



DIALOGUE

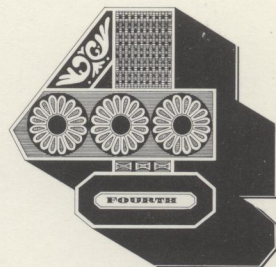
A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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and examine the relevance of religion
to secular life. It is edited by
Latter-day Saints who wish to bring
their faith into dialogue with
human experience as a whole and to
foster artistic and scholarly
achievement based on their cultural
heritage. The Journal encourages a
variety of viewpoints; although every
effort is made to insure
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Mormon Church or of the editors.

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The sketches in this issue are by:

JERRY PULSIPHER

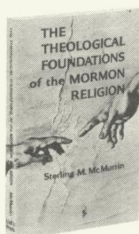
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University of Utah Press books of special interest to Dialogue readers.

This listing includes books that appeal to those concerned with the varied aspects of the Mormon heritage.



The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion

by Sterling M. McMurrin

153 pages

\$2.00

In a comparative study that differentiates Mormon doctrine from classical Christian theology, Sterling McMurrin exhibits the distinctive character of Mormon theology that resides especially in the finitistic conception of God and the denial of the traditional doctrines of original sin and salvation by grace. According to Professor McMurrin,

"Mormon theology is young and unsophisticated and is not over-encumbered with creeds and official pronouncements. Its structure has been virtually untouched by serious and competent effort to achieve internal consistency or exact definition. . . . It needs and deserves a new appreciation of the strength of those very heresies in the concepts of God and man which are the chief sources of its strength and should already have released it from its bondage to orthodoxy."

Now in its second printing, THE THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE MORMON RELIGION is accompanied by a separate "Glossary of Philosophical Terms."

Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins

by Stephen G. Taggart

82 pages

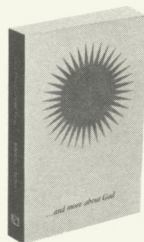
\$4.00

Stephen Taggart has examined the development of the Mormon Church's Negro policy in the volatile atmosphere of pre-Civil War Missouri, as adherents of the rapidly-growing sect struggled with earlier settlers in their effort to build Zion. In order to convince the Missourians that the Mormons were not fomenting a slave revolt, and to protect missionaries in the restless

South, Joseph Smith was forced to suppress the abolitionist tendencies of the membership and gradually to assume a more restrictive attitude toward Negroes. Taggart refers to this series of events as the "historical trap," from which the Church might have been extricated but for the untimely death of Joseph Smith.

Through his analysis of the social forces at work on the Mormons because of their embroilment in the larger North-South sectional struggle, Taggart suggests a possible solution to the problem of Negro priesthood denial. The practice — and a key point of Taggart's book is that priesthood denial is a practice and not a doctrine — was begun in response to social pressures in the 1830's. Let it now be changed in response to the realities of the 1970's.

Taggart's scholarly and objective approach to this emotionally charged question is intended as constructive criticism and should further stimulate rational discussion on the Church's Negro-exclusion policy and practice.



... and more about God

by Lewis M. Rogers and Charles H. Monson, Jr., Editors

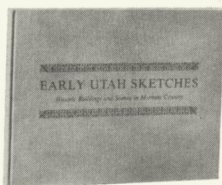
363 pages

\$3.25

The aims of this book have arisen out of the editors' experience with teaching the introductory course in philosophy of religion. There they have learned that the reading material should begin, at least initially, with the student's own level of thinking about religious matters, and that the selections should provide provocative ideas to discuss rather than comprehensive analyses to remember. This book is a collection of non-technical—but philosophically respectable—discussions of the main problems in the philosophy of religion. It is not intended to be a competitor to the several fine anthologies in the philosophy of religion which have appeared during the last five years. Nor is the book a substitute for a regular text. The editors believe that these readings can be used best

in conjunction with either a text or an anthology.

Lewis M. Rogers and Charles H. Monson, Jr., are currently on the faculty of the University of Utah's Department of Philosophy.



Early Utah Sketches

by A. Russell Mortensen
Drawings by Carlos Andreson

61 pages \$7.00

The Utah-Mormon architecture illustrated in this book depicts the early cultural and civic hopes and expressions of a people building a civilization on the frontier. Many of the buildings are gone now, a few remain, and some have been restored in the original or in replica, but all fill a niche in the history and memory of life in an earlier day in Mormon Country.

Included in the twenty-four 8 by 10 inch charcoal sketches are: Street Scenes, Government Buildings, Public Buildings, Brigham Young's Houses and Buildings, Forts, Mills, and Miscellaneous Houses. The history of each building, its origin, purpose and eventual destiny is told with clarity and warmth.

A Mormon Mother

An autobiography by
Annie Clark Tanner

294 pages \$4.00

Here is a case history of the institution of plural marriage as taught and practiced by the Mormon religion during the second half of the nineteenth century. Social insights of such a difficult marriage practice are revealed with amazing objectivity. Mrs. Tanner was one who loved the truth with all her might, mind and soul, but she came to know that truth has its price. The basis of her authority for truth gradually shifted from the sacred scriptures to scholars and universities.

This transition from the warm and trusting security of a religious foundation to a less certain and more tentative base is the provocative part of her story.

Dale L. Morgan, Mormon historian, says: *"Annie Clark Tanner's A MORMON MOTHER is one of the monuments of Mormon literature, and thus far it is almost totally unknown in that literature. If by saying this much and no more, I persuade others to search out the book and savor its quality, I shall have done well."*

Selected Back List

Mormon Village

by Lowry Nelson

296 pages \$5.00

Lowry Nelson, one of the nation's foremost rural sociologists, discusses the highly organized communal forms which aided in the pioneers' successful establishment of cities and towns. He explains the basic patterns of land settlement, showing the origin of the Mormon village—in some respects, unique—and discussing its place within the all-encompassing organization of the Church.

The volume is fully illustrated and includes old and recent town plats graphically demonstrating the advantages to growth of a tightly-knit social order inherent in the Mormon village—an important pattern of life in America.

Ballads and Songs from Utah

Collected and Edited by
Lester A. Hubbard

475 pages \$5.00

"To sing, dance, and rejoice before the Lord was regarded almost as a religious duty, but only those must rejoice whose hearts were pure and clean," said H. H. Bancroft in discussing the social life of the Mormons. Folk songs, folk tales, and local narratives provided entertainment and instruction in the days before modern music supplanted them, and this collection is a rich source of material for the folklorist, the sociologist, and all others interested in the culture and religious history of a people.

Of a Number of Things

by Parley A. Christensen

306 pages \$4.00

OF A NUMBER OF THINGS consists in the main of essays, addresses, eulogies, written for special occasions. Always Dr. Christensen brings to the occasion a mind sensitive, imaginative, informed and deeply concerned. There is appreciation for the human inheritance of knowledge and of beauty. There is protest against the materialization—almost dehumanization—of contemporary world society. But in it all the dedicated teacher is at work, reaching for the reader's mind, not so much to change it as to deepen and brighten its insight.

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Salt Lake City, Utah 84112



Letters to the Editors

The sketches in this section are by Jerry Pulsipher.

Dear Sirs:

I am enclosing a check for \$20.00 as a donation to *Dialogue*. I sincerely appreciate the efforts which have been made by the *Dialogue* staff to present such stimulating material.

I will do what I can to promote subscriptions among my acquaintances.

Thank you for calling my attention to the financial plight of my favorite publication.

Harold W. Simons
Mission Hills, California

[! (Ed.)]

Dear Sirs:

Professor Mayfield's article on the Arab-Israeli Conflict [Summer 1969] was an excellent analysis of a dilemma that shouldn't be. As the executive of an organization that has worked for years to redress the imbalance of information on this dispute in the United States and to delineate America's best interests in the Middle East, I have frequently been asked by fellow Mormons how I reconcile my work with my membership in the Church (or, indeed, my calling as a bishop's counselor). The question always seems to imply that my Mormonism should make me an advocate of everything that the State of Israel or its leaders say and do.

In fact, it is my Mormonism, my Church-taught concern for truth, for morality, for justice and for the rule of international law that compels me to question seriously the actions of Israel over the past twenty

years. If to reconcile is to make consistent or congruous, as the dictionary indicates, then it is the individual Mormon's unquestioning support for Israel's every action that must be reconciled. Clearly and provably, time and again, Israel has been found to be in violation of most of the international rules that man has laid down for the conduct of nations. Twice she has mounted large-scale military attacks and taken territory by force of arms in violation of the UN Charter and that principle for which the U.S. has been fighting in Vietnam. Consistently she has ignored UN resolutions. Even since the 1967 war she stands in violation of the Geneva Convention on the administration of occupied territory and



protection of civilian persons (In 1951, Israel became a signatory to the Geneva Convention, but will not ratify the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty).

I would certainly not suggest that Israel has not been provoked or that this is a one-sided issue. It is not. But it is significant that Israel has so seriously offended

international law and order that she stands almost alone in the international community and can now only muster support from a reluctant United States.

Do we really serve the long-term interests of Israel by supporting her immediate intransigencies? Since the 1967 war has worsened rather than improved Israel's position in the area, can she not be persuaded by her U.S. (and Mormon) friends that an America which has friendly relations with the Arab states can be much more help than an America frozen out of the area and replaced by the USSR and/or China?

As one who has studied the area and its problems over the past thirteen years and lived there for seven, I am convinced that we are allowing another "Vietnam" to develop in the Holy Land. President Johnson made two serious foreign policy mistakes: escalation in Vietnam may rank second in history to his tactical error in not requiring Israeli withdrawal from Arab lands after the June war, as Eisenhower did after the 1956 adventure. Americans, and particularly high-principled Mormons, should ask themselves now the question Eisenhower posed in a nationwide address on February 20, 1957: "Should a nation which attacks and occupies foreign territory in the face of United Nations disapproval be allowed to impose conditions on its own withdrawal?" or, later in the same address: "I would, I feel, be untrue to the standards of the high office to which you have chosen me if I were to lend the influence of the United States to the proposition that a nation which invades another should be permitted to exact conditions for withdrawal."

A withdrawal in 1967, forced by the U.S. through the U.N. as in 1956, would have defused the conflict and found America on the side of principle, of law, of international morality. As a great power we cannot always stop quarrels or the hurling of harsh words. Sometimes we cannot even prevent a fight. But we can and must separate the combatants when we have the capability to do so and see that neither party gains from the other in their use of violence. By requiring withdrawal as we did in 1956 we could and should have required Arab cooperation in opening the canal, straits, etc., and recognizing Israel's sovereignty.

The theology of this controversy, as delineated by our scriptures and prophets, is not so clear to me that I can set aside morality, law and justice. Since my belief in the prophecy that there will be evil in the last days does not require me to be evil so the prophecy will come to pass, my



belief in the prophecy that Jews will return to Palestine in the last days does not require me to lend support, approval or loyalty to the illegal actions of the civil state they have established.

I am grieved by the eagerness of influential Mormons to support Israel's every policy and action, while at the same time taking little interest in seeking Israel's cooperation on the other element of the prophecy—the conversion of Jews to the gospel. For Israel may be the only "advanced" and "democratic" country that completely forbids proselytizing within its borders.

No, it is precisely because I am a Mormon, with deep-felt religious values, that the Arab-Israeli conflict does *not* represent a dilemma for me. Here, as in every other situation, the principles of justice, morality and law are the "iron rod."

Orin D. Parker
Executive Vice President
American Friends of the
Middle East, also a
Director of American
Near East Refugee
Aid, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs:

In reply to Mr. Gordon Jones's letter [Fall 1969], his gratuitous insults to liberal Republicans need no answer, but his ref-

erence to the dangerous myth of the "Southern Strategy" does require comment. He reflects the opinion of a small segment of the Republican Party who still seek the legendary "hidden" conservative coalition. That quest has gone on for years and was partially responsible for wrecking the Goldwater campaign in 1964. It could have equally disastrous results in 1972.

Fascination with that legend—like the fascination with buried treasure—occurs largely because it seems to hold the promise of instant success for comparatively little effort. The legend is periodically revived by books like Mr. Kevin Phillips' apologia for the "Southern Strategy." The present attempt to forge a coalition with Wallace partisans and disgruntled Southern Democrats has a surface plausibility, but a careful study of American voting behavior will demonstrate how ephemeral the advantage would be.

Laying aside the dubious morality of writing off large numbers of oppressed citizens, there is evidence that most Republican rank-and-file prefer more moderate-to-liberal Party leadership. This was brought into focus in a fine essay by Herbert McClosky and colleagues, "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers," *American Political Science Review* 54 (June 1960): 406–29, and there has been considerable evidence validating their conclusions since then. Certainly it was confirmed by the Republican successes of 1966. But the "Southern Strategists" would, quite cynically, wrest the direction of the Party to suit their own ends. Where is the morality in that?

Even more persuasive is the fact that the "Southern Strategy" proved how disastrous it can be in the 1968 presidential campaign. Before the G.O.P. Convention the Nixon campaign strategy was correctly and meticulously conceived. Evidently after the Convention there was an attempt to implement the "Southern Strategy" and it contributed to the near defeat of Richard Nixon. Polls taken in late September gave Nixon a *minimum* lead of nearly 12% over Humphrey. Since scientific polls have been taken, the average shift in the electorate from September to the election has been around 3%, which made a Humphrey victory a near impossibility. Through a bad "cal-

culus for victory" the Republicans squandered a nearly insurmountable lead and Humphrey came within a shade of victory, in one of the most remarkable electoral comebacks in our political history. Thus, the disaster potential of the "Southern



Strategy" has been once again well demonstrated. While it might produce occasional short range advantages, over the long haul it can only spell defeat for the Republican Party. Those who advocate it should spend more time studying the serious research on American voting behavior.

