fall dealing with Mormons in the City, gave some excellent examples of involvement, which hopefully has had an impact on *Dialogue* readers.

What would you think of the idea of *Dialogue* having a special section on "Urban Involvement," like you now have a special section on "The World Church." The "Urban Involvement" would offer guidelines — pointing out different ways in

which L.D.S. members could get involved in voluntary services to their community beyond the traditional and middle class oriented Lions, Jaycees, Rotary regimen (Not to detract from the good they accomplish.) Readers would also be encouraged to submit short sketches of their experiences. The editor of this section might also solicit guest writers from both our own people and other denominations.

Such a section might eventually promote the organization of a centrally located group of involved Mormons with other groups being formed in different communities which could be held together with a monthly newsletter, and by the sharing of their experiences and insights within their own little study groups. I doubt that there is enough interest in this sort of thing now, but the special section might generate it.

It would be interesting to survey your readers to see if there is interest in this sort of thing and whether they would appreciate some help in getting started.

Stanton L. Hovey
Tempe, Arizona

Our sincere apologies to Mr. Hovey for our errors in his introduction. We welcome his excellent suggestions concerning a special section on urban responsibility and invite our readers to contribute ideas and experiences so that we can judge if such a section is needed and viable. (Ed.)



THE RELIABILITY OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF LUCY AND JOSEPH SMITH

Richard Lloyd Anderson

Richard L. Anderson is one of the most versatile scholars in the Church. Holder of an L.L.B. from Harvard, and Ph.D. in Ancient History from Berkeley, Professor Anderson now teaches Religion and History at Brigham Young University. In this article, which was delivered at the fourth annual DIALOGUE Board of Editors Dinner, he sheds light on the question of evidence for the early period of Church history, which was raised in the Spring, 1969, issue of DIALOGUE, by Rev. Wesley Walters, and demonstrates to both Mormon and non-Mormon historians the importance and consistency of the most primary of sources, the testimonies of Joseph and Lucy Smith. He has been studying the witnesses of the Book of Mormon for many years and will soon publish a new book on this subject.

The second half of the twentieth century is an exciting time both to live and to pursue research. The field of history as a whole has been characterized by change and revision in past decades. New points of view are responsible for much rewriting of history. But if that is the major source of modification, historical composition, like current theology, will be characterized by impermanent (and perhaps impertinent) fashions. Any historian with the deep love of his discipline hopes for something better.

The study of the past is now characterized by the greater availability of information. Rare publications and inaccessible manuscripts can now be duplicated and placed in the private files of researchers. Indexes and other methods of information retrieval are constantly more available. There is no shortage of records in any historical field — only an acute deficiency of time on the part of the historian. Mormon history is a part of this magnificent proliferation of data and research techniques. Its own archives are in the

midst of classification by professionally competent standards. There is hope for a new era, in which Mormon and non-Mormon may meet on the common ground of objective fact.

Since history attempts to reconstruct complex lives and movements by means of often meager documentation, it would be naïve to believe that research will neatly settle all questions of Mormon history. What can be realistically envisioned, however, is *the better identification of the chief sources from which responsible historians must draw their inferences*. Since history is a discipline whose accuracy is entirely dependent upon the testimony of eyewitnesses of events, a better study of the lives of the early Latter-day Saints will give the perspective from which to evaluate their contemporary publications, diaries, and recollections. Basically, the study of Mormon origins resolves itself into the credibility of the earliest Mormons. Once this question is stated, the difficulty of answering it lies in the terribly conflicting opinions about Joseph Smith from the beginning. But one seasoned in human experience is hardly shocked to find vigorous reformers at the heart of controversy. In terms of probabilities, one ought not to take the angry reaction of some of Joseph Smith's neighbors at face value. One striking at the establishment will stand squarely before a vigorous backlash. The majority of the Smith family left personal recollections of their Palmyra-Manchester life. Yet non-Mormon historiography has virtually canonized antagonistic neighborhood affidavits. Since L.D.S. writing is even now very poorly publicized and distributed, the libraries of this country have typically ignored the main publishers of Salt Lake City and have ordered from trade lists containing interpretations of the Smiths based on hostile sources. Consequently, textbooks and studies are produced in ignorance that Mormon sources are relatively detailed on Mormon origins and present a picture of the Smiths quite opposite the malicious exposures. It is appalling to visit the smaller libraries and theological schools of the United States and see how consistently the typical Mormon collection simply does not make available the Smiths' own recollections of their early lives. Such one-sided selectivity, whether accidental or not, cannot promote authentic history.

In the time of shoddy television and stereotyped movies, one might even doubt that such a thing as authentic history is wanted. Perhaps the age that preferred the Victorian image of oppressed Mormon females to factual sociology is succeeded by our own that prefers historical novels to history itself. What is commonly labeled as the leading biography of Joseph Smith was immediately characterized by Vardis Fisher as "almost more a novel than a biography," on the ground that the author "rarely hesitates to give the content of a mind or to explain motives which at best can only be surmised."¹ The ground of that criticism is the point of responsible history — speculations make fascinating reading, but do not qualify as factual until documented. Good history possesses a toughness of fiber that cannot be achieved by mere

¹Vardis Fisher, "Mormonism and Its Yankee Prophet," *New York Times Book Review Section*, November 25, 1945.

name dropping. That is to say, numerous footnotes are not the proof of history. That is historical which carefully follows the precise course laid out by sources invariably in a position to know — and which confesses ignorance where there is no such course. In the book just mentioned, there is only a partial compliance with source-oriented history.

No Man Knows My History builds its picture of young Joseph Smith as a religious deceiver mainly from “the detailed affidavits of his neighbors.”² The story of obtaining these statements must leave an impression of crumbling foundations of any study erected upon these. One Philastus Hurlbut was excommunicated from the L.D.S. Church for sexual immorality and duplicity in his professions of repentance.³ With a clear motive of retaliation, he sought to expose Mormonism and its founder. His hatred against Joseph Smith is fairly measured by a court decree thereafter placing Hurlbut under bond “to keep the peace,” based on the finding that the Mormon Prophet “had ground to fear . . . Doctor P. Hurlbut would wound, beat, or kill him, or destroy his property. . . .”⁴ Hurlbut had a thesis to prove, since his work of collecting evidence was promoted and subsidized by an anti-Mormon citizens’ committee, who publicly indicated their goals to establish Solomon Spaulding as the real author of the Book of Mormon and to “completely divest Joseph Smith of all claims to the character of an honest man, and place him at an immeasurable distance from the high station which he pretends to occupy.”⁵ Nor is it clear that the personal statements gathered by Hurlbut present only the problem of vindictive bias. His documents were shortly published by the editor E. D. Howe, who in later life held the opinion that “Hurlbut was always an unreliable fellow. . . .”⁶

The first scene of activity for this affidavit prospector was Conneaut, Ohio, the former home of the amateur historical novelist, Solomon Spaulding. Taking formal statements from relatives and friends who could equate the names and historical portions of Spaulding’s fiction with the Book of Mormon plot and personalities, Hurlbut produced eight different statements that prove the point too well. Mrs. Brodie observes:

It can clearly be seen that the affidavits were written by Hurlbut, since the style is the same throughout. It may be noted also

²Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York, 1946), pp. 23–4.

³*Times and Seasons*, Vol. 6 (1845), pp. 784–5. Also cit. Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (Salt Lake City, 1946), Vol. 1, pp. 352–355. See also Benjamin Winchester, *The Origin of the Spaulding Story* (Philadelphia, 1840), pp. 1–11. Although L.D.S. records spell the surname Hurlburt, it is preferable to follow D. P. Hurlbut’s own preference as indicated by his will at the Sandusky County courthouse, Fremont, Ohio, which agrees with the early signature on the certificate discovered with Spaulding’s manuscript.

⁴*Journal of the Court of Common Pleas*, Geauga County, Ohio, Book M, p. 193, April 9, 1834. Also cit. *History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence, Missouri, 1951), Vol. 1, pp. 444–446.

⁵*Painesville Telegraph*, January 31, 1834. Changes in the text of quotations are limited to spelling and punctuation.

⁶Ellen E. Dickinson, *New Light on Mormonism* (New York, 1885), p. 73.

that although five out of the eight had heard Spaulding's story only once, there was a surprising uniformity in the details they remembered after twenty-two years. . . . The very tightness with which Hurlbut here was implementing his theory rouses an immediate suspicion that he did a little judicious prompting.⁷

The foregoing statements were taken in Ohio and Pennsylvania in August and September, 1833. After a month, the persistent Hurlbut spent about six weeks in western New York gathering signatures, now on the supposed bad character of the Smiths. About a dozen individual affidavits were taken, but the bulk of the signatures were appended to two collective statements, one of which listed Palmyra residents who agreed that Joseph Smith, Jr. and Sr. were "entirely destitute of *moral character, and addicted to vicious habit.*"⁸ In this case the Prophet publicly repudiated such charges, admitting youthful vitality and human imperfections, but bluntly denying serious wrongdoing.⁹ Faced with Hurlbut and fifty-one signatures on the one hand, and the straightforward avowal of Joseph Smith on the other, Mrs. Brodie finds no difficulty in ruling out "viciousness" and asserts, "his apology can be accepted at full value."¹⁰

Since it is fairly demonstrable that Hurlbut heavily contaminated the Spaulding affidavits with his own theories and language, the question is why the Palmyra-Manchester affidavits should be treated as infallible sources. The non-Mormon historian of revivals, Whitney Cross, is blunt:

Every circumstance seems to invalidate the obviously prejudiced testimonials of unsympathetic neighbors (collected by one hostile individual whose style of composition stereotypes the language of numerous witnesses) that the Smiths were either squatters or shiftless 'frontier drifters.'¹¹

If the negative testimonials are this unreliable on their essential charges, one may wonder why Mrs. Brodie relies upon them in outlining a detailed picture of supposed moneydigging on the part of the Smiths. This is completely open to question as an after-the-fact distortion of the same dimension as the discredited Spaulding story, falsely enshrined in Hurlbut's other affidavits. If Mrs. Brodie finds Joseph Smith more credible in a simple statement than fifty-one neighbors swearing on the same issue, it is time for all Mormon historians to seriously examine the detailed histories of Joseph Smith and his mother as potentially the most reliable sources for Mormon foundations because they are essentially the only ones who wrote about the period from consistent first-hand knowledge.

⁷Brodie, *op. cit.*, pp. 423-4.

⁸E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, Ohio, 1834), pp. 261-2.

⁹*L.D.S. Messenger and Advocate*, Volume 1 (December, 1834), p. 40. Howe's preface to *Mormonism Unveiled* was written in October, 1834, and the initial advertisement for the book appeared in the *Painesville Telegraph*, November 28, 1834.

¹⁰Brodie, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹¹Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District* (Ithaca, 1950, 1965), pp. 141-2. Although Cross accepts the treasure hunting thesis of the affidavits, it is open to the identical objections that he raises against the testimonials to laziness.

The Palmyra-Manchester residents who knew the Smith family did not uniformly consider them disreputable. If a dozen individual statements were made against the early Mormons at the instigation of an enterprising apostate, two dozen individuals from the same area joined the new religion and sacrificed because of their faith in Joseph Smith's story.¹² A total of sixty-two names were printed in two blanket condemnations of the Smiths as "destitute of moral character" or "a lazy, indolent set of men."¹³ But Lucy Smith describes an illuminating incident that can now be definitely dated in 1825 that speaks to the contrary. Like many another impoverished pioneer family, the Smith family deferred payments on their land contract. Mother Smith reports that a new land agent was falsely informed that the family was unreliable and unable to meet their final payment, which was counteracted by Hyrum's immediate visit to their family friend, Dr. Robinson. Indignant, he responded as follows:

[T]he old gentleman sat down, and wrote at some considerable length the character of the family — our industry, and faithful exertions to secure a home, with many commendations calculated to beget confidence in us with respect to business transactions. And, keeping this writing in his own hands, he went through the village, and in an hour procured sixty subscribers.¹⁴

Sixty-two negative signatures are obviously balanced by the some sixty favorable signatures plus Dr. Robinson's that Hyrum took to the Canandaigua land agent. On closer examination of the negative signatures, the question is how well most of the individuals knew the Smiths. Lucy Smith indicates that the family physician was Dr. McIntire, whose name is notably absent in the 1833 condemnations.¹⁵ No one in Palmyra was more responsible than the son-in-law of Dr. Robinson, Alexander McIntire. He was repeatedly president of the county medical association and a community leader. Mother Smith describes two occasions when he went out of his way to defend the Smiths against persecutions in the community.¹⁶ The major financial transaction that Joseph Smith ever had in Palmyra was the printing of the Book of Mormon, and the practical businessman who negotiated with him and performed the job, Egbert B. Grandin, is also notably absent from the negative affidavits. The support of Dr. Gain Robinson in procuring a testimonial for the Smiths is impressive; his obituary in 1831 stated that he was "deeply lamented by a large circle of relatives, and this whole community."¹⁷

¹²Pomeroy Tucker furnishes the names of this many converts in the vicinity of Palmyra and Manchester. *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* (New York, 1867), pp. 38-9. Cf. the printed letter from Palmyra, March 12, 1831: "Their numbers may be twenty in this vicinity . . ."; *Painesville Telegraph*, March 22, 1831.

¹³Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-2.

¹⁴Lucy Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith* (Liverpool, 1853), p. 95. This incident occurred no later than December 20, 1825, the date at which the title to the Smith farm was transferred to Lemuel Durfee, as discussed below.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 113, p. 141.

¹⁷*Wayne Sentinel*, June 26, 1831. Lucy Smith mentions another half-dozen individuals who befriended the family in various difficulties and can be presumed to have a favorable opinion of them.

Several Mormon converts investigated the Smiths' community reputation before Hurlbut, and they were not dissuaded from accepting the reliability of the Prophet's family. John Corrill, who had known Sidney Rigdon in Ohio prior to his conversion, wrote the following words after he had left the L.D.S. Church and no doubt is accurate on Rigdon's general experience in the Palmyra area:

[A]fter Rigdon had joined the Church in Kirtland, he was afraid that he had been deceived, so he and Edward Partridge went to the State of New York to inquire further into it. Rigdon said he went to the enemies of the Church to find out their feelings and objections, and then went to its friends and heard their story, and became satisfied that it was true. . . .¹⁸

Lucy Smith remembered the arrival of the two men at their temporary home in Waterloo, N.Y., and Partridge's report of their visit to the Smiths' former neighborhood of Manchester:

[H]e had made some inquiry of our neighbors concerning our characters, which they stated had been unimpeachable, until Joseph deceived us relative to the Book of Mormon. . . . Having heard that our veracity was not questioned upon any other point than that of our religion, he believed our testimony. . . .

What Hurlbut sought to prove is obvious from examining the most redundant themes of his affidavits. In this study, there is only space for evaluating his main and most important contention. Almost every Palmyra-Manchester statement contains a reiteration of the theme of no occupation but moneydigging:

The general employment of the family was digging for money.

A great part of their time was devoted to digging for money. . . .

At that time [1820], they were engaged in the money digging business, which they followed until the latter part of the season of 1827.

It is well known, that the general employment of the Smith family was money digging and fortune-telling. . . . It was a mystery to their neighbors how they got their living.

They were a family that labored very little — the chief they did, was dig for money.

Their great object appeared to be, to live without work. While they were digging for money, they were daily harrassed by the demands of their creditors, which they never were able to pay.²⁰

A simple study of the economics of the Smith family in this period can determine the accuracy of this main contention of the affidavits. After a short period of merchandising upon arrival in the Palmyra area about 1816, the next identifiable livelihood for the men is operating the Manchester farm. Lucy's account reads:

¹⁸John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints* (St. Louis, 1839), p. 17.

¹⁹Lucy Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

²⁰Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 232, 237, 240, 249, 251, 260.

My husband and his sons, Alvin and Hyrum, set themselves to work to pay for one hundred acres of land, which Mr. Smith contracted for with a land agent. In a year we made nearly all of the first payment, erected a log house, and commenced clearing. I believe something like thirty acres of land were got ready for cultivation the first year.²¹

Anyone familiar with the patterns of settlement of western New York will recognize the above description as accurately reflecting the physical and economic realities of the period. All land in this region was purchased on contract, often from land agents representing large interests. The forest had to be cleared, which was done in stages, with the building of the inevitable log house in the beginning. Orsamus Turner, the respected historian of western New York, was in 1819 a hard-working printer's apprentice in his late teens, and of the Smiths and their farm he later wrote: "Here the author remembers to have first seen the family, in winter of '19, '20, in a rude log house, with but a small spot underbrushed around it."²² One may test Lucy's recollection of purchasing a hundred acres. Title to this land was never recorded in the Smith name, as will shortly be discussed. However, Lemuel Durfee, who purchased the land while they resided on it and permitted their continued tenure, alluded both to the Smiths and this property in his will, referring to "the Everton lot, situate in the northwest corner of the Town of Manchester . . . on which Joseph Smith now lives, containing about one hundred acres of land."²³ Lucy's memory on this point is precise.

All of the Smith recollections of this early period mention the hard work of the whole family for survival. William, for instance, consistently attributed stories of family laziness to community resentment after Joseph had told of his religious experiences. A typical statement follows, in direct answer to mention of the charge that the family was "lazy and indolent":

We never heard of such a thing until after Joseph told his vision, and not then, by our friends. . . . We cleared sixty acres of the heaviest timber I ever saw. We had a good place, but it required a great deal of labor to make it a good place. We also had on it from twelve to fifteen hundred sugar trees, and to gather the sap and make sugar and molasses from that number of trees was no lazy job.²⁴

Lucy Smith indicates that wheat became the staple crop of the farm,²⁵ which was generally true for the region, but there were other major sources of income. She describes the "cooper's shop" across the road from the cabin and relates brief employment of Joseph Smith, Sr. at this trade in Canan-

²¹Lucy Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

²²Orsamus Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, and Morris' Reserve* (Rochester, 1852), p. 213.

²³Will of Lemuel Durfee, Surrogate's Court, Wayne County Courthouse, Lyons, New York.

²⁴Interview of J. W. Peterson with William Smith, *Zion's Ensign*, Vol. 5 (1894), No. 3, p. 6, also cit. (with minor inaccuracies) *Deseret Evening News*, Jan. 20, 1894. Tucker, *op. cit.*, p. 14 also refers to the Smiths' "making of maple sugar and molasses in the season for that work . . ." Lucy Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 95 also refers to their "sugar orchard."

²⁵Lucy Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

daigua.²⁶ Pomeroy Tucker refers to the "manufacture and sale of black-ash baskets and birch brooms" on the Smith farm, handicrafts utilizing coopering skills.²⁷ This type of activity is specifically confirmed by the 1820 census, which listed professions in three categories: agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. Of the three male adults listed in the Smith family, two are placed in "agriculture" and one is placed under "manufactures."²⁸ This probably means that Joseph Smith, Sr. plied his trade of coopering and similar production, whereas Alvin and Hyrum, then twenty-one and twenty, were engaged mainly in the heavy work of farming. The instructions to the census takers on this point in 1820 read as follows:

[I]n the column of manufactures will be included not only all the persons employed in what the act more specifically denominates manufacturing *establishments*, but all those artificers, handicrafts men, and mechanics, whose labor is preeminently of the hand, and not upon the field.²⁹

The two young adolescent sons, Samuel and Joseph, were not listed with their family on the 1820 census. This tends to confirm another Smith recollection. William said:

Whenever the neighbors wanted a good day's work done they knew where they could get a good hand, and they were not particular to take any of the other boys before Joseph either.³⁰

Joseph recalled the realities of the general period about 1823 in like terms:

[W]e were under the necessity of laboring with our hands, hiring by days works and otherwise as we could get opportunity; sometimes we were at home and sometimes abroad, and by continued labor were enabled to get a comfortable maintainance.³¹

The 1820 enumeration was held by law during August and September, and the twelve-year-old Samuel and the fourteen-year-old Joseph were likely boarded temporarily at another farm for some type of harvest labor. Another instruction to the enumerators seems to apply to them:

It follows . . . that any person who, at the time of taking the number of any family, has his usual abode in it, is nevertheless, not to be included in the return of that family, if his usual place of abode was, on the first Monday of August, in another family.³²

A survey of the Smiths' sources of income must include the "distinct" recollections of Orsamus Turner about the teenage Joseph: "He used to come into the village of Palmyra with little jags of wood. . . ."³³ Pomeroy Tucker stated that the Smith family retailed cord-wood, as well as small crops and

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 108–9, p. 165

²⁷Tucker, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

²⁸US Census, Ontario County, New York, Farmington Township, Family 524.

²⁹"Instructions to Marshals — Census of 1820," cit. Carroll D. Wright, *History and Growth of the United States Census* (Washington, D. C., 1900), p. 135.

³⁰Interview of Peterson with William Smith, *op. cit.*

³¹*Times and Seasons*, Vol. 3 (1842), pp. 771–2, also cit. Joseph Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 16–17.

³²"Instructions to Marshals — Census of 1820," *op. cit.*, pp. 135–6.

³³Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

vegetables, and he also claimed that on holidays the Smiths, particularly Joseph, did not rest, since they sold "cake and beer in the village on days of public doings."³⁴ Lucy Smith also indicates that she supplemented the family income by painting oil cloth and selling it.³⁵ All in all, the number of activities of the Smiths is a devastating refutation to the group affidavit claiming them to be "lazy" and "indolent." One of the most glaring inconsistencies in Mormon historiography is the repeated insistence of Pomeroy Tucker that the Smiths lacked "habits of profitable industry" right after describing five different farming, manufacturing, and trading activities. His community-imposed theory evidently did not fit his own recollections. The Prophet's younger brother William is far more believable when he insists that his family was so intent on economic survival that they worked continually and did not have the unoccupied time alleged in the Hurlbut depositions.³⁶

It must weigh heavily in the balance of history that Oliver Cowdery, later a discriminating and astute lawyer, lived a school term in the Smith home in Manchester in 1828-9 and defended the Prophet and his family as "industrious, honest, virtuous, and liberal to all."³⁷ As far as opportunity to observe, this single opinion based on day-by-day experience at close quarters should count for more than all of the Hurlbut-Howe affidavits, which caricature their subjects instead of measure them as the able people that their later careers show them to be. Cowdery said in direct reference to the Palmyra-Manchester statements that he personally had "the testimony of responsible persons" to contradict the character assassination of the affidavits.³⁸ Although the historian would like to have the depositions of New York neighbors who respected the Smiths, perhaps it says something for the confidence of Joseph Smith in his own position that he declined to fire a return salvo of testimonials to his good character. But at least one person is known who fits Cowdery's description (and Rigdon's and Partridge's) of non-Mormon neighbors who respected the honor and industry of the Smiths.

When the chief compositor for the Book of Mormon, John H. Gilbert, was approached in 1879 regarding available recollections of the Smiths, he wrote:

Mr. Orlin Sanders, who lives about two miles south of the village, was well acquainted with the Smith family, and probably recollects many things I know nothing about.³⁹

³⁴Tucker, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

³⁵Lucy Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 107.

³⁶See, e.g., Sermon of William B. Smith at Deloit, Iowa, June 8, 1884, cit. *Saints' Herald*, Vol. 31 (1884), p. 643: "After my father's family moved to New York State, in about five years they cleared sixty acres of land, and fenced it. The timber on this land was very heavy. . . . We built a frame dwelling house and out buildings. My brothers Joseph and Hyrum had to work. Joseph did not have time to make gold plates."

³⁷*L.D.S. Messenger and Advocate*, Vol. 2 (1835), p. 200.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹Letter of J. H. Gilbert to Mr. Cobb, Feb. 10, 1879, Palmyra, New York. A microfilm of this ms. was kindly loaned to me by Larry C. Porter. Palmyra sources and interviewers are divided on the spelling of the surname. Saunders must be correct, since that is the spelling in the will and estate papers at the Wayne County courthouse, Lyons, N.Y.

Whether Gilbert followed a local practice of shortening the full name of Orlando Saunders or was inexact in his recollection is not clear. However, his recommendation of Saunders as in a firsthand position to know about the Smiths squares with Orlando's birth to a pioneer Palmyra family in 1803, the Saunders' residence in the immediate neighborhood of the Smith farm, and the intriguing fact that Orlando's sister Melissa married Willard Chase, whose name appears on a Hurlbut affidavit.⁴⁰ Saunders was interviewed by the able Kelley brothers, RLDS leaders of legal and documentary orientation, and he volunteered no lore about money digging, but instead made pointed remarks about the practical charity of the Smiths and Joseph Smith's consistency in attributing the Book of Mormon to the coming of an angel. On the specific issue of industry, he said:

[T]hey have all worked for me many a day; they were very good people. Young Joe (as we called him then) has worked for me, and he was a good worker; they all were. I did not consider them good managers about business, but they were poor people; the old man had a large family.⁴¹

The proof that Saunders is accurately reported here is the independent interview about a year earlier of Frederic G. Mather, a non-Mormon professional writer, whose paraphrase of Saunders' words fits precisely the key ideas recorded by the Kelleys:

Orlando Sanders . . . tells us that the Smith family worked for his father and for himself. He gives them the credit of being good workers, but declares that they could save no money.⁴²

If the Hurlbut-Howe affidavits are unreliable in their basic claim about the life of the Smiths in New York, can the historian trust the only remaining sources, the histories of Joseph and Lucy Smith? Their consistency in subtle interrelations of independent recollection must be impressive, but one may relate each to non-L.D.S. public records that verify certain details of the Smith stories. It has been shown above that Lemuel Durfee's will proves the Smith occupancy of a farm of about one hundred acres, in precise agreement with the later recollection of Lucy Smith — and that the 1820 census fits in detail the recollections of Lucy, Joseph, and William of the family economics of that time. The Manchester location of the family in that census also fits the chronology of Lucy and Joseph regarding the move to that farm before the time of the First Vision, a fact independently verified by a road survey of

⁴⁰See Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity* (Palmyra, New York, 1930), pp. 235–7.

⁴¹*Saints' Herald*, Vol. 28 (1881), p. 165. Since Cook indicates that "Orlando came into possession of the homestead" at his father's death in 1825, several years exist when he might have employed the Smiths himself. The brief obituary notice of Enoch, the father, appeared in the *Wayne Sentinel*, October 18, 1825.

⁴²Frederic G. Mather, "The Early Days of Mormonism," *Lippincott's Magazine*, Vol. 36 (1880), p. 198. An interview is confirmed by another quotation from Orlando Saunders, p. 205. For Mather's biography, see *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. 20 (New York, 1929), pp. 492–3.

June 13, 1820, in the Palmyra Township records, indicating that "Joseph Smith's dwelling house" was already standing at that time.⁴³

The chronology of the family history is further supported by the existing gravestone of Alvin, which reads: "In memory of Alvin, son of Joseph and Lucy Smith, who died November 19, 1823, in the 25th year of his age." By this time, according to Joseph and his mother, the young Prophet had received the visit of the angel, in which Alvin devoutly believed. And there are other verifications of the accuracy of the Smith history of this early period that necessitate outlining some events of the years 1825 and 1826 rather fully.

The first incident that Joseph relates after Alvin's death is working for Josiah Stool, who paid for excavation of a supposed Spanish silver mine in Harmony Township, Pennsylvania. Joseph evidently discouraged the project at the outset and toward the end "prevailed with the old gentleman to cease digging. . . ."⁴⁵ A set of statements about this period exists from Joseph Smith's in-laws and their Pennsylvania friends. Although appearing in the same publication with E. D. Howe's first publication of the Hurlbut affidavits, they were apparently procured by Howe's direct correspondence independent of Hurlbut.⁴⁶ Prejudiced and even vitriolic against Joseph (who had among other crimes stolen Emma from them), the statements from the Hale circle allege superstitious mineral witching on the part of Joseph and also claim that he confessed that there was no merit in such practices. Since it is doubtful that the Hales had firsthand knowledge of Joseph engaging in such practices, it is only fair to accept his explanation that he did not take the project seriously, a point which when stated to the Hales may have been wrongly interpreted as a confession of former involvement.⁴⁷ For all of their

⁴³Palmyra Town Record, Book 1, p. 221.

⁴⁴Photographs of the inscription are in the L.D.S. Historian's Office. The notice of Joseph Smith, Sr., published the following September 29, 1824, in the *Wayne Sentinel*, verifies the 1823 death date.

⁴⁵*Times and Seasons*, Vol. 3 (1842), p. 772, also cit. Joseph Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Cf. Lucy Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 92: "Joseph endeavored to divert him from his vain pursuit, but he was inflexible in his purpose and offered high wages. . . ."

⁴⁶Letter of E. D. Howe to Isaac Hale, February 4, 1834, Painesville, Ohio, cit. *Susquehanna Register*, May 1, 1834, cit. *New York Baptist Register*, Vol. 11 (1834). Howe's letter discloses that Hale had written to Hurlbut but that Howe wished verification and sought an attested statement "to lay open the imposition to the world." A battery of sworn statements were made in the Harmony, Pennsylvania area by Hale and his neighbors, published first in the newspaper at the county seat of Susquehanna County, and then reproduced in slightly abbreviated form by Howe.

⁴⁷The Smith histories and the Hale affidavit all agree that the contact of the Hales with Joseph was through the latter boarding at Isaac's home. Since Isaac Hale told Joseph that he "followed a business that I could not approve," one must assume that Hale never participated in the digging operations at the "Spanish Mine" and therefore relied on hearsay for Joseph Smith's supposed "peeking" activities in locating treasure. What the Hales knew personally was that Joseph Smith associated with a questionable operation (a point of view shared by Joseph Smith), but these statements really do not prove that the young Prophet was mystically locating treasure unless the Hales were themselves involved. In relation to what Isaac and Alva remember Joseph saying to them, what is assumed to be ridiculous is likely to be distorted in that direction in the telling.

prejudice, the affidavits from the Hale circle are far closer to the known claims of Joseph Smith regarding the Book of Mormon than Hurlbut's Palmyra-Manchester productions. Mather interviewed Harmony residents about 1880 who remembered Joseph Smith as "a good and kind neighbor," which shows that the Pennsylvania affidavits also tell less than the full story about the young Prophet.⁴⁸

Joseph dates his first Pennsylvania stay as October, 1825, and Isaac Hale's statement identifies the month of November for the Spanish mine project, with termination "about November 17, 1825," a close approximation of the Prophet's chronology. Lucy tells the dramatic story of the loss of their partially paid-up property immediately after Joseph came back from Pennsylvania to his parent's home in New York:

Soon after his return, we received intelligence of the arrival of a new agent for the Everson land, of which our farm was a portion. This reminded us of the last payment, which was still due, and which must be made before we obtain a deed of the place.⁴⁹

Lucy gives the due date of this final payment, perhaps already an extension, as December 25, 1825. ⁵⁰Joseph Sr. and Jr. had set out again for the Susquehanna area to collect money from their wheat crop. As discussed earlier, certain parties falsified the Smiths' reliability and purchased their farm from the new land agent. Lucy indicates that this agent was incensed at the misrepresentations, and in a complicated series of negotiations the Smiths finally interested an older Mr. Durfee in purchasing the property and permitting their continued occupancy, with the deed recalled and cancelled from the misrepresenting parties. The documentary evidence that Lucy is correct here has been given in part. Lemuel Durfee's will identified the Manchester property as that of the Smiths' and referred to its extent of "about one hundred acres." Since it was made on June 12, 1826, a half year after the above incidents, and refers to "the Everton lot . . . on which Joseph Smith now lives," it also proves the tenancy of the Smiths after Durfee took title.⁵¹ The names and date on the actual deed harmonize precisely with Lucy Smith's history. This instrument of record is dated December 20, 1825, in which Eliza Evertson and David B. Ogden, executors under the will of Nicholas Evertson, convey ninety-nine and one-half acres in Manchester to Lemuel Durfee of Palmyra.⁵²

In narrating the loss of the farm, Lucy Smith is somewhat inexact in only one respect. She indicates that Joseph had gone to Pennsylvania to bring Emma home as his wife at the close of 1825, when the Smiths' land title failed to mature. She also recalls that Hyrum had been recently married at

⁴⁸Mather, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-1.

⁴⁹Lucy Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹See n. 23 *supra*.

⁵²Book 44, pp. 232-234, Ontario County, New York. The deed no doubt contains the correct spelling of Evertson, and the "Everson" of Lucy Smith and the "Everton" of the Durfee will are approximations.

this time. Both events are in correct sequence, at the right season of the year, but are evidently placed a year too early as Lucy recalled them two decades later. Hyrum's marriage (November 2, 1826) was given in the correct year in the genealogical section of Lucy's memoirs, perhaps from written records.⁵³ This dating is authenticated by its report in the *Wayne Sentinel*, November 24, 1826.⁵⁴ Joseph gives his marriage date as January 18, 1827,⁵⁵ and Lucy perhaps confused the business trip to Pennsylvania about a year earlier with the marriage trip to Pennsylvania. It would be easy for Mother Smith to associate the *marriages* with the events of late 1825, when in reality the *romances* were taking place then. But it is remarkable that when Lucy Smith's dictated history is inaccurate in chronology, the deviation is confined to narrow limits.⁵⁶

To restate the question posed at the outset, which are the authentic sources of early Mormon history? The chief actors, the Smith family, produced two narrative histories of the early period from the vantage point of eyewitnesses. At literally scores of critical points it can be demonstrated that the framework of external events related by Joseph and Lucy is historically reliable. This paper has merely surveyed those verifications from the move to Manchester about 1818 up to 1827, when the Book of Mormon drama began in earnest.⁵⁷ The counter-sources, the Manchester-Palmyra affidavits, are clearly not factual in their main allegation, the supposed indolence of the Smiths. In summary, the histories of Joseph and Lucy Smith in this period prove to be basically accurate in every case where there is some vital or legal record that permits verification of the story. The Smith histories are correct on the move to Manchester prior to 1820, the status of the father as a craftsman and the younger sons' boarding out at that date, as also the erection of the first Smith house in Manchester by then. Alvin's gravestone establishes his death in 1823, as the Lucy-Joseph chronology requires. The loss of the farm follows in 1825, the precise time stated by Lucy's narrative, which correctly furnishes the number of acres and the grantor Evertson and the grantee Durfee, and the will of the latter proves the tenancy of the Smiths upon this land after title was lost. The marriage of Hyrum the following year is also factual, fitting approximately into Lucy's reconstruction from memory. This independent verification of about a dozen facts in the most remote period of the Smith histories is an impressive record. The question raised is obvious: if Joseph and Lucy Smith have written authentic history on a practical level, can they not also be trusted in reporting the revelations that motivated their lives?

⁵³Lucy Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁵⁴The notice reads: MARRIED — In Manchester . . . Mr. Hiram Smith, to Miss Jerusha Barden."

⁵⁵Citation at n. 31, *supra*.

⁵⁶See examples in Richard Lloyd Anderson, "Circumstantial Confirmation of the First Vision Through Reminiscences," *Brigham Young University Studies*, Vol. 9 (1969), pp. 390-1.

⁵⁷See *ibid.* for several striking confirmations of Lucy Smith's basic accuracy from Palmyra sources around 1830.

Like a law case, the point of history is to allow the participants to tell their own story. The historian of Mormonism really disqualifies himself if he cannot empathize with the spiritual experience at the heart of this new religion. If this is preposterous, then perhaps he should write about other phases of Mormonism where his naturalistic bias does not so limit him. History may be poorly equipped to affirm or deny the truth of Joseph Smith's visions, but it can nevertheless assess the credibility of the historical tradition that asserts those visions. Credit ratings are compiled by instances of reliability. Whereas one can document the lack of such reliability in Hurlbut's Palmyra-Manchester affidavits, the factual content of the histories of Joseph and Lucy Smith is demonstrably high. The logical conclusion from these realities is that the narratives of the Prophet and his mother must stand as the essential sources for Mormon origins.

THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT: A MORMON DILEMMA?

by James B. Mayfield

Professor James B. Mayfield, Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Utah, examines the issues in the Arab-Israeli conflict from the point of view of a Mormon scholar.

The power struggle inherent in the Arab-Israeli confrontation is taking place in a deep chasm of conflicting goals and aspirations. The visible issues that separate the Arabs and Israelis may not seem overly complex to the average American; such issues are often defined in simplistic terms and thus suggest easy solutions. Yet beneath the surface of an uncomplicated analysis, which tends to describe a complex problem in terms of black and white categories, there exists a deep ideological conflict between two nationalisms. The circumstances of contemporary history have brought Zionists and Arab Nationalists into an inevitable clash over the territory of Palestine. To the devoted Zionist, who has for centuries dreamed of a Jewish revival, there can be no state of Israel outside of Palestine. Arab nationalists, who have known centuries of conquest, division, and exploitation, first from the Ottoman Empire and then from the Western powers, now, too, dream of the moment when all Arabs' lands, *including Palestine*, will be united in one great Arab State. The circumstances of history have brought these two national movements to a peak of territorial aspiration, and the struggle for Palestine has become identified as a reflection of the national revival and development of these two great Semitic peoples.

Americans in general, and Church members in particular, with their enthusiasm for spectator sports, tend to approach the Arab-Israeli rivalry by choosing sides. The general tendency is to see this dispute almost as a Wild

West film, with the civilized "good guys" fighting the "blood-thirsty natives." Yet the Palestine problem is not like a Western film or a Foreign Legion saga, for, in fact, it more closely resembles a Greek tragedy. A tragedy is not a conflict between "light" and "darkness," between "truth" and "error." It seeks to illuminate the clash between two equally valid forms of justice. As in all tragedies, there is little hope for a jubilant conciliation based on some rational compromise solution. The tragic choice in the Arab-Israeli confrontation appears at this moment to be between a bloody battle of mutual annihilation and an unacceptable and frustrating compromise created more out of the imperatives of the situation than from any sudden break-through of mutual understanding.

It is a gross mistake and an over-simplification to assume that this conflict is based simply on a misunderstanding. It is the utmost naïveté to believe that Arab fanaticism and hostility is merely the creation of revolutionary Arab leaders and that the removal of a Nasser or an al-Skukairy would allow the Arab to realize the positive side of Zionism.¹ The Arabs do not oppose Zionists because they fail to understand Zionism but because they understand it only too well — and this is the tragedy, for both feel compelled to control the same area.

For many it is evident that the claims and counterclaims of the Arab-Israeli struggle are irreconcilable. Ethnically the Jews may claim descent from Arab to whom this land was promised for an inheritance through the lineage of Isaac, Jacob (Israel) and Judah; yet the Arabs also declare their genealogical ties to "Father Abraham," through the "Twelve sons of Ishmael." If one argues that Jewish religion and culture have deep historical roots in the land of Palestine, others will contend that the Arabs have inhabited this land for more than a thousand years. Jews, of course, turn to the Balfour Declaration issued by the British government in 1917, which stated that "Her Majesty's government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. . ."; but the Arab will note that the Balfour Declaration further added ". . . it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine," and then further point out that the British, through the MacMahon-Hussein Correspondence of 1915 (two years prior to the Balfour Declaration), promised political inde-

¹At this point it may be well to clarify certain terms utilized in this paper. Judaism refers to the religious system of ethical teaching expounded and defended by Jewish theologians since the time of Jesus Christ. In contrast to this Jewish theology, which is generally embodied in a series of commentaries on their sacred texts (the *Talmud*, the *Haggada*), modern "Zionism" is a secular ideology based upon nationalism, not religion. Zionists, while willing to utilize Judaic theological precepts to justify the creation of a Jewish state, do not require, nor even emphasize a religious basis for their political activities. Many Jews are "Zionists," others are not; some are in fact vigorously anti-Zionist. One fairly substantial group of anti-Zionist Jews have organized the American Council for Judaism. They publish a quarterly journal entitled *Issues*, and seek to sharply distinguish between Judaism, the religion, and Zionism, the political movement. The Arabs have interpreted Zionism to mean a Western-sponsored political movement, established for the specific purpose of creating a Western colony in the midst of the Arab world.

pendence for the Arab nations (including Palestine) in return for Arab support against the Ottoman Turks during World War I.²

The real issue separating the Arabs and the Israelis is largely a function of two competing nationalisms, both requiring the same piece of territory to fulfill their perceived destiny. Since 1948, guerrilla warfare, propaganda exchanges and boycotts, border incursions, commando raids and counter raids, intensive suspicion, and continuing efforts to rally outside support for their respective viewpoints have all obstructed a meaningful Arab-Israeli *détente*. The fundamental encumbrance is largely a reflection of both antagonists' reluctance to compromise or recognize any merit in the claims of the other side. Positions have thus become frozen and antithetical. Each side reiterates its case with the predictability of a phonograph record, while evincing no willingness to acknowledge the existence of justice in the other side's contentions.

THE MORMON DILEMMA

When Ben Gurion proclaimed the new state of Israel in 1947, many members of the Church were convinced that this was to be the inauguration of the predicted restoration of the House of Judah. The eventual gathering of the Jewish people to Jerusalem is a cardinal principle of Mormon theology and has been prophesied by all the leaders of the Church since the days of Joseph Smith. On October 24, 1841, Elder Orson Hyde, one of the Twelve Apostles of the Church and earlier commissioned by the Prophet Joseph Smith, stood on the Mount of Olives in Palestine and there offered a dedicatory prayer which included among other things these words:

Thou, O Lord, did once move upon the heart of Cyrus to show favor unto Jerusalem and her children. Do then now also be pleased to inspire the hearts of kings and the powers of the earth to look with a friendly eye towards this place, and with a desire to see thy righteous purposes executed in relation thereto. Let them know that it is thy good pleasure to restore the Kingdom unto Israel — raise up Jerusalem as its capital, and constitute her people — a distinct nation and government with David thy Servant, even a descendant from the loins of ancient David to be their king.³

Thus, interestingly enough, a young Mormon Elder dedicated the land of Palestine for the eventual gathering of the Jewish people at least forty years prior to the development of the modern secular ideology of Jewish Zionism. In 1879 Wilford Woodruff, who later became the President of the Church, voiced a firm conviction concerning this gathering of Judah:

²For two excellent scholarly studies of the conflicting promises issued by Great Britain to both the Arabs and the Jews see:

J. C. Hurewitz, *the Struggle for Palestine*, (New York, 1950);

William R. Polk, D. Stramles, E. Asfour, *Backdrop to Tragedy: The Struggle for Palestine*, (Boston, 1957).

³Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1957), Vol. IV, pp. 456-57.

I wish in this testimony to say that the time is not far distant when the rich men among the Jews will be called upon to use their abundant wealth to gather the dispersed of Judah, and purchase the ancient dwelling places of their fathers in and about Jerusalem, and rebuild the holy city and temple. For the fullness of the Gentiles has come in, and the Lord has decreed that the Jews should be gathered from all the Gentile nations where they have been driven, into their own land, in fulfillment of the words of Moses their law-giver. And this is the will of your great Elohim, O house of Judah, and whenever you shall be called upon to perform this work, the God of Israel will help you. You have a great future and destiny before you and you cannot avoid fulfilling it.⁴

While the concept of a gathering is implicit in Mormon theology, some question has arisen concerning the fulfillment of these prophecies. The scriptures are legion in both the Bible and the Book of Mormon, all suggesting that the House of Judah will be gathered to Palestine — “the land of their inheritance.” Yet many of the scriptures in the Book of Mormon give the impression that the Jewish people must first believe in Jesus Christ before the promised gathering will be fulfilled:

2 Nephi 6:11 . . . the Lord will be merciful unto them (Jews), that when they shall come to the knowledge of their Redeemer, they shall be gathered again to the lands of their inheritance.

2 Nephi 10:7 But behold, thus said the Lord God: When the day cometh that they shall believe in me, that I am Christ, then have I covenanted with their fathers that they shall be restored in the flesh, upon the earth, unto the lands of their inheritance.

3 Nephi 20:30-34

And it shall come to pass that the time cometh, when the fulness of my gospel shall be preached unto them;

And they shall believe in me, that I am Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and shall pray unto the Father in my name.

Then shall their watchmen lift up their voice, and with the voice together shall they sing; for they shall see eye to eye.

Then will the Father gather them together again, and give unto them Jerusalem for the land of their inheritance.

Then shall they break forth unto joy — Sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem; for the Father hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem. (Italics added)

President Charles Penrose notes the apparent contradiction between some scriptures that suggest the Jews would “begin to return but in unbelief,” and other scriptures which state that “they shall believe in me, that I am Jesus Christ . . . then will the Father gather them together again, and give unto them Jerusalem for the land of their inheritance.” President Penrose argues, however:

In the Book of Mormon, in reference to this subject, it is stated concerning the latter times: “Then shall the Jews also begin to believe in Christ and shall gather home to their own land.” Now, some

⁴Matthias F. Cowley, *The Life of Wilford Woodruff*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1964), p. 509.

people have looked upon that prediction in the Book of Mormon and those in the Doctrine and Covenants as a little out of joint; but they are mistaken. There is no prediction in the Book of Mormon, any more than in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, that the Jews as a people, as a body, will in the latter times, in their scattered condition or in the *first part of their gathered condition*, believe in Jesus of Nazareth as the Son of God, the Messiah long looked-for by their ancestors to come and restore Judah and establish His kingdom on the earth. The two predictions harmonize exactly in your mind when you come to see rightly and understand properly.⁵

Elder Penrose is not explicit in his speech as to how these predictions "harmonize"; Elder Orson Pratt, however, does point out, "Then many of the Jews will believe, although many of that nation will gather in unbelief. But the Book of Mormon has told us that the main part of them will believe while yet scattered. They will receive your [Elders and Seventies] testimony and gather to Jerusalem."⁶

James E. Talmage, in his book, *Articles of Faith*, also suggests that the "full recovery" of the Jews is predicated upon their acceptance of the Savior:

It is evident from these and many other scriptures that the time of the full recovery of redemption of the Jews is to be determined by their acceptance of Christ as their Lord. When that time comes, they are to be gathered to the land of their fathers . . .⁷

It is significant that Elder Penrose speaks of "the first part of their gathered condition," which suggests a later or second part of gathering, and Elder Talmage uses the word "full recovery," which suggests a possible earlier and less than full recovery. Although a partial gathering of the Jewish people has begun, it should be apparent that an important precondition of "full recovery and redemption" of these descendants of Judah has not yet been met.

If all these comments are to be harmonized with the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict of the past four decades, it is obvious that "the gathering" of the Jewish people to Jerusalem must not be identified with one single mass migration. While a small group from the House of Judah has now returned to Palestine, still in unbelief, this "token gathering" should not be equated with the "full" redemption of the Jewish people which is to be fulfilled at some future date.

The present State of Israel constitutes less than fifteen percent of the Jewish population in the world. The present gathering of the Jews to Palestine should be seen more as a "sign" or a testimony connected with the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times and the latter-day work of the restoration than as the fulfillment of the promised gathering of the Jews. Members of the Church must seek to clearly distinguish between the promise of a "true

⁵Address delivered in the Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, Utah, December 15, 1917, by President Charles W. Penrose.

⁶Orson Pratt, *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 7 (July 10, 1859), p. 186.

⁷James E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City, Utah: the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1956), p. 334.

gathering" seen as a fulfillment of a prophecy pertaining to all Jews and the far more restricted developments of this secular Jewish state, with its commitment to the modern political ideals of nationalism, socialism, and military Zionism. The state of Israel, while obviously a "sign of the times," should not necessarily be seen as a "fulfillment" of the spiritual promises made through the ancient and modern prophets.

Once the membership of the Church delineates these two aspects of an extended process of gathering they will be able more clearly and objectively to evaluate the present policies and actions of the secular state of Israel. The Mormon dilemma largely stems from complete unconditional support and identification with the State of Israel.

First, let us look at the problems the Church must face if the membership identifies itself, at this stage in history, with the secular and military policies of Israel. Within the last few years missionaries have been reintroduced into the Middle East. At present, there are some 15-20 missionaries preaching the Gospel in Lebanon.⁸ Yet from returned missionaries from Lebanon recently interviewed, it was noted that the most effective campaign used against the Church in this part of the world has been to equate our belief in the eventual "gathering of Israel" with the present policies and military activities of the State of Israel. Few Arabs, Muslims or Christians will listen to these missionaries, who are characterized as "Israel spies." Thus, the Church is unfairly identified with a political state that has little in common with the "promised gathering of Judah" that is to be predicated upon their conversion to Jesus Christ. Given the worldwide commission to preach the Gospel to all kindreds, tongues, and nations (including both the Arabs and Jews), it should be apparent that the Church does not and cannot identify itself with any political state.⁹

Equally crucial to this dilemma is the increased interest in millennialism so apparent in the writings and teachings of many "Church scholars." Especially since the June War of 1967, many have been quick to interpret this latest Arab-Israeli confrontation as the literal fulfillment of specific scriptures. This questionable practice of equating particular historical developments with definite Biblical prophecies has many dangers, especially for the unsuspecting member who ties his testimony to this prophecy-historical event relationship. To build one's commitment to the Church on the basis of one's private "insights and interpretations" has often led to disastrous results. How many Church members expected the "Second Coming" to take place prior to 1890 because of "private interpretation"? How many became disillusioned when polygamy was discontinued? How many saw World War I and then later World War II as the final battle of Armageddon with Hitler as

⁸These missionaries are under the Swiss Mission and have established branches in several of the major cities in Lebanon.

⁹At this point it would be well to note that the Church has assiduously maintained its neutrality in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Many Church leaders have close friendships with both Arab and Israeli leaders. One project that clearly shows that the Church does not just identify with Israel is the Brigham Young University's sponsorship of a dairy farm and agricultural experimentation center established in Jordan during the 1950's.

"the obvious Gog of Magog?" What would happen if this secular state of Israel were destroyed? Whose testimony would be shattered? Whose commitment would be shaken? While the state of Israel no doubt is here to stay, especially given the U. S. Government's close ties with Israel, yet the point needs to be made that this secular Jewish state, as a "sign of the times," is not necessary for the ultimate success and fulfillment of the promises made to the Jewish people. The Book of Mormon appears explicit in its declaration that the "true" gathering will occur after the spiritual redemption of Judah. The political situation in the Middle East with its instability and unrest is still subject to catastrophic changes and developments. For this reason the tendency of some members of the Church to identify too closely with the political state of Israel should be discouraged. A rigid and uncompromising attachment to the state of Israel presents obvious dilemmas for any effective missionary program in the Arab world, and arouses uncalled for speculations about the future. Yet the Arab-Israeli conflict erects dilemmas not only for the Church member, but also for all American citizens.

US FOREIGN POLICY AND THE MIDDLE EAST

The Middle East has great strategic significance, and is thus one of the central arenas of world politics. This strategic importance arises chiefly from three factors. First, the Middle East is a bridge connecting three continents. Land, sea, and air routes crisscross the area, linking Europe, Asia, and Africa. Second, the Middle East possesses vast reserves of natural resources — chiefly petroleum. The Middle East contains two-thirds of the proven oil reserves of the world, and nearly three-fourths of the oil presently available to the free world. A third respect in which the Middle East is of immeasurable strategic importance to the United States lies in the area's role in free world defense. The Middle East safeguards the southern flank of NATO, acts as a buffer against direct communist expansion into Africa, and is a vital security zone for protecting the sea and air approaches across the South Atlantic to the Western hemisphere. Today, even more than when Hitler's forces invaded North Africa, enemy control of the Middle East might in the end prove disastrous for the maintenance of Western security.¹⁰

Today the relations between the Arabs and the United States have never been worse. This is indeed unfortunate given the fact that before the Arab-Israeli problem came into existence the prestige of the United States in the

¹⁰John C. Campbell, *The Defense of the Middle East*, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), pp. 3-7. Mr. Campbell strongly notes the problem: "The overriding national interest is the security of the United States — put more starkly, its survival. So long as we have no assurance of a workable system of global arms limitations or of a fundamental change in the aims and character of the Soviet regime, we must keep in the forefront of all our calculations and decisions the deadly threat of Soviet power. . . . From this general approach flows a number of concrete propositions with respect to the Middle East. The entrenchment of Soviet power in that strategic region would bring a decision shift in the world balance, outflanking NATO. Soviet control of Middle East oil could disrupt the economy of the free world. And the triumph of communism in the heart of the Islamic world could be the prelude to its triumph throughout Asia, Africa, and Europe." (pp. 4-5).

Arab world was higher than any other country in the world. Nevertheless, whatever pro-American feelings existed prior to World War II, they were soon dissipated by the inflamed passions accompanying the disputes between Arabs and Jews over the partition of Palestine in 1947.¹¹

When Stalin died in 1963, the Russian leaders embarked upon a highly successful policy of identifying themselves with all independence movements struggling against Western colonialism. Applied to the Arab world, this policy (up until 1967) had had only moderate success. The Arab nationalist leaders, while welcoming Russian aid and technical advice, rejected their ideology. It is not improbable that Russia encouraged Egyptian belligerency in June, 1967, fully realizing that Arab defeat would be inevitable.¹² The Arab leaders, suddenly finding themselves in desperate need of military aid and support, would be forced to turn to the Soviet Union — their only available ally. The tragedy of the Arab-Israeli conflict is that the Soviet Union has moved into Egypt and Syria, not as conquerors, but as partners and friends. Few who are aware of the tangible results of the last Arab-Israeli War doubt that it was the Soviet Union that came out best.¹³

The obvious and most pressing problem is the need to establish borders considered legitimate and binding to Arabs and Israelis alike. Only a clear-cut guarantee of territorial integrity, backed by a US promise to intervene, that provides the Israelis with an assurance that their right to exist will never be challenged by Arabs, and an equally binding commitment from the US that will assure the Arabs that Israel will be prevented from pursuing an unending expansionist policy against the Arab states, will satisfy both sides. Several responsible Arab leaders have indicated a willingness to accept the right of Israel to exist within the boundaries agreed upon the UN Partition Plan of 1947.

One major aim often ignored is the tremendous need to encourage and support all and any trends leading to responsible moderate Arab leadership. Many fail to realize in this country that most of the hostility, the hatred, and fanaticism is not the simple creation of Nasser, Atassi, or al-Shukairy. The average Arab's approach to Israel is more properly a reflection of the popular Arab mood which has its roots in past Western insults, broken promises, and exploitations.

An integral part of encouraging the moderate element in the Arab world is our need to encourage the Israeli leaders to deal generously with the key

¹¹Many Arab leaders felt the Partition Plan was completely unfair since it allowed the Jewish State with only one-third of the population in Palestine to control over fifty-four per cent of the territory. The Arab population, however, which owned well over eighty per cent of the deeded land in Palestine, was given only forty-six per cent of Palestine.

¹²See John B. Glubb, "Power Grab in Mid-East?" *Christian Science Monitor*, November 11, 1967, p. 1. Glubb argues: "It is absolutely incredible that these [Russian] officers can have thought that Egypt could defeat Israel. And yet, as we have seen, the Soviet Government actually encouraged President Nasser to send his Army into Sinai. To me, the inevitable explanation is that the Soviets wanted Egypt to be defeated."

¹³For a different interpretation of the June War of 1967 see W. Cleon Skousen, *Fantastic Victory*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1967). See also the author's review of Mr. Skousen's book in *Dialogue*, Vol. II, No. 3 (Autumn 1968), pp. 135-37.

issues dividing the Arabs and the Israelis. The aim must be to create conditions in which the Arabs can accept the existence of Israel without unbearable humiliation and loss of self-respect. That is the only way in which Israel will get security — acceptance by the Arabs. The Israelis' craving for security and peace is perfectly legitimate, but it is a deadly error to think that security for Israel can be won by military power, by the expansion of frontiers and by weakening and dividing the Arab world. Every massive reprisal raid or intransigent statement from the Israeli side strengthens the position of Arab extremists and discourages those Arab leaders who will have to gain positions of power if there are to be meaningful negotiations. Israel needs to realize that until she handles her own affairs with more of an eye to moderating Arab extremism, the development of responsible Arab leadership will continually be set back by renewed fears of Israeli expansion.¹⁴

Behind the Arab-Israeli conflict lies a complex, emotion-fraught, and bitter story, many of whose ramifications have now come to permeate not only the contemporary history of the modern Middle East, but also the entire world. The implications of this crisis extend far beyond the boundaries of the Arab world, for they threaten to reinforce the nuclear confrontation inherent in the rigid bipolarized world of the East-West struggle. Both the US and USSR are being forced into rigid commitments by their smaller allies, which, in fact, destroy the flexibility necessary for survival in this nuclear age.

MORMON ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

In an attempt to ascertain the degree to which members of the Church are cognizant of the dilemmas presented in this essay, a questionnaire containing six questions was distributed among three different groups to determine their attitudes toward Israel.¹⁵

Question No. I: Do you think Israel is justified in keeping Jerusalem?

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Undecided</i>
Group I (Wards)	89.9%	9.4%	.7%
Group II (BYU)	89.2%	9.0%	1.8%
Group III (U. of Utah)	79.6%	16.0%	4.4%

"It is interesting to note among the more moderate Arab leaders their consternation over the Israeli attacks against Jordan and Lebanon during the past few months. These "pro-Western" leaders lament over the attacks against "the only two Arab nations that have consistently refused to accept aid from the Soviet Union." These "reprisal raids" from Israel are, unfortunately, interpreted as a "plot" to force King Hussein and others to repudiate their pro-Western policies. Once all the Arab leaders are being supported by the USSR, then Israel, so these Arab leaders believe, will be able to convince the US to provide total support for the policies of Israel.

¹⁵The three groups which made up the sample answering the questionnaire included:*

- (a) Group I: 258 members of the Church attending Gospel Doctrine classes in 16 L.D.S. Wards selected by an area sample method devised to include a broad cross section of L.D.S. wards in the Salt Lake area.
- (b) Group II: 276 undergraduate students attending the Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.
- (c) Group III: 236 undergraduate students attending the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Question No. II: Do you think that Israel is justified in keeping the Arab territories (other than Jerusalem) that were acquired during the crisis of June 1967?

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Undecided</i>
Group I (Wards)	72.4%	20.7%	6.9%
Group II (BYU)	78.5%	16.1%	5.4%
Group III (U. of Utah)	65.2%	27.9%	6.9%

Question No. III: Do you believe that the establishment of the State of Israel is a fulfillment of prophecy?

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Undecided</i>
Group I (Wards)	91.8%	4.7%	3.5%
Group II (BYU)	87.4%	4.1%	8.5%
Group III (U. of Utah)	53.5%	24.1%	22.4%

Question No. IV: Do you consider the present policies of Israel to be a fulfillment of Prophecy?

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Undecided</i>
Group I (Wards)	65.5%	20.2%	14.3%
Group II (BYU)	54.6%	12.7%	43.7%
Group III (U. of Utah)	31.9%	25.8%	42.3%

Question No. V: Do you think that Israel should be forced to withdraw from its most recent acquisition of Arab territory if this would bring stability and peace to the Middle East?

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Undecided</i>
Group I (Wards)	35.2%	52.7%	12.1%
Group II (BYU)	46.2%	54.1%	9.7%
Group III (U. of Utah)	52.9%	42.8%	4.3%

Question No. VI: Who should have responsibility for the Arab refugees?

	<i>Group I</i>	<i>Group II</i>	<i>Group III</i>
Israel	16.6%	31.0%	32.0%
Arabs	36.0%	33.0%	22.0%
United Nations	15.0%	13.0%	5.0%
Israel and Arabs	15.0%	18.0%	16.0%

From the results of this questionnaire, it is apparent that while well over 80% of the respondents are convinced that Israel should be allowed to keep Jerusalem, fewer are willing to admit that Israel should keep conquered Arab territories. Even more significant is the tendency of the respondents to see the establishment of Israel as a fulfillment of prophecy and then a much greater hesitancy to acknowledge the policies and actions of Israel as a fulfillment of prophecy. Question V sharply places into focus the dilemma faced

Groups II and III included students selected from "convenience samples" of classes in Political Science and Sociology. Since a nonprobability technique of selection was utilized for these two groups the percentages are obviously subject to wide sampling variations and thus must be viewed as directional rather than representative. Every third class interviewed was requested to indicate their religious affiliation. From this systematic sample it is estimated that 98% of the students in Group II are members of the L.D.S. Church.

*Special credit must be extended to Mr. Kent Calder, an honors student at the University of Utah, who devoted many hours to the distribution and collection of these questionnaires and especially for his compilation of these percentages.

by the respondents who must make a choice between their commitment to Israel and their desire for peace and stability in the area. The question is not whether withdrawal will indeed bring peace, but rather is withdrawal a legitimate course of action for Israel *if* peace would then be established? This is a big "if" yet close to 45% of the respondents felt that withdrawal was justified if peace could be established.

Although no detailed analysis of this questionnaire will be attempted at this time, some obvious conclusions should be noted. Respondents in Group I and Group II tended to answer questions I, II, and III in a similar way. Question IV shows Group II and Group III (all college students), especially in the undecided category, responding almost the same. Group I (from Question I — yes, Question III — yes) tends to vote in a more orthodox way, and Group II (from Question II — yes and Question V — no) seems to advocate a more militant view *vis-a-vis* the requests that Israel withdraw from conquered territory.

It has been the contention of this essay that the question is not whether the Jews will or should be in Palestine. The dilemma we face is, given the fact that they are there, what should be our approach? The Lord has promised that the Jewish people would be allowed to return to their homeland. This return is seen by the L.D.S. Church as a prophetic manifestation of Joseph Smith's divine calling. The basic dilemma is how to separate the concept of "gathering" as promised by the prophets, and the policy of "expansion" as practiced by the secular Zionists of Israel.

The one danger we face is to sit back apathetically and say that these events in the Middle East are God's will and we must accept them. This attitude is fraught with many dangers, not only to the security of our nation, but also to the efficiency of our missionary efforts throughout the Middle East. As an American citizen, one can lament the one-sided support that the United States' Government has extended to the State of Israel. Yet while the United States *is and must be* committed to the right of the Jewish people to have a homeland, an unqualified and unconditional support of this State suggests a danger that George Washington emphasized in his farewell address:

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation, which indulges toward another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. . . . Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate, to see danger only on one side; and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other . . . the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the

former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification.¹⁶

An unqualified support from the United States does not invite a compromising attitude from the Israeli government. Haughtiness, exuberant confidence in the justice of one's policies, and an unwillingness to understand the problems and frustrations of the "enemy" only stimulates a reciprocal hatred and fanaticism. Only the Soviet Union wins in this situation. The shock of the American people in losing China to the Eastern Bloc in 1949 was no more traumatic than would be the communist take-over of the Arab World. This, then, is our dilemma, for the possibility of a communist take-over in the Arab world has never been greater.

Many, of course, suggest that wars and instability are inevitable in the Middle East, and that peace will only come when the Millennial Reign breaks forth in all of its splendor. I reject this approach of apathy and fatalism, for it seems to me that God's eternal plan presupposes man's free agency and intellect, which he can use to improve himself and his environment. Arab-Israeli hostility is not inevitable; nuclear war is not the inescapable fate of all mankind. Men of courage and wisdom have the God-given right to seek solutions, compromises, and policies that alleviate suffering, overcome hostility, and secure a meaningful peace.

The present Russian encroachment into the Middle East is often interpreted as the "colossus of the North" which must seek to conquer Jerusalem but will be foiled in its efforts by the sudden appearance of the Savior. Although this may indeed happen "before 1970," I like to think that peace and stability in the Middle East is still a legitimate alternative, that Russian influence can be neutralized, and that moderate progressive Arab leaders can be encouraged and supported. A foreign policy based on principles reiterated by Washington in his farewell address may yet secure justice, peace, and stability in this area.

¹⁶George Washington, "The Farewell Address," in *American Foreign Policy*, eds., R. A. Goldwin, Ralph Lerner, Gerald Storz, (Chicago, Illinois: American Foundation for Political Education, 1957), pp. 131-33.

GOVERNOR THOMAS FORD AND THE MURDERERS OF JOSEPH SMITH

Keith Huntress

Keith Huntress, Professor of English at the Iowa State University in Ames, Iowa, analyzes an important but little known figure from early L.D.S. history — Thomas Ford, Governor of Illinois at the time Joseph Smith was killed.

I

Thomas Ford, Governor of Illinois from 1842 to 1846, saved the credit of the state, fought bravely against financial and civil chaos, wrote "one of the two or three remarkable books written in the state during the formative period,"¹ worked through his last illness in a courageous endeavor to leave some kind of estate to his children — and is remembered only as one of the villains in a drama far greater than his own. Ford was a perceptive and intelligent man; dying, he foresaw what his ultimate reputation would be. Toward the end of his *History of Illinois* he wrote,

. . . the author of this history feels degraded by the reflection, that the humble governor of an obscure state, who would otherwise be forgotten in a few years, stands a fair chance, like Pilate and Herod, by their official connection with the true religion, of being dragged down to posterity with an immortal name, hitched on to the memory of a miserable impostor.²

Many judgments of Ford's conduct during the struggle in Hancock County in 1844–1845 have been moderately or severely critical.³ Fawn Brodie

¹T. C. Pease, *The Frontier State, 1818–1848* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg Co., 1922), p. 316.

²Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois, from its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847* (Chicago: S. Griggs & Co., 1854), p. 360.

³See, for instance, George T. M. Davis, *An Authentic Account of the Massacre of Joseph*

condemns Ford as "weak."⁴ John Hay said that he was "plagued by the foul fiend Flibbertigibbet."⁵ Though Joseph Smith himself relied upon Governor Ford for protection, and seemed not unfriendly to a man who, he wrote, "treats us honorably," and "continues his courtesies," the opinion of the Mormons after the Smith murders was strongly condemnatory. The governor was accused of ignoring warnings of the evil intentions of the militia — an accusation certainly correct — and of being party to the murder plot.

It is easy to condemn Governor Ford for his conduct at the time of the murders. He was the chief executive of the state, he was on the scene, and yet the murders took place. But few people realize or realized the difficulties under which he labored. Any full study of the murders of the Smiths must consider the society which demanded and condoned those murders, and the conditions, so different from our own, within which that society operated. In that June of 1844 Governor Thomas Ford faced really insuperable difficulties.

II

In 1842 the state of Illinois was still frontier territory, facing all the troubles of a changing and expanding society with few settled traditions, financial or social, from which to operate. A series of sanguine speculations and an almost unbelievably rickety financial structure had resulted in a state government that was bankrupt in everything but hope and name. When Ford was elected governor in 1842,

. . . the state was in debt about \$14,000,000 for moneys wasted upon internal improvements and in banking; the domestic treasury of the state was in arrears \$313,000 for the ordinary expenses of government; auditors' warrants were freely selling at a discount of fifty percent; the people were unable to pay even moderate taxes to replenish the treasury, in which not one cent was contained even to pay postage to and from the public offices; . . . the banks, upon which the people had relied for a currency, had become insolvent, their paper had fallen so low as to cease to circulate as money, and yet no other money had taken its place, leaving the people wholly destitute of a circulating medium, and universally in debt. . . .⁷

This lack of a circulating medium of exchange is made more vivid by Ford's testimony that the half-million or so people of Illinois in 1842 possessed only two or three hundred thousand dollars in good money, about fifty cents apiece on the average, "which occasioned a general inability to

Smith . . . (St. Louis, 1844), pp. 18–19, 32, 39; John S. Fullmer, *Assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith* . . . (Liverpool, 1855), pp. 9–12; Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell* . . . (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966), pp. 129, 135.

⁴Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1945), p. 388.

⁵John Hay, "The Mormon Prophet's Tragedy," *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1869, p. 673.

⁶B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Deseret Book Co., 1962), VI, 565, 609.

⁷Ford, *History of Illinois*, p. 445. The accuracy of Ford's description is supported generally by Pease, *The Frontier State* . . . , and in Alexander Davidson and Bernard Stuve, *A Complete History of Illinois from 1673 to 1873* (Springfield: Illinois Journal Company, 1874), pp. 465 and *passim*.

pay taxes.”⁸ The Mormons in Nauvoo were continually recording difficulties in collecting a couple of dollars, or even fifty cents, in good money, and Robert Flanders has noted⁹ that bonds for deeds and other evidences of land ownership were commonly used as currency in Nauvoo. This simple lack of an acceptable currency made difficult business transactions of ordinary life, encouraged counterfeiting, and made possible all kinds of chicanery.

Another major problem of the state was transportation. The Mississippi was a great highroad, but the interior of the state was a wilderness of trails and rutted lanes. In 1841, on a day when the price of wheat was one dollar a bushel in Chicago, the price in Peoria was forty cents.¹⁰ Springfield is but one hundred miles from Nauvoo, yet the *Sangamo Journal* for July 4, 1844, a week after the murders of the Smiths, reported only rumors of troubles in Hancock County. The railroads and the telegraph were only a few years away, but in 1844 the tired horseman and the mired wagon could have stood for symbols of the state.

The cow-town Westerns of the movies and television have almost obscured the fact that violence was a major factor on the American frontier long before Dodge City and Tombstone. Illinois' history was typical enough. The almost legendary bandits of Cave-in-Rock were eliminated early in the century, and in 1816 and 1817 regulators had whipped and run out of the state rogues who, according to Ford, had included sheriffs, justices of the peace, and even judges.¹¹ But as late as 1831 a gang almost controlled Pope and Massac counties, and even built a fort which had to be taken by storm by a small army of regulators. In 1837 occurred the better-known riots at Alton. A mob threw into the river the press of the *Alton Observer*, an Abolition newspaper published by Elijah Lovejoy. Lovejoy and a member of the mob were killed in a subsequent clash, and a second press destroyed. At about the same time Ogle, Winnebago, Lee, and De Kalb counties all suffered from “organized bands of rogues, engaged in murders, robberies, horse-stealing, and in making and passing counterfeit money.”¹²

In 1841 in Ogle County a family of criminals named Driscoll shot down a Captain Campbell, of the respectables of the county, before the eyes of his family. Driscoll and one of his sons were convicted of the murder by a kangaroo court. “They were placed in a kneeling position, with bandages over their eyes, and were fired upon by the whole company present, that there might be none who could be legal witnesses of the bloody deed. About one hundred of these men were afterwards tried for the murder and acquitted. These terrible measures put an end to the ascendancy of the rogues in Ogle County.”¹³

⁸Davidson and Stuve, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

⁹Robert B. Flanders, *Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965) p. 127.