In conclusion, I want to make a comment about Mr. Jones's unwarranted implication that Romney, if nominated, might not have been a successful vote-getter. Shortly before his death, President John F. Kennedy argued that his toughest opponent in 1964 would be George Romney, which says a great deal about Romney's political appeal.

David K. Hart
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington

Dear Sirs:

Having just returned from field research among the Shoshone Indians in Nevada, I read with interest the article on the Joseph Smith Papyri by Benjamin Urrutia [Summer 1969]. I was amazed to find that all of the major hypotheses of this article parallel the ideas set forth in a number of articles *previously* published by Mr. John Tvedtness and me. Since I assume Mr. Urrutia was unaware of our articles, I regard such

an independent arrival at the same conclusions to be a felicitous confirmation of my own theories. When independent researchers using the same facts reach the same conclusions, one is led to feel that there is something in the facts which impels toward those conclusions.

My own detailed researches into the papyri began as far back as December 1967, when I was permitted to examine the original papyri in the library vaults at B.Y.U. I immediately began translations of the Sensen text, the symbols of which I recognized as being also in a journal of Joseph Smith (the so-called Book of Abraham Manuscript) which parallels Book of Abraham verses with Sensen text hieroglyphics. These yielded a very un-Abrahamic, but definitely Egyptian message. Thereafter, joined by Mr. Tvedtness, we proceeded to compare the words of the papyrus to the verses of the Book of Abraham to which they were juxtaposed by Joseph Smith and found in every case semantic parallels between the Egyptian words and the English verses. These we have detailed in newsletters of the Society for Early Historic Archaeology (cf. #109, October 25, 1968, and #114 June 2, 1969).

For instance, one finds that the Egyptian word for *travel* was placed by Joseph Smith next to verses dealing with travel, *Hor* (form of Horus, the name of the clan which unified Egypt) with verses concerning the discovery and settling of Egypt, *Osiris* (the god killed by another god, or the deceased Pharaoh) with verses concerning the destruction of the pagan gods, the death of the Priest of those gods, and mourning in the house of Pharaoh! The most evident parallel to any lay reader is the one mentioned by Mr. Urrutia: the determinative for *woman* paralleled to the short verse referring only to the daughters of Haran. But though "surprisingly close," it is not "closer than elsewhere," as Mr. Urrutia puts it. It is simply more evident to most readers. The closest, and certainly the most complex parallel I would suggest to be *Khonsu* (the Egyptian moon god, also called The Traveler) which Joseph Smith juxtaposed with verses which refer no less than six times to the concept of traveling and also contain the name of a god, *Libnah*, which would be an acceptable anglicized

form of the Hebrew word *levenah*, meaning *moon*! Such parallels are found only when one compares the Egyptian words and the English verses as Joseph Smith juxtaposed them which indicates that he understood the words he was working with.

Joseph Smith's entire handling of the Sensen text is done as by one who knew the meanings of the words of that text. (As a final example of this, let it be pointed out that not only did he treat the text as if written from right to left, but he also made no incorrect or unacceptable divisions of Egyptian words, but rather worked only with valid Egyptian morphemes—something no layman would be expected to be able to do successfully.)

Such are but a few facts which we have previously put forth as supporting the hypothesis of a mnemonic "camouflaging device" such as was suggested in your journal by Mr. Urrutia. Our own articles not only set forth this idea as *possible* explanation for the "dilemma" of the "Abraham Papyrus," as Mr. Urrutia has done, but also give detailed *evidences* which support this hypothesis over and above others which have been suggested.

Richley H. Crapo
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

The *Dialogue* special issue on "Mormonism and Literature" [Autumn 1969] was so fascinating that I read it during one whole day. Housework was a little haphazard that day because *Dialogue* was propped, among other places, on ironing board and kitchen counter.

With regard to Kenneth B. Hunsaker's criticism of Ardyth Kennelly's two novels, *Peaceable Kingdom* and *Up Home*, I rise to the defense. Ardyth and I were students together at Oregon State College in 1931. She wrote well and had something in each issue of *Manuscript*, a printed journal of the best pieces written by students in English classes. (Only one of my pieces was accepted; it was a description of my Mormon grandfather in Snowflake, Arizona.)

Ardyth Kennelly in her two books catches the folkways of women in the home: how

a mother tastes the gravy on the stove to see if it has enough salt; the feel of a baby's skin after a bath; the way the baby looks out from under the blanket as he rests on his mother's shoulder. There are also some wonderfully funny parts in the books. Well, what I'm trying to say is that these books rang a bell for me as a woman, wife, and mother.

In *Up Home*, Mrs. Toone succeeded in getting herself sealed to both her deceased husbands. I told this to a Sunday School



class of young people, who were properly shocked. That one man might have several wives sealed to him was just fine, but for a woman to look forward to more than one man in heaven was another kettle of fish.

Kenneth Hunsaker says that Linnea Ecklund, the chief character in both books, kept a messy house. He must have read the books too rapidly. Actually, Linnea was a good housekeeper. The one who kept the messy house was Mrs. Orbit, who had the terrible habit of reading novels. She not only bought the paper-backed kind but went to the library and drew books out, two at a time:

The beds would not be made, the ironing close to mildew, the cold dishwater not thrown out the back door, the left-overs moldering in the pantry. . . . The stove would not be blacked, the ashes showering down upon the hearth, the children free as birds, herself in a morning sack with unkempt head of witch's hair.

Leaving Ardyth Kennelly's books, I want to say something about the ideal of per-

fect housekeeping perpetrated in materials written for L.D.S. women as well as for other American women in the nineteenth century and much of our own. The most quoted maxims were "Cleanliness is next to godliness" and "Order is Heav'n's first law." In fact, rather recently when I was teaching an adult Sunday School class, a seminary teacher scolded me for saying that perfect housekeeping can be a detriment to the family. He maintained that perfect housekeeping is part of the package of good character.

I am told by women who remember Ogden and Salt Lake City at the turn of the century that the Relief Society visiting teachers, on their way out of the home just visited, sometimes ran a finger along the door panel to find out if there was dust, because one of their functions was to help women learn to care for their newly acquired niceties.

My Mormon grandmother in Snowflake reared most of her eleven children in two rooms. If she kept a path clear between the beds she was doing well. She was Relief Society president for seventeen years, but she was not the kind to worry about dust on the door panel. In her spare time Grandma read everything she could lay her hands on, educating herself. She also kept a written journal of the important events of the town. One July the Governor of Arizona came to Snowflake to give a patriotic talk and knowing that May Hunt Larson kept a history of the town, he asked her to put together a few notes for his talk. This she did, and afterwards she penned into her journal:

"I wrote the speech for the Governor of Arizona and he gave it pretty good."

Alison Comish Thorne
Logan, Utah

Dear Sirs:

Your latest issue [Autumn 1969] produced one big plus and one small minus for me. The big plus was Douglas Thayer's short story. The story was vivid, the use of the time element superb, and the sentimentality never got out of hand. It is most encour-

aging to find someone in the Church writing this well.

It would be even more encouraging to know that there were perhaps half a dozen other stories entered in the contest which were just a cut below Mr. Thayer's prize-winner. The editors are to be congratulated for encouraging such creative activity. With diligence we may get some kind of standards for the writing of fiction in the Church which have been so lacking in the past.

The small minus was the picture on the cover. I admit I am not *au courant* as far as art styles go, but I simply don't see much aesthetic value in an Esterbrook pen (that was an Esterbrook, wasn't it?) and pastel colors. The publication of this cover appears to me to be an attempt to lure the youthful reader to pick up *Dialogue*. I appreciate the need to broaden the readership base of your journal, but I would hope that *Dialogue* would not join the cult of youthism which currently afflicts our society. What is needed most at present are some standards of taste in artistic and aesthetic endeavors.

Robert M. Pixton
Salt Lake City, Utah



Dear Sirs:

I am thoroughly enjoying reading the current issue of *Dialogue* and am once again impressed with the fine literary quality of this publication. Through your publication I have been introduced to many facets of Mormonism that would otherwise never have come to my attention, such as drama, art, etc. Your objectivity inspires confidence in the intellectual integrity of the editors.

You are rendering a real service to all branches of Mormonism.

We have appreciated your including Reorganized (RLDS) publications in your occasional listing of literature. Thus far I have not seen my own studies included. They may be too early to be regarded as current but I am passing the names of the unpublished research works on to you anyway. They are as follows:

A Study of Some Representative Concepts of a Finite God in Contemporary American Philosophy with Application to the God Concepts of the Utah Mormons.

Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Southern California, August 1954

The Philosophy of Joseph Smith and Its Educational Implications.

Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, March 26, 1963. Available through University Microfilms, Inc., 313 N. First St., Ann Arbor, Michigan. \$4.05

Garland E. Tickemyer
President, Quorum of
High Priests, RLDS
Assoc. Prof. of Philosophy
Central Missouri St. College

Dear Sirs:

Much has been said in recent issues regarding the apparent paradox of the Church so recently having decided to ban cigarette advertising on its own radio stations. I believe this only touches on a deeper paradox which is even harder to rationalize.

I remember when, about a year ago or so, the Church purchased station KBIG, a station with a potential audience I would guess at around ten million, or somewhat less. A few of us around here engaged in the fantasy that there would be a new programming policy. What an opportunity for the Church! How I could wish to be the programming director! We would have fine symphonic music, chamber music, opera in the evening; on Sundays we could have the Tabernacle choir for a while, and do cantatas, oratorios, organ works. We could revive the art of radio drama with plays on Church History or the Book of Mormon, or with the work of Clinton Larson ("Whatever is Praiseworthy or of good report, we seek after these things"). But the fantasy

was, of course, vain—after all, KSL was never any great shakes in the cultural field. Too bad. As I now occasionally tune in “our” station, I find nothing of which to be proud; the same desolate waste of rock and roll (well, I like that too, but in moderation, and emanating from outlets other than “ours”), and endless commercials.

Now that social events are occurring at an ever faster pace and the Church is increasingly being criticized, it seems we need not only the cultural growth and the intellectual image a new programming policy might lend (“the Glory of God is Intelligence”), but we need a public window by which the defenders of the faith can show the world where we really stand. Surely the Negro-discrimination charge ought to be discussed on a deeper level than the fatuous

and self-defeating statements of President Wilkinson. Would not a debating panel on “our” station serve a critical need?

The Church has been beating the pulpit for years about our necessity to “be in the world and not of the world.” Now it has one of the greatest pulpits of all, but one which seems reserved for Churchly functions only on General Conference weekends. As the policies of the Church are guided by continuing revelation, it would seem appropriate to conclude, from the example set, that continuing revelation declares it is better to make a buck than to spread the Gospel ideals! Alas, it would seem that the Church is hiding its light under a bushel of commercials.

A. Guy VanAlstyne
Los Angeles, California



FAITHFUL HISTORY

Richard L. Bushman

This essay is an exceptionally challenging example of an endeavor that DIALOGUE was founded to encourage and which we are determined to make increasingly central in our published work: the application of deep personal faith to the work of this world. In this case, the author, who is fully committed to a specific religious faith and to a specific vocation — as a prize-winning (for his book, FROM PURITAN TO YANKEE) professor of history at Boston University and bishop of the University Second Ward, examines the ways he could and should be not only true to his faith but anxiously engaged in it at the same time that he works as a historian. This essay will appear in a forthcoming book of essays in honor of the memory of B. West Belnap, former Dean of the College of Religion at Brigham Young University, which is being edited by Robert K. Thomas.

I

Written history rarely survives the three score and ten years allotted to the men who write it. Countless histories of the French Revolution have moved on to the library shelves since 1789, and no end is in sight. The same is true of any subject you care to choose — the life of George Washington, the medieval papacy, or Egyptian burial rites. Historians constantly duplicate the work of their predecessors, and for reasons that are not always clear. The discovery of new materials does not satisfactorily account for the endless parade of books on the same subject. It seems more that volumes written even thirty or forty years before fail to persuade the next generation. The same materials must constantly be recast to sound plausible, the past forever reinterpreted for the present.

The books on the framing of the Constitution written over the past hundred years illustrate the point. Through most of the nineteenth century, Americans conceived of the framers as distinguished statesmen, if not demi-gods, who formulated a plan of government which embodied the highest political wisdom and assured freedom to Americans so long as they remained true to constitutional principles. Near the end of the century, however, when certain provisions of the Constitution were invoked to prevent government regulation of economic excesses, reformers began to think of the Constitution less as a safeguard of liberty than as a shield for greed and economic domination. Proposals for drastic revision began to circulate. Among the advocates of reform was a young historian, Charles Beard, who set out in a new mood to rewrite the story of the Constitution. As reported in *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, Beard discovered that most of the framers were wealthy men who feared popular attempts to encroach on property rights.¹ Quite naturally they introduced provisions which would forestall regulation of business by the democratic masses. The deployment of the Constitution in defense of business interests in the late nineteenth century was only to be expected. The framers themselves were businessmen who had foreseen the popular tendency to attack property and had written a document that could be brought to the defense of business. Far from creating a government for all the people, they constituted the power of the republic so as to protect property. Their interests were narrow and by implication selfish.²

That interpretation caught on in the early twentieth century when the main thrust of reform was to regulate business. For nearly twenty years historians found Beard's interpretation of the Constitution true to life as they knew it and faithfully taught his views to their students. Shortly after World War II, however, the temper of the times changed. Business interests no longer appeared so malevolent as before; the Supreme Court took a brighter view of government regulation; and constitutional principles were invoked on behalf of civil rights and other libertarian causes. All told, the provisions protecting property did not stand out so prominently as before, and men began to see once again the broader import of the document. A number of historians then began to attack Beard. They argued that all the political leaders of the eighteenth century were men of property, and that wealth did not distinguish those who favored the Constitution from those who opposed it. Rather than being protectors of class interest, the framers were seen to be seeking a balance in government that would keep order while preserving liberty, and they were generally acknowledged to have succeeded. Now the consensus of historical opinion has swung around once more to

¹Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913).

²For an analysis of Beard's work and its intellectual milieu, see Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), chaps. 1, 5-8.

honor the framers as distinguished statesmen of unusual political wisdom who framed a constitution for which we can be thankful.

Presumably we are closer to the truth now than thirty years ago when Beard's views held sway. And yet it is disconcerting to observe the oscillations in historical fashion and to recognize how one's own times affect the view of the past. Anyone unfamiliar with the writing of history may wonder why historians are such vacillating creatures. Are not the facts the facts and is not the historian's task no more than to lay them out in clear order? Why the continual variations in opinion? It seems reasonable that, once told, the story need only be amended as new facts come to light.

The reason for the variations is that history is made by historians. The facts are not fixed in predetermined form merely awaiting discovery and description. They do not force themselves on the historian; he selects and molds them. Indeed he cannot avoid sculpturing the past simply because the records contain so very many facts, all heaped together without recognizable shape. The historian must select certain ones and form them into a convincing story. Inevitably scholars come up with differing accounts of the same event. Take the following vignette, the individual components of which we will assume are completely factual.

Having come from a broken home himself, Jack yearned for a warm and stable family life. For many years he went out with different girls without finding one whom he could love. At age thirty-four he finally met a girl who won his heart completely, and in his delirious happiness he dreamed of creating the home he had missed in his own childhood. In the fall of 1964, one month before their wedding, the girl withdrew from the engagement. Jack was heart-broken and deeply distressed. Two months later he entered the hospital and in three months was dead.

No causes for the death are explicitly given but we surmise a tangled psychic existence connected with Jack's ambivalence about marriage. He yearned for a wife and a happy home life, and yet his experience as a boy prevented him from risking it until long after most men are married. When he finally found the girl, the long pent-up desires were promised fruition. Her withdrawal from the engagement shocked his nervous system and induced a psychosomatic ailment serious enough to kill him. Admittedly we have to read a lot into the story to reach that conclusion, but it is not implausible. If the historian only gave us those facts and we were of a psychological bent, we would probably believe the account.

But listen to a briefer narration from the same life:

Beginning in his last year in high school, Jack smoked two packs of cigarettes a day. In the winter of 1965, his doctor diagnosed lung cancer, and three months later he was dead.

Aha, we say, now we have the truth. We do not have to resort to far-fetched psychological theories to explain what happened. We all know what cigarettes do to you.

But as careful historians we cannot yet close the case. The most obvious diagnosis is not necessarily the true one. Only a small fraction of those who

smoke two packs of cigarettes a day contract lung cancer at age thirty-four. Smoking alone does not explain why Jack was one of them. Can we rule out the possibility that psychic conflicts broke his resistance and made him susceptible? I do not think we can, though most people may prefer the more straightforward explanation. The point is that given the multitude of facts, historians by picking and choosing can make quite different and plausible stories, and it is difficult to demonstrate that just one of them is true. There is room for debate about the cause of Jack's death even when all the facts are in, including a medical autopsy. When so simple a case refuses to yield an indubitable result, think how interpretations of broad, complex events can vary: the motives of a presidential candidate, the causes of a war, or the origins of the Book of Mormon?

Notice also that neither of these explanations would have convinced reasonable people thirty or forty years ago. After the demise of romantic notions of broken-hearted lovers, and before the currency of psychoanalytic ideas about psychosomatic disease, a death by a broken engagement would have sounded outlandish indeed. In the same period, the connection of smoking and cancer was not yet established. The juxtaposition of two packs a day and the doctor's diagnosis would have been thought irrelevant, like linking the ownership of cats or a taste for bright neckties to tuberculosis. Nowadays, however, both theories make sense. New outlooks in our own time demand that past events be surveyed anew in search of relationships overlooked by earlier scholars. Reasonableness and plausibility, the *sine qua non* of good history, take on new meanings in each generation.

I doubt if any practicing historian today thinks of history as a series of bead-like facts fixed in unchangeable order along the strings of time. The facts are more like blocks which each historian piles up as he chooses, which is why written history is always assuming new shapes. I do not mean to say that historical materials are completely plastic. The facts cannot be forced into just any form at all. Some statements about the past can be proven wrong. But the historian himself has much more leeway than a casual reading of history books discloses. His sense of relevance, his assumptions about human motivation and social causation, and the moral he wishes readers to draw from the story — what he thinks is good and bad for society — all influence the outcome.

Perhaps the most important influence is the sense of relevance — what the historian thinks is worth writing about. For that sense determines what part of the vast array of facts he will work with. When you consider all that has happened in the world's history — children reared, speeches given, gardens planted, armies annihilated, goods traded, men and women married, and so on and on and on, more important than how you answer a question is what question you ask in the first place. Not until you decide that you want to know the history of child-rearing, or oratory, or gardening do you even bother to look at all the facts on those subjects stored away in the archives. A large part of creativity in the writing of history is the capacity to ask new questions that draw out arrays of facts previously neglected.

Fashions in historical questions come and go like other fashions, and these changes in the sense of relevance require that old stories be told anew. Beard's generation took a great interest in economic forces. They wished to know (and we still do today) the wealth and sources of income of historical figures, the distribution of wealth through society, price levels, and the volume of trade and production. Earlier generations, particularly those before 1800, did not even think such facts important enough to record them properly. Economic historians today are hard-pressed to answer the questions which interest them most. The same is true of demographers who bewail the failure of colonial Americans to take even a rude census before 1754. The present generation would also dearly love to know the opinions and feelings of the poor and the slaves. One hundred and fifty years ago hardly anyone thought it worth the effort to record their thoughts. Now we must laboriously collect materials from scattered sources, speculate on the implications of the skimpy materials we do have, and try to answer questions our generation is asking in order to make the past relevant for us.

To sum it all up, written history changes simply because history itself brings change. Were we exactly like our ancestors, their history would satisfy us just as their houses and clothes would. But time has altered our concerns, our beliefs, our values, just as it has changed our taste and technological skill. We need new histories that appeal to our views of causation, our sense of significance, and our moral concerns. Since the materials out of which histories are made are so vast and flexible, historians are forever rearranging old facts and assimilating new ones into accounts that will help men of the present understand the past.³

II

Historians nowadays are philosophical about the frailty of their work. Most of my contemporaries realize the next generation's books will supersede their own and are content to write for their own times. They know their work will pass into obsolescence just as architects build knowing their structures will come down. Looking at the matter realistically, we can probably hope for nothing more. So long as men change, their understanding of the past must also change. Even from a religious perspective, at least from a Mormon point of view, there can be no lasting history for mortals. So long as we progress, we will enjoy ever broader horizons, and these must inevitably reflect on our understanding of what went before. As our wisdom enlarges, we will see more deeply into all of our experiences. Only when we come to the limits of knowledge and intelligence will we reach the final truth about history.

Recognizing the contingency of written history does not mean we can dismiss it as trivial. No human activity, including the physical sciences, escapes these limitations. We must try to speak the truth about the past as

³The questions I raise are explored more fully in E. H. Carr, *What Is History?* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961).

earnestly as we try to tell the truth about anything. Accepting the inevitable role of beliefs and values in history simply compels us to examine more closely the concerns which influence us and to make sure that we write history with our truest and best values uppermost.

It seems to me that given these premises, the Mormon historian, if he is given to philosophizing about his work, must ask himself what values govern his scholarship. What determines his views of causation, his sense of significance, and his moral concerns? One might think that his religious convictions, his deepest personal commitments, would pervade his writing. But in my own experience, religious faith has little influence on Mormon historians for an obvious reason: we are not simply Mormons but also middle class American intellectuals trained for the most part in secular institutions.

It is perfectly clear that all Mormons live by varying values and outlooks, not all of them religious. When we sell cars, we act like most used car salesmen, for they are our teachers in selling automobiles. When we preside over a ward or teach a gospel lesson, we act in another frame of mind, more in accord with what we have learned at church. The two are not entirely separable, but we all sense the different spirit of the two situations—a used car lot and a church classroom. Obviously different ideas and assumptions about life prevail in each place. Similarly, historians who are Mormons write history as they were taught in graduate school rather than as Mormons. The secular, liberal, establishmentarian, status-seeking, decent, tolerant values of the university govern us at the typewriter, however devoted we may be as home teachers. Indeed this viewpoint probably controls our thinking far more than our faith. The secular, liberal outlook is the one we instinctively think of as objective, obvious, and natural, even though when we stop to think about it we know it is as much a set of biases as any other outlook.

The values learned in modern universities are not without merit, and I do not intend to disparage the work produced under their auspices, but given a choice would not most Latter-day Saints agree that their religious faith represents their best selves and their highest values? Is it not the perpetual quest of the religious man to have religious principles regulate all of his conduct, the selling of automobiles and the writing of history as well as Sunday preachments—in short, to do all things in faith? Now that we have abandoned the naïve hope that we can write objective history, I think Mormon historians should at least ask how we might replace our conventional, secular American presuppositions with the more penetrating insights of our faith.

I am not contending for orthodox history in the sense of adherence to one opinion. Gospel principles do not point toward one way of describing the past any more than they specify one kind of human personality. The Lord does not intend that we all be exactly alike. The possible styles of history in a Mormon spirit are as varied as the persons who write it. The authentic forms of Mormon-style history will emerge in the works of Mormon historians. They cannot be deduced from theological doctrines. All we can do in a theoretical vein is to speculate on some of the leads the gospel opens

up, the directions which Mormon historians might take. And that is what I intend to do in the remainder of this essay.

III

The Book of Mormon is a source of insight about the nature of history which Mormons have only begun to mine. Since it was written by prophets, we can assume that extraneous cultural influences were largely subordinated to faith (although Mormon's interest in military tactics must have affected his decision to include the war episodes in the latter part of Alma). What clues does the Book of Mormon offer about appropriate concerns for a Mormon historian?

As I read the book, one pervasive theme is the tension between man and God. Class struggles, dynastic adventures, technological change, economic forces are all subordinated to this one overriding concern. Human obedience and divine intervention preoccupied the prophets who told the story. Where is God leading the Nephites? Will He help Nephi get the plates of Laban? Will Laman and Lemuel repent? Will God protect the Nephites on the voyage? Will they serve him in the new land? The prophets are most interested in what God does for men and their willingness in turn to serve him. All events take on meaning as they show God's power or as they depict people coming to Him or falling away. The excitement of the story often lies in finding out what God will do next or how the people will respond. As would be expected of prophet-historians who had experienced God's glory, the fundamental axis of every story stretches between earth and heaven.

Presumably Mormon historians today might concentrate on the same relationship. Just as the concerns of the Progressive era led its historians to focus on economic forces, our concerns interest us in God. Nothing could be of more lasting importance. As we examine our best selves in moments of faith, God's presence seems to fill our consciousness and to be the ultimate source of meaning in life. Inevitably, we must ask how He has shaped human experience generally, just as the historians overawed by industrialization and business power asked how economic forces affected the past.

Admittedly, we are not as gifted as the prophets in discerning the hand of God or even the consequences of sin. Who can say where He intervened in the lives of Charlemagne or Napoleon or even in the formation of the Constitution? Belief in God is not a simple guide to relevant history. But our faith certainly compels us to search for Him as best we can, and the scriptures suggest some avenues to follow. We know from our doctrine that God enters history in various ways: revelation to the prophets, providential direction of peoples and nations, and inspiration through the Spirit of Christ to all men. Each of these offers an interpretive structure that puts God to the fore and suggests a strategy for the Mormon historian. Someone, someday may work out more systematically the implications of each of these perspectives and perhaps even approach a Mormon philosophy of history. But even on first inspection some of the possibilities—and problems—can be seen.

1. *Revelation to the prophets.* We are most certain of divine intervention when the prophets, whose judgment we trust, tell us God has spoken or acted. The most obvious subject for Mormon historians is the history of the Church, the story of God's revelation to his people and the implementation of His will in the earth. Mormons are drawn to their own past not merely out of ethnocentrism, but because they see it as part of the Lord's work.

Faith in the revelations does not, however, determine how the story is told, not even its basic structure. The fundamental dramatic tension can be between the Church and the world, or it can be between God and the Church. In the first, the Lord establishes His kingdom among men, and the Saints struggle to perform his work against the opposition of a wicked world. Joseph Fielding Smith's *Essentials in Church History* rests on this structure.⁴ In the second, the Lord tries to establish his kingdom, but the stubborn people whom He favors with revelation ignore him much of the time and must be brought up short. I know of no modern Mormon who has written in this vein, but it is common in the Bible and the Book of Mormon. The prophets mourn the declension of faith within the Church itself more than they laud the righteousness of the Saints. In the first, the Saints are heroes and the world villains. In the second, the world is wicked, but so are the Saints much of the time.

Unfortunately, the polarization between Mormon and anti-Mormon has foreclosed this latter kind of history for the time being. Virtually everyone who has shown the "human side" of the Church and its leaders has believed the enterprise was strictly human. To defend the faith, Mormon historians have thought they must prove the Church to be inhumanly righteous. We need historians who will mourn the failings of the Saints out of honor for God instead of relishing the warts because they show the Church was earth-bound after all.

However we write our own story, we cannot, of course, content ourselves with the history of the Church, for statistically speaking it is such a small part of world history. We must find some way of bringing a larger portion of mankind within our field of vision. The most common device among Mormons for comprehending the whole of world history within the scope of revelation has been the concept of dispensation. The revelation of knowledge and the bestowal of priesthood power is seen as a pattern repeated through history to various people in many places. Usually an apostasy follows each dispensation of divine blessings so that history follows the path of an undulating curve. Each dispensation raises men toward God, and then they fall away, only to be lifted by the succeeding dispensation.