¹⁰Pease, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

¹¹Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 232–33.

¹²Ford, *Ibid.*, p. 246.

¹³Ford, *Ibid.*, pp. 248–49.

One would think that the violence at Carthage Jail in 1844 would have sickened the people of the state, but the conflicts that followed in Hancock County were by no means the only disturbances to trouble Governor Ford. Another small civil war took place in Pope and Massac counties in 1846. The militia of Union County, called in to keep the peace, refused to protect the suspected bandits and left the counties to the government of regulators, who, as always, began by terrorizing known criminals, moved to threatening the suspected, and ended hated and feared by honest and peaceful men.

A party of about twenty regulators went to the house of an old man named Mathis. . . . He and his wife resisted the arrest. The old woman being unusually strong and active, knocked down one or two of the party with her fists. A gun was then presented to her breast accompanied by a threat of blowing her heart out if she continued her resistance. She caught the gun and shoved it downwards, when it went off and shot her through the thigh. . . . The party captured old man Mathis, and carried him away with them, since which time he has not been heard of, but is supposed to have been murdered.¹⁴

Of Hancock County itself Ford wrote: "I had a good opportunity to know the early settlers of Hancock county. I had attended the circuit courts there as States-attorney, from 1830, when the county was first organized, up to the year 1834; and to my certain knowledge the early settlers, with some honorable exceptions, were, in popular language, hard cases."¹⁵

All of these citations, and they could be multiplied, show clearly that the murders at Carthage Jail fitted a fairly common pattern. The people of Hancock County, of a good many places in Illinois in 1844, were not horrified at the idea of taking the law into their own hands. That had been done before by neighbors and friends, and would be done again. Thomas Ford was trying to govern a state without money, without effective transportation, and with no effective way of rallying public support in areas of the state not directly involved in the Mormon troubles. In a society where violence becomes commonplace, domestic peace must largely depend upon speed of communication and transportation. Local feuds, riots, even revolts, are best handled by forces not themselves directly involved and therefore relatively objective in their actions. In 1844, in Hancock County, the non-Mormons were bitter partisans, and *they* were judges, jury — and executioners.

We have enough violence, of course, in our own time, with wars declared and undeclared, and with demonstrations, riots, and assassinations. But there are differences. Our acts of violence tend to be the result of pitting group against government of some kind, or individuals against individuals. In Illinois in the 1840s the conflicts were between groups, or between groups on one side and individuals on the other. Today there is a tacit understanding that the government, using the National Guard or the Army, can always repress group violence if it becomes too threatening; in the mid-nineteenth

¹⁴Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

¹⁵Ford, *Ibid.*, p. 406.

century the central government left these problems to the states, and the state governments were frequently almost powerless or were strongly partisan on one side or the other of each conflict.

III

If we search for causes of these resorts to violence in Illinois, there is no lack of possibilities. Criminals are always with us, quick to take advantage of weakness in government, of unstable currency, of flimsy jails, of poor communications. And common crime is not only harmful in itself; it begets crime through success — and through retribution.

Another cause for violence may well have been simple boredom, with its concomitant yearning for any kind of action. Anyone who reads the letters and records of the mid-nineteenth century is struck by how often a writer dropped whatever he had in hand and set off on some vaguely motivated journey, and by how easy it always was to attract a crowd.

William Daniels, who wrote an eyewitness account of the Smith murders, began his story:

I resided in Augusta, Hancock county, Ill., eighteen miles from Carthage. On the 16th of June I left my home with the intention of going to St. Louis. . . .

The next morning a company of men were going from . . . [Warsaw] to Carthage, for the purpose, as they said, of assisting the militia to drive the Mormons out of the country. Out of curiosity, as I had no particular way to spend my time. . . ."¹⁶

Daniels, setting out from his home on the sixteenth of June, was a witness of the murders eleven days later, and apparently never did arrive in St. Louis.

Sheriff J. B. Backenstos supplied a list of those whom he supposed to have been active in the "massacre at Carthage."¹⁷ Backenstos was not present at the murders and was using hearsay in these accusations, which could not have been proved in court. He listed about sixty men as active participants. Of these sixty, six are listed as having "no business," two as "land sharks," one as "loafer," and one Major W. B. Warren as "a damned villain" — apparently his full-time occupation. Out of about sixty men, ten apparently had no occupation known to the sheriff, and ten others were farmers at a season of the year when farming might have been expected to take all of a man's time.

The best pictures of the boredom, the deep inner need for excitement, for some kind of action, are in the writings of Mark Twain. Twain grew up in Hannibal, Missouri, a river town close to Warsaw and Nauvoo. One of the most famous passages of American writing, and one of the best, could have been a description of Warsaw, though it was Hannibal that Mark Twain wrote of:

¹⁶William M. Daniels, *A Correct Account of the Murder of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith* . . . (Nauvoo, 1845), p. 4.

¹⁷Roberts, ed., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 143-44.

After all these years I can picture that old time to myself now, just as it was then; the white town drowsing in the sunshine of a summer's morning; the streets empty, or pretty nearly so; one or two clerks sitting in front of the Water Street stores, with their splint-bottomed chairs tilted back against the walls, chins on breasts, hats slouched over their faces, asleep — with shingle shavings enough around to show what broke them down; a sow and a litter of pigs loafing along the sidewalk, doing a good business in watermelon rinds and seeds; two or three lonely little freight piles scattered about the "levee"; a pile of "skids" on the slope of the stone-paved wharf, and the fragrant town drunkard asleep in the shadow of them Presently a film of dark smoke appears . . . instantly a Negro drayman, famous for his quick eye and prodigious voice, lifts up the cry, "S-t-e-a-mboat a-comin'" and the scene changes! The town drunkard stirs, the clerks wake up, a furious clatter of drays follows, every house and store pours out a human contribution, and all in a twinkling the dead town is alive and moving. . . . Ten minutes later the steamer is under way again, with no flag on the jack-staff and no black smoke issuing from the chimneys. After ten more minutes the town is dead again and the town drunkard asleep by the skids once more.¹⁸

In *Huckleberry Finn* Mark Twain shows us a town in Arkansas, but the description, and particularly the bored cruelty at the conclusion, fit into the picture of possibilities for violence in any Mississippi river town:

There were empty drygoods boxes under the awnings and loafers roosting on them all day long, whittling them with their Barlow knives and chawing tobacco and gaping and yawning and stretching — a mighty ornery lot. . . . You'd see a muddy sow and a litter of pigs . . . and pretty soon you'd hear a loafer sing out, "Hi! so boy! sick him, Tigel!" and away the sow would go, squealing most horrible, with a dog or two swinging to each ear and three or four dozen more a-coming, and then you would see all the loafers get up and watch the thing out of sight and laugh at the fun and look grateful for the noise. Then they'd settle back again till there was a dog-fight. There couldn't anything wake them up all over and make them happy all over, like a dog-fight — unless it might be putting turpentine on a stray dog and setting fire to him, or tying a tin pan to his tail and see him run himself to death.¹⁹

From September 1845 until well into the spring of 1846 a substantial part of the population of Hancock County seems to have done little except to harass the Mormons.²⁰ If only the loafers and poor farmers had been bitter against the people of Nauvoo, the Mormons could perhaps have lived on in Hancock County without very great problems, but the respectables of Warsaw and Carthage made common cause with the "butcher boys." The new religion was feared and condemned, of course, since any new religion

¹⁸Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (Boston: James R. Osgood Co., 1883), pp. 63–65.

¹⁹Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958; Riverside Edition), pp. 117–19.

²⁰Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier*, ed. Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), I, pp. 64–117.

is necessarily built upon a belief in the inadequacy of established tenets, but Nauvoo was also a threat to Warsaw's trade and to Carthage's position as county seat.²¹ When it became obvious that Nauvoo's voters were a bloc to be directed as he chose by Joseph Smith, and when the Prophet declared himself a candidate for the Presidency, the old settlers united against the new. The Mormons, strangers and isolates, had to face a county, a population, accustomed to the idea of violence, contemptuous of government, filled with hate, and armed.

IV

It was deeply ironical that the beginning of the end came with the destruction of the press of the *Nauvoo Expositor*. In Alton, a few years before, the mob had twice destroyed presses belonging to the Abolitionist Lovejoy. They rioted against the freedom of the press. In Nauvoo the Mormons did the destroying, and the mob rioted for the freedom of the press. In truth, of course, the mob cared nothing for the abstract freedom of the Bill of Rights; it hated Abolitionists and Mormons, and did them both to death.

Governor Ford first became closely involved with the Mormon troubles on June 17, 1844, when a committee of men from Carthage waited on him in Springfield and asked that the militia of the state be called out to keep the peace in Hancock County. There was reason for their fear. The Mormons had destroyed the press of the *Expositor* on June 10; the very next day a mass meeting at Carthage adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved . . . that we hold ourselves at all times in readiness to cooperate with our fellow citizens in this state, Missouri, and Iowa, to *exterminate* — UTTERLY EXTERMINATE, the wicked and abominable Mormon leaders, the authors of our troubles.

* * * *

Resolved . . . that the time, in our opinion, has arrived when the adherents of Smith as a body, shall be driven from the surrounding settlements into Nauvoo; that the Prophet and his miscreant adherents should then be demanded at their hands, and if not surrendered, A WAR OF EXTERMINATION SHOULD BE WAGED, to the entire destruction if necessary for our protection, of his adherents.²²

Ford, listening to the delegation from Carthage, made the first of three fateful decisions; he would go to Carthage and see himself what the situation was. This was a perfectly sensible thing to do, but it made possible the murders of the Smiths. If the governor had stayed in Springfield the Smiths would not have surrendered; only Ford's personal guarantee of protection persuaded Joseph Smith to ride to Carthage and give himself into custody.

Ford had to find out what the situation was, but Joseph Smith was under no illusions as to the attitude and plans of the mob. When Ford, after hear-

²¹Brodie, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-59; Flanders, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 307.

²²Roberts, ed., *op. cit.*, VII, 123.

ing the Mormon side of the *Expositor* affair, demanded that the Smiths surrender to the magistrate at Carthage, Joseph Smith stated the situation very accurately, and appealingly, in a letter dated June 22, 1844:

. . . we would not hesitate to stand another trial according to your Excellency's wish, were it not that we are confident our lives would be in danger. We dare not come. Writs, we are assured, are issued against us in various parts of the country. For what? To drag us from place to place, from court to court, across the creeks and prairies, till some bloodthirsty villain could find his opportunity to shoot us down. We dare not come, though your Excellency promises protection. Yet, at the same time, you have expressed fears that you could not control the mob, in which case we are left to the mercy of the merciless. Sir, we dare not come, for our lives would be in danger, and we are guilty of no crime.

You say, "It will be against orders to be accompanied by others if we come to trial." This we have been obliged to act upon in Missouri; and when our witnesses were sent for by the court (as your honor promises to do) they were thrust into prison, and we left without witnesses. Sir, you must not blame us, for "a burnt child dreads the fire." And although your Excellency might be well-disposed in the matter, the appearance of the mob forbids our coming. We dare not do it.²³

Joseph Smith's plan to leave for the far West, his crossing the river to Montrose, and his final decision to return and give himself up to the law were crucial for his life but were unknown to Governor Ford, who would probably have been best pleased had that plan been followed.

The Smiths arrived in Carthage at about midnight, June 24–25. They were exhibited to the militia the next day, were charged with riot — the *Expositor* case — and were released on bail. Joseph and Hyrum Smith were immediately rearrested on a trumped-up charge of treason,²⁴ and were *not* released on bail; they were committed to the county jail "for greater security."

At this point Ford made his second crucial decision: he did not interfere in the jailing of the Smiths. In his *History* Ford gives a detailed explanation which is persuasive as to the technical legality of the charges and of his position, but which has little to do with the facts of the matter and the murderous intention of the mob. The magistrate in Carthage refused to accept bail on the charge of treason, and, without the kind of hearing required by law, committed the Smiths to jail in the midst of their enemies. A different kind of governor might have overborne the magistrate and freed the Smiths, but Ford had been a lawyer and a judge. He felt that, as governor, he was only another citizen of the state, with peculiar responsibilities, of course, but with those responsibilities sharply delimited. "In all this matter," wrote Ford,

the justice of the peace and constable, though humble in office, were acting in a high and independent capacity, far beyond any legal

²³Roberts, ed., *op cit.*, VI, 540.

²⁴For declaring martial law in Nauvoo and calling out the Nauvoo Legion. But when Ford arrived in Carthage he discovered that the militia had been called out by the constables. No one ever suggested that the constables be arrested for treason.

power in me to control. I considered that the executive power could only be called in to assist, and not to dictate or control their action; that in the humble sphere of their duties they were as independent, and clothed with as high authority by the law, as the executive department; and that my province was simply to aid them with the force of the State.²⁵

A more forceful and less legalistic chief executive could almost certainly have freed the Smiths; indeed, Ford wrote of the planned trip to Nauvoo on June 27. "I had determined to prevail on the justice to bring out his prisoners and take them along."²⁶ If he could have persuaded the magistrate to release the prisoners on the twenty-seventh, he could have done the same thing on the twenty-fifth. But this begs the question. A more forceful and less legalistic chief executive would have been likely, in those times, to have been more violently anti-Mormon than was Ford. Governor Boggs of Missouri would probably not have hesitated to override a magistrate, but neither would he have hesitated to authorize the killing of the Smiths.

Once the prisoners were in Carthage Jail, events moved rapidly to the tragic ending. Visitors came and went; a pair of pistols was left with the prisoners; there was something of the feeling of a state of siege. Ford told Joseph Smith that he could not interfere with the slow — and in this case partial — process of the law. Ford had planned to take the Smiths to Nauvoo if he went there on the twenty-seventh, but on that morning the governor changed his mind — and this was his third crucial decision. He wrote, "I had determined to prevail on the justice to bring out his prisoners, and take them along. A council of officers, however, determined that this would be highly inexpedient and dangerous, and offered such substantial reasons for their opinions as induced me to change my resolution."²⁷

It is interesting and significant that in his *History* Ford passed over this decision as rapidly as possible, did not give the "substantial reasons" of the officers, and moved immediately to the story of the expedition. Had the Smiths been taken to Nauvoo they might have been shot on the road, or they might have been killed in a trumped-up attack in Nauvoo if the original plan to take the whole militia to that city had been followed. That would have meant war. If the Smiths had been taken along with the small company that finally made the journey, they might very well have been kidnapped by the Nauvoo Legion. It is hard to believe that had the Smiths once returned to Nauvoo they would have been willing to come back to Carthage and the jail; they had seen and heard the mob and knew what justice to expect from everyone but the governor.

The rest of the story is familiar to anyone who has studied Mormon history. The governor, having decided to leave the Smiths in jail, ordered almost all the militia to be disbanded. He left with a small force for Nauvoo, where he made a hurried speech to the assembled citizens and exacted a pledge

²⁵Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 340.

²⁷*Ibid.*

against violence. In the meantime the militia from Warsaw had marched north toward Golden's Point and had been met "at the shanties" with the governor's order to disband, and the news that the governor had left Carthage for Nauvoo and that the Smiths were still in Carthage Jail. John Hay's retelling of the story is probably accurate; his father was with the troops and knew all the men, and the story must have been told and retold in Warsaw:

Colonel Williams read the Governor's order . . . Captain Grover soon found himself without a company. Captain Aldrich essayed a speech calling for volunteers for Carthage. "He did not make a fair start," says the chronicle [it would be interesting to know what *chronicle* Hay referred to] "and Sharp came up and took it off his hands. Sharp, being a spirited and impressive talker, soon had a respectable squad about him. . . ." The speeches of Grover and Sharp were rather vague; the purpose of murder does not seem to have been hinted. They protested against "being made the tools and puppets of Tommy Ford." They were going to Carthage to see the boys and talk things over. . . .

While they were waiting at the shanties, a courier came in from the Carthage Grays. It is impossible at this day to declare exactly the purport of his message. It is usually reported and believed that he brought an assurance from the officer of this company that they would be found on guard at the jail where the Smiths were confined; that they would make no real resistance — merely enough to save appearances.²⁸

And so the men from Warsaw, led by Sharp, Grover, and Davis, and welcomed by the Carthage Grays under Frank Worrell, rushed the jail, disarmed the guard, and murdered Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Governor Ford heard the news when he met messengers two miles outside of Nauvoo; for safety's sake he took the two messengers with him back to Carthage, so that the knowledge of the murders would be kept from the people of Nauvoo as long as possible.

Everyone expected a war. The anti-Mormons had been violent enough, and the Mormons had been accused by their enemies so often of being blood-thirsty outlaws that the accusers had come to believe their own lies. In this case, the Mormons quite typically followed the advice of John Taylor, and kept the peace. But Ford, expecting the worst, felt that he could trust neither the Mormons nor the murdering Gentiles, and retreated to Quincy in a panic.²⁹ His feelings about the murders he put into a letter to Nauvoo, of July 22, 1844:

The naked truth then is, that most well informed persons condemn in the most unqualified manner the mode in which the Smiths were put to death, but nine out of every ten of such accompany the expression of their disapprobation by a manifestation of their pleasure that they are dead.

²⁸Hay, *op. cit.*, p. 674.

²⁹An unpublished manuscript by a Mrs. Marsh of Carthage, kindly sent to me by Professor Douglas Wilson of Knox College, gives a quite different picture of Ford's flight from that which he himself gives in his *History*. Ford was apparently not physically courageous, which may have been one of the determining factors in the whole tragedy.

The disapproval is most unusually cold and without feeling . . . called for by decency, by a respect for the laws and a horror of mobs, but does not flow warm from the heart.

The unfortunate victims . . . were generally and thoroughly hated throughout the country, and it is not reasonable to suppose that their deaths has produced any reaction in the public mind resulting in active sympathy; if you think so, you are mistaken.³⁰

Ford obviously foresaw the continuing persecution which resulted in the Mormon War of 1845 and the evacuation of Nauvoo.

V

How far, then, can Governor Ford be held responsible for the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith?

Ford arrived at Carthage on the morning of June 21. He discovered that Hancock County was already at the point of civil war, with approximately 1,700 men of the combined militia threatening to attack Nauvoo, which was defended by the Nauvoo Legion, 2,000 strong. His first act was to place the men of the militia under their regular officers and to get pledges of support from those officers. He then demanded the surrender of the Smiths for their part in the *Expositor* affair, which was the immediate cause of the threatened struggle. He then asked for and received the state arms from the Nauvoo Legion. After the Smiths were committed to jail, Ford met with the officers of the militia to consult on the next steps to be taken. He disbanded the militia, rode to Nauvoo with a small party, and pleaded with the Mormons to keep the peace. Then he was faced with the fact of the murders.

It seems obvious that Ford's primary concern was not to save the Smiths but to avoid civil war. He felt that he had to push for the surrender of the Smiths partly because of the legal requirement, but also because their immunity from punishment after the *Expositor* affair made furious the old settlers of Hancock County. He first put the militia under their regular officers in an attempt to enforce discipline, and then, finding the officers as bad as the men, discharged almost the whole militia, feeling that they would be less dangerous as individuals and that many would return to their homes. He took the state arms from the Nauvoo Legion in order to relieve the fears of the old settlers, and then discovered that those fears were mainly pretended and that the old settlers themselves were the real danger. Ford felt a responsibility for the Smiths — he had guaranteed their safety — but when he had to choose between leaving the Smiths and making another effort for peace he chose to meet what he thought was his first responsibility.

No one can tell what *might* have happened, but there seems every reason to believe that if Ford had stayed in Springfield and the Smiths had remained at Nauvoo, civil war would have occurred; that if Ford had arranged for the Smiths to escape to Nauvoo, civil war would have occurred; that if Ford had taken the Smiths with him to Nauvoo, civil war would have occurred. He did none of these things, and civil war occurred. The old settlers of Han-

³⁰Roberts, ed., *op. cit.*, VII, 204.

cock County did not want peace and would not have peace. Hay reports of the Warsaw militia on the last grim march to Carthage, "These trudged . . . towards the town where the cause of all the trouble and confusion of the last few years awaited them. . . . The farther they walked the more the idea impressed itself upon them that now was the time to finish the matter totally. The avowed design of the leaders communicated itself magnetically to the men, until the whole company became fused into one mass of blood-thirsty energy."³¹

Those writers who have called Ford weak, and who have pointed out, quite correctly, that he changed his mind during those last days of Carthage, have never suggested just what Ford should have done to save the Smiths and prevent the war. The governor tried almost everything in his endeavor to keep the peace; it was not his fault that nothing worked.

The mob wanted Joseph Smith dead and the Mormons out of Illinois. Even after the Smiths were killed and the Mormons leaderless, civil war broke out the next year and the Mormons were finally expelled. The lesson that Thomas Ford learned is given in his *History*:

In framing our governments, it seemed to be the great object of our ancestors to secure the public liberty by depriving government of power. Attacks upon liberty were not anticipated from any considerable portion of the people themselves. It was not expected that one portion of the people would attempt to play the tyrant over another. And if such a thing had been thought of, the only mode of putting it down was to call out the militia, who are, nine times out of ten, partisans on one side or the other in the contest. The militia may be relied upon to do battle in a popular service, but if mobs are raised to drive out horse thieves, to put down claim-jumpers, to destroy an abolition press, or to expel an odious sect, the militia cannot be brought to act against them efficiently. *The people cannot be used to put down the people.*³²

Ford failed to save the lives of the Smiths, and he failed to prevent civil war. It is doubtful whether anyone, given that time, that place, those people, could have succeeded.

³¹Hay, *op. cit.*, p. 674.

³²Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 249. My italics.

From the Pulpit

LOT'S WIFE IN THE LATTER DAYS

Lenet H. Read

This sermon, given originally in 1968 in a Durham (North Carolina) Ward Sacrament meeting, is the winner of the Silver Award for Religious Literature of the First Annual Dialogue Prizes. Lenet Read is the mother of four children and a Relief Society President; she has an essay appearing soon in the IMPROVEMENT ERA.

My dear brothers and sisters, this evening marks the end of a cycle in my life. Five years ago my husband and I left Durham, with his law degree and a lot of expectation. We had finally passed our years of deprivation and set happily upon a course promising physical abundance. We return — not with great abundance, but hopefully with greater wisdom.

This night marks the end of many cycles. First, a physical one. For our journey has led from North Carolina to Minnesota to Kansas City to New York City and back to Durham. It is the completion of a professional cycle for Frank, from a university student of law, to a practicing attorney of law, and back to the same university as a teacher of law. But most important, this night marks the end of a cycle, for me, from the beginning of a search for the golden fleece to a realization that that search is vain.

I will not try to explain the forces which pulled us through these physical and professional cycles, but I will dwell considerably upon those forces which have produced within me a cycle, or reversal, of concept and purpose.

A major force was the nature of the life we've lived — a nomadic life. One learns a great deal from nomadism. The first lesson is that it is wisdom to remain loosely attached to physical things. We have left homes, one lived in for just nine months; lawns and trees, laboriously cared for; a garden,

planted and nurtured and not yet harvested. We have learned the necessity of hardening one's heart to the loss of physical things.

But there were more specific experiences which taught of the perishableness of earthly things. We lived in St. Paul in the spring of '65 during news-making floods. We were unaffected physically, but being there involved us emotionally, and I was sobered as I watched men and women weep at the loss of a lifetime's work.

We lived for a time in Kansas City, experiencing numerous tornado warnings. During such warnings, the communications media assume emergency broadcasting procedures; residents are advised to take cover. The natives react casually, for most warnings prove to be unnecessary, but to a newcomer it is frightening. He sees the air boil above him. He realizes that mass of darkness hanging over the city possesses the power to drop anywhere, in one instant, the tail of the terrible funnel. As instructed, the novice seeks his basement. Huddling with family in a basement corner, he listens to reports, mainly rumors, of tornadoes touching or heading his way. I cannot forget those moments of anxiety when I realized that out there in reality was a force that could in seconds destroy my life, the lives of my cherished ones, or reduce to rubble all we owned on earth.

For me, all these things were teaching experiences. They were a unique set of events which forced upon me the lesson the Lord has labored to teach since man first became a part of the world and the one great lesson the prophets have warned He must teach again in the Final Day. This lesson is that though we are a part of the world, we must wean our hearts far from the world.

. . . when the Lord ariseth to shake terribly the earth. In that day
a man shall cast his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, to the moles
and to the bats;
To go into the clefts of the rocks, . . . for fear of the Lord.

(Isaiah 2:19-21)

This will be our final weaning — but it is not the first his children have experienced. The strong current of nomadism in the history of the peoples of God is no accident. Abraham, Lehi, the Israelites, the early Latter-day Saints — all were deliberately called out and away from possessions. Unmistakably, leaving behind is a weaning experience strongly associated with being the children of the Lord.

Perhaps the clearest insight into the need for weaning comes from the story of Lot's wife. Sodom and Gommorah were to be destroyed. Lot's family was warned to flee, but also warned to flee without looking back. Lot's wife, unable to do so, turned to look — and perished. Lot's story disturbed me until I realized how many of the Old Testament stories are significant as foreshadowing of other events. As Jonah's three days in the fish foreshadowed the crucifixion and resurrection, as Abraham's aborted sacrifice of son foreshadowed the sacrifice God must make of His own son, so, I feel, the story of Lot foreshadows the time of the last days. Christ seemed to indi-

cate this. Speaking of the last days, he compared it to the days of Noah and of Lot. People would be eating, drinking, marrying. Destruction would come suddenly. Then Christ warned ominously, "In that day, he which shall be upon the housetop, and his stuff in the house, let him not come down to take it away; and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return back. Remember Lot's wife" (Luke 17:28-37).

The warning not to return for "things" and the story of the destruction of Lot's wife indicate we may partially determine whether we will be saved or destroyed in that day by the passing of a simple test. If in that day our possessions mean so little we can leave them, can flee without thought for them, we may be preserved. But if, like Lot's wife, we look back, we perish. Why? Because "back there" will be our possessions. If we are not careful, there, too, will be our hearts.

But why? Why does the Lord seek so persistently to wean our hearts from the physical world. The answers lie in the commandments and in Christ's teachings.

"Thou shalt love the Lord with all thy heart . . ."

And Christ echoed, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, . . . For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

Are any of us void of experience in which our possessions have vied for our allegiance to the matters of the Lord? I recall distinctly one such experience. We had moved into a house much larger than we had ever had before. It was a new house and therefore demanded considerable attention. At this time I had competing work from my Father in Heaven to perform, and so I encountered constant conflict as to which work should receive my time and efforts. Of course, preparing the home for occupancy seemed most urgent and I began that. But regardless of what I did, or spent upon that house, there were always details in every room demanding my attention. Finally in my mind's eye I felt I saw what was happening to me. I saw my house as it really had become — a demanding master. And I had become its servant. Regardless of how I labored or how much I gave unto this thing, it was not satisfied.

Our homes, yards, cars, pleasures are demanding. "Feed me." "Care for me." "Serve me." Foolishly, we believe we can serve God *and* Mammon. By accumulating unto ourselves too much of the world we make ourselves parties to inevitable conflict. If we neglect the Lord's work, we ought to feel guilt. But factually, when we neglect our possessions, we often feel greater, more immediate guilt. When there is conflict, the solution is not to neglect God's work; the solution lies in removing ourselves from the realm of conflict — holding to the one and despising the other.

How do we know whom we really serve? If we serve the world, we will neglect God's work and resent the demands the Church imposes. Conversely, if we truly serve the Lord, we will do His work and resent the demands of physical things. "How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" There is a form of resentment in those lines.

We serve the things of the world because we like the beauty and order they give to our lives. Physical beauty and order have their place — but that place is secondary, not paramount. In times of conflict they must be relegated to their proper station. For the difference between the beautiful things of the world and spiritual duty is as the difference between man and God.

The Lord desires to wean our hearts from the world for the worldly things we serve shall fail us. Thus Christ warned, "Lay not up . . . treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, . . ." But like the foolish children of old we have built a tower of Babel thinking we can preserve our things from destruction. Our Babel is Insurance. Have we not already heard rumblings forecasting the demise of our safeguard? For on the words "insurrection," "act of God," "nuclear warfare," hangs our faith in Insurance.

The Lord desires to wean our hearts from love of possessions for that love bars our hearts from our love of neighbor. The crucial question is whether we love our possessions more than our neighbor, remembering Christ's clear definition of neighbor.

Sometimes it seems hard to apply Christ's teachings to the complex problems of our age. When problems are complex, morality has a way of becoming vague and uncertain. But I remember a principle learned somewhere in early school days, that when one is confronted with complex problems, it is often possible to reduce them to simpler parts. Thus, we could multiply and divide with complex fractions if we could reduce them to simpler ones. Perhaps we can use this principle here. What is one's responsibility to his neighbor of little means? When there are great barriers dividing poor from wealthy — distances, economic and political beliefs and systems, national and racial suspicions, things become vague and unclear indeed. Yet I am haunted by a clear, simplified version of mankind's problem. If one man sat at a table laden with food and another came and sat before him and pulled from his pocket a crust of bread, does morality still evade us? Could any here indulge in abundance while another sat near with meager substance and feel he could justify himself before God *for any reason*? But things get more complex in the real world. Distance, disagreement, apathy hide us from the hunger of others, and we indulge, in peace.

For me, the key to our responsibility to neighbor lies as much in the Parable of the Talents as in the Good Samaritan. The Parable of the Talents is probably the most quoted parable in the church, yet hearing we seem not to hear, and seeing, we seem not to see. We have cheapened it, for we see it only as counsel to develop our singing or speaking or painting abilities. Yet talents in the Bible does not mean "talents" of our time. The Lord spoke of money, but it was meant to symbolize everything that the Lord has entrusted to us. The real message is that all men are stewards only; that harsh accounting for our stewardship awaits us. With this in mind then, let us remember that the riches of the earth have been prepared for all men. Surely we are wrong in accumulating to ourselves more than we justly use, especially when our usurpation denies to others the things they truly need. This is not faithful stewardship, nor is using the world to glorify ourselves, or indulge

our pleasures, or gratify our egos. "To bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man" is God's work and Christ's work and our work. Toward this end only, the faithful steward labors.

In direct contradiction to the knowledge we are but stewards is the belief that *we* have achieved all we have and are therefore under no obligation to those we feel are unindustrious brethren. Yet this is the pride God has so repeatedly condemned. Harken to the words of Samuel, the prophet.

Ye do not remember the Lord your God *in the things with which he hath blessed you*, . . . your hearts are not drawn out unto the Lord, *but they do swell with great pride.*

(Helaman 13:22, Italics added)

What kind of pride does Samuel speak of? The pride that believes *man* is responsible for his own accumulation of wealth. If any believe we earn what we have and are therefore free of obligation to others, I challenge them to return to the scriptures and find support. But do not search for amputated lines; seek instead the waves of meaning that pervade all scripture. For these contain the gospel's heart, and the heart of the gospel asserts, "All that you have and all that you are comes from your Father in Heaven."

And in nothing doth man offend God, or against none is his wrath kindled, save those who confess not his hand in all things, . . .

(D. & C. 59:21)

But is it enough just vocally to express gratitude for blessings? *If we truly believed our blessings come from the Lord, we would never use them toward selfish ends.*

As members of the Church we profess to seek celestial glory. Do we realize the significance of that aspiration — to become truly as God is? What is He? The possessor of staggering power. The creator of staggering wealth. What kinds of hands and heart could grasp that ring? Hearts that seek self-glory? Hands that seek self-pleasure? The Lord has asked of us on earth that we give all that we have, all we are, unto His service. And for what purpose? Because hands and hearts that possess His power must be willing to give totally and unconditionally as He has given. God gave His Son to save a world that spat upon and crucified that very son. That is the kind of giving required of celestial seekers: to give in spite of rejection, to give in spite of corruption, to give in spite of waste, to give for righteous purpose — to give that which is most precious that others may find eternal life.

But I am afraid there are many concepts prevalent in our day which are not in harmony with the pure gospel of Jesus Christ. In our world, material possessions are enthroned as gods, for it is they who receive our labors and thoughts and honors — and even our willingness to war as the crusaders of old.

Consider for a moment the conflict within our nation, a conflict which may be comparable to illness where fever has grown so high it has resulted in convulsions. I recall a neighbor whose daughter had convulsions. Terrified, the mother sought help and with proper care the fever was lowered, the convulsions ended. But how foolish that mother had she believed she

had overcome her problems. Further work was needed — to diagnose and heal the disease underlying the symptoms. In a very real sense our society has reached the point of convulsions. These must be stopped or they will destroy us. But we are fools indeed if we believe we can stop until we have struck at the source of the upheaval. Our disease is materialism. There are many evidences that this is true. It is the motive prompting rioters who have decided to get what they want the easy way. But it is also the motive of those who refuse to relinquish anything they have and desire yet more. If the pie is just so big and everyone wants a greater percent, the solutions are limited. One solution is bloating the pie (inflation) so all believe they have much more. Another is for those with greater shares to willingly reduce their percentage. Not many are willing, so we bloat the pie and battle for it.

Materialism is a generator of another problem — the indulgence of many youth in Bohemia, drugs, political excess. These indulgences are their reaction to what they feel is their elders' sin, materialism. Many youth are disillusioned with the material life. They are angered by our apathy and cruelty toward those outside our affluence. They despise a system that cannot correct inequalities. And they have reacted accordingly — to extremes.

The scriptures would uphold the diagnosis that our illness is materialism, though from a different angle. Words from Isaiah, Samuel, others, arise from scripture to haunt our time as well as their own. Their messages apply. *When the children of light become too prosperous and their hearts turn to things, not God, they are afflicted.* Throughout religious history, God's people have been preserved until their hearts leave their Creator. They may not necessarily leave the church, but their hearts leave God and only their lips draw near. And when their hearts leave Him, they are chastened. The Israelites were chastened for this reason many times.

In one instance, speaking through Hosea, the Lord laments that his people have left Him, their first love, and become as harlots, giving their hearts to their riches instead.

I did know thee in the wilderness, in the land of great drought. . . .
But they were filled, and their heart was exalted; therefore they have forgotten me. . . .
O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself. (Hosea 13:5,6,9)

The Nephites were likewise chastened. So great was their iniquity that the Lord raised up a prophet from among the Lamanites, a hated people, to warn them of their state:

Behold, I Samuel, a Lamanite, do speak the words of the Lord which he doth put into my heart; and behold he hath put it into my heart to say . . . that the sword of justice hangeth over this people.

Because of the hardness of the hearts of the people of the Nephites, except they repent, I will take away my word from them, and I will withdraw my Spirit from them, and I will suffer them no longer, and I will turn the hearts of their brethren against them.

(Helaman 13:5,8)

Why this chastening?

Ye do not remember the Lord your God in the things with which he hath blessed you, but ye do always remember your riches. . . .