The archetype of this pattern was the "Great Apostasy," from the dispensation of Christ to the restoration of the primitive Church through Joseph Smith. B. H. Roberts and James Talmage have most vividly explicated this period of history for Mormons with the liberal assistance of Protestant

⁴Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History: A History of the Church from the Birth of Joseph Smith to the Present Time . . .* (Salt Lake City: Published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1922).

scholars who were equally committed to belief in the apostasy of the Roman Church. (Indeed it would be interesting to know if Roberts, Talmage, or James Barker added anything to the findings of Protestant scholars.⁵) On this framework Mormons have hung the course of western civilization since Christ. Milton Backman in *American Religions and the Rise of Mormonism* has filled in the picture with a more detailed account of the Protestant Reformation and the growth of tolerance in preparation for the Restoration.⁶ Together these works tell of the Church's glory under the original Twelve, declension under Roman influence, upward movement with Protestantism and religious liberty, and climax in Joseph Smith and the Restoration.

Beyond this one period the dispensation pattern is more difficult to apply because the scriptural and historical materials are much thinner. Milton Hunter's *Gospel Through the Ages* briefly told the whole story from Adam to the present, relying almost entirely on the scriptures.⁷ But clearly the most significant advances in this area have been achieved by Hugh Nibley. Nibley's great innovation is to argue that the influence of revelation in the dispensation cycle does not end with apostasy. Revelation leaves its mark long after people cut themselves off from God. The Gnostics go on yearning for revelation and even counterfeiting it; medieval Christians envy the temple when temple ceremonies are long forgotten. In short, the structure and aspirations of uninspired religion are derived from the revealed religions from which they once sprang. Even in non-Christian ritual, remnants of the temple ceremony can be glimpsed.⁸

The dispensation pattern thus does not restrict itself to the people who figure in the scriptures. Revelation to the prophets more or less directly influenced vast portions of world civilization, perhaps all of it. A number of anthropologists today argue that rather than arising independently, civilization diffused from some cultural center in the Near East. Nibley, himself a diffusionist of a sort, seems to be hinting that a revelation started it all, and the divine original still shows up in the distorted worship of apostate religions.

I can only suggest the scope and richness of Nibley's thought. One certainly cannot accuse him of unduly narrowing the span of time or space which he encompasses. It will require teams of scholars to match his erudition in a large number of complex fields, and to follow up on his insights. I hope the immensity of the task will not discourage the young men he has

⁵B. H. Roberts, *The "Falling Away," or, The World's Loss of the Christian Religion and Church . . .* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1931); James E. Talmage, *The Great Apostasy Considered in the Light of Scriptural and Secular History* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1909); James L. Barker, *Apostasy from the Divine Church* (Salt Lake City: K. M. Barker, 1960).

⁶Milton V. Backman, Jr., *American Religions and the Rise of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1965).

⁷Milton R. Hunter, *The Gospel Through the Ages* (Salt Lake City: Stevens and Wallis, Inc., 1945).

⁸Nibley's articles in Church and secular journals as well as his books are listed in Louis Midgley, "Hugh Nibley: A Short Bibliographical Note," *Dialogue* 2 (Spring 1967): 119-21.

inspired. He very well may have opened up the most promising approach to a religiously oriented understanding of world history.

My only misgiving about this method is its limited sympathy. Nibley's gospel framework may brilliantly illuminate some aspects of a people's culture. The Gnostics' frenetic search for mysteries and ineffable experience makes sense when seen as a quest of recovery, an effort to regain the Holy Ghost. But at distant removes the gospel frame may also distort a culture's values and purposes. The temple ceremonies may indeed have shaped the form of the Roman liturgy or of Icelandic sagas, but does not time alter a culture until it means something quite different to the people absorbed in it than was originally intended? Should we not be sensitive to what the mass means today as well as to the remnants of the ordinances from which it was derived? If nothing else, our love for all people as part of God's progeny should caution us against stuffing them into our own categories, however cosmically significant. At its best, Nibley's analysis would show the interplay of what a religion was originally and what history made of it.

Far the larger part of all the history written with an identifiable Mormon twist falls into these two categories: history of the Church or history of the dispensation cycle. The reason for this concentration is obvious. In both cases the prophets tell us where God intervened. We do not have to rely on our own insight to make this most difficult of judgments. The revelations themselves guide us. The historian has only to work out the implications of divine action. God's part in the other forms of history I wish to discuss is far more conjectural, and historians have understandably shied away from them. Until we develop more precise techniques, these categories will probably remain empty, mere theoretical possibilities.

2. *Providential direction of peoples and nations.* The large plan of three scriptural histories falls into this division: the Old Testament, the Book of Mormon, and the Book of Ether. Day by day, the dramatic tension in all of the scriptures resembles that of the Book of Mormon: God acting and man responding. But the collection of small events in these three national histories is not a shapeless heap of successes and failures; they form a Providential pattern. Each of the peoples in these books was chosen by God, guided, chastised when they wandered, and eventually rejected — though not forever; ultimately the Lord will restore them (except for the people of Ether, who were obliterated).

This divinely supervised rise and fall is related to the dispensation cycle but stands above it as a pattern of its own. The history of a nation or people forms the next larger historical unit after the dispensation. It tells the whole story of a people, following the long curve of their history along the ups and downs of various dispensations and apostasies that occur within the larger cycle of national ascent and decline. Presumably this scriptural structure could guide scholarly study today as it did the work of Old Testament historians.

Practically speaking, the history of the Jews is the only area that will prove fruitful for the time being. The absence of non-scriptural sources

compels us to rely mainly on the Book of Mormon for the history of Lehi's and Ether's people. So long as we are unable clearly to identify which of the pre-Columbian remains connect up with the Book of Mormon, we have no materials to enlarge the scriptural accounts. Not that we should neglect early American history; Mormons certainly should be involved. But as far as I know we are as yet a long way from writing Providential history of pre-Columbian America that would in any way add to the Book of Mormon. We simply have no way of telling where God intervened. We are less in the dark about the Jews. Scriptural events and non-scriptural sources have been connected at a number of points. We could write their history and that of their predecessors in the light of the concept of Providence. Doubtless that is partly the fascination of Cleon Skousen's ambitious works.⁹ Certainly it is sufficient reason to attract serious Mormon scholarship.

But beyond the application to these two peoples, the scriptural model of Providential history raises questions for other nations. Does God have a plan for them as well? Does their history follow a Providential pattern? It seems to be a fact that all civilizations rise and fall much as Israel did. Could it be for similar reasons? Nibley discovered that the dispensation cycle could be enlarged to include many peoples; perhaps Providence also has a wider compass than we have imagined.

The possibility of broadening the scope of Providential governance leads us back to examine more carefully the causes of Israel's ascent and decline. The Old Testament leads one to believe that God rejected the Jews because they rejected Him. The tribes of Israel entered into a covenant at Sinai, and when they consistently refused to honor it, God's patience wore thin. Finally He cast them aside. If that is all there is to it, Israel's case would apply only to covenanted nations. Egyptian and Hellenic civilization would be another matter entirely. Not having been chosen, they could not be rejected. Providence must govern them according to another plan, and the Old Testament does not tell us what it is.

Just possibly the Book of Mormon does. Much less is said there of the original covenant, and more of the righteousness of the people. The general impression one receives is that righteousness brought peace and prosperity, while war and misery came close on the heels of sin. The people of Lehi declined when they persistently broke the commandments. Their fate was less dependent on a personal quarrel with God than on refusal to comply with His laws. By extrapolation, righteous behavior and the well-being of a civilization may be linked in some lawful relationship among gentiles as well as among covenanted people. The historian who understood the laws well enough could explain the course of a nation's development just as Toynbee tried to do, except that divine principles would be seen to underlie events.

⁹W. Cleon Skousen, *The First 2000 Years* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1953); *The Third Thousand Years* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964); *The Fourth Thousand Years* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966); *Fantastic Victory: Israel's Rendezvous with Destiny* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967).

A simplistic form of such a history could model itself after David McClelland's study of the achievement motive.¹⁰ McClelland worked out a measure of people's desire for concrete achievements and used it to assess the presence of this need in popular literature over the past two or three centuries. To his delight, the production of iron and steel, a rough indicator of economic growth, followed the ups and downs of the need achievement curve. Presumably when people got worked up about getting things done, that desire ultimately got the economy to perking. A need for righteousness or for religion might yield similar results. Could it be when the level of pride goes up so does civil strife, or when a nation humbles itself it enjoys peace?

The difficulties of the program are obvious. How does one measure righteousness, and what kind of righteousness is most critical. And what are the historical consequences of goodness? Wealth? Peace? An artistic flowering? Military power? Imperial conquest? I doubt very much that the relationship will be the simple one which seemingly held for McClelland. However, it would be a mistake to give up on the scriptures as a source of historical understanding. We still might be able to derive a religious sociology and psychology from the Book of Mormon which would illuminate all national histories. We sense in our bones that virtue affects the quality of social life. The prophets have expressed the same sentiment rather emphatically. Can that insight be worked out in concrete historical instances? I think it deserves a try. We may not be able to plot the course of a people through all of their history as the scriptures do for Israel and Toynbee does for his civilizations. But perhaps we can penetrate lesser events or epochs to show Providence at work governing the world by divine law.

3. *Inspiration through the Spirit of Christ.* Mormons have long entertained the vague belief that God was guiding all good men everywhere to various triumphs of the spirit in art and government and science. In general we have attributed the appearance of "the finer things" to the activity of the Spirit of Christ, thereby reconciling our gospel convictions with our commitment to middle class American culture. I have no serious objection to this comforting belief so long as we do not fall prey to secularization of the worst sort, that is, to clothe worldly values in religion. But what I have in mind as a program of historical research has a different purpose than the sanctification of culture heroes.

It rests on two doctrines: spiritual death at the Fall and spiritual life through the light of Christ. The assumption is that our separation from God wounded us, and we desire to be healed. We are not whole without God, and seek completion. The truest and only completely satisfying course is to yield to the Spirit of Christ which God sends into the world in lieu of His own presence. Following that Spirit brings us eventually to the gospel and to God where we enter once again into the rest of the Lord. But en route most humans are waylaid or deceived. They accept counterfeit Gods, mere idols, and fruitlessly seek fulfillment in them. Rarely are individuals entirely

¹⁰David C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1961).

defeated, for the Spirit continues to strive with man, and men as a whole, however badly misled for a time, will always back away from their false gods and start again on a more promising path. Thus the search is perpetual, driven by man's deepest need. All of human history in this sense can be thought of as *heilige geschichte*, a quest for salvation.

The model for this mode of history, I must confess, is not the scriptures (though they too tell of the quest for salvation) but Reinhold Niebuhr's Gifford Lectures, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*.¹¹ Niebuhr's categories were human finitude and divine infinitude. Man is limited and contingent but because of a divine component yearns to be infinite and free. His quest has taken two major forms, romantic and classical, which roughly correspond to emotion and reason, loss of self in the senses and exaltation through the mind. The romantics are Dionysians, giving themselves over to feeling and seeking union with the All through sense and emotion. Classical figures are Apollonians. They seek order and perfect control. The scientist is a classical man who tries to reduce all of life to laws of which he is perfectly certain and which afford complete control. Both of these styles are idols, Niebuhr argued, false and misleading efforts to be God, that eventually lead to tyranny and death. The only true way to reach the infinite is through worship, which permits men to reach God without claiming to be God themselves. I do not subscribe entirely to Niebuhr's categories, although they are immensely useful, but his model of incomplete man striving for completion does accord with the scriptural view of the human situation.

Furthermore, I find that the model works in historical research. I am presently studying religious and political thought in America in the early eighteenth century. Without forcing the issue, I see men in this period attempting two things in their ideological discourse. The first is to describe life as it should be. This generation was vexed by their own greed and contentiousness. The self was forever getting in the way, venting bitter and rancorous emotions, or pursuing its private interests at the expense of the whole. These people yearned for peace and union, ways of keeping the self in check or of giving themselves to noble causes that would make them forget self. Union, tranquillity, peace, harmony were among their most prominent values, and these, I think, represent in some way a response to the Spirit of Christ, a form of the desire for the rest of the Lord.

The second quest is for moral justification. Men yearn to prove themselves right, that is, to reconcile what they are with what they think they should be. I am willing to work on the assumption that the consciences of men are somehow related to the Spirit of Christ. Warped as moral standards sometimes appear to be, usually we find behind the specific standards of behavior an intention which we can recognize as admirable in our own terms. What I am arguing is that conscience is not entirely relative, though in detail it varies immensely. And that when we find men justifying themselves or setting standards for others, we see them wrestling with the influence

¹¹Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man: A Christian Interpretation* (C. Scribner's Sons, 1941).

of heaven. These eighteenth century figures, living as they did in a rapidly expanding society, were forever contending with one another and following naked self-interest in contradiction of what they believed ought to be. Their tortured efforts to justify their actions I think open a window on an authentic religious struggle.

All of this becomes interesting historically when we see various ideals, sometimes disparate ones, working against a reality which drives men to fight with themselves. The ideals and the actual situation create a dynamic interplay which goes far to explain specific events and to account for changes in ideology. In eighteenth century America, the ideal of harmony and the reality of conflict moved men toward a new view of the social order that envisioned life as compartmentalized, each person secluded and safe within the bounds of his own rights, in short, an order more like our present pluralistic society. That minimized contention and unleashed ambition, but it also separated men from each other and required another ideal to give moral significance to life: the free individual progressing toward his own destiny. Nineteenth-century Americans sought their salvation by pursuing that ideal.

Again without forcing the issue, I am convinced that men require a moral setting for their lives. They want to measure themselves against some ideal standard, however grotesque, inarticulate, or irrational it may be. Life has to have purpose and meaning, to operate within a structure which describes existence as it should be and permits people to justify their exertions by some standard outside themselves. In some respects these moral frameworks are godly, and rightly attributed to the Spirit of Christ. They seem to be among the chief means by which men undertake to save themselves.

The advantage of the history of salvation (or man's attempts at it) over the history of revelation or the history of Providence, the two other categories I have discussed, is that the first applies to all people and permits, even demands, full sympathy with them. There is no danger of narrowness, which is inherent in concentration on the locus of revelation or on the vicissitudes of covenanted nations. Its disadvantage is that it may blend imperceptibly with secular history. I confessed my indebtedness to Niebuhr, no Mormon though a Christian. At the moment I am impressed with the work of Carl Schorske, who has no religious convictions at all so far as I know. If these men write history as I aspire to write it, can I still claim to be working out of a Mormon heritage in response to the self I encounter in moments of faith?

IV

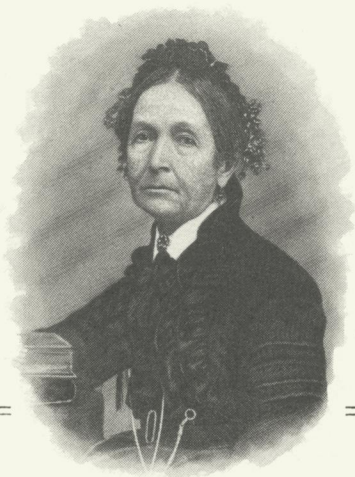
The query brings me to my final point, one which I touched on when I said we will only know what Mormon history is when Mormons write it. There is a paradox in the very discussion of the subject of Mormons writing history. On the one hand, I wish to encourage Mormon historians, like Mormon psychologists and Mormon physicians, to think about the relationship of their faith and their professional practice. We are still too much merely Sunday Christians. On the other hand, I do not wish my categories

to be thought of as prescriptive. I think it would be a mistake to set out to prove that nations rise and fall according to principles of righteousness outlined in the Book of Mormon. The outcome would probably be no more convincing than the books which try to show principles of psychoanalysis governing novels. Such works always seem stilted, forced, and artificial. You feel the author was trying to prove an ideological point rather than tell you what he thinks actually happened.

Scriptural principles will guide us toward more powerful works of history only when those principles are fully and naturally incorporated into our ways of thinking; so that when we look at the world we see it in these categories without lying to ourselves or neglecting any of the evidence. We must believe in our framework as sincerely as the Progressive historians believed in economic forces or as any of our secular contemporaries believe in their theories of motivation or social change. It must be part of us, so much so that we will not consciously write as Mormons, but simply as men who love God and are coming to see the world as He does.

Thus it is that my history of the eighteenth century as a quest for salvation may indeed partake of secular strains of thought. But I also know that for me it is religious as well. It is faithful history. As I look at the world in my best moments, this is how I see it. I am not lying to any part of myself, neither the part that prays nor that which interprets documents. If I am still the victim of secularism, the recourse is not to a more obviously Mormon approach but to repentance. Merely altering technique or a few ideas will not make the difference. My entire character, all the things which shape my vision of the world, must change.

The trouble with wishing to write history as a Mormon is that you cannot improve as a historian without improving as a man. The enlargement of moral insight, spiritual commitment, and critical intelligence are all bound together. A man gains knowledge no faster than he is saved.



POEMS,

Religious, Historical, and Political.

BY ELIZA R. SNOW.

"How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth!"

"Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God."

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1856.

POEMS.

MENTAL GAS.

Charles to his teacher—Sir, you say
That nature's laws admit decay—
 That changes never cease ;
And yet you say, no void or space ;
'Tis only change of shape or place—
 No loss, and no increase.

That space or vacuum, sir, explain—
When solid sense forsakes the brain,
 Pray what supplies its place ?
O, sir, I think I see it now—
When substance fails, you will allow
 Air occupies the space.

Not so, my child, that rule must fail ;
For, by my philosophic scale,
 The substitute for sense
Is lighter far than common air ;
And with the most consummate care,
 No chemic skill can dense.

But when misfortune turns the screw,
'Tis oft compress'd from outward view—
 By outward force confin'd :

POEMS.

But with expansive power 'twill rise,
Destroy the man, increase his size,
And swell his optics blind.

Of various hues, yet still the same ;
Though *mental gas* its chemic name,
Some Poets call it *pride* :
Th' important aid this gas imparts
Among the various *human arts*
Can never be denied.

This gas, entire, may be obtain'd
From skulls whence sense is mostly drain'd,
Or never had supplies :
But were the noblest heads disclos'd,
From acts and motives decompos'd,
This mental gas would rise.

The parson's lecture, lawyer's plea,
Devoted sums of charity,
The sage with book profound ;
The Muse's pen, the churchman's creed,
The mill-boy on his pacing steed,
Are more or less compound.

SPIRITUAL PROBLEMS IN THE TEACHING OF MODERN LITERATURE

Stephen L. Tanner

In this essay, the author, a professor of English at the University of Idaho, pursues a number of questions raised in the last issue (on "Mormonism and Literature"), particularly the difficulties and opportunities that confront readers and teachers of a modern literature which seems increasingly alien to their deepest values and standards.

There are certain problems which a Mormon must cope with in teaching any secular literature. What does he do, for example, with a literary work which expresses ideas and attitudes in opposition to his theology? What does he do with the work which treats, perhaps very graphically, behavior that is contrary to his standards of taste and conduct or which embodies a moral thesis he considers insidious? Is it possible for him to be objective in such cases? Is it *desirable* for him to be objective in such cases? These questions arise, of course, in regard to literature of nearly any era, but perhaps nowhere is their difficulty more acute and bewildering than when they are posed in connection with modern literature. My primary purpose in this essay is to clarify as far as possible, within the context of modern literature, the problems implied by these questions. My initial assumption is that these problems and their consequences are frequently not examined as carefully as they should be; and until they are, satisfactory solutions cannot reasonably be expected.

There will be no discussion of specific works in this essay. Since opinion varies so widely, and often heatedly, on the quality of individual works produced in recent times, I am afraid that such discussion would only open up a Pandora's box of disagreement and unmanageable issues. I will focus rather

on theory. A good deal of what I say will be abstract, but this is commensurate with my second aim, which is to suggest a general method, or at least some fundamental assumptions and premises that might go into formulating a general method, for approaching modern literature.

In general, I will be using the term "modern literature" to refer to a particular movement or school of writing rather than to literature generally which happens to have been produced recently. In other words, I have in mind a type of literature and not simply a period. Literary modernism, as a movement, is varied and complex and resists simple definition. It is hard to say whether a given writer, or an aspect of a writer's work, falls under the rubric of modernism; but there is value and convenience in generalizations as long as they are not inflexibly applied. An intelligent and flexible attempt at defining modernism can be found in Irving Howe's introduction to *Literary Modernization*,¹ and for the purpose of the essay I will accept his definition.

Howe, after acknowledging the elusive and protean nature of the term, discusses the literary and philosophical attributes of modernism under the following nine headings:

1. The rise of the avant-garde as a special caste
2. The problem of belief becomes exacerbated, sometimes to the point of dismissal
3. A central direction in modernist literature is toward the self-sufficiency of the work
4. The idea of aesthetic order is abandoned or radically modified
5. Nature ceases to be a central subject and setting for literature
6. Perversity—which is to say: surprise, excitement, shock, terror, affront—becomes a dominant motif
7. Primitivism becomes a major terminus of modern writing
8. In the novel there appears a whole new sense of character, structure and the role of the protagonist or hero
9. Nihilism becomes the central preoccupation, the inner demon, at the heart of modern literature.

According to Howe, the modern writer finds it a condition of being a writer that he rebel:

A modernist culture soon learns to respect, even to cherish, signs of its division. It sees doubt as a form of health. It hunts for ethical norms through underground journeys, experiments with sensation, and a mocking suspension of accredited values. Upon the passport of the Wisdom of the Ages, it stamps in bold red letters: *Not Transferable*. It cultivates, in Thomas Mann's phrase, "a sympathy for the abyss." It strips man of his systems of belief and his ideal claims, and then proposes the uniquely modern style of salvation: a salvation by, of, and for the self.

It is difficult to imagine any set of attitudes more contrary and antagonistic to Mormon theology. The Mormon culture seeks unity rather than

¹(Greenwich, Conn., 1967).

division. It recognizes the value of honest doubt, but sees it not as an end in itself, but rather as a step toward a healthy and legitimate certainty regarding the fundamental questions of life. It turns to revealed religion for ethical norms and not to "underground journeys, experiments with sensation, and a mocking suspension of accredited values." The Mormon is appalled at the notion that the "Wisdom of the Ages" is "Not Transferable." Indeed, his guide for conduct and belief is the Wisdom of the Ages, which he believes is contained in the Scriptures. His handbooks for living in the present—his Standard Works—were, for the most part, composed centuries ago, but he has faith that they embody principles of truth which are eternally valid. The Mormon culture has no "sympathy for the abyss"; its attention is always directed upward, out of the dark abyss toward the light. And as for "a salvation by, of, and for the self," Mormon theology asserts that salvation comes only by subjecting and disciplining the self to a specific system of belief—there is only one name given by which man must be saved.

The conclusion seems inescapable that literary modernism is incompatible with Mormon theology—with Christian theology in general, for that matter. How is the Mormon teacher to cope with this contradiction between his religious faith and the dominant literature of his age?

It is easy for some to condemn modern literature *en bloc* as unclean, ungodly, and unartistic, and simply reject it out of hand. It is equally easy for others to praise it lustily for its frankness and penetrating questioning, its formal excellence, and other qualities which most critics find in it so abundantly. The first attitude, in its extreme form, is illustrated by the good brother who said to me when he learned I had written a master's thesis on Ernest Hemingway: "Hemingway's novels are really just a bunch of filth, aren't they?" (I spared him the anxiety of knowing that any unclean elements in Hemingway are obsolete in view of the depths of scatology reached by more recent authors.) The second attitude is demonstrated by the more "enlightened" brother who bends my ear with his enthusiastic response to a recent best-seller which he has absorbed apparently without the slightest inkling that its fundamental premises are directly in opposition to the gospel he expounds so enthusiastically on Sunday. I cannot admire the uninformed, closed mind of the first man; nor can I admire the mind of the second man, whose intellectual fiber is so flabby that it can accommodate conflicting ideas with no apparent discomfort.

Neither the closed mind nor the mind so open that a constant breeze prevents things from being properly sorted out will do for the Latter-day Saint approaching modern literature.

On the basis of Howe's list of characteristics, there is, perhaps, a third approach which might have merit. Notice that most of the items on that list which do not run directly against the grain of Mormon theology are the ones having to do with form and technique—in other words, aesthetic considerations. Is it possible for a Mormon teacher to focus on aesthetic concerns to the exclusion of discomforting religious and philosophical attitudes? I cannot see this as a very satisfying solution, because the Mormon, who

sees all aspects of his experience as having some bearing on his spiritual life, must ultimately make a connection between life and art, between ethics and aesthetics. This is not to say that ethics and aesthetics are the same thing. It is perfectly possible, and may be valuable, to study a work of art, or a movement of art, from a purely aesthetic point of view. But, in my opinion, a Mormon scholar will recognize that such a study is abstracting for a special purpose what in practice cannot exist separately. Therefore, the attempt to come to terms with modern literature by an exclusively aesthetic approach will finally prove abortive.

If we avoid the extreme paths of blind intolerance and equally blind acceptance, as well as the strictly formalistic route, then where is the proper avenue of approach? Obviously, it is located in some kind of mediatorial position; but discovering that position is no easy task. It is a task we frequently botch because we fail to perceive adequately the extent and difficulty of the challenge entailed in the Christian ideal of being in the world but not of the world. We find it too easy to be both. We are deceiving ourselves, of course; especially nowadays when, by the very nature of our mass-media-mass-man society, it is so extremely difficult to keep those "in" and "of" prepositions sorted out. Perhaps this is our basic challenge in the Church today: The temptation is not to break under persecution, but to conform under acceptance—to be absorbed into an ungodly world.

One cannot logically partake fully of the world during the week and then expect not to be *in* it on Sunday. But it is characteristic of human nature to be able to live comfortably with logical inconsistency. Look about us. On every hand one can see people and movements that are blissfully unaware of the rational contradictions between their ideals and their actions, their ends and their means. Perhaps for the sake of our psychological stability in this chaotic world we should be thankful for our capacity to eliminate the friction of logical inconsistency. But a teacher has a high calling. He must be a discriminator, a fearless maker of distinctions. He must have the intellectual training to perceive contradictions and the spiritual courage to confront them. The Mormon teacher of modern literature must understand the full implications of the fundamental incompatibility of literary modernism and his theology; and then, without distorting the literature or compromising his theological beliefs, he should be able to abstract from the literature, through a process of sifting and winnowing, what is beautiful, enlightening, true, and significant or enriching to human experience. For despite the basic conflict between our religion and modern literature, the latter still possesses such qualities, sometimes to a rather remarkable degree.

What I am advocating, and what I believe is possible, although not easy, is a kind of middle way between uninformed intolerance and uncritical tolerance—a special combination of informed intolerance and critical tolerance. It may appear that I am merely playing with words here, but I have in mind a definite position which, in a meager way, is analogous to that of God himself, who cannot look upon sin with the least degree of allowance and yet who loves the most miserable sinner.

The aim of a Mormon teacher should not be to insinuate any partisan or parochial strictures upon the artist. He should remember that generally the modern creative artist works without benefit of theological support. As Irving Howe points out, he is frequently a rebel against systems of belief. His work, therefore, is often a negative disclosure of the nature of human need, bearing witness to the absence rather than the presence of God, and must be taken on its own terms to be justly understood. And understanding should be a primary objective for the Mormon teacher, the same as it should be for all members of the Church. The central program of the Restoration, after all, is to proselytize, to spread the gospel message and convert souls; and effective missionary work requires an understanding of those being taught.

Jesus went among the publicans and sinners because it was the sick who most needed the healer. It is probable that he knew he must go among them in order to understand them—their thoughts, values, hopes, fears, and aspirations. He had to understand them, and perhaps demonstrate that he was open to and aware of their position, before he could convert them. His remarkable ability to fit his teachings to his audience is well recognized; only by knowing that audience well could he do this. We cannot expect to achieve much efficiency in converting the world unless we profit from his example.