And behold, the time cometh that he curseth your riches, that they become slippery, that ye cannot hold them; and in the days of your poverty ye cannot retain them. (Helaman 13:22,31)

Is there a striking parallel in our day? There has been one who spoke unto this nation. He was of a despised race. But the words he spoke were Christ's; they were of brotherhood, of forsaking riches, of ministering to the poor; they contained warnings of conflict and chastening. Reaction to his words were stones of slander ("Communist!"), and violent death. I cannot say Martin Luther King may have been another Samuel. I can only wonder.

Are we not being chastened? Is further chastening imminent? In the past, preservation came from repentance of the Lord's people, not from calling for repentance from the Phillistines, the Lamanites, or the Gentiles. Why do we not see that the messages of the past apply to us? How is it that we rip from scripture those passages promising hope and apply them to our time, yet ignore the warnings as though they directed themselves only to the past?

"O Israel, thou has destroyed thyself."

As all past prophets warned of materialism, they also warned we must serve the poor. In our time, controversy rages among men concerning *how* we should serve the poor. Sincerely, I suspect the Lord will not be so concerned with our opinions as with our motives. Beware, if there is improper motive behind the masks we wear or the banners we carry. For the Lord's division of righteous and unrighteous shall cut across party lines and philosophical divisions, and only we blind men divide less justly. I fear there may be hypocrisy in most of us. If we call for relief programs from certain sources yet are not personally charitable, we are hypocrites, for it is all too easy to be charitable in theory. If we cry *against* certain programs, citing reasons, yet do not *use* every resource at our disposal to heal the wounds of poverty otherwise, we stand equally condemned as hypocrites.

The divisions of our time include divisions between the haves and the have-nots. The have-nots cry, "Thou art thy brother's keeper." The haves cry, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider his ways and be wise." Let wisdom lead us, not passion, for consider this wisdom gained from our experience as earthly parents. In how many cases can an earthly parent, arbitrator over childish disputes, send one child away with rebuke and the other with none? How more likely is the need to rebuke both? I am certain that this is so with the Lord. For surely if he were here among us to personally arbitrate our disputes, he would sigh with impatience, finding us all worthy of rebuke. Both arguments brought before him in the case of the haves versus the have-nots are words which have issued from the mouths of his prophets. *But our great modern struggle is really the time-old problem of each beholding the mote in his brother's eye.* If the arguments were reversed, if the have-nots spoke of labor and the haves spoke of giving, then we would have peace

rather than revolution, building rather than destroying. But as long as we preach to the other, we shall have struggle and hatred and violence.

There is one more thing we must point out. When one is truly acquainted with the scriptures, he cannot but be aware that when the Lord has deemed it necessary to rebuke two parties to a dispute, his harshest rebuke has gone to those who have received the most — both in light and blessing. For of them he expects light, not darkness. Of them he expects love, not contention. Of them he expects an extra mile. Again, perhaps this indicates it is we who must repent, not just the rest of the world.

My own answer to the seeming conflict between individual industry and serving the poor has been crystalized in my understanding of Christ's reaction to the standing of the adulteress. When he quietly said, "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her," he did not condone adultery. He was teaching. To those angered by adultery, to those who supposedly had mastered that particular law, he directed a new one. Many today have mastered the basic principle of industry. But now that we have mastered that principle, a new one is required of us — compassion.

Material possessions divide mankind. We debate heatedly as to the methods we should use in serving the poor. And while we debate the methods, the poor remain unfed and unclothed, and Satan is served. Aren't the problems of such proportions that we need every resource? — though it is true they must be used more wisely. But in our time of debate, let us be careful we do not heap to ourselves with itching ears words we want to hear.

I feel most of us do not intend to fail our neighbor. This temptation is perhaps the most subtle of all those Satan gives us. We buy too expensively, believing we are justified through love of beauty, and then our resources are committed and we have little left to serve the poor!

I fear most of us feel we adequately serve our neighbor, for we can call to our defense many contributions we have made. Yet, I suspect there have been few men who could not claim they had "given to the poor." What we give is tokenism. Christ noted the difference. In the incident of the widow's offering Christ said, "Verily I say unto you, That this poor widow hath cast more in, than all they which have cast in the treasury: For all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living" (Mark 12:43, 44).

I am deeply troubled concerning this matter of materialism. For as I search the scriptures, I see that the gospel has been given many times, but has been lost each time through the hardness of men's hearts. If the gospel has slipped from the hands of others, how firm is our grasp?

The very description of the trials of the latter days as a refiner's fire should cause us concern. For what is a refiner's fire, but one which applies such heat and pressure that the accumulations, the impurities are removed, leaving only the essential. What do we have that is unessential, that mars our worth and purity? Could it be our love of possessions?

We ought to absorb these startling facts: (1) It was love of possessions which led most if not all previous civilizations to a need for chastening. (2)

We are the wealthiest civilization in the history of Earth. How can we help but squirm? How can we help but seek the deepest analysis we have ever given the status of our hearts? For if we have this great wealth and have remained undivided in loyalties, it may be the greatest miracle God has ever wrought.

We cling too persistently to an illusion that if we are active in the Church, and especially if we make some sacrifices, all is well with us in the sight of the Lord. The scriptures cry, "Not so," for they are the chronicle of others thus falsely believing. Ultimately, the key word is "heart." Our heart must cling to God and nothing else. The great mass of scripture decries the danger of division of heart or purpose:

The Light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single,
thy whole body shall be full of light. (Matt. 6:22)

Israel, return unto the Lord thy God; for thou has fallen by thine
iniquity. . . . say unto him . . . [we will say no more] to the work of
our hands, Ye are our gods. . . . (Hosea 14:1-3)

Brothers and sisters, we live in a time of smothering materialism. It has invaded the Church. I pray we will seek in our hearts and the scriptures for answers about how to live in this time. To me, the answers are increasingly clear. For inasmuch as our possessions divide our hearts from total love of the Father; inasmuch as many of our brothers live in soul-destructive want, while many forces seek to use that want for socially destructive purposes; inasmuch as we live in the last days with apocalyptic warnings looming over our heads, I pray we may have the wisdom to give our hearts totally to the Lord and thus find ways to give our possessions to serve his purposes. For it would be wiser to wean ourselves now and put them to redemptive use than to turn back with Lot's wife to see them and us destroyed.

I say these things humbly in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

OUROBOROS

Clifford Huntsman

In farewell, my lips touch yours.
Tongue jabs tongue, you're in my arms.
We stand bound: God's will
closed to our vote, but, accepting, we mime
Kekule's benzene snakes.

Body begins with body.
The careful abrasion
excites, expands the closed space within:
fitful air blown in a balloon.
This, Bergson's duration.

The felt time accelerates:
each occasion overlaps the next,
the unending surge of positive feedback
ordering the destruction of all —
Runaway to zero.

Ends foretell beginnings:
like Lemaitre's primeval atom,
Love, the beginning of all, explodes
into a universe and dies an atom.
This, Adam's serpent.
Foreordination.

My lips touch yours, my love.

Roundtable

THE PROSPECTS FOR NEW WORLD ARCHAEOLOGY

Participants: Cyrus H. Gordon
Dee F. Green
John L. Sorenson

An exciting new era of scholarship has opened up which will involve both Mormons and others in a dramatic growth in understanding of the origins and cultural history of ancient Americans. This Roundtable examines some of the reasons for a largely profitable past and some of the evidence and new discoveries that point directions for a much more promising future. Dr. Cyrus H. Gordon, Chairman of the Department of Mediterranean Studies at Brandeis University, first examines why the academic establishment has resisted study of contacts between developing civilizations in the Old World and the New World and presents some of the most impressive recent evidence for such contacts, especially his own extremely important demonstration (cf., TIME, May 24, 1968) that a Canaanite inscription from a stone in Brazil is genuine — the record of a voyage from the Gulf of Arabia to America in the sixth century B.C. Professor Gordon lectures and publishes on a rich variety of aspects of Ancient and Modern Near Eastern Studies and Pre-Columbian America; his books include THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST (Norton, 1965), EVIDENCE FOR THE MINOAN LANGUAGE (Ventnor, 1966), and FORGOTTEN SCRIPTS (Basic Books, 1968). Dee Green, Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Weber State College, who studied archaeology at Brigham Young University, then gives a critical survey of the work of "BOOK OF MORMON Archaeologists," pointing out why their "proofs" are largely illusory and suggesting authentic directions that can be taken in the future to relate the scientific effort to understand Ancient America to the BOOK OF MORMON record. Finally, John Sorenson, a member of DIALOGUE's Board of Editors, who was trained in anthropology at UCLA and then taught at Brigham Young University before joining General Research Corporation in Santa Barbara, surveys the wealth of evidence showing connections between ancient civilizations in the Old World and America and discusses the significance of this data for New World Archaeology and for the BOOK OF MORMON.

TOWARD A HISTORY OF ANCIENT AMERICA

Cyrus H. Gordon

If there is no history of ancient Antarctica, there is a valid reason for it. Stone Age man penetrated every continent except Antarctica, and until modern times, Antarctica was unexplored. Where there have been no men to leave behind any records of their achievements, there can be no history in the humanistic sense. But America — specifically Mesoamerica — is quite different. Anyone who visits the antiquity sites and museums of Peru, Central America, and Mexico is dazzled by the splendor, magnitude, and abundance of the legacy of the pre-Columbian civilizations. But though we know much about the ancient history of Asia, Europe and parts of Africa, the history of our own continent in antiquity is yet to be written, even in outline.

THE FAILURE OF ESTABLISHED SCHOLARSHIP

How have we come to know ancient Egyptian or Mesopotamian history? Certainly not by regarding the forgotten scripts as undecipherable; nor by viewing the monuments and art in isolation, detached from world history; nor again by accepting the prejudices of the Establishment as the badge of intellectual respectability. The pioneers in opening up the ancient history of civilized man in the Old World squeezed out the essential elements of information from Hebrew, Greek, and Latin writings, and applied them as opening wedges to make mute stones tell their story. That is how Grotefend cracked cuneiform in 1801; how Akerblad cracked Demotic Egyptian in the same year; how George Smith cracked the Cypriote form of the Aegean syllabary in 1872. Building on the breakthroughs of such pioneers (whose work, of necessity, had to be crude), Champollion, Rawlinson, and Ventris raised Egyptology, cuneiform studies, and Mycenology to higher levels so that they could become in time scientific disciplines, yielding facts out of which history could be reconstructed.¹

While the pioneers achieved epoch-making results with little or no help or encouragement, the academicians often did everything they could to denigrate, ridicule, and obstruct. When intelligent and educated men challenge the dogmas of the Establishment, it is usually the challengers who are correct and ultimately prevail. But there is some pathos inherent in the word "ultimately." Young Grotefend submitted his paper on the decipherment of cuneiform to the Göttingen Academy in 1801; the Establishment decided to pub-

I owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Grant, Mrs. George Ellis and Mrs. Helen S. Slosberg for their help in enabling me to undertake a long-range study of cultural diffusion, of which this article is a part.

¹Cyrus H. Gordon, *Forgotten Scripts: How they were deciphered and their impact on contemporary culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1968).

lish it as a milestone in scholarship only in 1893, long after Grotefend had gone to his eternal rest. It is interesting to note that the authoritative book on Old Persian still calls the flaws in his achievement "sorry stuff."² Pedantry dies hard.

The thesis of this article is that pre-Columbian America was not isolated from the rest of the world, but for thousands of years had been in contact with the Eastern Hemisphere. At times the contacts were sustained and strong, at other times in abeyance, but the process over the millennia was creative. The interrelationships of Old and New World cultures make it possible to begin outlining the ancient history of America, and to process the scripts of America for decipherment by using Old World scripts as opening wedges against a background of available collateral evidence. Sterile perfectionists may cry, "But we don't have all the evidence!"; to which pioneers can only reply, "You've got to begin somewhere, and you can only do it with what is available." In important matters — and the history of mankind is important — it is less reprehensible to do too little than nothing at all.

How are we to explain the paucity of native American tradition concerning Old World contacts? First we must recognize the phenomenon of collective amnesia. The Egyptians and Iranians had completely forgotten their ancestral scripts, so that outsiders in the nineteenth century had to decipher hieroglyphs and cuneiform and retrieve those peoples' ancient history from oblivion. The Iranians, including the native scholars, were unaware of their ancient kings Cyrus and Xerxes, who were known to every educated Westerner from the Bible and classical authors. It takes hundreds of generations to build a great tradition, but only one to forget it. Let us not lose sight of the fact that when the Spaniards discovered and conquered Mesoamerica they were in the grip of the benighted Inquisition. They burned the codices of the Indians, melted down exquisite jewelry for the gold and silver, and did all they could to crush the spirit and destroy the civilization of the natives. Nevertheless glimmerings of historic memory survived; notably the tradition that a bearded white being from the East had sailed across the Atlantic to bring agriculture, metallurgy and other arts of civilization to America. The Aztecs called him Quetzalcoatl, the Mayas called him Kukulcan, the Incas called him Viracocha. The tradition is consistent; only the names are different. Natives of the Mesoamerican cradles of civilization looked toward the Mediterranean and adjacent parts of the Old World for the roots of American culture.

A VISIT FROM CANAAN

The essential correctness of the native traditions has been supported factually in various publications.³ The one thing that seemed to be lacking was evidence of specific contact that could be pinpointed in time and place.

²Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1950) pp. 10-11.

³Constance Irwin, *Fair Gods and Stone Faces* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963); and Pierre Honoré, *In Quest of the White God* (New York: Putnam, 1964).

Actually such evidence turned up in 1872 when the copy of a Canaanite text was mailed to the Instituto Historico in Rio de Janeiro by a person who claimed in the covering letter that his slaves had found the inscribed stone on his plantation at Pouso Alto near Paraíba. There are two Paraíbas in Brazil, one near Rio de Janeiro, and the other far to the north where Brazil protrudes eastward toward the bulge of West Africa. For external geographic reasons, it seemed logical that the northern State of Paraíba was the place, whereas the internal evidence of the text points to the Region of Paraíba in the south near Rio de Janeiro. The inscription describes the locale as "a land of mountains." Since Canaanite mariners would dig in not too far from the sea, their mountainous base should be in the southern Paraíba, where there are high mountains near the coast, rather than in northern Paraíba where the mountains are neither high nor near the sea. In any case the find-site is now being sought in the southern Region of Paraíba by Estanislau Vera, a jurist in Rio de Janeiro, who reappraised the internal and external evidence and concluded that the nineteenth century scholars had not found the site for the simple reason that they were searching in the wrong Paraíba.

In any event the failure to locate the original stone contributed to the decision of the scholars to brand the inscription as spurious. But such would have been the verdict in any case of an Establishment which was not willing then, and is not happy now, to see ancient America brought into world history. Why should this be so? Specialists, such as Semitists, do not want their fields taken out of isolation, because doing so means revising their corporate views. Americans — Anglo-Saxons as well as Latins — tend toward hemispheric culture isolation for another reason. Most of us are descended from people who left the Old World because it was bad for them, and they sought a home in a New World, uncontaminated by Old World evil. For this reason we tend to resist taking the native Indian cultures out of their supposed hemispheric purity.

AUTHENTICATING THE TEXT

Thanks to Professor Jules Piccus, of the University of Massachusetts, who discovered an unpublished 1874 transcript of the Brazil text, the question of authenticity was re-evaluated in 1968. Piccus sent me a Xerox copy of the 1874 facsimile for my opinion. It soon became evident to me that the text was full of data that were unknown to scholars in the 1870's but which have come to light since then in Northwest Semitic inscriptions. This holds not only for vocabulary and grammatical forms, but for the very literary structure of the inscription as a whole. It is a non-funerary commemorative text in three parts: (1) an introduction identifying the author(s), (2) the body of the text narrating the event(s) commemorated, and (3) a finale invoking divine favor. This tripartite format for non-funerary, commemorative Canaanite texts is now known to be authentic from the Karatepe inscription found in 1946. This is the translation of the Brazil text:

We are Sidonian Canaanites from the city of the Mercantile King. We were cast up on this distant shore, a land of mountains.

We sacrificed a youth to the celestial gods and goddesses in the nineteenth year of our mighty King Hiram and embarked from Ezion-geber into the Red Sea. We voyaged with ten ships and were at sea together for two years around Africa. Then we were separated by the hand of Baal and were no longer with our companions. So we have come here, twelve men and three women, into "New Shore." Am I, the admiral, a man who would flee? Nay! May the celestial gods and goddesses favor us well!

The Hiram in question is not Hiram I (tenth century), nor Hiram II (eighth century), but Hiram III (553–533 B.C.). This follows from several considerations, including the script. The year of embarkation was therefore 534 B.C.; two and a fraction years later, when the ship reached America (aptly called "New Shore" — like "Carthage" which means "New City"), it was 531 B.C. (with a few months as the margin of error). Accordingly, in the sixth century B.C. we know of one vessel that crossed the Atlantic with fifteen people from Canaan. "From the hand of Baal" (which means "by an act of God") does not necessarily imply that the crossing was accidental and due to a storm. It could also signify that lots were drawn to see which ship should sail to America and this particular vessel drew the divinely-inspired lot to head for "New Shore," whereas the others were directed to set up posts or stations along the African coast. In any event we have reason to believe that this was not the first successful crossing effected by Near East mariners. Brazil, which is still largely uncharted, was probably even less explored then; but its coastal areas were already known to the great maritime peoples of antiquity such as the navigators of Canaan.

Who were the Canaanites? The term has two meanings in Biblical Hebrew. As a common noun it means "merchants"; as a proper noun it designates a group of linguistically related inhabitants of Lebanon-Syria-Palestine embracing Phoenicians, Hebrews, Edomites, Moabites and others. We often make the mistake of imagining people in terms of stereotypes. Thus all Phoenicians project the image of being sailors, whereas in fact many of them were craftsmen and even farmers. The Hebrews are often fancied to be a nation of Yahwistic landlubbers; but the Bible tells us they frequently lapsed into pagan usages (including Baalism and occasionally human sacrifice) and that three of the tribes (Dan, Asher and Zebulun) were nautical (Genesis 49:13; Judges 5:17). The language of the Brazil text is more akin to Judean Hebrew than to Sidonian Phoenician. This is not surprising for a Canaanite dialect emanating from Ezion-geber (in Edom but on the fringe of Judah) where Israelites had been the sea-faring partners of Phoenicians for over four centuries (i.e., since the days when Solomon and Hiram I embarked on joint overseas trading missions). The text mentions Baal and human sacrifice, both of which ring true for pagan Canaanites and their errant Jewish neighbors (against whom Prophets inveigh).

We do not know the exact ethnic and religious background of the fifteen people who reached America in 531 B.C., but the thing to remember is that crews were picked then (as now) not because of denominational or ethnic affiliation, but because they were skilled and able-bodied seamen. By the same

token, the scribe was not selected because he was a Sidonian, Jew, or Edomite, but because he could write Canaanite. Do we insist today that unless a man comes from a certain part of the Anglo-Saxon world (USA, or Canada, or England, or Scotland, or Wales, or Ireland, or Australia, etc.), he cannot be employed as a teacher of English nor given a contract to write a book in the English language? The fifteen people aboard the ship may have been quite as heterogeneous as those on Jonah's ship, which had aboard people of various backgrounds (who respected each other's religions) including the Yahwistic Hebrew, Jonah (see Jonah 1:15-16). It is our business to point out the range of possibilities in interpreting the Brazil inscription, whenever we cannot pinpoint the meaning and eliminate the alternatives. There may have been Hebrews aboard, but it cannot as yet be proved from the inscription itself. The Canaanite speech-community embraced both Yahwists and Baalists. The text mentions Baal but not Yahweh.

The importance of the Brazil text need not mislead us into oversimplifying the origin of Mesoamerican civilization, which was stimulated by trans-oceanic contacts from both east and west. Alexander von Wuthenau has observed that the myriads of ceramic sculptures from ancient Mesoamerica portray no American Indian types prior to 300 A.D. but only Far Easterners, African Negroes and various Caucasians — especially Mediterranean types, including Semites.⁴

THE NETWORK OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS

As soon as we bring America into the global picture of antiquity, new vistas begin to open before us. For example, by the sixth century B.C., the Near East had achieved considerable finesse in mathematics, astronomy and calendrical calculations. Conceivably, sound conclusions in such fields can be based on observations made in one region (such as the Near East), but it is much easier to explain an advanced astronomy and sophisticated calendar through global observations. For instance, the cycle of eclipses (within which all of them recur) is eighteen years, plus eleven and a fraction days. But from cycle to cycle, the same eclipse need not appear in the same part of the world. That is one of the reasons why modern astronomers require observatories in various parts of the globe. The 18+ year cycle, known as the Saros Cycle of Eclipses, can be established through observation only if data are gathered from at least three longitudes, 120° apart. If the observations are limited to one region, the cycle would appear to be 54+ years long. It is striking that the Mayas established the most exact calendar ever devised for any civilization, including our own. They had observatories on step pyramids resembling the ziggurats of Mesopotamia. And Mesoamerica is about 120° west of the Near East. If we go 120° east of the latter, we run into the Solomon Islands to the south and the Kuriles of Japan to the north. (It is suggestive that the pre-Japanese population are Caucasian Ainus.)⁵ The de-

⁴Alexander von Wuthenau, *Altamerikanische Tonplastik* (in the series *Kunst der Welt*), (Baden-Baden, Holle Verlag, 1965).

⁵Dr. von Wuthenau has shown me a Mesoamerican figurine portraying a typical Ainu.

velopment of ancient science, especially astronomy and calendrical calculation, is much more comprehensible against a background of global observations processed in creative centers like the Near East, Mesoamerica, and China.⁶

Cultural influence is always a two-way affair. Even if one side is far ahead of the other, there is still some contribution that the less advanced makes to the more advanced. The Founding Fathers of our country were more developed than the local Indians, yet Indian influence is evident at every turn in the USA: the canoe, corn, tomatoes, potatoes, tobacco, countless place names, etc. We may be sure that even a region of major magnitude in the evolution and dissemination of culture such as the Near East received important impulses from the outside. An objective method for starting further investigation is the analysis of metals and stones found in Near East excavations, to determine their places of origin. Impurities and trace metals can tell a great deal.

The mariners of antiquity were, from at least the Middle Bronze Age, more like a mobile international guild than members of a single ethnos. How could a network of mariners plying their trade on the Seven Seas be otherwise? We speak of the alphabet as a Phoenician invention. The role of the Phoenicians in adapting and disseminating the alphabet is paramount, but the invention of the alphabet has aspects that completely elude those who regard it merely as a graphic device developed by a single people.

The alphabet was not simply a means of spelling words, making it possible to record speech graphically with very few signs. Each letter had a numerical value. The Hebrew-Phoenician alphabet has the following names, phonetic values and numerical values:

	<i>Name</i>	<i>Phonetic Value</i>	<i>Numerical Value</i>
1.	<i>alef</i>	'	1
2.	<i>bet</i>	<i>b</i>	2
3.	<i>gimel</i>	<i>g</i>	3
4.	<i>dalet</i>	<i>d</i>	4
5.	<i>he</i>	<i>h</i>	5
6.	<i>waw</i>	<i>w</i>	6
7.	<i>zayin</i>	<i>z</i>	7
8.	<i>het</i>	<i>h</i>	8
9.	<i>tet</i>	<i>t</i>	9
10.	<i>yod</i>	<i>y</i>	10
11.	<i>kaf</i>	<i>k</i>	20
12.	<i>lamed</i>	<i>l</i>	30
13.	<i>mem</i>	<i>m</i>	40
14.	<i>nun</i>	<i>n</i>	50
15.	<i>samek</i>	<i>s</i>	60
16.	<i>cayin</i>	<i>c</i>	70
17.	<i>pe</i>	<i>p</i>	80
18.	<i>ṣade</i>	<i>s</i>	90
19.	<i>qof</i>	<i>q</i>	100
20.	<i>resh</i>	<i>r</i>	200
21.	<i>ṣin</i> (or <i>shin</i>)	<i>ṣ</i> (or <i>sh</i>)	300
22.	<i>taw</i>	<i>t</i>	400

⁶That celestial observations made by Phoenician mariners in distant climes, got back to the Near East is illustrated in Herodotus 4:42.

So deepseated are the numerical values that the Arabic alphabet, which deviates radically from the Hebrew-Phoenician order of the letters, nevertheless retains the old numerical values tenaciously. For example, *y* is the last letter in the Arabic alphabet (of twenty-eight letters), but it retains the old numerical value of "10"; and so with all the letters.

The alphabet was fraught with meaning for the ancients. The rabbinic *Sefer ha-Yesirah*, "The Book of Creation," represents the alphabet as antedating the Universe, with God creating the Universe by means of the alphabet.

In an important article, David H. Kelley⁷ points out that in the New as well as in the Old World there are names for the days of the month. Moreover, these names are linked with the alphabet. For example, the series *k-l-m* (in Hebrew *kaf* "hand," *lamed*, *mem* "water"; in Greek, *kappa*, *lambda*, *mu*) is reflected in the successive Yucatec Maya day-names *Manik* (which is written with the glyph depicting a "hand"), *Lamat* (the same name as Hebrew *lamed*, because *Lamat* has no general meaning in the Mayan languages) and *Muluc* (cf. *Ixil mu*) (the equivalent of the Aztec "water" day). Kelley goes on to show that half the names of the Aztec days recur in Eurasia in the correct sequence as constellation names. It is generally agreed that the alphabet was spread by traders and merchants; but Kelley goes on to propose that the merchants were mariners who used a set of guiding stars, and then adjusted the symbols for these stars into an alphabet.⁸

The most useful invention of man, the alphabet, is the product not of one people or one area but of international merchant mariners. This has a significant bearing on the origin and character of world culture.

Let us approach a specific problem within this framework. The oldest form of the alphabet that has come down to us in its fixed traditional order is the Ugaritic ABC of about 1400 B.C. It consists of thirty letters consistently listed in the following order:⁹

a b g h̄ d h w z ḥ ṭ y k ṣ̣ l m ḍ n ẓ ṣ c̣ p̣ ṣ̣ q r t ḡ ṭ i u ṣ̣

None of the letters are interchangeable except *s* and *ṣ̣*, which are the same phonetically. For instance *ṣ̣sw* ("horse") can also be written *ssw*. Thus the alphabetic principle is adhered to strictly (i.e., one and only one sign for each distinctive sound in the language) throughout the first twenty-nine letters, but the thirtieth was appended as an optional letter. To state things differently: twenty-nine letters take care of the phonetic needs of Ugaritic; the thirtieth is there for some non-phonetic reason. Everything makes sense if we correlate the letters of the Ugaritic alphabet with the days of the lunar month. A lunar month is always longer than twenty-nine days but shorter than thirty. Consequently in a lunar calendar (such as the Neo-Babylonian

⁷"Calendar Animals and Deities," *Southwest Journal of Anthropology*, 16 (1960), pp. 317-337.

⁸I wish to thank John L. Sorenson for calling my attention to Kelley's work, and for showing me a preliminary draft of his own forthcoming monograph on Near East contacts with Mesoamerica.

⁹Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967), p. 11.

calendar still used by the Jews), a month has twenty-nine or thirty days (with months of twenty-nine and thirty days usually alternating.) In the Ugaritic alphabet, each of the necessary twenty-nine letters could stand for the minimal twenty-nine days of the month, with the extra *š* available for that extra thirtieth day in the long months.

NEW VISTAS

We are entering a new era in the study of civilization. Old World history is so much better known that it will provide opening wedges for deciphering the languages and dispelling the mysteries of ancient America. But increasingly, as time goes by, the ancient New World will elucidate Old World history.

What we call Western Civilization is not the creation of one people, one race or one region. It is the product of intercontinental stimulation maintained to a great extent by traders who traversed the seas since the Bronze Age. We must get over our conceit that only modern Western man (whatever that means) was capable of noteworthy achievement. The seminal foundations of the exact sciences (such as mathematics and astronomy) as well as the humanities (such as the alphabet, the Ten Commandments, and Homeric Epic) are rooted in antiquity. The role of the merchant is much more significant and noble than most of us realize. Traders need international peace if they are to flourish. Solomon's commercial empire in the tenth century B.C. exposed Israel to contacts with the world at large and paved the way for the universal doctrines of the Prophets whose message unfolded during the subsequent centuries. One of their doctrines was that the world would not become a place fit to live in until "nation would no longer lift sword against nation, nor study the art of war anymore" (Micah 4:3). Israel learned this in the First Early Iron Age from her traders, including those who sailed the oceans with the merchant mariners of Hiram. But Israel was a late comer in Near East antiquity. In the tenth century B.C. she was catching up with the lessons that her Bronze Age predecessors had learned two millennia earlier.

BOOK OF MORMON ARCHAEOLOGY: THE MYTHS AND THE ALTERNATIVES

Dee F. Green

Church members, from some General Authorities to some Sunday School teachers, are generally impressed with and concerned about "scientific proof" of the Book of Mormon. As a practicing scientist and Church member, I am singularly unconcerned about such studies — in fact, when it comes to such matters, I am hyper-conservative. To suggest that Book of Mormon archae-

ology is largely useless — even a delusion — and that there are far more important things for Church anthropologists to worry about is not currently popular in the Church. Nevertheless, the conservative position needs a hearing.

My task is to assess the past and current status of Book of Mormon archaeology and point some directions for the future. This assessment is admittedly critical, but I hasten to assure everyone that the criticism represents my differences of opinion with regard to individual's ideas and positions and not with regard to their personalities nor their testimonies. I should also like to point out that I do not feel that we are dealing here with matters of doctrine. As far as I am concerned, "proving" (or "disproving") the historicity of the Book of Mormon will in no way change the atonement of Christ, or the plan of salvation.

The three periods — past, present, and future — can perhaps best be characterized by three approaches to Book of Mormon archaeology. These are the Geographical-Historical Approach, which has been popular all through the history of the Church and while, in my opinion, largely sterile, still commands a large following; the Back-Door Approach which, as nearly as I can tell, is the current "official" approach of the Church; and the Anthropological Approach, which has not yet been tried.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL-HISTORICAL APPROACH

Since the early days of the Church, some interest in both the geography of the Book of Mormon and its historical authenticity has been apparent. A special interest was generated in 1841 with the publication of John Lloyd Stephen's book, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*, which resulted in articles in the *Times and Seasons*.¹ Attacks on the Book of Mormon itself, as well as on Joseph Smith's account of its origin, resulted in various apologists arising in the Church to defend the book on internal as well as external evidence. However, as far as the use of archaeology was concerned, statements on both sides were naïve, since the Church has not had a professionally trained archaeologist until recent years,² and little of any scientific validity was known of New World archaeology until the 1930's.

The last few decades have seen Church members focusing on two related topics: the *geography* of the Book of Mormon and *trait comparisons* between either the Book of Mormon and the New World or the Old World.

¹October 1, 1842.

²Strange as it may seem, the first active Church member who can really be called an archaeologist with a Ph.D. degree and professional standing is Ray T. Matheny, whose degree was awarded in 1968. Others who may claim priority are clearly not archaeologists. They may be historians or dilettanti; they may think and talk about archaeology; but they have never been through the whole process of being trained as archaeologists. Nevertheless both Bruce Warren and Gareth Lowe, while lacking advanced degrees, have been highly respected as Mesoamerican archaeologists for a number of years and both are in the process of finishing graduate work.

The geographical interest has centered primarily on internal re-construction, followed by speculation as to geographic placement on the Western hemisphere of places mentioned in the Book of Mormon. Two points of view have been widely expressed. The more traditional, equating the Book of Mormon's "narrow neck of land" with the isthmus of Panama, may be reviewed in Reynolds and Sjodahl.³ The second position is that which for over twenty years has been championed by M. Wells Jakeman and was strongly identified with the former Department of Archaeology at Brigham Young University. While most L.D.S. archaeologists agree very broadly with Jakeman in identifying Mesoamerica as the region in which Book of Mormon events most likely transpired, attempts to arrive at closer identification have been hampered by Jakeman's failure to publish his long-awaited geography of the Book of Mormon. Jakeman's core ideas with regard to Book of Mormon geography were known over twenty years ago. Nothing new has come out of L.D.S. scholarship since then except for one abortive attempt to identify the Book of Mormon city Bountiful,⁴ a few wildly speculative suggestions by such individuals as José Dávila, and a modicum of knowledgeable and reasonable but private correspondence by Sorenson, Lowe, Warren, and others. Furthermore, the University Archaeological Society (now the Society for Early Historic Archaeology), which provides the house organ for the Jakeman position, has consistently refused to conduct a symposium on Book of Mormon geography, despite the fact that such a symposium has been suggested to its officers a number of times by a number of people in the past ten years. A great deal of interesting progress could now be made on the question of geography except that dialogue is not possible, and other approaches are preferable.

The second topic, that of trait comparison, which has been of interest to L.D.S. students of the Book of Mormon, has suffered from two problems. The first is related to geography in that if one wishes to compare Book of Mormon traits with New World archaeology, one must first locate the proper area of the New World in order to make such comparisons. The uninformed Mormon might assume that essentially the whole New World is Book of Mormon country, so that traits from anywhere in the hemisphere are all right as long as they fit. This assumption, based as it is in our folklore and not on analysis of the Book of Mormon itself nor an understanding of New World archaeology, has, together with the second problem, that of unsophisticated comparison techniques, already produced what John Sorenson has rightly

³George Reynolds and Janne M. Sjodahl, *Commentary on the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1958), Vol. III.

⁴Thought by Jakeman to be the site of Aguacatal in Campeche, Mexico, and defended by Christensen on various occasions (see UAS Newsletter 22.02, 46.0, 47.3, and his numerous public declarations at Leadership Weeks). After excavating at Aguacatal in 1961 and conducting the only study yet made of the artifacts and data recovered, Ray Matheny, then a graduate student at BYU, privately demonstrated that Aguacatal is not Bountiful. The UAS Newsletter has never recognized Matheny's contribution. Jakeman has also identified the site of El Cayo on the Usumacinta River in Southern Mexico as Zarahemla. Others who have visited the site find it too small, and some preliminary archaeological testing shows its main occupation to be too late in time for such an interpretation.

called “kooky” results.⁵ Some of the results which are more popularly known among Mormons bear a few words of comment.

Those volumes which most flagrantly ignore time and space and most radically distort, misinterpret, or ignore portions of the archaeological evidence are the popular Farnsworth volumes.⁶ Also inadequate, from a professional archaeologist’s point of view, are the well intentioned volumes by Milton R. Hunter⁷ and a number of smaller pamphlets and works by various authors. On a slightly more sophisticated plane is Ferguson’s *One Fold and One Shepherd*, but while he is conscious of the geographic and time problems, he gets caught in the trait comparison snare. His list of 298 traits⁸ (most un-referenced) are at times so generalized that the list could just as well prove that Book of Mormon peoples wound up in Southeast Asia. His knowledge of New World archaeology is better than that of either Farnsworth or Hunter but still too shallow to avoid getting him in trouble. Much the same can be said for a variety of authors and articles published in the various symposia of the University Archaeological Society on the archaeology of the scriptures.⁹

New World – Old World comparisons have been less popular but equally fraught with problems. The best known examples are the two volumes by Nibley which suffer from an overdose of “Old Worlditis.”¹⁰ In Near Eastern philology and history, Nibley has no peers in the Church – and probably few outside it – but he does not know New World culture history well, and his writing ignores the considerable indigenous elements in favor of exclusively Old World patterns. Part of this is also due no doubt to Nibley’s not unjustifiable concern over the state of New World scholarship in the Church.