I am suggesting that one justification for a Mormon's studying modern literature is that such a study produces understanding, which, in turn, produces the power to influence for good. To ignore or reject modern literature because of regrettably frequent instances of nihilism, atheism, and obscenity is to lose the benefit of the largest body of revealing confessional literature since the Renaissance, a literature which quite accurately reflects the dominant attitudes and values of the people of our world. To open oneself to this writing is admittedly dangerous: herein lies the real challenge of the Mormon stance of being in the world but not of it and trying all the while to convert it. In confronting this danger, we can again look to Christ's example. Regardless of the extent to which he fraternized with the sinners, his purpose and achievement was always in the end to observe rather than espouse. This is not an easy undertaking, and I fear that some of the teachers and students of modern literature within the Church have failed in it. They suppose themselves to be fighting a gallant rear-guard action, when, in truth, they are already chopping wood and hauling water for the enemy.

What I intend is that modern literature can teach us a good deal about man, but rather little about God. In other words, modern literature is very revealing of how men are thinking, behaving, and acting, and we need to know this; but it is not a very reliable source for learning the nature of God and how men are to please him. We can go to it to learn much about human nature and experience, but for the fundamental principles of our theology and moral system we rely on revealed religion, though admittedly there are plenty of modern writers writing within a more or less Christian framework who can teach us a good deal about our relationship to God and our moral obligations to our fellow men.

One of the major problems confronting us in our desire to understand modern literature and the world of attitudes and values it expresses is the need to determine the sincerity of a particular writer. It does us little good to give thoughtful and serious consideration to a work which did not receive the same kind of consideration from its author. Because of the very medium he employs, the modern novelist must be sensitive to commercial considerations. This makes him susceptible to the suggestions of publishers and the implied suggestions of a mass reading public. Sometimes such suggestions can lead him to compromise the sincerity of his expression and the integrity of his artistic vision. Such a compromise is sometimes manifest in an author's use of sexual episodes, explicitly described, which have no genuine organic relation to his main artistic purpose. They are a sort of sop to conciliate the real or imagined taste of the public which generates best-seller lists. In selecting his texts, therefore, the Mormon teacher should be discriminating.

One concern which can cause confusion in that process of discrimination is the search for "relevance." This word is currently much batted about within the academic community. Students are demanding more relevance in their course work and teachers are scrambling to satisfy their demands. Unfortunately, the kind of relevance commonly involved in this process is often of a rather superficial variety; it is a relevance of subject matter rather than treatment, title rather than content, appearance rather than substance. For some it is no more than relevance in time. In a course in late-nineteenth-century American literature last semester, several students in their final exams dismissed Mark Twain, Henry James, William D. Howells, and even Stephen Crane and Frank Norris as completely "irrelevant" to our present society. At the heart of their arguments for such a conclusion was simply the contention that writers who wrote seventy or eighty years ago by this fact alone cannot be relevant. They are outdated. Their ideas are old and must therefore be obsolete.

I am entirely in favor of relevance in the study of literature. I would not be making the study of literature my profession if I did not find it relevant. But the term must be carefully defined. I think a meaningful relevance must transcend a mere relation in time or subject matter. I am concerned with the relevance a particular work of literature has to the fundamental issues of human experience. These remain, as far as I can see, largely unchanged throughout the ages. When one thinks of relevance in these terms, he can allow that the writings of Homer, Shakespeare, and Emerson or Isaiah, Paul, and Alma can be, and indeed are, very relevant to the problems of American society in the 1970's. On the other hand, there are many current books on drugstore shelves whose titles proclaim that they are up-to-the-minute in the subject matter they treat (in fact, there is a trend in paperback books now to race for publication after a noteworthy event; e.g., new books on Robert Kennedy appeared on the bookstands only a matter of days after his assassination; and novels dealing with the subject of heart transplants were begun as soon as Dr. Barnard performed the first success-

ful heart transplant operation); but though these books appear relevant—that is, their subject matter is currently in the news—their relevance is really only marginal because the treatment is superficial, unoriginal, too inflexibly partisan, or inaccurate.

In order to be relevant, a work of literature should not simply be related in some way, but that relation should center on a significant valid insight of some kind. Relevance for a Mormon teacher, it seems to me, should be a matter of the relatedness of a particular work to the recognition and understanding of fundamental values, problems, and behavior in human experience. For him a piece of literature is relevant if it enlarges to some degree his appreciation of the complexity of the human predicament and aids him to some extent in answering important questions and in formulating enlightened attitudes and opinions. This puts into the background criteria based solely upon time or topic.

Closely associated with the question of relevance in choosing course material is the question of the experimental or avant-garde. To what extent should the desire to keep up to date with literary experimentation determine the selection of texts? Should one select a novel or play or collection of poetry solely because it is categorized as avant-garde? Should one reject the novel, play, or poetry for the same reason? Again, balanced judgment is needed. Obviously, some of the classics of tomorrow are being written today. But one ought not to let his fear of failing to recognize lasting literature at its birth cause him to embrace indiscriminately everything which appears strikingly novel or original. There is a danger in going so far as believing that an avant-garde work is good *per se*. While experimentation and change are the *source* of growth and progress, they cannot be equated with growth and progress. A great deal of experimentation fails, after all, and change can be for the worse just as well as for the better. For every James Joyce in the twenties there were dozens of experimenters in symbolism, dadaism, surrealism (and heaven only knows what else) who have disappeared into the obscurity of literary trivia. I do not mean to imply in any way that the Mormon teacher ought to avoid the avant-garde; this, of course, would lead to stagnation. He need have no fear of change and experimentation. As Emerson said, "The thoughts are few, the forms many," and the writer is free to create the "large vocabulary or many-colored coat" of an indigenous unity. The teacher should exercise some caution, of course, with experimentation and change in moral law (taking this term in its broadest sense). He should not be blindly reactionary to a work which in a new way examines, for instance, the theme of modern sexuality. But at the same time he should be unimpressed with its "avant-gardism" sufficiently enough to be able to make a sound judgment on its intrinsic merit. In short, there is nothing sacred about the avant-garde: the badge of experimentation of itself merits no reverence.

After the teacher selects his texts, he is still faced with the problem of determining his point of view or tone regarding that material. In my own teaching, I have placed a premium on objectivity. Perhaps this is why I was

made a little uncomfortable recently on reading a statement by Randall Stewart, a noted teacher and scholar of American literature. Professor Stewart confesses to a "growing impatience with the traditional academic adoration of the objective, disinterested, neutral approach to all questions." He notes an "uncomfortably close kinship" between neutrality and sterility. *Neutral*, he remarks in an aside, is related etymologically to neuter. He then goes on to say that

Professors of literature have been more neutral than most, especially where moral and religious questions have been concerned. The reasons for this have been at least three: (1) professors of literature, being congenitally polite, have not wanted to step on anybody's toes; (2) they have striven (mistakenly, I think) to be as objective and disinterested as their scientific brethren; and (3) they have prided themselves (again mistakenly, I think) on their agnosticism in religious matters, agnosticism being, or having been in the past, almost universally regarded in academic circles as more scholarly, more intelligent, and more sophisticated than "belief."²

Allowing, on the one hand, that there are dangers in partisanship in the classroom, and, on the other hand, that certain pedagogical ends can be achieved by playing the devil's advocate, the Mormon teacher might well give Professor Stewart's statement thoughtful consideration. To be sure, a teacher is obliged to allow his students to formulate their own conclusions regarding any particular piece of literature; but is he not obliged also, as a fellow human being and spiritual brother, to share with them, at least to some extent, his personal solutions to the anxieties often generated in the encounter with literary modernism? This does not have to involve preaching doctrine, but it could involve hints and suggestions which would let a little light into the student's soul and open up affirmative alternates for him to weigh along with the more obvious negative ones.

Probably the most important concern for a Mormon teacher of literature is the sorting out of his own opinions, attitudes, and beliefs. He ought to identify or establish points of demarcation in his moral and religious views. How far can he go, for example, in accepting a particular moral attitude, stated or implied? Where is the point beyond which he cannot go and remain consistent with his religious faith, his world view? This, of course, is not easy and is never fully accomplished, because no one's world view remains static from one day to the next—at least not if his intellect is the least bit active. But the effort and the approximation are what count. The Mormon teacher who is honest with himself will never be able to feel smug and comfortable in the bewildering world of modern literature. There will necessarily be a constant tension between his theology and his subject matter. But there is no spiritual growth without tension. This is what makes religious faith in the modern world such an adventure, such a challenge.

²*American Literature and Christian Doctrine* (Baton Rouge, 1958), p. viii.

WILLARD YOUNG: THE PROPHET'S SON AT WEST POINT

Leonard J. Arrington

Professor Arrington, noted economist and author of GREAT BASIN KINGDOM was recently appointed as one of four special Research and Review editors for the IMPROVEMENT ERA; for this essay he has used recent research into the letters of Brigham Young to provide both an engaging profile of one of the Prophet's sons, a remarkable man in his own right, and also a unique view of Brigham Young in the role of father, trying to communicate love and counsel from far away, that contemporary fathers and sons should find surprisingly interesting.

A common object of humor among visitors to Mormon Country in the nineteenth century was the large number of children. Many travellers' accounts contain a version of the story of Brigham Young's encounter with a ragged street urchin:

"Who's child are you, Sonny?"

"I'm Brigham Young's little boy. Please sir, do you know where I can find him?"¹

In her portrait of her father, Susa Young Gates denies this view, stating that the relationship of Brigham Young to each of his fifty-six children was both intimate and affectionate.² This, despite his heavy responsibilities in connection with the political, economic, and religious affairs of the Church and territory. A study of the correspondence of Brigham Young with one of his children, Willard Young, confirms this view, and reveals, in addition,

¹Or, as Artemus Ward put it: "He sez about every child he meats call him Pa, & he takes it for grantid it is so." *Artemus Ward, His Book* (New York, 1865), p. 83.

²Susa Young Gates, in collaboration with Leah D. Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young* (New York, 1931).



A portrait of Willard Young in middle age appears in the upper right-hand corner of this composite group picture.

that the President was not only a master colonizer, but also a master letter writer. The career of Willard Young also demonstrates the potential leadership among the young people reared in the Church in Utah Territory in the last half of the nineteenth century.³

Willard Young was born in Salt Lake City on April 30, 1852. He was the third child (and only son) of Clarissa Ross Young, and the thirtieth child of Brigham Young. His mother died when he was but six years of age, so he was reared by his "aunties" in the large Brigham Young household in the Lion House. His independent spirit was exhibited as early as the age of thirteen. He and his half-brother Ernest had observed that their father believed in work as well as play, so they asked him if he would permit them to leave school and go to work. As told by his sister, Susa Young Gates:

Father told them they must go back and talk it over with their mothers and older sisters and then come to him. They returned with the desired consent and then father told them that he wanted them to stay by their decision; they could work a while and then go to school a while. He was quite willing that they should work for one

³In the Manuscript Section of the L.D.S. Church Historian's Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, are located the papers and diaries of Willard Young. His "Name File" includes various letters written by President Brigham Young to Willard during the 1870's, some of his addresses and sermons, and various biographical information compiled by the Assistant Church Historian, Andrew Jenson. His "Diary File" includes eleven diaries. Entries begin with September 15, 1877, and include entries for the years 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1882, 1883, 1890, 1898, 1902, 1905, and 1906. These are primarily "professional diaries," with notes on his various assignments and activities as an engineer. The present article is compiled from information in these two files, and from other sources as cited.

or more years and then they would perhaps be willing to go to school and work hard at that. They went to work on the farm in teaming and woodhauling. After a year they were eager enough to get back in school.⁴

Apparently, Willard, at least, did "work hard" at school, for he was "the best scholar and strongest boy" at the Deseret University (forerunner of the University of Utah) in Salt Lake City.⁵ When word was received from the Secretary of War in May, 1871, that a vacancy existed at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, and that William H. Hooper, Utah's delegate to Congress, had the privilege of naming a candidate, President John R. Park of the university suggested Willard.⁶ He had just turned nineteen. When Willard asked his father if he could accept the appointment, the Prophet replied: "I will let you go, but will send you as a missionary." His name was then presented in the general priesthood meeting for a sustaining vote and his name was carried on the missionary list for the next twenty years.

Already an elder, having been ordained at the age of sixteen, Willard was set apart under the hands of the First Presidency to go to West Point, with the following blessing:

We set you apart to this mission and we seal this Priesthood upon you, even the Priesthood of the Most High, with the blessings pertaining thereunto, that you may go and fulfill this high and holy calling and gain this useful knowledge, and through the light of truth, make it subservient for the building up of the Kingdom of God.

President Young's characteristic solicitude and fatherly advice are reflected in his first letter to Willard, dated May 19, 1871, shortly before his departure for New York:

In entering the Academy at West Point you are taking a step which may prove to you of incalculable advantage. You are thereby enjoying a privilege which falls to the lot of comparatively few. You will do well to treasure up the instruction so abundantly provided there, that in after years you may be prepared to take a place in the foremost ranks of the great men of the nation. Experience will teach you that the greatest success does not attend the over-studious, and a proper regard must be had to physical as well as to intellectual exercise, else the intellectual powers become impaired, and, therefore, bodily recreation and rest are as necessary, as they are beneficial to mental study.

Every facility will be afforded you at home by your friends, in the furtherance of your studies, and I have no doubt that a straightforward, manly, upright course on your part, will gain you friends and ensure you valuable aid from your fellow students.

Bear in mind above all, the God whom we serve, let your prayers day and night ascend to him for light and intelligence, and let your

⁴*The Life Story of Brigham Young*, p. 347.

⁵*Deseret Evening News*, June 8, 1871.