A final warning should be issued against Jakeman’s Lehi Tree of Life Stone,¹¹ which has received wide publicity in the Church and an over-enthusiastic response from the layman due to the publication’s pseudo-scholarship. The question which should really be asked about Izapa Stela 5 is “Did the artist or artists have Lehi’s vision in their minds when the stone was sculptured?”, a question which, I submit, cannot be answered short of talking with the artist. The next question, then, is what are the *probabilities* that

⁵See Sorenson’s article, this Roundtable, footnote 2.

⁶Dewey Farnsworth, *The Americans Before Columbus* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 3rd Edition, 1965), and *Book of Mormon Evidences in Ancient America* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company), 1953.

⁷Milton R. Hunter, *Archaeology and the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1956), Vol. I, and *Christ in Ancient America: Archaeology and the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1959), Vol. II.

⁸Thomas Stuart Ferguson, *One Fold and One Shepherd* (San Francisco: Books of California), pp. 57–72.

⁹See especially papers of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth annual symposia published by BYU Extension Publications and a review of the fifteenth symposium volume by John Sorenson in Vol. 1, No. 1 of *Dialogue*.

¹⁰Hugh Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957), and *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952). See also Bruce Warren’s review of this latter volume in UAS Newsletter 27.0 June 1, 1955.

¹¹M. Wells Jakeman, *Stela 5, Izapa Chiapas, Mexico: A Major Archaeological Discovery of the New World* (University Archaeological Society, Special Publications No. 2, 1958).

the artist had Lehi's vision in mind when he carved the stone. I don't know the answer to that one either, but then, neither does Jakeman, and his publication is more of a testimony as to what is not known than to what is known about Stela 5. As Nibley has pointed out¹² in his own inimitable style, Jakeman errs at every turn in the publication. The basis of Jakeman's evidence is his own hand-drawn version¹³ from a photograph of the stone. He makes unsupported assumptions about the canons of ancient art; he fumbles over elements of the dream which are not included and items on the stone which have no place in the dream; he displays ignorance of his linguistic data and most unfortunately reverses the scholarly method by presenting his data with a rash of "evidentlys," "probablys," "appears," and "apparentlys" — but offers his conclusions as unarguable facts. As Nibley so appropriately puts it:

Science does not arrive at its conclusions by syllogisms, and no people on earth deplore proof demonstration by syllogism more loudly than real archaeologists do. Yet Mr. Jakeman's study is nothing but an elaborate syllogistic stew. The only clear and positive thing about the whole study is the objective the author is determined to reach. With naïve exuberance, he repeatedly announces that he has found "exactly what we would expect to find." Inevitably there emerges from this dim and jumbled relief exactly what Mr. Jakeman is looking for.¹⁴

Sorenson's article in this Roundtable, while partaking of the trait comparison syndrome, is considerably more sophisticated than those endeavors listed above. In the first place it is not the "trait" but rather the "trait-complex" which is looked at, and, secondly, Sorenson's work is more for a belling of the Near East-New World diffusionist cat than a representation of his approach to Book of Mormon studies. Those of us who know him well also know that his ideas are much broader, and Sorenson himself has warned against uncontrolled trait comparisons.¹⁵

¹²In a privately distributed review of Jakeman's Stela 5 publication.

¹³The author was present during much of this drawing period and can personally testify that plate 5 in Jakeman's Stela 5 publication was drawn from a photograph of the monument and not from the monument itself. That Jakeman's drawing is not accurate can be shown by careful comparison with the photograph (Plate 3) in his own publication and by comparison with drawings made of the stone itself by unbiased draftsmen. For example, Figure 14 in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, Vol. 2, (Robert Wacoupe, General Editor, University of Texas Press, 1965); also, a photograph of an artist's rendering in my personal collection and various drawings and detailed photographs in the possession of Mr. Garth Norman, who is completing a detailed analysis of the Izapan stone monuments for publication by the BYU-NWAF. Do not compare photo 109 in Ferguson's *One Fold and One Shepherd* nor the plaster reproduction of Stela 5 in the BYU Archaeology Museum since Ferguson's photograph is of the cast and the cast itself has been altered by Jakeman after his interpretation.

¹⁴See footnote 13.

¹⁵See Sorenson's *What Archaeology Can and Cannot Do for the Book of Mormon*, mimeographed for private distribution, in which he cites the German scholar Kugler "who collected 17 pages of 'striking parallels' between the history of Louis IX of France and Gilgamesh, the Babylonian mythological hero. Surely this was enough to 'prove' that the two were identical if comparisons alone could turn the trick."

The gist of these overly brief reviews is that the Geographical-Historical Approach has proven to be essentially sterile. Among the morass of archaeological half-truths and falsehoods which we have perpetrated in the name of Book of Mormon archaeology, only Jakeman's suggestion of a limited geography and Sorenson's insistence on a cautious, highly controlled trait-complex approach are worth considering. The ink we have spilled on Book of Mormon archaeology has probably done more harm than good.

I am not impressed with allegations that Book of Mormon archaeology converts people to the Church. My personal preference in Church members still runs to those who have a faith-inspired commitment to Jesus Christ, and if their testimonies need bolstering by "scientific proof" of the Book of Mormon (or anything else for that matter), I am prone to suggest that the basis of the testimony could stand some re-examination. Having spent a considerable portion of the past ten years functioning as a scientist dealing with New World archaeology, I find that nothing in so-called Book of Mormon archaeology materially affects my religious commitment one way or the other, and I do not see that the archaeological myths so common in our proselytizing program enhance the process of true conversion.

THE BACK-DOOR APPROACH

What I have chosen to call the Back-Door Approach is characteristic of the Brigham Young University New World Archaeological Foundation, an organization begun in the middle 1950's by Thomas S. Ferguson. It was eventually taken over by the Church and based at BYU, with a special Church committee under the direction of Elder Howard W. Hunter given jurisdiction over its direction and finances. Considerable embarrassment over the various unscholarly postures assumed by the geographical-historical school resulted in the Church Archaeological Committee's attitude that interpretation should be an individual matter, that is, that any archaeology officially sponsored by the Church (*i.e.*, the monies for which are provided by tithing) should concern itself only with the culture history interpretations normally within the scope of archaeology, and any attempt at correlation or interpretation involving the Book of Mormon should be eschewed. This enlightened policy, much to the gratification of the true professional archaeologist both in and outside the Church, has been scrupulously followed. It was made quite plain to me in 1963 when I was first employed by the BYU-NWAF that my opinions with regard to Book of Mormon archaeology were to be kept to myself, and my field report was to be kept entirely from any such references. I welcomed the instruction as refreshing after my earlier days at BYU when everything the archaeology department did had to be "scripturally" related.

Some of my colleagues and students, both in and out of the Church, have wondered if perhaps the real reason for the Church's involvement in archaeology (especially since it is centered in Mesoamerica with emphasis on the Preclassic period) is to help prove the Book of Mormon. While this may represent the individual thinking of some members of the Church Archae-

ological Committee, it has not intruded itself on the work of the foundation except to limit its activities to the preclassic cultures of Mesoamerica. Regardless of individual or group motives, however, the approach of the BYU-NWAF has been outstandingly successful. My numerous non-Church colleagues in Mesoamerican archaeology hold high regard for the work of the foundation and for most of its staff. Gareth Lowe, director of the BYU-NWAF, is as good a Mesoamerican archaeologist as there is in the country, and the foundation's outstanding publication series (which never mentions the Book of Mormon) consistently received good reviews in the professional literature.

Just how much the foundation is doing to advance the cause of Book of Mormon archaeology depends on one's point of view about Book of Mormon archaeology. There have been no spectacular finds (from the Book of Mormon point of view), no Zarahemlas discovered, no gold plates brought to light, no horses uncovered, and King Benjamin's tomb remains unexcavated. But the rewards to the Church of the foundation's work, while a little elusive to the layman and the "seekers after a sign," will prove to be considerable in the perspective of history.

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH

In assessing the future relationship of the Book of Mormon to archaeology, one must first consider how long it will take us to rid ourselves of the unfortunate myths we have built up around the relationship. For the general Church membership my prognosis is unfortunately pessimistic. However, some rays of hope can occasionally be seen, and perhaps a mention of what I consider to be the areas which most need changing will help.

The first myth we need to eliminate is that Book of Mormon archaeology exists. Titles on books full of archaeological half-truths, dilettanti on the peripheries of American archaeology calling themselves Book of Mormon archaeologists regardless of their education, and a Department of Archaeology at BYU¹⁶ devoted to the production of Book of Mormon archaeologists¹⁷ do not insure that Book of Mormon archaeology really exists. If one is to study Book of Mormon archaeology, then one must have a corpus of data with which to deal. We do not. The Book of Mormon is really there so one *can* have Book of Mormon studies, and archaeology is really there so one can study archaeology, but the two are not wed. *At least they are not wed in reality since no Book of Mormon location is known with reference to modern topography.* Biblical archaeology can be studied because we do know where Jerusalem and Jericho were and are, but we do not know where

¹⁶Fortunately now changed to the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, with such qualified men as Merlin Myers, Ray T. Matheny, and Dale Berge giving students a sound and realistic education in anthropology.

¹⁷With the single exception of Ross T. Christensen, no individual ever educated in the former BYU Archaeology Department considers himself a Book of Mormon Archaeologist. In fact, most of those who graduated have not pursued careers in anthropology nor its sub-discipline archaeology, and those few of us who have become professionals have consistently found our early BYU training highly inadequate and the points of view expressed there largely uninformed and sterile.

Zarahemla and Bountiful (nor any other location for that matter) were or are. It would seem then that a concentration on geography should be the first order of business, but we have already seen that twenty years of such an approach has left us empty-handed.

Another myth which needs dispelling is our Lamanite syndrome. Most American Indians are neither descendants of Laman nor necessarily of Book of Mormon peoples. The Book itself makes no such claim, and there is ample evidence in the archaeological record to show that this hemisphere was widely populated by peoples of Asiatic stock crossing the Bering Strait long before Book of Mormon peoples were supposed to have arrived on the scene. Furthermore, how many other kinds of peoples (see Cyrus Gordon's article in this Roundtable) may have reached the New World is unknown. Actually, the current usage of the term "Lamanite" by the Church membership is most unfortunate. It has racial overtones, subtle though they may be, and is coupled with a general meaning denoting cultural and spiritual inferiority. The term is rightfully resented by American Indians in or out of the Church. Technically, if we stick to Book of Mormon usage of the term, especially in the closing centuries of that record, we find that it applies to those individuals who were not partakers of the gospel. Hence, it was the equivalent of our term, gentile. An American Indian, therefore, who is a member of the L.D.S. Church cannot be a "Lamanite" since he has presumably accepted the gospel, and genealogically there is no assurance that he is a descendant of Laman. After all, many who were not genealogical descendants of Laman survived the last battle.¹⁸ Early in the Book of Mormon account the terms Nephite and Lamanite had genealogical significance, but they soon dropped that meaning for a cultural one meant to separate members of the ancient church from anyone else, regardless of his parentage. Our continual misuse of the term has unfortunately helped perpetuate myths about the cultural heritage of the American Indian.

Finally, I should like to lay at rest the myth that by scurrying around Latin America looking for horses and wheels we can prove the Book of Mormon.¹⁹ The mention of the wheel in the Book of Mormon and finding wheeled toy vehicles in Mexico is not proof of the Book. The mention of horses in the Book of Mormon and finding petroglyphs of horses (especially the ones with Spanish saddles) carved on stone in the southwestern United States is not proof of the Book. The mention of "fine linen" in the Book of Mormon and finding beautifully woven textiles in Peru is not proof of the Book. The mention of roads in the Book of Mormon and the finding of the Yaxuna-Coba *sacbe* in Yucatan is not proof of the Book. I sometimes get the depressing feeling that every member of the Church who has taken a Cook's tour

¹⁸Doctrine and Covenants, Section 3, Verses 16-18.

¹⁹See for example a recent article by Jack E. Jarrard and Paul R. Cheesman in the *Church News*, April 26, 1969. The article in general is a good example of the geographical-historical approach. It is vague where it should be positive and positive where it should be vague. It contains such obviously erroneous statements as "The culture (sic) . . . called Monte Alba (sic) . . . is a composite of Olmec, Maya, Zapotec, Mixtec, and Aztec."

to Latin America, seen three pyramids, read two travel guides, and unlimbered his 35mm camera on some unsuspecting "Lamanite" returns as an expert on Book of Mormon archaeology with pocketsfull of "proof" seen by his own eyes. Rest assured that we are not accumulating a great flood of "proof" or "evidence" which will in a few years burst the dam of secular resistance to the Book of Mormon and flood Zion with hordes of people demanding baptism. True personal commitment to the gospel of Jesus Christ (even among Mormons) comes by very different avenues.

CULTURAL HISTORY: AN ALTERNATIVE

What then, ought to be our approach to the Book of Mormon? In the first place it is a highly complex record demanding knowledge of a wide variety of anthropological skills from archaeology through ethnology to linguistics and culture change, with perhaps a little physical anthropology thrown in for good measure. No one man outside the Church, much less anyone inside, has command of the necessary information. Furthermore, it isn't just the accumulation of knowledge and skill which is important; the framework in which it is applied must fit. Such a framework can be found only by viewing the Book of Mormon against a picture of New World culture history drawn by the entire discipline of anthropology. Singling out archaeology, a sub-discipline of anthropology, to carry the burden, especially in the naïve manner employed by our "Book of Mormon Archaeologists," has resulted in a lopsided promulgation of archaeological myth.

The Book after all purports to be a history of people, not of things, and archaeology recovers things (artifacts). Artifacts are made by people and as such have some things to say about the way people behave. But the interpretation of what artifacts can tell us about people is dependent on a broad, functionally integrated view of the whole way of life of a people. This is the provenience of anthropology. This is what anthropology is all about and what anthropologists care about. They seek to understand man and his culture, in all their complexity, and to arrive at generalizations about man's behavior and how it changes. Anthropologists' concerns and values are not unrelated to those of the gospel of Jesus Christ. In fact, they are very germane.

We have never looked at the Book of Mormon in a cultural context. We have mined its pages for doctrine, counsel, and historical events but failed to treat it as a cultural document which can teach something about the inclusive life patterns of a people.²⁰ And if we are ever to show a relationship between the Book of Mormon and the New World, this step will have to be taken. It is the coincidence of the *cultural* history of the Book of Mormon with the cultural history of the New World that will tip the scales in our favor.

To trace accumulation of this trait and that trait willy-nilly around the New World is a blind alley. We are not about to uncover a sign tomorrow

²⁰Nibley is the only scholar who has ever approached this concept for the Old World portion of the record. The major effort needed with regard to the New World is represented by only four brief working papers prepared several years ago by John Sorenson.

or the next day or a year or ten years from now pointing the way to Zarahemla. Several years ago John Sorenson drew an analogy with the Bible which bears repeating:

Playing "the long shots," looking for inscriptions of a particular city, would be like placing the family bankroll on the gambling tables in Las Vegas. We might be lucky, but experience tells us not to plan on it. After 10, these many years of expensive research in Bible lands, there is still not final, incontrovertible proof of a single Biblical event from archaeology alone. The great value of all that effort has been in the broad demonstration that the Bible account fits the context time after time so exactly that no reasonable person can suppose other than that it is genuinely historic. Twenty years or less of systematic "painting the scenery" can yield the same sort of convincing background for the Book of Mormon, I believe.

For too long Mormons have sought to "prove" the Book of Mormon authentic by what is really the most difficult kind of evidence — historical particulars. In the light of logic and the experience of Biblical archaeology it appears far safer to proceed on the middle ground of seeking general contextual confirmation, even though the results may not be so spectacular as many wish. In any case such a procedure — the slow building up of a picture and a case — will leave us with a body of new knowledge and increased understanding of the times, manner, and circumstances when Book of Mormon events took place which seems to some of us likely to have more enduring value than "proof."²¹

I strongly suspect that the Lord, at least for some time to come, will still require faith, not "proof," — and Moroni 10:4 ("he will manifest the truth of it unto you, by the power of the Holy Ghost"), not archaeology, will continue to be the key for those who really care to understand the contents of the Book of Mormon and desire to know of its truth.

ANCIENT AMERICA AND THE BOOK OF MORMON RESITED

John L. Sorenson

Secular scholarship and L.D.S. studies of archaeology and the Book of Mormon have had a discordant dialogue for some time. The scripture asserts, for example, that the civilizations it describes in ancient America had their fundamental inspiration in migrations from the Near East. Yet for three generations the most prestigious professors have claimed that the high cultures of this hemisphere — such as the Aztec, Maya, Inca and their predeces-

²¹See footnote 15.

sors in the Mesoamerican and Andean areas — owed nothing essential to the cultures of the Old World.

Attempts to open up the question have been made at various times (e.g., by G. E. Smith, Harold Gladwin, Robert Heine-Geldern, and Gordon Ekholm) but have provoked no major change in the accepted view. In recent years a certain softening has occurred so that most professional scholars today are no longer scandalized by the question, although their conclusions are hardly less firm than they were. The reason for the new, more open attitude is that a limited but interesting body of logical argument and factual evidence has appeared in print since about 1947 pointing to the possibility of some trans-oceanic voyaging earlier than the age of discovery by Europeans. Very few scholars, however, concede even today that the effect of such voyages was more than embroidery on the indigenous cultural fabric of the Americas.

The Mormon contribution to study of this problem has been trivial. Little serious scholarship has been carried on by Latter-day Saints in connection with the problem of American origins, and furthermore, no one in the scholarly establishment has had reason to be influenced significantly by the little which has been done. What few solid contributions have been made, have not been written in a manner, nor used data of a type which would be credible to professionals. In fact the views of Mormon writers on the topic, particularly the more colorful ones, are a subject of quiet amusement among professional Americanists.¹

In situations where sources of religious and secular authority conflict with each other, a Latter-day Saint sometimes finds himself in a quandary. He has been assured by a folklore transmitted in lessons, talks and church literature² that archaeologists (usually Gentiles) are steadily proving the Book of Mormon authentic, while through his formal education and secular literature he has become aware that in actuality "the experts" seem to contradict the scripture.

For most of two decades I have been both privately and professionally concerned with this problem. The scientifically orthodox case — for the complete separation of the culture histories of the two hemispheres — has always seemed to suffer from serious logical problems. The argument from evidence is also weak, for its thrust is negative: that we have *not* (yet at least) found this or that cultural item in America which immigrants could have brought

¹See especially Robert Wauchope's *Lost Tribes and Sunken Continents*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1962, (Chap. 4, "Lost Tribes and the Mormons.") Wauchope displays, besides amusement, ignorance of the actual range of Mormon thought and work, an ignorance quite general and quite understandable in the anthropological profession to which he belongs. For hostility to be mixed with the ignorance is more rare, but see V. W. Von Hagen's *The Aztec: Man and Tribe* (Mentor Books, 1958, pp. 2 and 208) for a strong condemnation of Sorenson as a typical Mormon apologist!

²Most L.D.S. literature on "archeology and the Book of Mormon" ranges from factually and logically unreliable to truly kooky. In general it appears that the worse the book, the more it sells (the Farnsworth picture books top the list, of course), which seems to say something about Mormons as an audience. Of course popular secular works on archaeology are also frequently full of nonsense. Perhaps it is the pictures that sell both types.

with them from civilized lands of the old World. But negative evidence is always weak evidence. Thus intellectually dissatisfied as well as religiously challenged, for years I filed away facts relevant to the problems as I encountered them.*

In 1968 an invitation to present a paper to a Symposium on Problems of Trans-Oceanic Contacts (at the annual meetings of the Society for American Archaeology) led to my making a new, comprehensive review of the state of the evidence. At last the nature and amount of evidence seemed to justify professional attention. The paper prepared for that occasion constituted a new departure in the interpretation of Old and New World cultural relations. The present article summarizes and interprets for *Dialogue* readers some of the points made in the technical paper.³

THE UNITY OF CIVILIZATION IN THE OLD WORLD

One striking result of the extensive historical and archaeological study which has been carried on during the last few decades has been to demonstrate a fundamental interrelatedness among the various centers of civilization in the Old World. The fact is particularly well documented for the last two millennia, when written records were common in certain areas, but increasingly it is clear that similar linkages prevailed long before written history. Where once it was permissible to think of Egypt, Mesopotamia, India or the Aegean as sites where independent civilizations "arose," now each of those cultural manifestations must be seen instead as more nearly a regional stylistic variant — a special local structuring — of symbols, ideas and techniques which were generally shared throughout the most culturally complex portion of the world. A. L. Kroeber termed this advanced culture or civilized sphere the "oikoumene" (or "ecumene").⁴

"Civilization," the highest manifestation of man's cultural activity, appears to have originated as a result of a single process. Its crucial develop-

³To be published under the title "The Significance of An Apparent Relationship between the Ancient Near East and Mesoamerica" in the symposium volume, to be issued by a major university press next year.

⁴See especially Kroeber's "The Ancient Oikoumene as a Historical Culture Aggregate," in *The Nature of Culture*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, 379-395. To the Greeks the "oikoumene" was the civilized world known directly to them; Kroeber expanded that meaning to eliminate their subjectivity as to the boundaries in favor of an objective determination of the limits in terms of cultural trait distributions. Gordon Hewes elaborated the concept and the supporting data in "The Ecumene as a Civilization Multiplier System," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, No. 25, 1961, 73-109. Congruent with this concept is Hugh Nibley's "The Hierocentric State," *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 3, 1951, 226-253.

*This is not to say that my religious beliefs were consciously allowed or made to shape the substance of my scholarship. Truth is good enough; it needs no direct assistance from hope. Rather, belief served as a stimulus, in the sense that Dr. Gordon had in mind when he wrote, "On the modern scene the only large reservoir of humanistic scholars with enough drive and stamina to master a whole complex of difficult sources is the intellectual upper-crust of Bible students." (*An Introduction to Old Testament Times*, Ventnor, N. J., Ventnor Publishers, 1953, v.) Mormon beliefs drive some of us in parallel fashion (though not nearly hard enough, as Hugh Nibley keeps telling us).

ment occurred between about 7000 and 3500 B.C. in the zone between the Aegean Sea and what is today Iran. From that southwest Asian heartland, knowledge of the advanced cultural components at the root of "civilization" spread outward, stimulating local adaptations as it went. By the 15th century A.D. this basic cultural heritage prevailed in all the more populous centers in a broad band stretching from Gibraltar to Japan. Concepts and objects, from the abacus, alfalfa, and algebra to zero, and zodiac, and zoö-morphic art, were widely distributed throughout "this great web of culture growth," combining and recombining in stylistic variants in each ecologically suitable region. Beyond its boundaries, and after within it in enclaves, cultures of substantially less complexity were to be found.

The evidence for intercommunication within the Old World makes it impossible to say that civilization arose in that hemisphere more than a single time. Now, if one wishes to learn more about the process of man's becoming civilized — about the conditions under which man has made high cultural advancement — this situation is disappointing, for one is left with but a single case to study, and general principles cannot be developed from single cases. For this reason some students of history look to the New World for a second comparative case of independent culture growth.

THE ECUMENE AND THE NEW WORLD

It appeared to Kroeber that "the story of major civilizational growth in America . . . gives no indication of integrating with the corresponding story in Eurasia. The two are not, so far as we can yet see, parts of a single plot." (1952,392) This question now deserves to be rechecked with somewhat greater exactness.

Hewes' elaboration of Kroeber's initial work offered a list of more than 200 cultural features which were widely shared throughout the ecumene in the 15th century. If a substantial number of those features were also present in pre-Columbian America, it would suggest that ancient New World civilization did relate directly to the Old World tradition.

Examination of the Hewes list reveals that Mesoamerica (southern Mexico and northern Central America, the cultural zenith of pre-Columbian America) shared with the ecumene a significant, though not large, number of traits — about one out of eight in Hewes' list.⁵ This is enough to indicate some sort of communication between the two areas, although it obviously could not have been extensive or enduring.

SHARED PATTERNS: MESOAMERICA AND THE NEAR EAST

When we turn from considering features which occurred widely throughout the ecumene to compare the cultures of the Near East and Mesoamerica

⁵These include: observatories, eclipse records, nonpermutating eras and year counts, the zero concept, a zero sign, paper, papermaking, "royal" (conspicuous display) tombs, the sacrifice complex, fermented drink offerings, concepts of paradise and hell, the parasol, the litter, the loom, cotton, textiles, resist dyeing, lost wax casting, the true arch, walled cities, fired brick, merchant class or caste, caravans or organized trade expeditions, and corvee labor. From 10 to 20 additional features may, on further examination, prove to be shared.

directly, stronger conclusions can be drawn. Complex, highly specific, similarities are found to link the two areas.

Precisely that kind of evidence is required if a convincing case is to be made for cultural transmission from one era to any other? Sufficient evidence exists to prove that peoples in different parts of the world do sometimes come up with surprisingly similar inventions or discoveries quite independently of each other. For a critical person to accept that a cultural parallel between two areas is due to some historical movement from the one place to the other, he must be struck by the unusual or arbitrary nature of the feature compared. To say, for example, that "pyramids" were built in both Mexico and Egypt carries little weight in persuading us of an historical cultural connection between the two, because the feature is too general or vague. After all, sizable "pyramids" of a sort were developed in the Society Islands a number of centuries ago, probably without benefit of contact with any other area.⁶ Thus we cannot honestly be convinced of an historical link on the basis of such weak evidence.

Our impression is different when we are told that in both the Near East and Mesoamerica, large pyramidal platforms were built as foundations for temples, that the platforms were thought to represent mountains, that climbing the elevation stood for an ascent to heaven, that in temples a partitioned-off area was considered an especially holy spot where contact with the heavenly powers could be made, that subterranean waters were believed to be sealed up or confined beneath the spot, and so on. These features make the comparison so specific and complex that our judgment tends to reject the view that similarities in such arbitrary concepts could arise by mere coincidence.

The persuasive power of comparisons increases with the number. Three or four parallels could be due to chance. Even a dozen might conceivably be. What we have in the comparison made below, however, is well over 200 shared cultural features, many of them combined with each other in intricate ways to constitute patterns. Such bodies of evidence are characteristic of two areas which have been in serious, even fundamental, communication. No historical claim of the cultural independence of the two areas from each other is credible in the face of it.

SOME COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE

The following listing is intended to convey to the reader most of the range and some of the quality of parallels known between the cultures of the Near East and Mesoamerica. Since it is impossible to explain with full clarity some of the ideas mentioned, the entries may appear cryptic, but limitations of various kinds make impossible a fuller treatment here. Again because of the brevity required, some of the items are stated without those qualifications ("sometimes," "probably," etc.) which make a scholar comfortable.

⁶K. P. Emory, "Stone Remains of the Society Islands," *B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* 116, Honolulu, 1933, pp. 38-41.

And of course further detailed research on some of the points may demonstrate that the parallelism is distorted or that information on which I have based the statements was erroneous. By no means have I pursued all the items in depth. The technical paper of which this article is a summary contains extensive documentation which would enable an investigator to begin to pursue further in the literature the various cultural comparisons quickly skimmed over here.

In the list, each statement implies that at some period, the cultural item mentioned was present in some part of both Mesoamerica and the Near East. The greatest concentration of Near Eastern data refers to Palestine and Syria, between around 1500 and 300 B.C.

A. *Pyramidal temple platform.*

1. The pyramidal platforms represented mountains. Atop each elevation was a temple or other scene for sacred rites.
2. Ascent up the pyramid signified ascent toward the cosmic upperworld or "heaven." A stairway ran up the center of one side.
3. The temple structure was partitioned inside to form a "holy of holies" section, which was a contact point with heavenly powers.
4. This point of contact at the temple and pyramid was the distinctive feature which conferred on the site the name "navel of the world."
5. Subterranean waters were capped or confined by the temple. At the pyramid at Cholula in Mexico, probably the largest of all native American structures, when Cortes was attacking, native priests made an opening in the side anticipating (in accordance with "a tradition") that water would flood out and cover the attackers. The temples at Byblos and Jerusalem were believed to be over the watery abyss, confining the water there from bursting forth. (Compare Ezekiel 31.)
6. This holy point was thought of as a cosmic axis — a point at which heavens, earth and underworld were all accessible.
7. As such, the pyramidal platform was a desirable and logical spot for burials, and prominent persons were sometimes interred there.
8. The platform was constructed in levels so as to leave terraces.
9. The various levels — usually 3, 4, or 7 in number — represented parts of the cosmos. Some of the terraces were garden.
10. Sacred sites were oriented to cardinal or solar directions. In particular, temples faced east to meet the rising sun; the term for "south" meant "on the right hand" in both Maya and Hebrew.
11. Directional orientation around the cosmic axis defined world quarters each of which was symbolized by a color.
12. The world quarters were represented in various ways, including on the board of the pachisi/patolli game (our Parcheesi), and by the swastika, the pattee cross, and the cross-within-a-cross designs.

B. *Astronomy, calendar, and writing*

1. Astronomy was highly developed and of central importance.
2. Nonpermutating eras and year counts were employed.

3. Separate calendar counts were based on sun, moon and stars; all three were articulated with each other. A year of 360 days plus five unusual extra days was shared (by Egypt and Mexico.)
4. A seven-day cycle was in use, among others.
5. Days were measured from sunset to sunset.
6. Observatories and eclipse records were in use.
7. The list of Maya day names correlates with the Semitic alphabet and the related "lunar houses"; similar names and animal associations occur in the same sequence. David Kelley (*Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 6, 1960, 317-337) has shown, among many other interesting data, that Maya day name *manik* was represented by a hand glyph, probably pronounced *ke*, corresponding in sequence to the position in Near Eastern alphabetic listing to Hebrew letter *k*, which probably originally represented a hand, pronounced *kaph*. (Compare Yucatec Maya *kab*, or Mam Maya *kop*, hand.) *Lamed* is the next Hebrew letter; the next day name in the Yucatec Maya list is *lamat*. Then comes Maya *mulu(c)*, a day ruled by the shark and with the Aztec equivalent "water." The alphabetic sequence has Greek *mu* (perhaps from Assyrian *mu*, "water") or Hebrew *mem*. Kelley became convinced that the calendar and deity symbols which he found parallel between Mesoamerica and the ecumene of the Old World could best be explained by supposing a direct transmission of calendar knowledge from Eurasia to Mesoamerica between 700 and 400 B.C.
8. Animals associated with Mesoamerica day names are comparable in many ways to animals linked with the constellations (see Kelley, 1960, 332). Half the named animals associated with Aztec days recur in Eurasia in correct sequence in connection with the constellation list.
9. The concept of zero, a zero sign, and place value notation were all employed.
10. Hieroglyphic writing systems (Egyptian and Mayan at least) were based on similar principles; each had about 750 signs and used ideographs, the rebus principle, affixes, etc.
11. Records were kept on paper, and a papermaking process was employed. The paper sometimes used lime sizing as a surface preparation.

C. Burial practices

1. Tombs were placed in pyramidal platforms or other artificial elevations, with or without a temple atop; the burial chamber sometimes was reached via a hidden entry.
2. A rich assortment of domestic and luxury products was placed in tombs in a kind of conspicuous display to the dead. Such burials are often called "royal" on the assumption (perhaps incorrect) that only nobility could command such luxury to be interred.
3. Tombs reached only by way of a very deep vertical shaft were in use. A kind of bench was built along the walls of some tombs, and niches were constructed in walls at points.
4. Families (or other groups) re-used tombs for multiple burials. Ancestor heads were preserved for veneration.

5. Fires were built over burial sites after important persons were interred.
6. Retainers were sacrificed to be buried with notable personages whom they apparently served in life.
7. Children were sacrificed and buried in a dedicatory manner beneath the foundations of buildings.
8. Urns were used as burial containers for small children.
9. A hollowed stone sarcophagus was occasionally used, with a low relief carving of a rope decorating its outside.

D. *Incense*

1. Use of incense was greatly emphasized and occurred in connection with practically all ritual.
2. Smoke of incense symbolized the ascent of the soul (cf. C. 5 above). It also symbolized prayer.
3. Incense was thought to purify and to serve as a sweet, attractive offering to the gods.
4. The smoke from censers placed in front served to hide from view a holy object within the temple.
5. "Holy" or special fire was required to be used for incense burning.
6. Incense was frequently a gum procured from trees by persons ritually prepared for the task. The gum was considered the "blood" of the tree.
7. Rain and fertility were associated with the idea of censuring.
8. The serpent was also associated with incense use. (Incense, as a bloodless form of "sacrifice," was favored by Quetzalcoatl, the Mexican god, who was represented as a feathered serpent; frankincense was gathered from trees in South Arabia which were supposedly guarded by winged serpents. There are further associations also.)
9. Tall, cylindrical ceramic burner stands were horned, white surfaced, and constructed with rows of "windows" in their bases in the shape of inverted triangles.
10. Incense altars of limestone were also used which were decorated with feline or human feline hybrid motifs which connoted fertility.

E. *Standing stones (stele) as cult objects*

1. Series of such large stones were placed in rows on ceremonial sites, possibly for astronomical purposes.
2. There is evidence that they served to commemorate historical events and/or calendrical anniversaries.
3. They also probably had memorial and mortuary functions.

F. *Figurines*

1. Human, female, ceramic figurines were abundant. Apparently they had a connection, which remains obscure in detail, to cult concepts and practices having to do with fertility. One specific form is of a pregnant woman holding her breasts.
2. Sometimes they were placed in burials.
3. One type of figurine had movable limbs.
4. Animal figurines were also constructed, having cultic rather than toy significance.

5. One type of animal figure was provided with wheels.
6. Ceramic models of cultic scenes were constructed.

G. *Sacrifice complex*

1. Animals were slain on an altar in a ceremonial area and then burned wholly or in part as offerings.
2. Celebrants of the rite consumed part of the sacrifice with a sense of communion.
3. Censing accompanied the sacrifice. In fact one type of offering consisted of incense mixed with cereal.
4. Parched grain or meal served as another type of offering.
5. Blood was offered as a sacrifice.
6. Blood was scattered over the sacrificial area and participants.
7. Fermented and non-fermented drink offerings were employed.
8. Libation vessels were of very similar shape.
9. A (substitute) human was sacrificed when a prominent person was near death.
10. Children were sacrificed with some frequency. The child of a leader might be sacrificed at a time of national danger.
11. A scapegoat was thought to bear away the people's sins.
12. Human sacrifice was sometimes accomplished by throwing the victim down from an elevation.
13. Persons sacrificed their own blood, for which purpose they cut themselves.
14. A form of circumcision was used which had sacrificial connotation about it.