⁶There is an 8-page typed statement about his call to West Point among the papers in the Willard Young "Name File."

daily walk and conversation be such, that when you shall have returned home, you can look back to the time passed at West Point and see no stain upon your character. You will doubtless have your trials and temptations, but if you will live near the Lord, you will hear the still, small voice whisper to you even in the moment of danger. Attend strictly to your own business, be kind and courteous to all, be sober and temperate in all your habits, shun the society of the unvirtuous and the intemperate, and should any person ask you to drink intoxicating liquor of any kind, except in sickness, never accept it. Select your own company rather than have others select yours.

If at any time you feel overtaxed or homesick, seek relaxation in the Society of our Elders in New York, or in other places where they may be travelling, that is, when the rules of the Institution or special license, permit you leave of absence.

Write to me frequently, and any assistance you need, that I can furnish, will be provided. May God bless you and preserve you from every snare and give you His Holy Spirit to light your path before you, and help qualify you for usefulness in His Kingdom.

Your affectionate father,
Brigham Young

Willard's tour of duty at West Point enables us to observe the adaptability of young "pioneer" Latter-day Saints for this kind of training. As the first native Utahn to enter West Point, he attracted nation-wide attention. This was particularly true because his father was an almost mythical symbol of qualities both good and bad. In his class of "plebes" was also the first Negro appointed to West Point; so the New York (and other) newspapers featured these facts in sensational articles for several weeks. An interviewing columnist for the New York *Herald* described him as "a fine, manly looking fellow, robust and tall, and, taken altogether, the best looking man physically among the greenies . . . frank in speech." He had, wrote the reporter, "conducted himself in such a straightforward way that he has already made no small number of friends among the cadets." When the reporter asked him what he would do about going to church, he replied good-humoredly:

I will do the best I can. It makes no difference to me what church I go to so long as I do what is right. The fact is the Mormon principle is that there is good to be found in every church, but we believe that we have in our church all that is good.

The correspondent concluded:

My opinion of him is that he ought to pass. He would make a splendid officer. Some of the cadets laugh at him because he won't smoke, and he complains of having heard more hard swearing since he came to West Point than he ever heard in his life before. But he has such extraordinary notions — extraordinary in a West Point view — of what a good man should be, that I think he would make

a capital anti-swearing missionary, if not a capital officer. . . . [H]e is a capital fellow, . . . and is, to all appearances, "a man for a' that."⁷

In his second letter, dated June 17, 1871, President Young comments on some of this "newspaper talk."

We were all well pleased to hear from you, and to know that you passed a successful examination. This news was considered of sufficient importance to be flashed across the wires with the general telegraphic dispatches. . . .

It appears from some of the eastern papers, they are rather exercised over your admission among the cadets & one correspondent writing from this City to the N.Y. Herald, wants to know, "Will the boys permit the outrage;" it is easy to guess the source whence this emanated, some member of the notorious ring here, who leave no stone unturned to create friction between us and the Government. You are aware how signally they have failed and this malicious though very paltry effort only serves to show them up as they are. . . .

We are having a novelty in the shape of a Methodist camp meeting located on the Orson Spencer lot just across the street north of Henry Lawrence's house. Meeting is held in an extraordinarily large tent said to accommodate 3000 persons. I am not aware they have made any converts as yet, though a large number of our people attend nightly. We have advised all to attend, young and old. I have only been present at one meeting. The affair is very dry. Mr. [W. H.] Boole who preached on that occasion put me in mind of an old, dried up wooden pump, laboring and creaking in a dry well, working very hard but producing no water. I understand their services will close tomorrow.⁸

Though you are absent from us and far from home and your dearest friends, be assured we are not unmindful of you, our prayers are constantly exercised in your behalf that you may be kept free from the contaminating influences that will doubtless surround you. Let me again advise you that you cannot be too careful to shun the temptations of the day. We are not afraid of you, but you are in a more conspicuous position, probably, than you realize; the eyes of many are upon you to see what is likely to be your future. You will meet with those of your companions who will try every means to induce you to deviate from the path of virtue, but with a firm front, you can easily parry every such effort and still be kind and courteous,

⁷Reprinted from the New York *Herald* in the *Deseret Evening News*, June 8, 1871. The same issue reported he had passed his exams.

⁸The Methodist revival was the first non-Mormon religious revival in Utah. Mention of the revival is found in Edward W. Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders* (Salt Lake City, 1886), p. 543; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (4 vols., Salt Lake City, 1892-1904), II, 823-824n; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church* . . . (6 vols., Salt Lake City, 1930), V, 495-496; and T. Edgar Lyon, "Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities in Mormon Dominated Areas: 1865-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1962), pp. 150-151. From these sources we learn that Brigham Young publicly urged Latter-day Saints to attend the revival meetings and that several thousand did so. When one of the Methodist ministers — there were seven — expressed a wish to address the Sunday School children of Salt Lake City, Mormon leaders arranged for some 4,000 of them to attend the evening of Sunday, June 4, in the Salt Lake Tabernacle. The *Deseret News* of June 19, 1871, stated that there was no indication of a single Latter-day Saint convert during the eight-day revival. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported on June 15, 1871, that as the result of five days of meetings there had been "one professed conversion."

and rest assured that this course will win for you far greater respect, even from the unvirtuous, than that which would follow, were you to fall in with the dissolute habits of the day.

Above all things, seek closely to the Lord. Pray for His Holy Spirit to guide your steps and to deliver you from every snare.

Write to us often, and at length; your letters will be looked for with pleasure. . . . When you write I would like to learn in detail the routine of your daily life, and what your studies will consist of. Whether your friends are allowed to visit you, & if so, are they restricted to certain times? Indeed, a brief description of the entire rules of the Academy would be quite interesting to us, and might furnish an interesting article for the News.

P. S. I am particularly desirous to know the regulations about visitors, because, if allowed, I shall request all our elders visiting in your neighbourhood to call upon you. . . .

At West Point the regulations required the cadets to attend chapel services unless the parents had religious scruples against them doing so. As indicated in his interview with the reporter for the New York *Herald*, Willard had no reservations, but thought he should write to his father to see what he thought about it. He received an answer, dated July 25, 1871:

We would like to learn in detail the routine of your daily life; what your duties and exercises consist of; what the regulations are about visitors; whether ladies have access to the cadets & under what restrictions, if any. This last is a matter I am quite concerned to know about, as I understand you cadets are exceedingly popular with the fair sex & some of them are very, very dangerous when so disposed, just for the sake of having a laugh at their victims; shun such as you would the very gates of hell! They are the enemy's strongest tools, & should be resisted as strongly. Beware of them! . . .

The Bishop [John Sharp, who had visited Willard during a trip East on business connected with the Union Pacific Railroad] tells me, you are kept so busy, that you have barely time to attend to your correspondence. All who have written to, or spoken with me are well satisfied with your course, so far, and the Bishop assures me that whatever *may* have been the feelings of the cadets toward you at first, you are now looked upon by them as "a pretty good fellow." I will go still further with this, and say that we hope yet to see you set a pattern for all of them. By exhibiting your character, & the principles you profess, in your daily walk and conversation, and by refraining from every appearance of evil, you will not only be admired by the good and the upright, but you will command that respect, that even the most unvirtuous are willing to accord to those who truly deserve it. There is no question but that you can do a great deal of good among your fellow students and we hope to see you accomplish it. No matter what the world at large believe, or say about the Latter-day Saints, if we do our duty, and live for it, we will be found, among the children of men, at the head, & not at the tail.

With regard to your attending Protestant Episcopal service, I have no objections whatever. On the contrary, I would like to have you attend, and see what they can teach you about God and Godliness more than you have already been taught. When the Methodist big tent was here I advised old and young to attend their meetings,



Cadet Young in his West Point uniform and Colonel Young as a member of the Second U.S. Volunteer Engineers at Camp Columbia, Havana, Cuba (1899).

for that very reason, but I was well satisfied it would not take our people long to learn what the Methodists could teach them, more than they had already been taught. . . .

In another letter, dated February 17, 1876, President Young had this to say:

I am desirous that you should use the golden time, now upon your hands, to the very best advantage. It may be that you will never have such another opportunity amidst the care and bustle of after life as you now possess. Two things I am very anxious all my sons should be, faithful servants of our Heavenly Father, and useful members in his Kingdom. Integrity to the truth and ability to do good are qualities which I hope will characterize you all. And I will acknowledge that I have much happiness in the thought of how well my boys are doing at the present time. . . .

It must be very encouraging and pleasing to you in your thoughts of home, to realize the present activity in the works and feelings of the Saints whilst the progress of the work of God is made manifest in so many quarters. From every point we receive encouraging news from our missionaries out in the field and baptisms are not unfrequent. . . . When we think of the vast amount of preaching our elders are doing far and wide out in the world, the spirit of reformation amongst gathered Israel, the work of the Father commenced amongst the degraded children of Lehi, and the spreading out and strengthening of the settlements of the Saints, we cannot come to any other conclusion than "Zion is growing", nor refrain from praising our God for his manifest and repeated preservation of his people from the evils the enemies of righteousness seek to bring upon them. . . .

Such was the encouragement and advice of an indulgent and interested father. At the end of his first year Willard stood second in his class in mathematics, but thirty-second in French, and in general standing, seventh. His

progress continued good during the years that followed, and he graduated with the class of 1875. For the four years, out of forty-three students in his class, he ranked second in discipline, fifth in engineering, sixth in ordnance and gunnery, eighth in mineralogy and geology, and fifteenth in law. In general standing, he was fourth in his class.⁹

Upon graduation he was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers — one of four in his class receiving this appointment. He first served with the School of Engineers at Willitts Point (1875–1877), then on the Wheeler Survey in Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and California (1877–1879). For a four-year period (1879–1883) he served as assistant professor of civil and military engineering at West Point; the student of whom he was proudest was General George W. Goethals, who later achieved fame when he directed the construction of the Panama Canal. While at West Point he courted and married Harriet Hooper, daughter of the Congressional Delegate who had appointed him to the Academy. Harriet is described as having been “really beautiful, graceful, and cultured, as measured by the highest standards of New England’s social ‘400.’” The marriage seems to have been a completely happy one. To their union were born five daughters and one son, of whom three daughters and the son survived childhood.

After his tour at West Point, Willard was appointed to take charge of the Cascade Canal and Locks, Oregon (1883–1887). The construction of these works made possible the navigation of the Columbia River throughout its 230-mile length.¹⁰ Upon completion of this assignment, Lieutenant Young then proceeded to Portland, Oregon, to take charge of the harbor works on the coast of Oregon for the years 1887–1889. His next assignment was in Memphis, Tennessee, in connection with construction on the Mississippi River (1889–1891).

While Willard, now a captain, was at Memphis, the First Presidency of the Church (Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith) was arranging for the establishment of new academies and colleges which would provide additional secondary and advanced training for Latter-day Saint youth. Brigham Young, before his death, had deeded properties in Cache Valley for the establishment of the Brigham Young College at Logan, and in Utah Valley for the founding of the Brigham Young Academy at Provo. The President was in the process of establishing a similar college in Salt Lake City at the time of his death in 1877. After various legal complications in the settlement of his will had been overcome, the Young family, in 1890, agreed to donate to the Church properties on which to erect and maintain a college in Salt Lake City equivalent to the Brigham Young College and Brigham Young Academy. The First Presidency thought Willard was the best-equipped man to direct the contemplated college; early in 1891 they

⁹Letter of June 30, 1875, of “Ex-Army Officer,” in *Deseret News*, Journal History of the Church, this date. The *Chicago Times* is reported to have commented as follows on Willard Young’s graduation and high standing: “It has been said that polygamy results in the impairment of the mental faculties of the offspring, but this does not seem to prove the theory.” *Journal History of the Church*, July 2, 1875, p. 1.

¹⁰The *Salt Lake Herald* for July 12, 1885, has a long article on his work in Oregon.

asked him to resign his Army commission and return to Salt Lake City to become the school's first principal. Captain Young replied to them, under date of May 6, 1890, as follows:

I shall be very glad to resign from the Army to assume the duties mentioned Both my wife and myself are pleased at the thought of going back to Salt Lake to live, as no other place ever has, nor, I believe, ever can seem like home to us. We are both very much gratified at the confidence that the call to such a position implies.

He served as the founding principal of what became known as Young University during the years 1891 to 1893. He later served as City Engineer of Salt Lake City (1893–1895); Assistant Chief Engineer, Pioneer Power Company (a Church enterprise), 1895–1896; and as the first State Engineer of Utah, 1897–1898. He was also the first Adjutant General of Utah and first commanding Brigadier General of the Utah National Guard.

In 1898 America declared war on Spain. Many had expected that the Mormons would “sit this one out,” as had been the case during the War Between the States. Although Utah had been granted statehood, her elected representative to Congress, Brigham H. Roberts, was denied a seat because he had been married (before the Manifesto of 1890) to more than one wife.¹¹ Anti-Mormon sentiment still was rampant throughout the nation (seven million people had signed the petition against the seating of Roberts). Nevertheless, it was President Woodruff's advice that the Saints demonstrate their patriotism by assisting with the war effort. At his suggestion, an editorial was published in the *Deseret News*, urging young Mormons to “do their full and valiant duty” in responding to the nation's call to arms.¹² One of the first to volunteer — indeed, one of those who urged President Woodruff to encourage all young male Latter-day Saints to volunteer — was Willard Young. Described as a “very magnetic person and entertaining conversationalist,”¹³ Major Young was appointed colonel of the Second Regiment of U.S. Volunteer Engineers, and served in that capacity from May 1898 to May 1899. Upon his release he was commended by President William McKinley for valiant service in connection with the provision of sanitary works in Cuba.¹⁴

At the end of the war, Colonel Young went to New York City as general manager, and later president, of the National Contracting Company (1899–1902). During these years he supervised the construction of some of the works of the Niagara Falls Power Company; the main drainage works of the city of New Orleans; several sections of tunnels for the Boston Subway; a sewer system for Boston; and a dam for the Hudson River Power Company, near Glen Falls, New York. He continued in private engineering practice from 1902 to 1906.