H. *Lustration (ritual washing)*

1. A representation from a Mexican pre-Columbian document (Codex Borgia) compares with a standard scene from Egyptian art as follows: (a) a central figure is shown beneath (b) crossed streams being poured (c) from vessels held by (d) divinities at either side. Conventionalized symbols used to mark the streams signify "life." The figures at the sides in the Mexican codex are Mictlantecuhtli and Mitlancihuatl, lord and lady of the region of death. Egyptian scenes show Horus and either Thoth or Seth; Thoth signifies the direction west, the region of death. Seth is of the north and was associated with the ideas of illness and evil. The Mexican divinities are also connected with the north. Ixtlilton, the center figure in the Borgia scene, was a god of healing; Thoth was emblematic of healing in Egyptian medicine. Nethys, wife of Seth, was sometimes queen of the night and of the dead, the same as Mictlancihuatl.⁷
2. Rites involving sprinkling water over a person with an aspergillum were thought to purify him and also to signify renewal or rebirth.

⁷In private correspondence, the most respected of American orientalists said some years ago, upon seeing these ritual scenes and learning of their associations, that in his opinion had the Mexican scene come from some place near Egypt — say, Mesopotamia, where transmission distance was no issue — there could be no question that an historical connection existed between the representations.

J. *Divination*

1. Astrology was highly elaborated.
2. Astrological almanacs were constructed and used.
3. Divination by gazing fixedly in a mirror (captopromancy) was employed.

K. *Illness*

1. Illness was thought to be caused in some cases by the breaking of taboos.
2. Confession of sin was believed to bring about a cure of illness.

L. *Snake symbolism*

1. The serpent symbolized wisdom and knowledge, healing, and fertility.
2. It was thought to inhabit and to be connected symbolically with water holes, springs, etc.
3. Another association was with death and the underworld.
4. A feathered, "flying" snake representation was an object of devotion.
5. A specific artist motif of an undulating serpent was similar in detail.
6. A seven-headed serpent was represented in art and connected with the idea of rain and fertility.

M. *A dragon or great water monster was thought to inhabit the waters and to symbolize them.*

N. *Feline symbolism*

1. The lion or jaguar represented power, dominance and rulership.
2. Also these felines in some settings symbolized fertility, rain and abundance.
3. The lion (jaguar) was lord of the underworld, symbolizing the night aspect of the sun, which was thought to enter the underworld at night.
4. Art representations of the feline sometimes showed a radial whorl design at the joint of the leg. (H.O. Thompson considers this feature in Asia to indicate deity.)
5. Hybrid human-feline representations have already been mentioned in connection with incense burners.

O. *Various water-connected features*

1. A mountain/rain/cloud divinity controlled life through dominating the regularity of rain. He was thought to dwell on a mountain, was full-bearded, and grasped a lightning bolt in his hand. (Striking comparative illustrations are shown in C. Irwin's *Fair Gods and Stone Faces*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1963, 171-173).
2. An overflowing vase motif was related to the concepts and symbols of the sacred tree and the waters beneath the earth.
3. The lotus or water lily symbolized emergent life, or primeval and ultimate abundance.
4. The guilloche (double S) sign not only occurred in both areas, but was associated with the idea of rain or water.

P. *Trees*

1. The cedar of Yucatan was called *kuche*, "tree of God" and was preferred as the wood for carving idols. In Babylonia the sacred cedar had the name of the god Ea written in its core, while at nearby Susa the cuneiform sign for cedar tree was part of the name of the dominant deity.
2. Scenes showing the "tree of life" regularly included not only the tree in the center, but also one (or two) personages facing it from either side, a serpent/monster element associated usually beneath the tree, or other winged feature above.
3. The sacred tree was supposed to bear leaves or fruit of precious blue or green stone (jade in America, lapis lazuli in Mesopotamia).
4. Trees served to represent peoples or tribes, which sometimes bore the name of a tree.
5. A great world tree, rooted at the cosmic axis, was thought to spread its limbs protectively over the earth. Furthermore the tree was considered a route for travel up or down to other cosmic levels.

Q. *Various cosmological and related features*

1. A "paradise" was anticipated for certain persons after death.
2. An underworld in the sense of "hell" was also believed in.
3. Upper-and underworld were considered divided into hierarchical layers above and below the earth's surface.
4. The concept of dualism was strong.
5. Earth, air, fire and water were considered basic elements.
6. There was belief in a deluge which was produced by rain and from which only a few persons were saved in a vessel they had constructed. A bird was sent from the vessel to check on the drying up of the land.
7. A (pyramid) tower was believed constructed for safety against a deluge, however the structure was blown down by a great wind.

R. *Assorted motifs and esthetic features*

1. The double-headed eagle.
2. A winged disc or globe, or the sun as the body of a bird.
3. A pennated tail dependent from a circular feature.
4. The "star of David," intertwined triangles.
5. A representation of a ring (or plate), which shows a pentad on its face transfixes from below by a stick.
6. A ritual bag or bucket held by a divine or priestly figure in a ritual scene.
7. Floating figures, or "angels," in art.
8. Frontality in representations of the human figure, that is the head being in profile while the eye, torso and shoulders are shown full front.
9. A horseshoe-shaped, curl-end motif, either alone or in the form of hair curls of a female deity. This deity, called "Mother" or "Lady," was associated with childbirth, with vegetational fertility, and with Venus as the Morning Star. (Many of the figurines noted earlier are probably representations of this deity, who was Ishtar/Hathor in Mesopotamia/Egypt.)
10. Construction of mosaics, particularly using blue or blue-green stone.

11. The panpipe, as well as a variety of trumpets.
12. Both flat and cylinder stamps or seals. Sir Leonard Woolley once wrote, that "The cylinder seal is a peculiar type not likely to be invented independently in two different countries . . . Paper-using people would never invent the cylinder seal" (*Digging Up the Past*, Penguin Books, 1937, 76). The Mesoamerican peoples were paper-users.
13. An antiphonal poetic style, of which J.E.S. Thompson has said, "There are close parallels in Maya transcriptions of the colonial period, and I am convinced, in the hieroglyphic texts themselves to the verses of the Psalms, and the poetry of Job," (*Maya Hieroglyphic Writing: Introduction*, Carnegie Institution Publication 589, Washington, 1950, 61-62). Other early western semitic peoples employed the same style.

S. *Kingship complex*

1. The king concept
2. Divine mandate
3. Throne
4. Canopy over the throne
5. Parasol as a sign of dignity and rank
6. Sceptre
7. Crown or diadem
8. Gold necklace as a sign of office
9. Heraldic devices
10. A litter for transport of the king
11. Deference by bowing and casting down the eyes.

T. *Technology*

1. Loom-made textiles were elaborately developed.
2. Clothing included the turban, a "nightcap" style of headdress, shoes with pointed toes, long robes, sashes, mantles, sandals, and loin cloth.
3. Purple dye was prepared from a coastal mollusk by going into the water, picking up the animal, squeezing or "milking" its body, then replacing it. The coloring was of high value and had an elite connotation.
4. Scarlet dye had much the same connotation, though of a lesser degree, and was manufactured from the body of a plant louse.
5. Resist dyeing was practiced.
6. Cotton was widely used.
7. In weaponry and armor, a kettle-shaped helmet, the sling, and thickened textile armor were shared.
8. In metallurgy not only was the lost wax or *cire perdue* method of casting particularly noteworthy, but more basically the processes of smelting, alloying, forging, hammering and gilding were shared.
9. Building features included colonnades, adqueducts, canals, highways, cement-lined reservoirs, fired brick, and city walls.
10. Both the corbelled and true arches were known. As long ago as 1944 Professor Linton Satterthwaite of the University of Pennsylvania wrote, "It has been usual to suppose that the principle of the true

arch was unknown to the American Indian, though here and there in some particular structure it has been argued that the principle, though not obvious, was really present. If the reader will turn to Figures 22 and 23 and Plates 3b and 4a of this report, I believe he will have no doubt that the Maya at La Muñeca roofed a long room with the true arch, and that they knew exactly what they were doing." (Review of *Archaeological Reconnaissance in Campeche, Quintana Roo, and Peten*, by K. Ruppert and J. H. Denison, Jr., Carnegie Institution Publication 543, 1943, in *American Antiquity*, Vol. 10, 1944, 217). More recently see "The True Arch in Pre-Columbian America?," *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 5, 1964, 328-329.)

11. The highly developed ceramics include a large number of technical and decorative features which are often considered, in regional comparisons, indicative of cultural links.

U. *Social organization*⁸

1. Merchant class or caste
2. Organized trade expeditions or caravans
3. Corvee labor

V. *Biological modifications*

1. Cranial deformation
2. Trepanation (an operation to remove a piece of the skull)

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EVIDENCE

Specialists in the cultures of the Near East and Mesoamerica will recognize that many of the features listed above are central to the civilizations concerned. For the Near East, subterranean waters, the temple platform, sacrifice, censuring, the symbolism of the serpent and lion, rain and fertility ritual, and others listed were of great importance in those peoples' conception of man, nature and divinity. By no means were they peripheral. Similarly for Mesoamerica, astronomy, writing, the calendar, the platform, burials, figurines, the feline and serpent, rain symbolism, and so on were core features. Moreover, many of those elements were actually articulated into complex cultural super-patterns which can not readily be shown here. However these elements reached Mesoamerica, they assuredly did not arrive as mere "embroidery" as the traditional experts would have it.

Furthermore, much more work than I have done would probably increase the parallels, for entire topics (e.g. plants, diseases, seasonal cult practices, astronomy, mathematics, myths, etc.) were omitted altogether or were only touched upon above rather than being considered seriously.

CONCLUSION

The evidence indicates strongly that communication of importance must have been carried on between the Near East and Mesoamerica. The time

⁸Only parallels in social organization which were considered by Hewes and Kroeber are listed here, since sociological parallels are among the least reliable indicators of cultural influence at a distance.

suggested by the evidence is probably between 1500 and about 300 B.C. The route and medium of transmission is unclear. However it definitely affected even the fundamentals of symbolic life of later Mesoamerica, not just the secondary aspects of that civilizational tradition. While a great deal of work would be desirable at this point to clarify these evidences, it is difficult to see how the fundamental conclusion can be challenged that to a significant degree Mesoamerican civilization had roots in the Near East.

A broader lesson needs to be drawn, too. The array of evidence cited did not result from any dramatic new excavations or text discoveries. Nearly all the information used was in the standard literature, and presumably there is much more yet to be found there. Ekholm has asked, "Why is it that . . . seemingly good evidence for the ancient Maya having known the true arch was published over twenty years ago and since that time has been scarcely mentioned? Its significance has not been discussed, and it has not been mentioned or considered in connection with any of the more general discussions of . . . the American civilizations?" (*Current Anthropology*, Vol. 5, 1964, 329). Why indeed have many other data relevant to the American origin problem lain unappreciated for years by orthodox experts?⁹ I suggest that no investigator is likely to discover anything which is implicitly ruled out by the question he posed to begin with. All but a handful of the Americanist scholars have really been asking the question, why was there *not* a connection between the hemispheres? They have found what they sought, and little else.

Gertrude Stein is supposed to have asked on her deathbed, "What is the answer?" After only silence followed, she finally cried, "Then what is the question?" For the Latter-day Saint whose religious knowledge and secular learning seem to be in conflict, the restatement is apt. I believe that if we have the wit to phrase our questions well and then work very hard to master the relevant data, answers may not be as far away as they had appeared.

Professor Gordon has said,

Nearly always, we can know what we understand a . . . passage correctly, when its literal meaning fits smoothly into the general context. (1953, 107)

This paper has shown that the context of historical knowledge which once conflicted with one claim of the Book of Mormon (to a Near Eastern origin for part of ancient American civilization) should be modified. The change has come through re-synthesis of scholarly knowledge to correct the context. There may be other cases, of course, where a scriptural claim itself has to be reinterpreted, but the general rule (again in Gordon's words) seems to govern the present example:

⁹J. J. Sherwood and M. Nataupsky (*Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 8, 1967, p. 53) report finding that seven out of a set of 21 features concerning the background (e.g. number of American-born grandparents, undergraduate scholastic rank) of the psychologists who have studied the question of differences in intelligence between Negroes and whites are significantly correlated with the conclusions of their studies! I expect that a set of personal characteristics of scholars could also be discovered which would correlate with the conclusion that Old World and New World civilizations are independent.

It cannot be overemphasized that the discoveries of archaeology tend to justify the literal meaning of the text as against scholarly and traditional interpretation. This holds not only for the Bible but for ancient texts in general. (1953, 107)

The Book of Mormon is one of those ancient texts. Its accuracy is increasingly attested by scholarship.

Reviews

Edited by Edward Geary

REVIEW ESSAY

Stanford Cazier

Stanford Cazier, who received his graduate training at the University of Wisconsin, has taught modern American history for the past several years at Utah State University. Recently he was selected as an administrative intern and spent the year as assistant to the President of New York University.

Almost three years ago I agreed to review Perry Miller's posthumous publication, *The Life of the Mind in America, From the Revolution to the Civil War*, and Daniel J. Boorstin's *The Americans: The National Experience*, which also covers the period between the Revolution and the Civil War. While awaiting the arrival of a review copy of the Miller book, I tried to anticipate what America's most prodigious student of the Puritan Mind had construed the Mormon Mind to be. Shock was my initial reaction to the book, for it contained not one reference to Joseph Smith or the Mormons, and Brigham Young was dismissed with one sentence — a sentence shared with other "deviationists."

The Americans: The National Experience was more considerate of the efforts of the Latter-day Saints, but hardly generous. Quantitatively, they received the focus of less than one percent of the book's five hundred pages. My shock turned to embarrassment. I did not relish the burden of bearing the apparent tidings that Mormonism in the 19th century suffered from intellectual poverty, so I shelved the books without review. However, an experience during the past year has led me to a reconsideration of the suggestiveness of these two books for studying Mormon thought.

A colleague and friend phoned my office suggesting that we have lunch together — he wanted to talk. Previously, whenever we met on campus we fell into spontaneous discussion, but now curiosity and slight anxiety were whetted by an invitation to conversation in a more structured manner. After exchanging the usual amenities, he opened with a double-headed query: "Is Mormonism intellectually respectable, and does it make any difference if it isn't?" My friend's problem was somewhat rhetorical in that he had already

substantially resolved it and was merely seeking confirmation of cherished concepts. Yet, the query was also genuine. While he is a committed son of the Church, he is also a fine student of science and of the humanities. By disposition and by training his mind is open. His desire for confirmation did not carry with it the insistence that confirmation follow.

The question of Mormonism's intellectual respectability and the significance of the question are issues as old as Mormonism. Multifarious have been the resolutions, both within the Church and beyond its pale. Some have written that Mormonism does not command intellectual respect and they damn it for that reason. Others have said that there is considerable intellectual appeal in Mormonism but that this is not significant since the Church does not hang on the mandate of logic but on the needs of the spirit. There are still others who can answer both questions in the negative with apparent peace of mind and heart. Finally, there are those who produce affirmation at both levels of inquiry.

Humor and slight tragedy attend any survey of the feelings held by each of these groups respecting the others. Suspicion, contempt, tolerance, condescension, incredulity, and pity are among the attitudes entertained by the devotees of any one of the above perspectives as they view the propositions of the other schools. And because of this psychological distance, attempts at communication have often led to mutual alienation.

This problem is not unique to Mormonism, nor, for that matter, to the analysis of religion or theology. The intellectual difficulties pointed here are rather peculiar to those arenas of investigation where conclusions may not always allow for public verification.

In short, there appears to be a "hang up" on the assessment of Mormon thought. On review, the books by Miller and Boorstin are very suggestive as to why this is the case and how it might be resolved — at least for some. The key to this suggestiveness is the fact that these books represent polar extremes in their approaches to American culture, approaches that have been evolving and diverging for a quarter of a century.

Professor Merle Curti was probably the first student of American intellectual history to point the course of this divergence. In 1943 he wrote that his *Growth of American Thought* was a "social history of thought," a history looking to the social sources and the social impact of ideas.¹ Such a study could not ignore social structures, economic valences, the machinations of politics, and a host of other realities that help shape a person's perception of himself and his environment. Curti contrasted his study of ideas with that of Arthur O. Lovejoy, who, in the *Great Chain of Being*, was concerned with the "interior" of ideas, with their ideological roots and logical implications. While Curti sought to emphasize a "functional" approach to ideas, those of the interior school were more committed to outlining formal relationships among ideas.

¹Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), ix.

Since World War II intellectual historians have generally aligned themselves with either the functional or the analytical study of American thought.² Miller and Boorstin are model contrasts in this alignment.

Miller is best known for his *New England Mind*, which is a bench mark for the study of early American thought. In this work, especially volume one, *The Seventeenth Century*, Miller was fascinated by the system and subtlety with which Puritan divines conceptualized. This is a formal study, inferring the implications of a cosmology, "treating the entire expression of the period as a single body of writing and paying little or no attention to modifications forced upon the mind by domestic events."³ Even the section entitled "Sociology" is devoted exclusively to the elaboration of the covenant system, wherein the reader is treated to the fine differentiations among such concepts as "grace," "justifications," "regeneration," and "sanctification."

In contrast, Boorstin carries the functional approach to ideas almost to a non-rational conclusion. In 1953, he identified the genius of American politics to have been "the characteristic *lack* of political theory"⁴ (italics added). This thesis was broadened in *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* to suggest that American thought is best understood if it is not examined in terms of philosophical systems:

For the most part, writers have assumed that the categories of European philosophy and literature, and the approach by way of "systems" ("Puritanism," "Rationalism," "Romanticism," "Transcendentalism," etc.) are adequate to the examination of American culture. . . . It is peculiarly inappropriate, and can even be misleading, to try to sum up American thinking — much less American culture — through great philosophic systems or the literary and philosophic works of great men.⁵

Not only did Americans dispense with systematic thought, but Boorstin implies, by thus being unencumbered they were free to create, to improvise, to adapt — to embrace a flexibility that was closed to the intellectual elite of Europe:

We have too long been told that a "unified" scheme of knowledge is required to give meaning and unity to society; that men have a greater sense of sharing values and of working to a common end if they are united by a grand overarching system of thought; that somehow an articulate and systematic philosophy is likely to provide

²John Higham, of the University of Michigan, has been a most prolific interpreter of the developments and methodological problems in American intellectual history. See especially "The Rise of American Intellectual History," *The American Historical Review*, LVI (April, 1951), 453-471; "Intellectual History and Its Neighbors," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XV (June, 1954), 339-347; "American Intellectual History: A Critical Appraisal," *American Quarterly*, XIII (Summer Supplement, 1961), 219-233. For more recent trends see Rush Welter, "The History of Ideas in America: An Essay in Redefinition," *The Journal of American History*, LI (March, 1965), 599-614.

³Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, 1953), Foreword.

⁴Daniel J. Boorstin, *Genius of American Politics* (Chicago, 1953).

⁵Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York, 1958), 398.

such a system of shared meaning. The stock example is, of course, the Middle Ages, when such theologians as Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus constructed monuments of speculative philosophy. It has become an unexamined commonplace that a more unified philosophy will produce a more unified society, that ours would be a better and more meaningful work if we in America possessed such systematic and "unifying" thought.

But is this really true? It may have seemed so in earlier societies where the frame of meaning was supposed to be accessible only to a priestly or ruling class. Could it remain so in a modern literate society where most people would be expected to understand the purpose of the community? One cannot unify such a society by mere *concepts*, however refined and subtle, however vivid to a few philosophers and theologians. . . .⁶

Boorstin is thereby predictably suspicious of such unified statements of American thought as those found in the *New England Mind* and other works by Perry Miller:

The monumental studies by Perry Miller . . . have given the subtleties of Puritan theology a serious examination by a mind worthy of them for the first time since Jonathan Edwards. No one who works through Miller's volumes, following his reconstruction and dissection of the more sophisticated American Puritans, can fail to respect them and to see a human plausibility in their thinking. The main peril of Miller's approach is that he may sometimes take their distinctions more seriously and more precisely than 17th-century Puritans saw them to be. He is more interested in the intricacy of their philosophy than in the social consequences of their ways of thinking and he is not much concerned with the vagueness and fluidity which ideas seem to acquire when they touch the confusing world of action.⁷

In short, Miller sought the essence of American culture along the "inner" track by discussing ideas in terms of themselves. Boorstin finds that the study of the interrelationship of ideas is less than fruitful, that American thought is best understood in terms external to itself, in relation to a community of events or "the confusing world of action."

Miller and Boorstin carry these frames of reference into the books which are the ostensible subject of this review-essay. In *The Americans: The National Experience*, Boorstin again heralds the essentially non-ideological cast of the American Mind, its "fluidity," "ingenuity," "versatility." He finds the genius of the American factory system to have been the naïveté with which it was conceived:

The system, which later was to have the look of grand invention and bold discovery, began in the casual experiments of men unencumbered by century-accumulated skills and intricate social regulations. If the American Factory System was a triumph of organization and of cooperation, it was also a triumph of naïveté, for its essence was a

⁶*Ibid.*, 167.

⁷*Ibid.*, 380.

loosening of habits and of ways of thinking. Ignorance and “backwardness” had kept Americans out of old grooves. Important innovations were made simply because Americans did not know any better.⁸

This naïveté also informed our quest for national symbols. Boorstin calls attention to the view that unlike European models, our heroes are also clowns. The comic dimension of David Crockett’s alleged prowess stems from “the *pervasive ambiguity* of American life, the *vagueness* which laid the continent open to adventure, which made the land a rich storehouse of the *unexpected*, which kept vocabulary ungoverned and the language *fluid* — this same vagueness suffused both the comic and the heroic”⁹ (italics added).

But where Boorstin senses vagueness, incongruity, and ambiguity, Miller posits clarity, structure, and system. And while Boorstin hears vulgarity, Miller listens for nobility of expression. The cultural tragedy of Miller’s death is that *The Life of the Mind of America* was to have contained nine sections. As published, only two sections (The Evangelical Basis and The Legal Mentality) were completed, and a third section, Science — Theoretical and Applied, contains one finished chapter and six in scenario form.

In this, his last work, Miller followed the lead of the late Morris Cohen in treating the idea of law as appropriate subject matter for intellectual history. He gave one-half of the book to “Legal Mentality,” a section conceived with typically grand system.

Boorstin, on the other hand, is much more superficial in his treatment of the law. It is not that he is not qualified to comment in depth: He has been a barrister-at-large of the Inner Temple, London, and has taught law at Harvard and practiced it in Massachusetts. He is also the author of *The Mysterious Science of the Law*. The reason Boorstin gave but a scant and scattered thirty pages to the common law, vigilantism, claim clubs, etc., while Miller mustered one hundred and sixty-five pages, including a forty page chapter on “Intellectual Elegance,” is because he is not taken with the suggestion that the idea of law has been that systematic or that pervasive in giving form to the American mind.

The methodological predilections of Miller and Boorstin predictably inform their disposition of early 19th-century religious experience and thought. Miller is unimpressed with the quality of mind represented in the leaders of the revival movement, for they “provide little for the historian of ideas to work with. The powerful fact about these protagonists is that, in relation to the accumulated wisdom of Protestant theology, they held few ideas and were little capable of cerebration.”¹⁰ Charles Grandison Finney is a marked exception to this judgment, and Miller credits him with having a “vigorous mind” and with producing “a major work in the history of the mind” (*Lectures on Revivals of Religion*). The reader is then treated to a lengthy exe-

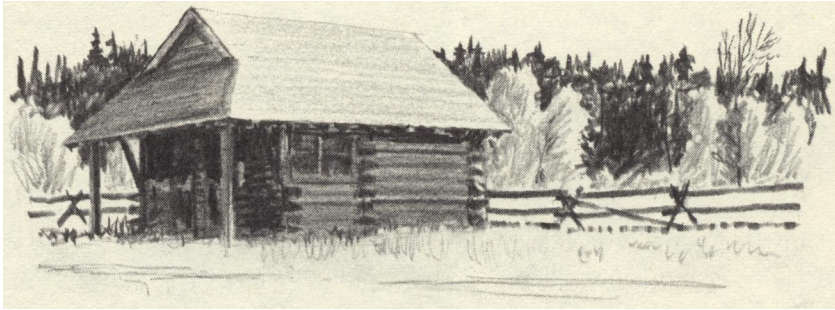
⁸Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York, 1965), 21.

⁹*Ibid.*, 332.

¹⁰Miller, *The Life of the Mind in America From the Revolution to the Civil War* (New York, 1965), 6.

genesis of Finney's thought. No reference is made to Joseph Smith, and as for Brigham Young, the following is recorded: "The deviationists who emerged out of the [Revival] — one thinks especially of Brigham Young — carried into their heresies the frenetic compulsiveness of the movement. But as compared with Finney, they all seem pallid."¹¹

Boorstin's position is in striking polarity to that of Miller. While Miller devoted almost one hundred pages to evangelism, Boorstin gives revivalism short shift, two pages, with Finney's share cut to a brief paragraph. And appropriately the Mormons are excluded from the section on evangelism. Rather, they are cited, not for their "frenetic compulsiveness," but for their "organizing genius to elaborate novel elements in their theology, ritual, and institutions"¹² — a capacity which Miller may have considered too lowbrow for inclusion in a systematic study of early 19th-century thought. That Boorstin takes little space to illustrate the Mormon "genius" is not a token of depreciation but is consistent with his emphasis on multiplicity in American culture.



The suggestiveness of these two books for the study of Mormon thought is resident in the realization that there may be little in Mormon intellectual experience that is available for the kind of "interior" analysis so typical of the works of Miller. On the other hand, the bulk and possibly the best of Mormon intellection may be produced by "modifications forced upon the mind by domestic events," which demands a "functional" approach to ideas for assessment.

Sterling M. McMurrin gave apparent recognition to this thesis very early in his *Philosophical Foundations of Mormon Theology* when he wrote that whatever the metaphysical basis of Mormon thought, "Mormon theology developed for the most part within concrete historical contexts and was not derived from the metaphysics."¹³ But this caveat proved to be rhetorical when he added that

¹¹*Ibid.*, 23.

¹²Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience*, 63.

¹³Sterling M. McMurrin, *The Philosophical Foundations of Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City, 1959), 6.

although the theological doctrines are not necessarily deducible from the metaphysical principles, the metaphysics once defined sets the limits for and in a sense indicates the direction of theological development, for the strong intellectualistic tendencies of Mormonism guarantee a continuing effort to rationalize the theology on philosophical foundations.¹⁴

Further reading in this work and its sequel, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion*, produces the impression that in McMurrin one has found the Perry Miller of Mormonism, who, to paraphrase Boorstin, is more interested in fine discriminations in Mormon philosophy than he is in the "social consequences" of Mormon ways of thinking, and "he is not much concerned with the vagueness and fluidity which ideas seem to acquire when they touch the confusing world of action."¹⁵ The following is certainly illustrative: "[Mormon] norms of value are absolutes established in the structure of reality independently of passing circumstances."¹⁶

In method, McMurrin claims to be "empirical rather than rationalistic,"¹⁷ but the method he employs is demonstrably rationalistic. He insists that while Mormonism may display a syncretic character which may provide substance for intellectual history, it is of little moment to philosophy.¹⁸ But methodological sophistication going beyond that usually displayed in either philosophy or intellectual history is required if the Boorstin paradigm is to be instructive in informing the intellectual character of Mormonism.

From its inception, Mormonism, as individual and group effort, may have been much more "capable of cerebration" than Miller is willing to grant, because his closed system of internal analysis does not allow for quantification. "Quantification" may appear to be an inappropriate term to describe the process of assessing the character of thought, but if that thought is conspicuously less than formal or unified, if it is responsive to changing circumstances, displayed in organizational innovation and in restructuring interpersonal relations, and functional to the point of dedication to the instrumentality of ideas, an assessment apparatus designed to elicit quantification may be called for. In short, a rigorous empiricism is needed in order to test the applicability of the Boorstin paradigm to an evaluation of Mormon thought. Historians, philosophers, and other humanists have traditionally played a dominant role in evaluations of this type, but behavioral and social scientists are probably much better equipped for the task. Whether they can be interested in the assignment is another question.

The point of this short essay is not that the contributions of Miller and his Mormon counterpart, McMurrin, are less than legitimate. On the contrary, their published works are of major importance to the understanding

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience*, 380.

¹⁶McMurrin, "Reply to Professor Madsen's Critique," *Brigham Young University Studies*, II (Spring-Summer, 1960), 265.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 264.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 262.

of Puritan and Mormon theology — and McMurrin posits considerable strength in logic of Mormon theology. The point is that however legitimate a preoccupation with the “interior” of ideas may be, to opt for this approach may be to miss a vitality, a breadth, and a variety of thought available to an “external” approach. In conclusion, the respectability of Mormon intellectuality may be a function of the paradigm selected to investigate the question. The significance of the answer is a function of something more personal.

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS: GEORGE ROMNEY AND THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1968

David K. Hart

Romney's Way: A Man and an Idea. By T. George Harris. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967. Pp. 288. \$5.95.

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Reviewer's note:

At the beginning of the 1968 Presidential campaign the book review editor of DIALOGUE asked me to review a recently published biography of Governor George W. Romney, who was at the time a leading contender for the Republican presidential nomination. The review had just been completed when Governor Romney withdrew from the race, just before the New Hampshire Primary. As a result, the essay was returned with the request that it be revised to include some speculations as to why the Governor left the lists. The revisions were completed and the review mailed in, but before it could be published, the competition for the Republican nomination heated up again, with a faint possibility that the Convention might deadlock and turn to Romney as the compromise candidate. During that period, the review remained in limbo and then disappeared from sight during the campaign. Then, after the election, it was resurrected and returned again, prefaced by a request for some retrospective analysis. Since George Romney's appointment to the Cabinet, that biography has gained renewed significance, and after another rereading I find that it is every bit as useful as I had originally believed.

One of the certain harbingers of a presidential election year is the spate of campaign biographies about the major combatants. In fact, the publication of such books seems to be the *sine qua non* of belligerent status for the candidates. Thus, the pre-convention publication of T. George Harris' biography, *Romney's Way*, confirmed the seriousness of the Governor's intentions, if any doubt had remained. For the first time in American history, a Latter-day Saint was not only a serious contender for the Presidency, he also had a reasonable chance of election if he managed to obtain the nomination. Therefore, that particular campaign biography had a more than usual historical significance.

Campaign biographies usually fall into one of three general categories. First, there are the “authorized” biographies which canonize the candidate for the faithful. Second, there are the “hatchet” biographies which are

demonologies detailing every scurrilous fact about a candidate that can be unearthed, implied, or invented. Finally, there are those biographies written to meet the public demand for information about the various candidates. Happily, the Harris book falls into the last category, except for an occasional lapse into admiration. It is a witty, intelligent, perceptive book, and it is a pleasure to read.

The strongest feature of the book is that it manages to convey what it means to have grown up in a Mormon environment, a task that eludes most non-Mormon commentators.¹ Romney sometimes created problems for himself with press and public because some of his solutions for contemporary problems seemed a bit naïve. What the critics failed to understand was that Romney not only believed deeply in what he said, but that he has seen most of his proposals work effectively in the Mormon communities of his youth. Taken in that context, his continual references to such things as the importance of the family, or the value and utility of citizen involvement in community programs, were not just campaign oratory — they were honest statements about real problems and workable solutions. Harris manages to convince all but the most obdurate readers of Romney's sincerity by giving them a feeling for "growing up Mormon."

The weaknesses of the book are relatively minor. The author has a most humorous writing style, and he often gets off some hilarious one-liners.² However, he overplays his hand a few times, and the quips get a bit tasteless — one reference to "Mormon long johns" is more than enough, let alone a whole chapter on them. Also, on rare occasions, his prose gets a bit "inspirational," especially when writing about family matters. Finally, his handling of L.D.S. theology is weak — but much to his credit, he acknowledges his difficulties and does not lean too heavily upon his own interpretations.³

In summary, the book is an excellent example of the best of its genre — a perceptive and useful volume well worth reading. It was one of the better things to happen to the Romney campaign during an otherwise dreary period, and it is a shame that it was not used more effectively.

After reading Harris' book, one is compelled to ask why a campaign that started out with such excellent prospects failed to maintain momentum and ended so ignominiously. George Romney had been an excellent governor with a substantial record of achievement behind him. Taking that record into consideration, there was good reason to believe he would have been a good, possibly even a great President (an opinion this reviewer still holds). In addition, his campaigns for the gubernatorial chair had been vigorous, exciting, and successful. Yet the national surveys that counterpointed

¹It would be inefficient to cite all the examples, since it would involve quoting the first few chapters *verbatim*. However, one passage was particularly evocative for this reviewer. Harris' description of street-meeting in the British Mission (especially at Hyde Park Corner) caught the essential feeling of those excellent experiences. Harris, pp. 79 ff.

²My favorite: "Salt Lake addresses read like map co-ordinates."

³He comments in a footnote: "To the outsider, the primary assertions of any religion, even the secular brands, seem quite incredible, though less so than the universe all seek to explain." Harris, p. 77 fn.

his progress toward the presidential nomination recorded his steady decline in popularity. To the outside observer, his pre-convention campaign appeared to be clumsy and inept. Therefore, it is only reasonable to ask why the sureness of his previous political campaigns was not transferred to his presidential campaign.

A presidential campaign is waged within a complex socio-political environment, and such contests are governed by political rules shaped by that distinctive environment. Any candidate serious about victory must conform his campaign to those somewhat constant necessities.⁴ The Romney organization apparently miscalculated when they selected the means by which their candidate would seek the Republican nomination for the Presidency. More specifically, there seemed to be three major problems: the ineffective use of available talent; an ineffective strategy for securing the nomination, and a failure to present the correct image of the candidate.

To begin, the Romney campaign was headed by Leonard W. Hall,⁵ one of the Republican Party's most prominent campaign managers. In addition, it had a team of campaign research specialists headed by a brilliant young political scientist, Dr. Walter De Vries.⁶ Both of these men were immensely able, as were the other top decision-makers. But a presidential campaign is a huge operation, eventually involving millions of dollars and thousands of people. The managers of such a campaign may have great practical experience, excellent ideas, and the most honorable intentions in the world, but since the operation is invariably so large and the organization is generally jury-rigged, breakdowns are inevitable. Unfortunately, the Romney campaign seemed to have more than its share of organizational problems. It seemed to many observers that there were two separate campaign organizations trying to direct the progress of one candidate, which created a decisional impasse at times. Thus, at several critical periods, there was difficulty in getting quick decisions from the organization which caused some serious problems.

To illustrate, one of the most serious losses occurred early in the campaign when Romney lost the chance to obtain the services of Dr. Gaylord Parkinson. The San Diego physician had served brilliantly as Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of California from 1964 to 1967, and as Chairman of the National Conference of Republican State Chairmen. He is regarded in informed circles as one of the most able campaign managers in the nation. At the end of his term as State Chairman, Dr. Parkinson decided to serve in a professional campaign capacity through the 1968 elec-

⁴An interesting and informative paperback book about the complexities of presidential campaigns is by Nelson W. Polsby and Aaron B. Wildavsky, *Presidential Elections: Strategies of American Electoral Politics* (2nd ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968).

⁵Leonard Hall is a past Chairman of the Republican National Committee, with a long record of distinguished service to the Republican Party. He must be ranked among the more influential Republicans in his party's circles.

⁶The organization developed by Dr. DeVries was modern, inventive and highly effective. Harris, pp. 277ff.

tion. Needless to say, he had many offers. He had been impressed with Governor Romney and indicated his willingness to consider a high-level position in the campaign organization. For some reason, the Romney organization delayed their decision until Dr. Parkinson could wait no longer, and he accepted an offer to head the entire Nixon campaign. (Due to a serious family illness, however, Dr. Parkinson had to resign his chairmanship of the Nixon campaign.) No candidate seriously interested in victory can afford to lose the abilities of such a man, especially when there was no apparent need for the loss. In this reviewer's opinion, given the events prior to the election, had Dr. Parkinson been persuaded and able to run the campaign, George Romney would now be President of the United States. That was the most spectacular example, but there are numerous other examples of the failure of the Romney organization to take advantage of the talent available to it, much to the detriment of the candidate.

The campaign was further weakened by the failure to pursue the most efficient strategy for obtaining the presidential nomination. Governor Romney was an indefatigable campaigner, and he had demonstrated the breadth of his political coattails when he gave invaluable support to Senator Robert Griffin (R-Mich.) in a 1966 Senate race that seemed hopeless for the Republican Party. He had also demonstrated the ability to come from behind in a major campaign. However, those attributes had mostly been demonstrated in campaigns for *office*. A campaign for a party's presidential *nomination* requires somewhat different strategies, and in that area the Romney campaign was ineffective. Romney's managers would have been well advised to have studied Senator Barry Goldwater's extremely successful campaign for the Republican presidential nomination in 1964. Of course, once the nomination was in hand, the Goldwater organization seemed unable to shift gears and develop an effective strategy for winning the election.⁷ Ironically, Romney's problem was just the opposite — his organization bogged down in the campaign for the nomination, while it is very likely that had he received the nomination, he would have run a highly effective campaign for the office.

As one example, too much emphasis was placed upon winning primary elections and insufficient emphasis was placed upon negotiating for convention votes. Nominations generally are not won by winning presidential primaries, although there are some notable exceptions. Winning primaries can be helpful to a candidate, while losing is a disaster. Hence, primaries are risk ventures without much political gain for the victors, as the late Senator Estes Kefauver learned.⁸ They cannot be ignored, of course, but

⁷See the following paperback books: John H. Kessel, *The Goldwater Coalition: Republican Strategies in 1964* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1968); Karl A. Lamb and Paul A. Smith, *Campaign Decision-Making: The Presidential Election of 1964* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1968); Bernard Cosman and Robert J. Huckshorn (eds.), *Republican Politics: The 1964 Campaign and Its Aftermaths for the Party* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1968).

⁸A useful paperback about primary elections is by James W. Davis, *Presidential Primaries: Road to the White House* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, Company, 1967).

efforts there must be backed up with substantial efforts to secure convention votes in those states that select delegates in ways other than primary elections. Obviously a presidential nomination is won by obtaining a majority of the delegate votes at the national convention. Even if a candidate wins all the primary elections, he still wouldn't have sufficient votes to win the nomination. Therefore, a major pre-convention strategy must be to gain the support of as many delegates as possible. Undoubtedly the Romney organization made efforts in that direction, but they evidently didn't start early enough and thus their effort was inadequate.

The techniques that should have been used have been one of the hallmarks of Richard M. Nixon's campaigns for nomination. For instance, in 1960 nearly every Republican party official in the country, from the local level on up, had been legitimately aided in some way by Nixon. For the previous eight years he had covered the entire country speaking on behalf of, and working for, party personnel in every conceivable valid cause. As a result, Nixon held outstanding political IOU's from the majority of the party leaders across the country — most of whom either went to the National Convention or were instrumental in choosing the delegates. As a result, Governor Nelson Rockefeller's bid for the nomination in 1960 was realistically doomed from the outset, regardless of how well he fared in the presidential primary elections.

By 1964 those same necessary and legitimate political chores had been shouldered, for the most part, by Senator Barry Goldwater, and when it came time for the Republican National Convention of 1964, he was virtually assured the nomination. He had effectively won the loyalties of a majority of the delegates through his indefatigable efforts on behalf of state and local party organizations. When Goldwater lost the election, the job of chief political yeoman was vacant. It was filled again by Richard Nixon, with obviously successful results. The puzzling question is why George Romney did not move into the position left vacant by Senator Goldwater's withdrawal. Admittedly, he would have run head on to Mr. Nixon, but that clash was inevitable anyway. If the Governor had taken on those political chores with his characteristic energy, the chances for his nomination would have been significantly improved. Unfortunately, the decision was made to leave the field to the Nixon forces. That mistake was apparently compounded during the last months before the convention, when no significant efforts were made for some of the key delegations.

For example, no obvious effort was made for the California delegation. Governor Reagan had announced as the "favorite son" candidate to the Convention, which ruled out a primary contest. However, it did not rule out a careful, but intensive, effort to win the support of the delegates and the party leadership in California for the second ballot. Polls taken in California before the Primary election showed a majority of Republicans actually desired a contested primary, in which they could express preferences for the party's nominee. The Republican Party was ready for a determined effort, and there were a number of influential and capable party activists, com-

mitted to Governor Romney, who were willing to make that effort. For some reason, almost nothing was done. In fact, Governor Romney had some major political fence-mending to do in California, and since it is the most populous state in the Union, it seems reasonable that some sort of an effort should have been made. If the campaigns for delegates in other states were conducted in a similar fashion, there can be little doubt why Governor Romney felt he had to withdraw.

Finally, the Romney organization allowed their candidate to be labeled with an unwarranted and incorrect public image. He emerged from too many press accounts as a quixotic Babbitt with a straight-arrow philosophy and a cracker-barrel full of Horatio Algerisms, which is about as incorrect an image as could be imagined. If anything, Romney is an exceedingly energetic, well-informed, and realistic man. Admittedly, the media personnel may not have given him a fair deal, but it was the responsibility of his campaign managers to offset that. Newsmen are a hard fact of life in politics,⁹ just as starving wolves are a fact of life on the tundra, and just as an arctic venturer must be well prepared to deal with the wolves, so a candidate must be well prepared to deal with the representatives of the mass media. Media personnel are usually (but not always) dedicated professionals who perform some of the most vital functions necessary for a free political system. In order to do that job, they must often be rough and skeptical, and it is the responsibility of a candidate's managers to prepare for the onslaught. Governor Romney came out on the losing end of too many of those encounters, and it was evident that the media personnel did not see the real man. His campaign organization must bear some of the responsibility for that "communications gap."

For instance, little effective use was made of the fact that Romney is a tough, courageous man. It has always been his practice to meet problems head-on, regardless of the personal consequences to himself. He was at his best when in dialogue with young Negro militants in Watts or speaking to hostile Republican audiences in Arizona. Such characteristics are much admired by the American electorate and usually bring favorable responses from most media. It was a major tragedy of that abortive campaign that the public did not see the real man with sufficient clarity.

Another aspect of the same problem was that the Governor seemed to be constantly in hot water because of some public statement. Unfortunately, Romney's language got a bit routine at times — Harris termed it "Rotarian Gothic" — and thus reporters were a bit more inclined to give undue prominence to a seemingly controversial statement. Also, since politics is such a competitive enterprise, a slip of the tongue (i.e. "brainwashing")¹⁰ is seldom

⁹The following paperbacks are useful: William L. Rivers, *The Opinion Makers: The Washington Press Corps* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967); Bernard Rubin, *Political Television* (Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1967); Melvin L. De Fleur, *Theories of Mass Communication* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1966).

¹⁰The Governor argued that the press did not, on the whole, treat him fairly concerning his use of the term "brainwashing." He was correct. However, the press always probes

forgiven or forgotten, and if the media do not keep it afloat, the opposition certainly will. However, other politicians have had the same problem, and it has not noticeably impeded their progress. Often, the candid admission that one has put his foot in his mouth will close the issue on a note of good humor — a technique well used during the campaign by Governor Spiro T. Agnew. Evidently, Governor Romney did not receive the best advice in this area, since throughout his campaign he was often driven into verbal corners.

To a certain extent, Governor Romney's religion worked against him. Since the election of President John F. Kennedy, many political commentators have laid religious bias, as a factor in national elections, to rest. The funeral was premature. Religion played an important role in the 1960 election, and it is estimated that Kennedy lost more than he gained because of his Catholicism.¹¹ Little or no research has been done on the attitudes of the national electorate to the Mormon religion, but it would obviously offend some major segments of the population, which in a close election could mean the margin for victory. One illustration should suffice: The position of the L.D.S. Church on the Negro would have hurt Romney. So much has been written on the subject that there is little need to go into it here.¹² Much to his credit, Governor Romney had managed to deal effectively with the issue in Michigan, and presumably he would have used the same approach to the national electorate. However, the size and diversity of that constituency would have magnified the problem, and many people would have made up their minds before they heard Romney's position. The Church position would have enraged black militants, alienated Negroes in general, and offended white liberals, while attracting racial bigots (for the wrong reasons) — an exchange of extremely dubious value and one that Romney would have repudiated. As governor, Romney had compiled a most admirable civil rights record which would have offset some of the adverse publicity. It probably wouldn't have been enough, however. The L.D.S. Church would have been pilloried in headlines across the country, and Governor Romney would have undoubtedly come to the defense of his Church, which would have lost him some votes.

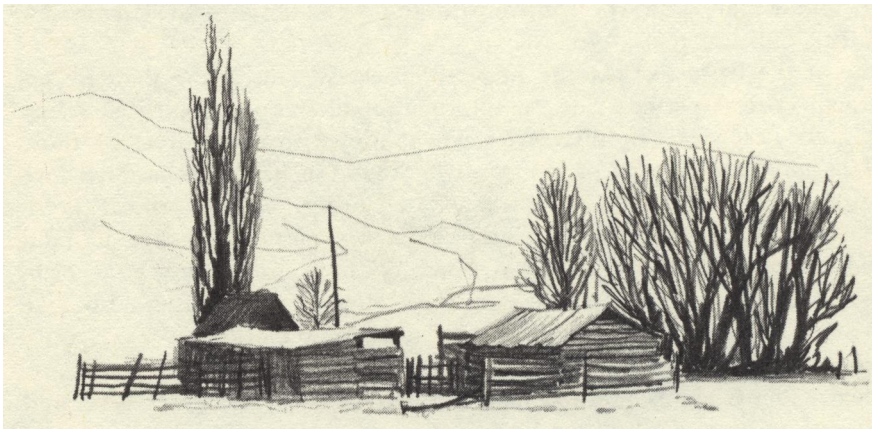
On the other hand, the popular identification of some of those prominent in Mormon affairs with right-wing political positions would have prob-

for the politicians' weak spots and exploits them when they are found. Although one's friends may be severely gored, one's political enemies are also similarly exposed. The electorate has the right to know how a candidate will respond to such pressures, and in a world where so much depends upon the ability to retain one's temper when severely tried, the media personnel do us all great service when they press such attacks with great vigor.

¹¹The net loss was estimated at 2.2%. Philip E. Converse, Angus Campbell, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, "Stability and Change in 1960: A Reinstating Election," *American Political Science Review*, LV (June, 1961) 278.

¹²Harris dealt with the problem in his book, concluding with the pertinent observation: "If [Romney's] one purpose in life were to be removal of the L.D.S. racial barrier, he could not have improved upon his moves to date. By being as faithful and orthodox as any conservative, and refusing to save himself politically by blasting the church, he has forced Mormons themselves to face the squalor of their built-in bias against black people." Harris, p. 208.

ably been an asset rather than a liability. It would have provided Romney with a very useful counterfoil, since he could have publicly disagreed with those political views. In that way, he could have made it doubly clear to any racists who were trying to leap aboard his bandwagon that he wanted nothing to do with them, since most of them tend to hold right-wing political views. In addition, it would have allowed him to demonstrate his political (as distinguished from spiritual) independence from Church control. Voters are rightly sensitive to any implication that their President might be politically influenced by the leadership of his church. The relationship between a member and the President of the L.D.S. Church is a bit difficult to explain to most people. In addition, L.D.S. Church leaders have a habit of issuing political position papers. Senator John Kennedy was faced with a version of the same problem during the 1960 campaign: what would he do if given a political directive by the Vatican. Kennedy stated his position in a well-reasoned address before a gathering of Protestant leaders in Texas. In essence, he said he would do what he thought best for the country even if it



went against the wishes of his church. Governor Romney had stated a position somewhat similar (and Harris wrote about it), but he would have needed every opportunity he could get to re-emphasize his stand. Therefore, it would have been to his advantage to publicly disavow the right-wing political opinions of some of his prominent co-religionists, without touching their religious views.

Such speculation could continue for pages, but it should be apparent by now that Governor Romney had all the essential ingredients for a successful presidential campaign, but that those ingredients could not be used because the campaign for the nomination was so ineffective. That George Romney failed in his bid for the Republican presidential nomination is now incidental to a more basic question: do Mormon politicians in high political offices have anything distinctive to offer the American electorate? In my opinion, they can make an extremely important contribution if they have the right combination of political orientation and religious commitment.

George Romney had that combination which makes his defeat even more unfortunate.

Let me approach this discussion in a somewhat round about manner. To begin, there is significant unrest and dissatisfaction among the American people. During the past campaign, Dr. George Gallup reported that public cynicism and dissatisfaction was the highest he had found in thirty-two years of doing survey research. The causes of that discontent are numerous, and the problem of dealing with them is complicated by our overwhelming preoccupation with the Vietnamese War. While we are nationally divided over the War, most of the other wars we have fought have also split the nation. Without minimizing the agony of the divisive war, the root causes of our national discontent lie elsewhere. Put as succinctly as possible, the causes lie in the public confusion over national goals. For some reason, our national values no longer seem relevant to the demands of a rapidly changing world. Specifically, most of our present political goals were articulated during the New Deal, to meet the needs of that era. However, most of them have been reached and we are now confronted with the great need to articulate new and realistic political goals.

One of the basic facts of life in all political systems is the periodic occurrence of critical periods when a reformation of national political values is absolutely necessary. In this reviewer's opinion, we are in one of those critical periods right now. In the United States, such rearticulations have most often occurred during, and immediately after, certain critical presidential elections, when candidates and the newly elected are free to (and required to) speak out. Needless to say, such elections are of more than ordinary importance, since massive realignments of partisan loyalties also take place. Such elections have been termed "realigning elections."¹⁸ To illustrate, the presidential election of 1932 is considered a classic election of realignment. The Great Depression had produced massive national unrest and the painful awareness that new and more realistic political goals were urgently needed. In conjunction with the substantive programs designed to alleviate the distress caused by the Depression, the years immediately following the 1932 election witnessed a major restatement of our national goals. The task of rearticulation, for the most part, fell to the politicians — particularly, the Democratic leadership. The values articulated during the New Deal served as the basis for the coalition of voters that have made the years since an era of Democratic dominance. The evidence indicates that we desperately need a new set of national goals that correspond to the needs of this age. One of the reasons the 1968 presidential campaign was so fraught with emotion (although the actual campaign was rather dull) was that it should have been a realigning election. The greatest service George Romney would have performed, had he been the candidate, would have been that of the articulation of new national goals.

¹⁸A complete statement of this classification scheme will be found in Angus Campbell, *et al.*, *Elections and the Political Order* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), especially Chapter 4, "A Classification of Presidential Elections."

There are principles within the Mormon culture that could be of great value to the American people. Among other things are the feelings about the importance of family solidarity and the value of the sense of community stemming from co-operative effort. These are attitudes directly relevant to the problems of alienation in urban ghettos, for instance. If they could be transposed into realistic political programs, those programs would be extremely useful in solving many urban problems. George Romney had created such programs out of his peculiar blend of Mormon heritage and urban-liberal political orientation. Carried further, out of such commitments could have been born relevant political goals which could have carried the United States through the difficult times facing us now and in the immediate future. No small part of such a program of realignment would be the ability to capture people's imagination and gain their commitment. Romney proved that he could do just that, given the right topic. He was famous (or infamous) for his "speech" on the dangers of the decline of the American family and the importance of close family association as the foundation for communal political involvement. Some newsmen poked fun at him for that speech, and yet some version of that theme, among all of his speeches, elicited the most enthusiastic responses from the crowds. Obviously, the success stemmed from the fact that it was addressed to a recognized societal problem. Most of us are aware that old familial commitments are dissolving and that in a large and depersonalized society the decline of family leaves us terribly alone and with no place to turn for close and meaningful relationships. When Governor Romney proposed solutions to that problem by stating new values (or old values in a modern context) the response was overwhelming.

There are other examples, but in essence Romney's most important contribution was his ability to translate the old values of community involvement, familial solidarity, and personal honesty into a modern political re-statement that made them relevant and realizable in our seemingly valueless time. The tragedy of 1968 was that no one attempted this needed rearticulation. Perhaps President Nixon and his political colleagues will do the job — if they don't, we can expect more turmoil, more disillusionment, and more groping. Conditions would then continue to stagnate until the election of 1972, which could be even more wrenching than the election of 1968. So there was more riding with George Romney in 1968 than his ambitions, and the need for his success far transcended the desires of his supporters to see him win. It is essential that new and realistic political goals be articulated, and Romney was among the men best qualified to do just that.

Unfortunately, there do not seem to be any heirs-apparent among the ranks of Mormon politicians. Most of them are either restricted by age, or bogged down in an honest but obsolescent pioneer conservatism, or are too deeply imbued with the eschatological view that the world has to be held together only long enough to get it into the Millennium. Therefore, if we await a spokesman from the Mormon culture, it will take time for some of

the younger politicians with the Romney orientation to move into the wings — and we may not have that much time to spare.

In an era that desperately needs the best men the country has to offer, George Romney would have been an outstanding President. Those of us who had high hopes for his Presidency now can only hope that his influence as a Cabinet member will be strongly felt in the White House.

SACRED OR SECRET?

Stanton L. Hovey and Bruce G. Rogers

Sacred or Secret? A Parents' Handbook for Sexuality Guidance of Their Children. By Ernest Eberhard, Jr. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967. Pp. 123. \$2.50

Stanton L. Hovey is a social worker in Phoenix, Arizona, and Bruce G. Rogers is an associate professor of education at Arizona State University.

Sacred or Secret is one of the first books, written specifically for the L.D.S. audience, to tackle the problem of sex education in the home. It is, according to the author, "an attempt to give all parents some workable, effective guidelines . . ." (p. 8) in sexuality education.

The term "sexuality" is used throughout the book to denote a "full, positive, divine meaning," rather than "the narrow physical sense in which the word sex is used and portrayed by a sensual and perverted world . . ." (p. 21). While one cannot quarrel with such a virtuous outlook, it does illustrate the horns of the dilemma on which the author is caught. On the one hand, he desires to give accurate, practical instruction to his audience, avoiding where possible abstract platitudes difficult to translate into concrete action. But on the other hand, his potential buying audience contains a sizeable number of people to whom the words "sex education" are almost synonymous with "communist conspiracy." This dilemma (which is faced by any behavioral scientist writing on secular topics for the L.D.S. audience) is evident throughout Eberhard's book. While trying to be plain to the reader, he appears to write at length to justify his intentions.

The first four chapters are essentially an exposition of the sacredness, not secretness, of sexual urges and behavior. Throughout the book, the author continues to dissociate the sacred from the secret, and sexuality from the biological aspects of sex. Mr. Eberhard has numerous quotations from the General Authorities and admonitions of his own to use family councils, to visit the Temple regularly, and to utilize the full program of the Church. The author should be given credit for taking L.D.S. sex education out of the realm of negative morality and placing it on a positive and constructive plane. The reader is encouraged to acquire a healthy attitude toward his own sexuality and that of his children.

All readers will find many new insights along with some interesting interpretations of Mormon practice. But the behavioral scientist may be dissatisfied with the treatment of several issues, and the layman may have difficulty with some principles developed without sufficient concrete examples. Future authors writing in this area might do well to consider the format

used by Haim Ginott in his book, *Between Parent and Child*, wherein he used parent-child dialogues to illustrate his main points.

Mr. Eberhard believes that sexual relations should serve more than a procreational function, fulfilling important marital and personal needs as well. While some readers may infer from this discussion that he favors birth control, there is actually no direct treatment of this topic.

The fifth chapter, entitled "A Proper Vocabulary," is the only one dealing directly with fundamental biological aspects of sexuality. It consists of a list of words (e.g., *vulva*, *penis*) and brief (usually one sentence) definitions. Inasmuch as many readers may not have an adequate background in this area, it is unfortunate that the author should consider this coverage sufficient. And those who can follow these definitions may find them superfluous — too elementary to give any added understanding.

Eberhard believes that the details of sexual instruction should depend on the age and maturity of the child; however, he is not always clear as to differences in approaches at different ages. For example, he writes, "children should be taught only the beautiful and positive aspects of sexuality. It is harmful to discuss, in the presence of girls the pain, difficulties, and dangers of childbirth" (p. 61). Later, the end of childhood is defined as the onset of pubescence, and one might assume that a different approach is called for at that time, although there may be some question as to the advisability of teaching a viewpoint which will have to undergo considerable modification later on. We believe it might have been helpful for the author to have supplemented his view with a discussion of the important differences between children and adolescents which would necessitate this change in approach. One chapter contains answers to typical questions asked by children about sexual matters, similar to those in other books on sex education. However, the strength of Eberhard's position is the integration of L.D.S. values and theology in his sample answers.

While the L.D.S. parent cannot deny the truth of the proposition that sex is part of God's plan, he may wonder about some of the inferences derived therefrom. Consider the following:

Sexuality should always be presented to children from God's perspective. It should never be presented in a biological or limited frame of reference which leaves out its function in the eternal plan of man's exaltation (p. 81).

Yet the Church is quite content to allow secular institutions to teach its youth other subjects without a theological perspective. We note that the Church does not maintain a medical school, but relies upon state or private institutions. Hopefully, the L.D.S. medical student will master the facts of medical education and use them within the perspective of gospel ideals. How should the school, Church, and family complement each other in teaching the facts of human reproduction? While this is a major topic of concern within the Mormon community, Eberhard unfortunately never actually comes to grip with it.

In a chapter entitled "Special Problems," Eberhard discusses genital play, masturbation, seminal emission, menstruation, and venereal disease. After pointing out that masturbation does not lead to insanity or physical or mental degeneration, he adds, "Continued masturbation is, of course, a sign of major social maladjustment. . . . Excessive masturbation is certainly a sign of infantilism" (p. 108). This certainty as to the significance of masturbation is certainly not shared by all authorities in the field, inasmuch as there is relatively little research data available on the subject. In regard to seminal emissions the author points out that "The Creator provided [the physical desire for relief of physiological pressure] in the form of a spontaneous emission which generally occurs during sleep (p. 110). Some adolescents may want to know why it is all right to have an emission during sleep but not all right if they help it along before sleep. Eberhard's complete avoidance of such a question poses one of the major limitations of the book: the most likely questions asked by a youth (though probably not in the context of a seminary class) are not anticipated by the author. A discussion of morality should be added to such analysis, but cannot take the place of it.

One may question how much sex instruction should be carried in Church books. Perhaps one could argue that Church bookstores are not the place for secular topics. If a person wants a textbook approach to finance, history, mathematics, etc., he goes to the appropriate secular books. In Church books he seeks moral and spiritual philosophy. Should we likewise leave sex education to the secular teachers? Or will the Church see fit to encourage curriculum development in this area by L.D.S. authors for Seminary and Family Home Evening use? *Sacred and Secret* appears to indicate the latter direction.

Among the Mormons

A Survey of Current Literature

Edited by Ralph M. Hansen

*Far must thy researches go
Wouldst thou learn the world to know;
Thou must tempt the dark abyss
Wouldst thou prove what Being is;
Naught but firmness gains the prize,
Naught but fullness makes us wise,
Buried deep truth ever lies.*

Schiller, *Proverbs of Confucius*

In an effort to keep *Dialogue's* readers abreast of current research on the subject "Mormons and Mormonism," the second issue of each volume (Summer issue) is devoted to a listing of theses and dissertations accepted by American colleges and universities on the aforementioned subject. Our sources of information are primarily *Mormon Americana*, a bi-monthly bibliography prepared at Brigham Young University, *Dissertation Abstracts*, a publication of University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and commencement programs of the Utah universities.

As in the past it has been our practice to report all dissertations that touch on the subject Mormons and Mormonism specifically, and Utah in general. Since there have been about twenty reportable dissertations each year this has not presented space problems. This year there are over forty to report, and if this increase is indicative of a trend we may well be constrained to limitations such as those now imposed on theses. Although the listing of theses herein found is selective, most items of *Mormon* interest are included. Peripheral titles, and it is from titles alone that a decision on the inclusion or exclusion of theses is made, are evaluated and if found wanting rejected. For example, a thesis entitled "A Study of the Prehistoric Settlement Patterns of the Provo Area in Central Utah," or "A History of the Intermountain [Indian] School" will not be found in this listing.

Every dissertation for which an abstract was found in *Dissertation Abstracts* is preceded by an asterisk. Copies of the complete dissertation in Xerox copy or on microfilm may be acquired from University Microfilms. Since this writer glanced over all of the available abstracts, statements which

were of interest to him, were further abstracted or quoted for the readers' enlightenment.

A word of thanks to Chad Flake, Ida-Marie Logan Jensen and especially Everett L. Cooley for the assistance they provided in the compilation of the following bibliography.

DISSERTATIONS

- *Anderson, Allen Gary. *A Historical Survey of the Full-Time Institutes of Religion of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1926-1966*. Brigham Young University, 1968.

"The purpose of this study was to compile an individual history for each of the sixty-four full-time institutes. . . ."

- *Asay, Carlos Egan. *A study of the Exploration Activities in Selected Public Junior High Schools in Utah*. University of Utah, 1967.

- *Barrett, Gwynn William. *John M. Bernhisel: Mormon Elder in Congress*. Brigham Young University, 1968.

Utah's first delegate to Congress, a stalwart in Mormondom, an important member of the council of Fifty, confidant of Joseph Smith, and a tireless worker for his church and state. "Recognition for the many contributions of this remarkable man is long overdue."

- *Beitia, John Luis. *A Study of Problems Preventing the Implementation of Programs for the Educable Mentally Retarded in Utah*. Utah State University, 1968.

- *Bishop, Arthur Lee. *Formulas for State Public School Building Aid in Utah*. University of Utah, 1968.

- *Britsch, Ralph Lanier. *Early Latter-day Saint Missions to South and East Asia*. Claremont Graduate School and University Center, 1968.

"The purpose of this work is to recount the history of the East Indian Mission, 1849-56, the early Chinese Mission of 1853, and the Japanese Mission, 1901-24. . . ."

- Brooks, Karl Francis. *A Model for Collective Negotiations Legislation for Utah*. University of Utah, 1968.

- Christopherson, June Sarah Day. *Attitudes of Selected University of Utah Students Toward College Training*. University of Utah, 1968.

- *Coleman, Neil Keith. *A Study of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as an Administrative System, Its Structure and Maintenance*. New York University, 1967.

The analysis of the data collected by the author led him to the following conclusions:

1. The organizational value system modifies virtually all administrative actions. Whereas hierarchal organizations are characterized by their rationality, the church is administered in a non-rational manner based on "revelation" and authority. The result being a basic lack of accountability to the membership on the part of the highest church leaders.

2. The most basic function of the church is to maintain itself and this objective dominates all others in its demands for resources. Virtually every administrative action has a dysfunctional nature which partly reflects a maintenance function.

3. Although a formal and elaborate system of integration for women is lacking, there do not seem to be any harmful effects. This points out the general discriminatory nature of church leadership which is male centered.

4. There is a lack of adequate tension releasing systems in the church. Positive tension can be released with increased commitment and activity, but grievances and negative tensions have no such legitimate place in the structure.

5. Regionalism as an organizational concept must be enlarged to fill an increasing need in the communications network within the church. There are alternatives to regionalism but they must include further decentralization which seems unlikely at present.

6. Individual and church-wide goal attainment programs appear to be functioning more as "means" of reinforcing the value system than as "ends" in themselves.

7. The concept of "lay-leadership" functions well as part of the pattern maintenance and integrative systems, but as a leadership and staffing technique it is a source of organizational tensions, mismanagement and inefficiency.

*Daly, Joseph LaVerne. *An Analysis of the Number and Kind of High School Credit Units as Related to Academic Performance at the University of Utah*. University of Utah, 1968.

*Gerber, Gerold Richard. *Alienation and Marital Adjustment: A Study of the Relationship between Biographic Factors, Alienation, and Marital Success for Male and Female Employees in the Manufacturing Industries of Salt Lake County, Utah*. University of Utah, 1968.

*Gluskinos, Ury Meir. *The Identification and Measurement of Student Abilities at the University of Utah College of Engineering*. Utah State University, 1968.

Hafen, William J. *Administrative Guidelines for the Cooperative Use of Public School Facilities and Recreation Purposes by Community Groups in the State of Utah*. University of Utah, 1968.

Hainsworth, Brad E. *Utah State Elections, 1916-1924*. University of Utah, 1968.

Hall, Glade Arthur. *The Brigham Young University Limited Enrollment Policy: Implications for Public Higher Education in the State of Utah*. Brigham Young University, 1968.

*Hansen, Klaus J. *The Kingdom of God in Mormon Thought and Practice, 1830-1896*. Wayne State University, 1963.

Although accepted in 1963, the abstract did not appear until recently since Dr. Hansen's dissertation was published by the Michigan State University Press under the title *Quest for Empire*. . . .

*Hardy, Blaine Carmon. *The Mormon Colonies of Northern Mexico: A History, 1885-1912*. Wayne State University, 1963.

"Mormons carried their national biases as well as their religious practices and beliefs with them when they crossed the border into Mexico. One of these biases was a viable conviction in the rightness of American imperialism . . . Confronted with hostile Mexicans, marauding Indians, intemperate climatic conditions, grinding poverty and frequent epidemics of disease, these pioneers were forced to toil for years before they were permitted the enjoyment of comfort and wealth." With the overthrow of Diaz, the Mormons

soon fell victim to the revolution because they were "wealthy," "American" and "extremely race conscious," which caused them to perpetrate "an informal policy of racial segregation."

Hunsaker, Kenneth Burnice. *The Twentieth Century Mormon Novel*. Pennsylvania State University, 1968.

Jones, Dan E. *Utah Politics, 1926-1932*. University of Utah, 1968.

*Lake, Bruce McAllister. *The Organization and Function of the Latter-day Saint Student Association in Southern California*. University of Southern California, 1968.

*Loosle, Darrell Kay. *The Vocational Orientation of High School Counselors and Pupil Personnel Directors in the State of Utah*. Brigham Young University, 1967.

*Magleby, Francis R. *Recommendations for an Educational Program in the Visual Arts for the B. G. Larsen Gallery at Brigham Young University*. Columbia University, 1967.

*Matthews, Robert James. *A study of the Text of the Inspired Revision of the Bible*. Brigham Young University, 1968.

*Maughan, Kenneth Bradshaw. *A Description of Change in School Expenditures in the San Juan District from 1951 to 1965 and an Analysis of Student Achievement During the Same Period*. Utah State University, 1967.

*Pawar, Sheelwant Bapurao. *An Environmental Study of the Development of the Utah Labor Movement: 1860-1935*. University of Utah, 1968.

*Peterson, Charles S. *Settlement on the Little Colorado, 1873-1900. A Study of the Processes and Institutions of Mormon Expansion*. University of Utah, 1967.

Dr. Peterson is the new Director of the Utah State Historical Society.

Poulson, Ernest Lester. *A Study of Selected Aspects of Federal Financial Assistance to Graduate Students at the University of Utah*. University of Utah, 1968.

*Preece, Leland Nephi. *Projected Needs of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Providing College Religious Education: San Francisco Bay Region - 1985*. Brigham Young University, 1968.

"The data showed that approximately 5,300 L.D.S. students will be attending institutions of higher education in the San Francisco Bay Region in 1985 . . . distributed at approximately 46 institutions of higher education in this region. . . ."

Reinhardt, Adina Marie. *Correlates of Psychiatric Impairment Among Mothers in Utah: A Sociological Approach to Social Psychiatry*. University of Utah, 1968.

*Rockwood, Linn Roy. *An Analysis of County Recreational Policies with Special Application to Utah County, Utah*. University of Utah, 1967.

*Rowley, Thomas Leonard. *A Critical and Comparative Analysis of Latter-day Saint Drama*. University of Minnesota, 1967.

In evaluating the works according to the *Dramatic Standards*, the the most universal accomplishment of the plays seems to be *entertainment*, with far fewer plays achieving the goals of *insight and understanding of humanity* or *intellectual stimulation*. *Aesthetic expression* seems to be adequate but not brilliant, as do the *dramatic elements*. The *Church Standards* and attitudes seem to influence the dramaturgy, especially in relation to the goals of human

understanding and intellectual exploration. Chief among the possible influencing factors are: (1) the concept of mass-participation; (2) the attitude toward experimentation; (3) the attitude toward character conduct and transfer of behavior; (4) the general Church attitude concerning absolute truth, and good and evil.

Comparison with non-Church works indicate that the majority of Latter-day Saint plays compare favorably with plays which seem to be generally insignificant, except for their value as entertainment. A few plays, however, seem to have more stature.

Sorenson, Eli B. *A System Study of Education Program Components in Utah's Public Schools*. University of Utah, 1968.

*Stewart, Gary L. *A Rhetorical Analysis of Mormon Drama*. University of Iowa, 1968.

"The initial assumption of the study was that certain kinds of drama (of which the Mormon plays are an example) can more appropriately be called rhetorical than poetic. . . . The Mormon plays depend heavily upon the Mormon frame of reference for doctrinal, ethical, and attitudinal premises. . . . The general end of the play is to reinforce or focus already-held beliefs. . . ." The author used plays published by the M.I.A. between 1925-63.

*Thomas, Alfred Krupp. *The Epic of Evolution, Its Etiology and Art: A Study of Vardis Fisher's Testament of Man*. Pennsylvania State University, 1967.

Tracy, Keith Marvin. *The Selective Service History and Status of Utah Men Age Twenty-Seven*. University of Utah, 1968.

Verma Dharmendra Tekchand. *New Product Planning and Development, Utah Manufacturers*. University of Utah, 1968.

Wengreen, A. Dean. *The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Sweden, 1850-1905*. Brigham Young University, 1968.

*Wernick, Nissim. *A Critical Analysis of the Book of Abraham in the Light of Extra-Canonical Jewish Writings*. Brigham Young University, 1968.

According to the abstract Rabbi Wernick's study of the *Book of Abraham*, "in light of Jewish literature affords a great deal of insight into the parallels present between Mormon tradition and Jewish tradition. It is the object of this writer to expose a variety of topics which appear both in Mormon and Jewish theology and which can only add to verify the notions that these two great theologies do indeed concur on many issues."

White, Jean Bickmore. *Utah State Elections 1895-1899*. University of Utah, 1968.

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If the style of the abstract is any indication, this dissertation is a prime candiadte for the melodrama of the year.

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RECENTLY RECEIVED

Everett L. Cooley. *Utah, A Students' Guide to Localized History*. (Localized History Series) Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1969. \$.75. Directed at the pre-college level, the introduction by Clifford L. Lord, former director of the Wisconsin Historical Society, invites the reader to learn of "our country's transformation from a transcontinental wilderness into the world's most powerful nation" through the medium of "localized" history. Dr. Lord briefly outlines the necessary steps required of the junior historian, from learning to use the library card catalog to possible publication of the finished product. This is followed by Dr. Cooley's description of Utah in five short chapters; The Land, Original Inhabitants, Explorers and First Settlers, Settlement and Expansion and After Statehood. A bibliographical section begins with the challenge, "It is unfortunate but true that there does not exist at the present time a single, good, up-to-date general history of Utah." Will one of the junior readers of his slim pamphlet accept the challenge?

Notes and Comments

Edited by Joseph Jeppson

MORMONISM AND REQUIRED ACCEPTANCE

Robert Herold

Robert Herold of Falls Church, Virginia, has asked himself the question, "Just what does a Mormon have to accept?" Perhaps another way of asking the question is "What doctrine is CORE in the present Mormon world?" Do the thirteen "Articles of Faith" still constitute the CORE beliefs and practices?

Today the Church finds itself in an environment far different from that of fifty years ago. Gone are the simple orthodoxies of the nineteenth century which included the literal interpretation of the Bible and the glorification of the simple rustic existence. Much as some Mormons hate to admit it, the Church must function in a twentieth century environment which shows contempt for those naïve enough to believe that Jonah was really swallowed by a whale — or, more seriously, that Christ was divine; an environment which reveals urban problems not comprehended by those of earlier years. Today's environment is highly secular and critical. God, as known in the nineteenth century, simply doesn't relate to twentieth century needs. How should the Church adjust?

Let us at the outset state that unlimited adjustment of the Mormon Church is not possible. The Church cannot become totally pragmatic if it is to maintain its claims of divinity. Certainly there are principles which it cannot compromise. This we take as quite evident. The Church can, however, carefully examine its inventory of principles, dogmas, programs, practices, and even folklore so as to provide better definition of just what those unalterable truths are. Once this is accomplished, the potential adjustment

to the new environment could, in turn, be defined. In short, let us separate essentials from non-essentials lest we find ourselves not responding to twentieth century reality because the necessary response appears to violate some myth not at all essential to the Church.

This essay includes some ideas concerning Church essentials and what those essentials require of the membership by way of acceptance. This is important, for unless essentials are translated into some level of required acceptance, our exercise becomes merely academic. This we want to avoid.

Acceptance may take one of two forms. First, acceptance may be solely an act of faith. In this case it matters not whether the essential involved makes sense, for here acceptance is not at all based upon "sense"; it is based on belief. Certain essentials require this form of acceptance. It is important that these be identified, for it is here that the Church may not adjust to the new environment. It matters not if one can "explain away" these essentials, for they are justified by faith alone and faith must stand in the face of evidence to the contrary. By carefully identifying these essentials, we might assure ourselves that the conflict is both necessary and worthwhile.

There is a second form of acceptance. Here a degree of acceptance may be based solely upon faith as with our first form; but unlike our first form, acceptance may and, indeed, should include reason. More specifically, we should define our level of acceptance through faith and then apply our reasoning powers in order that the essential in question may have meaning in our lives. Here the Church may adjust to the new environment and do so without fear of compromising its important claim to divinity.

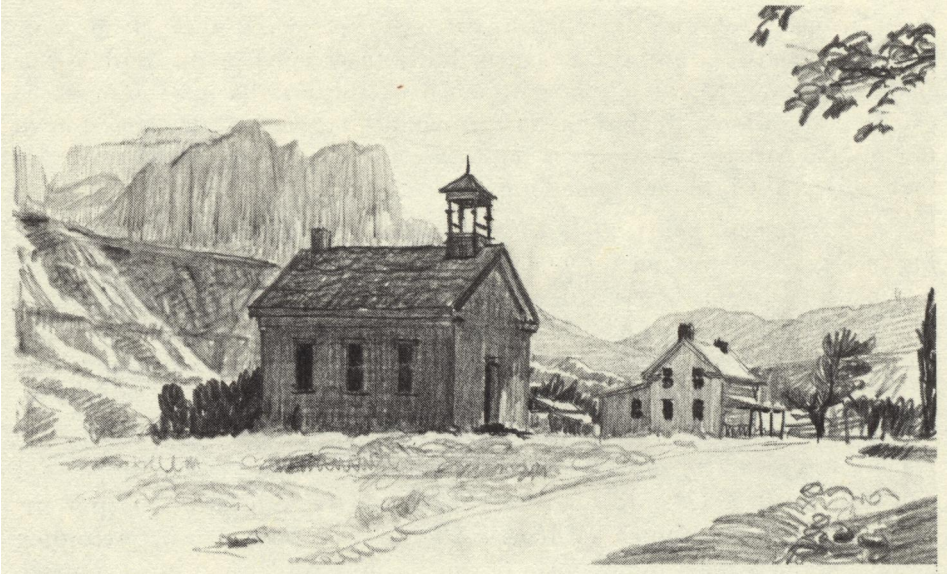
One more word of introduction is in order. When we use the word "acceptance," we don't mean that doubt vanishes. Rather we mean a tacit commitment to a principle even in the face of some doubt. To demand more would limit acceptance to those so naïve as to comprehend or those so dishonest as not to care.

CATEGORY ONE (*Faith is sole justification*)

1. *Acceptance of God.* Acceptance of God is defined as belief in a creator who exists in time and space and is anthropomorphic in nature. Quite obviously this statement falls far short of completely defining God. What are his powers? What is his personality? These and other questions remain to be answered. It is this writer's opinion, however, that required acceptance doesn't extend beyond the above. A reasoned approach should be employed in any discussion of the power and personality of God. There is an unfortunate dearth of systematic studies explaining the Mormon concept of God. All too often, Latter-day Saint writers define God in such unrelated detail as to totally obscure that which is truly important. As an example, let us turn to James E. Talmage. He describes God as a "personal being, possessing a definite form with bodily parts and spiritual passions."¹ He further states that "we know that both the Father and the Son are in form and stature

¹James E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1949) pp. 41, 42.

perfect men; each of them possesses a tangible body, infinitely pure and perfect and attended by transcendent glory, nevertheless a body of flesh and bones."² Talmage then relates that God is omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent.³ Each of these adjectives is virtually pregnant with meaning. What, for instance, does the term "transcendent glory" mean? Does God's personality assume a dimension incomprehensible to mortal man because he is glorified? Talmage doesn't say. The subjectivity of the word is obvious.



The use of the word omnipotent is also debatable. Talmage states, "Whatever his wisdom indicates as necessary to be done God can and will do."⁴ This would seem to contradict the Latter-day Saint argument that God operates in accordance with eternal laws which exist independent of Him and preceded Him. In Section 82:10 of the *Doctrine and Covenants* is found the statement, "I the Lord, am bound when ye do what I say, but when ye do not what I say, ye have no promise." This suggests that God indeed recognizes some law, in which case his omnipotence may be questioned. Our point is not to berate Talmage but rather to illustrate that, in my opinion, one of the most authoritative of Mormon authors, in a book of major importance, failed to define God in such a way as to give the reader an understanding of just exactly what it is he is supposed to believe concerning God.

2. *Literal Acceptance of Christ's Resurrection.* The Latter-day Saint is required to accept the story of Christ's resurrection as written in the New

²*Ibid.*, p. 42.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 42-44.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 44.

Testament, disregarding theories which claim to explain away the resurrection: the theory that the impact of Jesus' personality was so powerful and real that his followers sensed that death had not separated Him from them and that he was still present in their midst; the position which states that the resurrection was invented to enable Christianity to compete more effectively with other religions that worshiped a risen God; the theory that the wrong tomb was opened. For some, the most convincing argument is that the empty tomb was a psychological symbol making external and concrete the inner experiences of the resurrection that had come to the apostles and other witnesses of the Risen Christ. These experiences, they claim, were wholly subjective, growing from an inability to accept Christ's death.⁵ The Latter-day Saint may attack these arguments as historically inaccurate, or he could use the Book of Mormon to corroborate the New Testament. But in the ultimate sense, the Mormon must base his acceptance of the reality of the resurrected Christ only upon faith.

3. *Literal Acceptance of Joseph Smith's Vision and Mission.* While praying in a grove of trees in the hope of receiving guidance concerning church membership, Joseph Smith tells us he saw God and Christ. In his words, "I saw two personages, whose brightness defy all description, standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me calling me by name and said, pointing to the other, 'This is my beloved Son. Hear Him'." Required acceptance precludes all psychological or motivational explanations.

4. *Acceptance of the Church as a Divinely Instituted Organization.* On Tuesday, April 6, 1830, Joseph Smith met with five others for the purpose of establishing the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. According to the prophet, the Church was "organized in accordance with commandments and revelations given by Him to ourselves in these last days, as well as according to the order of the Church as recorded in the New Testament."⁶ He based his authority for this upon the Aaronic and Melchizedek Priesthoods. Priesthood thus became the authority for decision making within the Church. The Latter-day Saint is required to accept this authority as truth and hence to accept as divine Joseph Smith's formation of the Church. This does not mean that a rational apology should not be developed, nor does it mean that the subject of Priesthood should not be analyzed and explained. It does mean, however, that ultimately the member will have to admit that his position is grounded on faith, not reason.

5. *Necessity of the Church Sacraments (e.g., Baptism, Temple Work, Sacrament of the Lord's Supper).* The Latter-day Saint is required to admit the necessity of Church sacraments. He may reasonably explain his sacraments, but as in the above cases, faith is the only justification. While the term "admit the necessity" does not imply "partake," it can be asserted that

⁵Howard C. Kee, and Franklin W. Young, *Understanding the New Testament* (Englewood cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1957), p. 180-81.

⁶"Joseph Smith's Testimony" as published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

if a Latter-day Saint ceased participating in these sacraments, the result would be the same as not admitting the necessity.

6. *Acceptance of that which the President officially proclaims as revelation.* Because the President of the Church is accepted as prophet, seer and revelator, he is solely responsible for imparting new revelations to the general membership. Acceptance of revelation by faith alone is required. But how does the membership recognize a revelation? Obviously, the President does not utter eternal truths each time he speaks. For any pronouncement to be considered as a revelation, the President must so specify. The fact that the President speaks from the pulpit is not alone sufficient to bind the membership. He must make clear his intent to proclaim new doctrine or commandments. Once he has so specified, the membership must decide whether or not to accept the revelation as binding. This is in accordance with the law of common consent found in the *Doctrine and Covenants* 26:2. It states, "And all things shall be done by common consent in the Church by much prayer and faith. . . ." In 1831 all revelations to date were assembled and compiled into what was called the *Book of Commandments*. The book was accepted in general Church conference on November 1, 1831. By August, 1835, the collection of commandments had again been brought up to date and presented to the general assembly of the Church as the *Book of Doctrine and Covenants*. "Subsequent revelations, accepted by the vote of the Church were added to later additions until the book reached its present proportions."⁷ It is important that the Church membership recognize the President as the only official source of revelation in the Church. A most devastating disruption would occur if a part of the membership decided to accept others besides the President as a source of revelation. This would be a breakdown in required acceptance and would cause such instability and uncertainty that the Church as now structured would almost certainly change. On the other hand, a more stable situation exists when a large majority of the Church accepts as required only that which the President has specifically proclaimed as revelation.

CATEGORY TWO (*Faith must be supplemented by reason if benefit is to be received*)

1. *The importance of applying scriptural ideas to our individual behavior (e.g., (1) Efficaciousness of prayer, (2) The importance of individual growth, (3) Acceptance of love as an ideal).* While the scriptures are essential, Latter-day Saints must utilize them in a reasonable manner if they are to have any value. The use obviously will vary from person to person but would be of no consequence insofar as the Church and required acceptance are concerned.

2. *Necessity of giving at least tacit approval to official Church programs which are specifically promoted and approved (e.g., Welfare program, Word*

⁷William E. Berrett, *The Restored Church* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1954), p. 139.

of Wisdom). It is essential that those in authority be able to effectively prescribe policies and programs in their various areas of responsibility. In this the Church is not unlike many other organizations; political, governmental or private. The membership is required to give tacit support to official Church programs and policies. It should be pointed out, however, that tacit support does not mean that members must believe the program to be inspired nor does it mean that the members need even be enthusiastic in their support. It only means that dissent, while appropriate, must not be obstreperous.

For example, we accept the Word of Wisdom in principle because it is scripture. We accept specific rules based on the principle as binding because they have been so defined by the President. We apply reason because we want the principle to have dynamic meaning in our lives.

It can be argued that the principles in Category Two necessarily exist as a result of the principles in Category One. For instance, because of our acceptance of a Supreme Being, scriptural ideas become important. Because of our acceptance of the Church as a divinely instituted organization it is necessary that we give at least tacit approval to official Church programs. Furthermore, no conflict can exist between categories or within categories. No conflict exists as the categories are now structured, and change can only come about through additional revelation. Since we are required to accept that which the President of the Church officially proclaims as revelation, all of the other essentials are dynamic, which is to say that existing essentials must change as new revelation is added. It is possible that required acceptance could be expanded by the President. The point is, however, that in the absence of any expansion, open discussion and interpretation are necessary. Opinion, from whatever source, makes neither revelation nor scripture.

In order properly to incorporate new demands of required acceptance, mental discipline is required. A particular thought process must be employed when any policy, program, or principle is brought into question. First, we must determine whether the point in question is opinion. It may be considered opinion unless specifically defined as revelation or is a policy which has been implemented through official decision making channels. This certainly does not mean that we necessarily reject what comes down as opinion. It means that we need not accept opinion without question.

A determination that the point under consideration is other than opinion means that the degree of required acceptance must be determined. The value of Category One principles is to remind us that under certain circumstances the degree of required acceptance may be absolute. Realistically, required acceptance is not usually absolute. The degree of required acceptance lies usually somewhere between the extremes of opinion and revelation; between no acceptance and total acceptance. In this vast area a reasoned approach must be introduced so as to complement the degree of required acceptance based solely upon faith.

Precise definition of Church essentials and required acceptance will result in their limitation. Certainly we operate at present with no clear definition of what is and what isn't essential. Unfortunately, because of the

present state of affairs, a reasoned (some say intellectual) approach to personal, Church, and social problems exists under a pale of suspicion. This shouldn't be so. All too often this has resulted in needlessly inflexible behavior when current problems cry for imagination. Sadly we are engulfed in an avalanche of Mormon lore somehow defined as doctrine.



THE JOSEPH SMITH PAPYRI

Benjamin Urrutia, p.i.t.a.p.

*Why do the gentiles rage,
And the people imagine a vain thing?
(Psalm 2, verse 1)*

The Summer and Fall issues of DIALOGUE (1968) contained certain articles on papyrus scrolls purchased by the Church from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in late 1967.

Some evidence has been advanced to show that "The Breathing Permit of Hôr" (one of the scrolls, sometimes called "small sensen") was used by Joseph Smith in translating the Book of Abraham. Translations of this scroll by Egyptologists Richard Parker and Klaus Baer indicated that the "Breathing Permit" scroll was written about the time of Christ and that the message of this scroll is not that of the Book of Abraham; they are saying that if Joseph Smith thought that a correct translation of "Breathing Permit" was the Book of Abraham, he was mistaken.

Professor Hugh Nibley countered with several alternate hypotheses, including one to the effect that "Breathing Permit" was written in code, which code has not as yet been broken by the Egyptologists. What follows, by Benjamin Urrutia, is an argument in support of the "code" theory.

Benjamin Urrutia, a recent convert to the Church from Guayaquil, Ecuador, was a Freshman this past year at the University of New Mexico. His study of the Joseph Smith Papyri has led him to plan to begin a major in archaeology at Brigham Young University this fall.

INTRODUCTION

Of the subject of my study, only fragments and copies of fragments are left. These are "Joseph Smith's Egyptian Papyri" numbers 1, 10 and 11, and

the three Facsimiles of the Pearl of Great Price. But these are enough. I have glued them to a roll of paper 10x150 centimeters long (according to Doctor Baer's indications), and I have a pretty good idea of what PJS (as I shall call this document) must have looked like before it broke into pieces over a century ago.

In this essay my main objectives shall be to prove that the two titles that have been ascribed to PJS ("The Breathing Permit of Hôr" and "The Book of Abraham") are *both* correct, and that the two translations that have been offered of PJS (one covering almost all of the book, even the parts that now have been lost, the other barely a fifth of the papyrus) are *both* good and acceptable translations, each in its own way. (I have a few minor objectives too).

The reasons that make the scholars "rage" and "imagine a vain thing" are that: a) Joseph's translations of PJS is very different from their own; and b) the Book of Abraham is disproportionately long (136 very long verses) as contrasted to column I of PJS (less than 70 characters), the ground it covers.

These people obviously think they can have their cake and eat it, but they *can't* have it both ways.

1. A WORKING HYPOTHESIS: $BA + X = PJS$

Joseph Smith, the Prophet, is known to have made three translations of ancient records, in this order: 1) The Book of Mormon; 2) The Inspired Version of the Bible; 3) The Book of Abraham. Of these, the first is the only one that was completed, and the only one that was a "translation" in the sense of the word that is most commonly used and understood. The second was not a translation from the original Hebrew, but a correction of some (not all!) of the infinitude of errors in the King James Bible. And what was the nature of the translation of the Book of Abraham? It was quite different from either of the other two. To understand how it worked, we must learn something of the original and background of the book itself.

Abraham, who lived around two thousand years before Christ (the exact date is a matter of much controversy), was in Egypt at least once (Gen. 12 & 13). It was in this land that he wrote the book that bears his name. This document was brought back to Egypt by Abraham's grandson, Israel.

But when "there arose up a new king over Egypt who knew not Joseph" (Ex. 1:8), what became of the sacred book? Did this king, who had no respect for Israelite lives, have any respect for Israelite culture?

The best way to save the book would have been to camouflage it to look like an Egyptian document instead of a Semitic one. Most likely it was already written in Egyptian characters, but that wasn't enough.

An enterprising Hebrew, whom we shall call X, conceived a code in which every character of a Mizraite funerary inscription, with only a few minor (though significant) changes, was the equivalent of two verses, more or less, of the book he was trying to save, the original of which no longer exists. There even exists the possibility (it would be more farfetched, but also more logical) that X actually *created* "The Breathing Permit of Hôr" (BPH), to

suit his purposes, and later the Egyptians accepted it as sacred, without suspecting its origin. If this second hypothesis turned out to be true, then we would have BPH itself as what the Egyptologists used to believe the BA was: an imitation of the Book of the Dead by a non-Egyptian hand, and a forgery.

The algebraical equation at this section's heading is applicable to either variant of my hypothesis: the Book of Abraham plus X's manipulations equals the Papyrus Joseph Smith.

But once BA was rendered into code, what chance was there of ever decoding it again? X being dead, the secret was lost, and not a convention of all the world's cryptographists could find it again. The book was in all appearance, *and even in reality*, "The Breathing Permit of Hôr." What was there to be done? What was the key to the lost code? The answer: the Urim and Thummim:

And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgment the Urim and Thummim; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goes in before the LORD; and Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the LORD continually. (Ex. 28:30; read the whole chapter)

When Moses left Egypt, he took a copy of the BPH with him. Since he had the Urim and Thummim, the Book of Abraham was brought to light a second time. (It must have helped Moses in the writing of his own books). The third time was when Joseph, also using the Urim and Thummim, found once more the clue to the Book of Abraham.

But what reason have I to make all these fanciful theories? Two very good reasons: those two differences that cause so much raging and imagining of vain things, although they happily cancel each other. (That is the difference between Joseph's and the Egyptologists' translation of the same document, and the difference between the number of Egyptian characters and the number of English words. This we shall examine in detail after we take care of a few lesser problems).

Of course, the papyrus we have is not the original, but a late copy of Saitic times. Mormon and Gentile agree on this.

2. FAC. 1, ORIG, FAC. 1, AND SIMILAR PROBLEMS

(Fac. 1 is my abbreviation for Facsimile Number One. Orig. Fac. 1 means the original Facsimile Number One. Similarly Fac. 2 and Orig. Fac. 2 represent Facsimile Number Two and its original, Fac. 2 and Orig. Fac. 3 are Facsimile Number Three and its original.)

The scholarly view is that when Joseph acquired his scrolls, they were scrolls no more, but had already been fragmented and pasted on maps of the Kirtland area. Furthermore, the cut-in-half papyri had already suffered this operation, and the portions that have fallen off from the paper had already done so.

Against these speculations Doctor Hugh Nibley puts up the following facts:

... the papyri were in beautiful condition when Joseph Smith got them, and ... one of them when unrolled on the floor extended through two rooms of the Mansion House. Those we have today are mounted on paper showing maps of the Kirtland area ... [which] suggests that the mounting took place only after the Kirtland period, when all thought of returning to Kirtland was given up and the precious maps had become wastepaper.

(*Dialogue*, Summer 1968, pp. 101-2)

The clumsy "penciled restoration" that Professor Parker rightly condemns ... can hardly have been the work of a Mormon hand, since it differs completely from the official copy of the papyrus that was circulated in many thousands of copies both during and after the lifetime of Joseph Smith. ... And since this is the *only* attempt to indicate the missing parts, it would seem clear that the parts were not missing when the Mormons still had the thing in their possession. This is borne out by the clear traces left behind in the dried glue by those parts of the papyrus that crumbled away after it was mounted; they show that at the time of the mounting there was room in the papyrus for the complete head and hand of the priest. It is interesting that no attempt was made to sketch in the bird's head, and also that there are no traces on the mounting paper of the head's having been broken off after the mounting. This would indicate that the "penciled restoration" of the more recently missing parts, being an attempt to supply what had been destroyed after the mounting, and also being done by a person unfamiliar with the facsimiles and certainly ... with the original, belongs to the "post-Mormon" career of the papyrus. It must not be forgotten that the papyri have been in non-Mormon hands for 111 years.

(*The Improvement Era*, September 1968, p. 72 & fn. 32)

From these two related statements by Dr. Nibley, and the article by Dr. Baer, we can dare to make the following assumptions:

1) The scrolls were still scrolls (and well-preserved, too) when they were first acquired by Joseph.

2) The fragmenting and pasting on paper came much later.

3) Even later was the cutting by half of number III (now IIIA and IIIB) and Orig. Fac. 1-XI. This was probably done to get a better price on their sale to the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. Dr. Baer has proven beyond shadow of doubt that Orig. Fac. 1 and XI were originally one fragment.

4) Also of late date was the falling off of those fragments that have left their remains on the glue marks behind. Most of these were restored, but in the wrong places.

5) Besides PJS, the original collection also included the BD of the female musician of Amon-Re Neferirub and the BD of the lady Taimin Mutninesikhonsu, which we shall not discuss because they have no connection either with BA or BPH, except for the misplaced fragments IVa, IVb, IVc, and IVd.

6) PJS, when whole, included Orig. Fac. 1-XI, Orig. Fac. 2 no. X, column v (now lost), and Orig. Fac. 3. It measured around 10x150 centimeters.

Of course, it was read from right to left. All Egyptologists know this, and Joseph Smith knew it. For this he certainly deserves credit.

Now we shall pass to study column i of PJS, and how the original compares with its two different but correct translations.

3. CHAPTER ONE

(The Egyptian characters are here taken from column i of papyrus XI, which includes all the "super-cryptograms" for the Book of Abraham from I:4 to the end.) Verses 1 to 3 are cryptographed in the hieroglyphics around Orig. Fac. 1. The rest of the Book of Abraham is hidden beneath column I of the hieratic texts. The first (that is, rightmost) sign Baer interprets as a corner of "they shall":

X meant it to mean "sign of the fifth degree of the second part," whatever *that* means. Maybe that column I is the "second part," while Orig. Fac. I is the first part.

The next few characters are missing. In the Egyptian they meant "convey Osiris"; in the X system they symbolized verses 4 to 7, except the last ten words, which correspond to the next sign:

"Inside of; in," according to the Egyptian. Corresponds to "the priest of Elkenah (Duwamutef*) was also the priest of Pharaoh," plus verses 8, 9, 10.

Egyptian definite article. Verse 11 minus last ten words.

First half of "pool." And it was done after the manner of the Egyptians," plus verse 12.

Second half of "pool." Verses 13 and 14, except "which signifies hieroglyphics," a commentary by the English translator.

"Great. Verse 15. (Both meanings are correct).

"Khons." Verses 16 to 19. Incidentally, "Abram" was used by Joseph instead of the "Abraham" of modern editions. Here ends the first line of column I.

Line 2 begins (at the rightmost extremity) with a character that Baer transliterates as Osiris' name. It symbolizes verses 20, 21 and 22.

Abraham 1:23-24. Baer claims this is "incorrectly restored" (we are here dealing with a missing portion of the papyrus). He would place the sign for "Hôr" instead. Likewise, he would write in "justified" in the remaining space (where Smith has *two* characters, corresponding to 25-26 and 27-28.) We won't make an issue out of this. If Joseph has a different restoration, it is because he wishes to come closer to the original intentions of X rather than those of the late Egyptian copyists.

Egyptian "born to." BA from "Now after the priest of Elkenah (Duwamutef) was smitten that he died" . . . to "have I kept even unto this day."

*Like the Greek-Roman gods, these deities had two sets of names: one Egyptian, one Semitic.

Ti (means "the") — first part of a name. BA: "and I shall endeavor to write some of these things upon this record, for the benefit of my posterity that shall come after me."

Here ends chapter One of BA. The 1½ lines of text in Egyptian read: "They shall [convey Osiris] inside the Pool Great [of] Khons. Osiris [Hôr justified] born to Ti-" . . .

4. CHAPTER TWO

—Khebyt ("dancer"). With this character Tikhebyt's name is concluded. Comprises the whole of verse 1 and almost all of verse 2, save the last six words:

Baer: "sign indicating a woman's name." Smith: "who was the daughter of Haran." Here BPH and BA come surprisingly close, closer than anywhere else.

"Justified." Symbolizes verses 3, 4, 5. Unfortunately, this is as far as Baer goes in providing a character-by-character translation. The rest of column I: ". . . after his arms have been . . . ed on his heart and the BP (which * made and has writing on its inside and outside) has been wrapped in royal linen and placed under his left arm near his heart, the rest of his mummy-bandages should be wrapped over it. The man for whom this book has been copied will breathe forever and ever as the bas of the gods do."

Thus the Egyptian. What about the Semitic? Well, the rest of Column I is the clue to the rest of the Book of Abraham. By now it should be clear that "the Egyptian characters cannot conceivably have enough information channels (component parts) to convey the amount of material translated from them." (*Dialogue*, Summer 1968, p. 95). Admirably well put! From this it should also be clear that this "translation" was not a translation in the usual sense of the word (as that of the Inspired Version was not, either), and that no man, no matter how wise or imaginative, could have done it by any normal means. How then, did Joseph do it? "How did Joseph Smith translate? Well, Wilford Woodruff said he translated with the Urim and Thummim. Parley P. Pratt said he translated with the Urim and Thummim. Orson Pratt said he translated with the Urim and Thummim. He translated with a divine instrument. That was the only way he could have done it" (James R. Clark in proceeding of Brigham Young University's "Pearl of Great Price Conference," December 10, 1960). Therefore, my friends, cease raging, cease imagining vain things. Joseph was a prophet, not a linguist. Dr. Baer is a linguist, not a prophet. Each of these men did what he could do, and admirably well, but he could not have done the same kind of translation the other did (even from the same document). But this does not subtract in the least from Baer's "The Breathing Permit of Hôr" or from Smith's "The Book of Abraham" as valuable and useful documents."

*This sentence should have a subject, but there is none. Other MSS omit the whole of it. This certainly is an extraordinary papyrus!

THE ESTABLISHMENT CAN BE SAVED

Dear Sirs:

I am responding to your invitation to those who have "something to say." By way of identification, I am a returned missionary from Chile, a graduate in History from BYU, a former President of the Young Democrats at BYU, and currently in my second year as a Peace Corps Volunteer teaching English in Lesotho.

Whatever happens I would like to take the opportunity to tell you how much one as isolated as I am appreciates receiving DIALOGUE. May the Lord sustain you in a good work.

Gary L. Parnell
St. James Secondary School
Mokhotlong, Lesotho, Africa

I am under 30. I am 25 to be exact. Yet the more I read about what my generation thinks and the more I see how we are analyzed by those who seem to know, the more I feel myself relegated to the ranks of an ever shrinking minority. I have surely never been among the 2% which Time Magazine called 'the wreckers.' Nor am I among the larger group of radical activists. And I am utterly repulsed by the Wallace and Birch type reactionaries though not so much by the more reasonable followers of Buckley and Goldwater.

Considering how our generation is usually divided on the scale of political inclinations, the only space left to me is among that majority of students and youth which is apathetic or at least only superficially interested in matters of political and social consequence. Not so. Not at all.

If I had to submit to our unfortunate custom of classifying individuals, I would use a term I remember from a panel discussion on extremism at BYU. I would call myself a militant moderate. I choose moderation not because I have self-consciously chosen the middle road between two extremes but because I feel that I have been deserted by those on my right and on my left and am therefore left with nowhere to stand but in the center.

May I parenthetically apologize to those who have an aversion to seeing the first person singular in print. I haven't the nerve to use "we," thus implying some non-existent consensus among a group, nor do I feel emotionally detached enough from the subject to use the passive voice.

How can I justify partial rejection and at the same time partial defense of the Establishment? To paraphrase G. K. Chesterton, I almost feel that the real trouble with U.S. society is not that it is unacceptable. The trouble is that it is nearly acceptable, but not quite.

I believe that some areas of American society which disturb me and many of my age group are, among others: impersonal bureaucracy, social injustice and the failure of the welfare state to eliminate it, and the squandering abroad of our national resources on questionable ventures while domestic imperatives are neglected. These topics should come as no surprise to anyone who has picked up a newspaper, and there is abundant material available on how the radical left feels about these things (and some indications of the opinions of the far right). But what of the young moderates?

As a self-styled militant moderate, I propose to make my views known. If what follows is unscholarly, opinionated and weakly substantiated I would point to an attitude with which many of my peers seem to sympathize and with which I am in qualified agreement: The attitude that feelings are often more significant than cold logic. The scholarly objectivity is often equated with callous indifference.

With reference to the first point previously stated, I believe that bureaucracy can be humanized without first demolishing the established order.

The most regimented and tightly hierarchial system I have ever been part of was the mission field. Every hour had to be accounted for and there were forms, files, reports and memos at every turn. Yet, the system often succeeded in transcending the mechanical atmosphere that cannot help but intrude into an organization so dependent on paper and explicit direction from the top. In short, only on occasion did I feel "folded, spindled or mutilated."



But church bureaucracy is not government bureaucracy. The only agency of government with which I am familiar is the Peace Corps. During my nearly two years association with the Peace Corps I have seen countless examples of conscious effort to avoid bureaucratic tangles and impersonal administration. Of course, the nature of a service-oriented agency lends itself to personal relations and the nature of those attracted to such an agency inhibits the development of over-direction and mechanical functioning. And yet I believe that proper motivation from within coupled with pressure from without (which is mounting everywhere), can enable almost any organization to divest itself of those impersonal and overbearing qualities which its members and clients find objectionable. Business leaders are already encouraging their executives to become creatively involved in social problems, partly because

they find it increasingly difficult to find top quality management trainees who are willing to "fill a slot."

It is certainly true that social injustice is disturbingly evident to all who take the trouble to look. It is also quite evident that the welfare state, during the nearly forty years of its supposed existence, has failed to do much about most of it, and in the meantime it has contributed to the general disaffection with bureaucracy. What surprises me is that those who have been longest and loudest in their criticism seem to imply that all other systems tried during the preceding centuries accomplished much more. And those who have more recently turned against government sponsored attempts at solutions seem loathe to submit viable alternatives.

I don't believe that the welfare state, on federal, state, and local levels has had long enough to learn from its many mistakes; nor has it yet had the resources at its disposal to make a valid test of its potential. I still believe that the liberal philosophy and ideals of a person such as Hubert Humphrey, though not always his tactics, are valid and that when these are perfected they may lead us as near to a just society as any temporal philosophy is likely to do.

To those who would say that we only further dehumanize society by making government responsible for the material welfare of the unfortunate rather than the traditional family and friends, church, and charity, I can only suggest that, at its best, government can only take care of material and political welfare. In the great need to render assistance in the intellectual, emotional, and spiritual fields we will always be very much and very individually our brother's keeper.

In speaking of our foreign versus domestic commitments, I do not wish to expound on the morality of the Viet Nam War. Like all reasonable people I want it ended. I would like to see it honorably ended, but I am no better than the politicians, pundits and scholars at defining "honorable" in this case. I do wish to speak, though, about an excess isolationism and introspection.

I have read statements by and had discussions with those of my peers who feel it is wrong not only to spend money on war and destruction abroad, but that it is nearly as bad to spend energies on aid and development in foreign lands while there is still such a great need in the United States itself.

Surely charity (read concern) begins at home, but the same book tells us that only through reaching outward to others can we find ourselves. If we follow the first precept to the point of concerning ourselves with only national problems, we may be unable to stop the contraction of concern as it shrinks toward state, local, group, and finally individual selfishness. Even though something so drastic is unlikely, at least the eye which can close to the suffering of those in far away places is not likely to be the most perceptive on the home scene.

I believe that immersion into another culture in the spirit of friendship and helpfulness, especially in the "Third World," can be a marvelous preparation for the struggles we must wage at home. At the same time it may be

beneficial to the overseas host country. Merely touring a country is not so effective, nor is preaching there. Most missionaries, especially those returning from an underdeveloped country have learned little more profound about their hosts than; "I never really appreciated what we have here in the States until I spent 2½ years in"

Then to sum up. I believe that the Establishment and the liberal philosophy it increasingly espouses can be and ought to be saved, saved because they can be changed. I see no answers in either reaction or anarchy. If affairs are destined to "hang by a thread," I would hope to be part of the thread.

But if my hopes turn out to be unfounded, if society is really too sclerotic to change for the better and the center of the road becomes morally untenable, then I must follow Anatole France and prefer the errors of enthusiasm to the indifference of wisdom.



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SPECIAL ISSUE ON MORMON LITERATURE

The Autumn, 1969 number of *Dialogue* will be presented as a special issue on Mormon Literature. Guest Edited by Robert Rees and Karl Keller, it promises to be an impressive issue. The tentative contents include:

ESSAYS by Dale Morgan (Literature in the History of the Church), Eugene England (The Book of Mormon as Literature), Wayland Hand (Folk Literature in the Church), Joseph Flora (Vardis Fisher as a Mormon), Mary Bradford (Virginia Sorenson's Accomplishment), Wayne Carver (Is a Mormon Literature Possible?) Ed Hart (The Relevance of Literature) and others.

FICTION by Virginia Sorenson, Douglas Thayer, Robert Christmas and Gerold Butler.

POETRY by Ann Madsen, Stanly Andersen, Clinton Larsen and Arthur King.

REVIEWS by Cherry Silver (Out of the Best Books), Leonard Rowley (Recent Mormon Drama), Kenneth Hunsaker (Recent Mormon Fiction) and Claudia Bushman (Children's Literature).