During these years in New York City, Colonel Young and his wife used the rather considerable property which Harriet inherited from her father to

¹¹R. Davis Bitton, “The B. H. Roberts Case of 1898–1900,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXV (January, 1957), 27–46.

¹²“No Disloyalty Here,” *Deseret News*, April 25, 1898, and *Journal History*, this date.

¹³*Deseret Evening News*, March 11, 1898, quoting the Cheyenne, Wyoming, *Sun-Leader*.

¹⁴See “Sons of Utah Honored,” *Deseret Evening News*, June 4, 1898.

send their children to the best schools. Their son, Sidney, went to West Point, while their three daughters, Hattie, Claire, and Alice, were enrolled in Vassar. Nevertheless, father and mother saw to it that the children attended Sunday School and Sacrament meeting. The only available service in New York was conducted in Brooklyn by missionaries. To reach it the six Youngs, who lived in a fashionable home on West 81st Street, had to rise early, take a half-hour streetcar ride to the East River, change to a ferry boat to cross the river, then take another car ride for another mile or so. At the meetings, they found two to four elders and about a dozen members. This required thirty-six nickels for fares, but their greatest joy came from inviting the elders to return with them for Sunday dinner. Diary entries show that they "made it to meeting" virtually every Sunday. Clearly, this metropolitan engineer and Mrs. Young honored their heritage and the religious system which their fathers had been instruments in establishing.

In 1906 Colonel Young was called once more by the First Presidency of the Church — this time to become the President of the Latter-day Saints University in Salt Lake City.¹⁵ He served nine years in this capacity (1906–1915), after which he acted as counselor to the president of the Logan Temple.

Upon America's entry into World War I in 1917, President Young, although past retirement age, once more volunteered for Army service. He was appointed United States Agent in charge of all Army engineering work on the Missouri River, serving from 1917–1919.

At the close of the war, the Colonel returned to Salt Lake City and served for the remainder of his life as Superintendent of Church Building Construction. He was likewise a member of the Church Board of Education, and of the Ensign Stake High Council. He died in Salt Lake City in 1936, at the age of 84.¹⁶ At the time he was the oldest living son of Brigham Young.

As the first native Utahn to become an important officer in the Army, and the first to attain national eminence as an engineer and educator, Colonel Young helped to establish the heritage of achievement, of broad and helpful service, and of honor and faithfulness that Latter-day Saints seek to emulate.

¹⁵On April 4, 1892, Willard Young had asked the Saints assembled in general conference to approve a request to the First Presidency that they appoint a committee of five to consider a plan for founding a Church University. The motion was seconded by Elder Francis M. Lyman and carried unanimously. The committee consisted of Willard Young, Karl G. Maeser, James E. Talmage, James Sharp, and Benjamin Cluff. The following day this committee recommended the establishing of "an institution of learning of high grade" to be known as the "Church University." Upon a motion by Elder B. H. Roberts, the motion was carried unanimously. Previously there had existed an L.D.S. College and the infant "Young University" which Willard Young had directed. After one year of operation (1893–1894) the "Church University" was discontinued and the Church threw its support to the University of Utah. The former institution then became known as the Latter-day Saints College. In addition to various high school and vocational courses, the faculty taught college-level courses in religion. In a sense, the L.D.S. College in Salt Lake City functioned as a kind of L.D.S. Institute of Religion for students at the University of Utah. In 1930, most of the departments were discontinued and the institution became the L.D.S. Business College.

¹⁶Obituaries of Willard Young are found in: *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 26, 1936; *Salt Lake Telegram*, July 27, 1936; *The Deseret News*, July 28, 1936.

PRESIDENT DAVID O. McKAY

1873-1970

We have asked a number of people, of various age and experience and place, who have known David O. McKay as their Prophet and the President of their Church, to express their feelings at his death.

MY MEMORIES OF PRESIDENT DAVID O. McKAY

My first recollection of David O. McKay is a sermon he gave in a Sacrament Meeting which led me as a teenager to engage in critical self-examination and to leave the meeting with high resolve.

Despite the nervousness and excitement I felt in getting married, I still remember three principles he gave my wife and me forty years ago, in his introductory remarks preceding his celebration of our marriage: live within your means, practice the courtesy and chivalry of courtship throughout your marriage, and trust one another and be worthy of that trust, "for to be trusted is greater than to be loved."

Over a period of about thirty years while engaged in teaching religion to L.D.S. college youth, I was privileged either at his invitation or my request to have a half-dozen conversations with him about questions critical to me at the time. Looking back I marvel at the trust he placed in me, at his tolerance for those who disagreed with him—a prophet of God—and at his love of life in its intellectual, aesthetic, social, as well as spiritual dimensions.

President McKay invited me in to see him as I began in the innocence and inexperience of youth to teach religion in a college environment. After drawing me out on a number of issues, his only advice was, "Be true to yourself and loyal to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and whatever else you do will be all right." Not long thereafter, I returned with questions about evolution and family planning. "What shall I teach in these areas?" I asked. Very wisely, he replied, "What is your belief?" And then in gracious response he supported and amplified my fumbling beginnings of a position statement.

He gave me the feeling that we were thinking together, that he was incorporating my reflections into his own.

Years later he invited me to speak at a General Priesthood meeting on the subject of courtship and marriage. He wanted me to discourage going steady and teen-age marriages and to inspire the youth of the Church to prepare more realistically and ideally for marriage. I suggested that the talk would be most effective if he were to give it, to which he replied, "They think we are old fuddy-duddies, but they will listen to you." I asked, "Would you like to review what I plan to say in advance?" "No," he answered, "You will know best what to say."

President McKay placed confidence in others. He respected other men's thinking. Commenting on a T.V. discussion, he asked, "Who was that man on T.V. with you last week? Is he a member of the Church?" I answered "Yes, and a very fine one of intellectual acumen and great integrity. However, he does his own thinking." President McKay responded with a smile, "There's nothing wrong with that, is there?"

On another occasion several of us from the University of Utah visited with President McKay concerning a problem on the borderline of science and religion. Some Latter-day Saint professors of geology had been made to feel heretical by statements spoken with authority which denied their scientific experience. President McKay listened attentively and agreed with the basic position of geology regarding the age of the earth. And then he said of the other position, with great tolerance and graciousness: "The Church has taken no official stand on this question. Each one of us gives his own opinion and my friend has a right to his even as you and I have a right to our own."

My finest experience with President McKay was when I took a personal problem of a student-friend to him—a problem which had deeply hurt the young man and his family. In the interest of human considerations, President McKay made an exception to traditional Church procedure, acting swiftly. The justification for his action, in which he recognized he may have erred on the side of mercy, he expressed in these words, "When problems of this kind come to me, I say to myself: someday I shall stand before God and what will he say?"

David O. McKay was a charismatic leader who enjoyed a divine gift of grace. He was a "candle of the Lord," a prophet of God. What a privilege to have known such a man.

Lowell L. Bennion
Salt Lake City, Utah

TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT DAVID O. MCKAY

I do not hesitate and without reservation repeat from this remote end of the big wide world the very often heard expression from the lips of about three million people who have accepted the message of the Restored Gospel of Jesus Christ in these the last days: "He was surely a true Prophet, Seer and Revelator," who presided over Christ's Church for many years.

I learned from my parents that David O. McKay was the first Apostle and Special Witness of Christ who set foot on the soil of Samoa since the Restoration of the Church in 1830, through Joseph Smith, Jr., the Prophet. On that visit of 1921, President McKay and his companion, Brother H. Cannon, had to travel on horses to Sauniatu school, which is twenty miles east of the Mission Home in Pesega, so he could bless members of the Church. The saints and the students (young boys and girls) in Sauniatu were fully filled with the spirit of rejoicing and of appreciation that an Apostle showed his personal interest and true love for them. I am told that after feasting and entertainments President McKay and his party were to return to Headquarters. They mounted their horses and started on their long trip. The saints and students formed a crowd following President McKay and his party and the band, led by my father, Alisa F. Toelupe, led the crowd, playing "Good Bye, My Feleni (Friend)," with the crowd singing. President McKay's heart was deeply touched. He stopped his horse, and as he looked behind he observed the crowd following. He turned his horse around and returned to meet his beloved people. When the crowd of Sauniatu Saints, children, and the band met President McKay and his party, Pres. McKay felt the need to leave his blessings with these saints. He did not worry about the long ride before him but asked the saints one and all to join him in prayer — and he invoked a blessing which is written in the hearts of the saints who were present. This blessing was later written down by Brother Su'a Kipeni, who acted as interpreter. A few days later the saints, though poor, decided to build a monument to Apostle McKay's name in memory of his visit, of his love, and of his great interest in them. This was done, and the prayer concealed inside a bottle and buried within the monument.

Thirty-four years later, in 1955, David O. McKay was the first President, Prophet, Seer and Revelator of the Latter-day Church to set foot in Samoa. One of the greatest blessings that has come to me, though it came in great surprise, was the privilege of being appointed by the Mission Presidency at that time to be *President McKay's Interpreter*.

I had associated with this great man and had felt his great love toward his fellow man on various occasions. As his interpreter, while he and Sister McKay visited Samoa for four or five days, my wife Tava'etoto and I had the rare privilege of sitting very close to President and Sister McKay in meetings and helping them along in many activities they engaged in in Samoa.

Two weeks before his arrival President McKay's doctors were so concerned about his health that they contacted President Howard B. Stone of the Samoan Mission, requesting the Mission President to keep the public away from their prophet, who was eighty-one years of age at the time. Instructions advising the saints were prepared, translated into Samoan, and then sent out to the districts and branches of the Mission.

He set foot in Samoa at Pago Pago harbor. About one half hour before his ship arrived, a heavy rain started pouring from the heavens. The saints in Tutuila, American Samoa, were somewhat disappointed. They thought their welcome activities would not be displayed at the arrival of their prophet

and his good wife. Non-members' sarcastic expressions about the saints were heard. These mocking remarks got to the point that some of the Mormons felt ashamed. But, as soon as the ship President and Sister McKay were on entered the mouth of Pago Pago harbor, the rain simultaneously gradually stopped. At the time President and Sister McKay set foot on the wharf, the proud saints of American Samoa, with President and Sister Stone of the Samoan Mission, hit the air with "We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet." "Surely, he is a real man of God" was the expression by many prominent non-members who were at the scene.

His love was so great toward the saints that he went to the people and shook their hands, put his arm around them, young and old. This incident of his trip in Pago Pago is still remembered to this moment. "Surely, he is truly a man of God."

He shook my hand and looked at my eyes and I could see my soul deep in the back of his bright eyes. I knew it did not take a minute for him to know everything about me. He was such a great leader that kindness comforted my fear at the moment. I felt the warmth of his clean hand touching my weak hand. The tone of his voice when he said to me "Talofa" was full of love. My fear disappeared and was replaced with joy and rejoicing. He uplifted my heart and I felt a new life and a new strength, physically and spiritually.

He promised the saints that he would shake every one's hand if they attended Sunday Evening Session of the conference in the Pesega School auditorium, and regardless of his doctor's advice because of his health, President McKay so loved his Father in Heaven's children in this far end of the earth, that he forgot his health and shook hands with over 2000 people that Sunday evening. He did not miss any one who wanted to touch the Lord's Prophet, Seer and Revelator and President of His only true Church on earth. I was privileged to stand beside this great and righteous man. It was a marvelous and a wondrous experience how he reached out to meet people so that he would not miss one person. Blessings accompanied him every minute of his tour. People who were in bed for many years were made well just by President McKay visiting them.

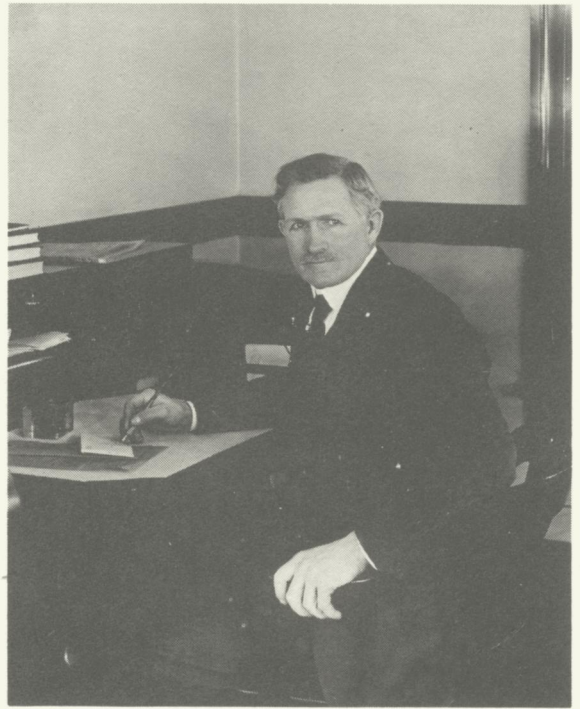
Every time I had the chance of standing beside him to translate his messages (I want the world to know this) I did feel a very strong warm relaxing and comforting spirit surrounding Pres. McKay. His promises made in Samoa have gradually come true: Our Church has the best system of education in Samoa now; because of these schools and the temple he prophesied would be built in the South Pacific, faithful saints who remain in Samoa are receiving God's blessings in Samoa without spending much money to go outside of Samoa to receive those blessings; we have stakes organized in Samoa whereby the complete program of the Priesthood is now operated in Samoa in its fulness. The saints here are enjoying the fulfillment of these promises.

Pres. McKay was truly a man of God. I know of no other man who has done more for God's children in Samoa than President McKay. I can

never forget what a marvelous thing he has done me personally. He loved the Lord so much that he extended to me, a common man, such an opportunity and a sacred privilege to stand near him, the prophet of God, to act as his Samoan interpreter.

Nearly every Samoan family remembers Pres. McKay in their family prayers morning and night, as well as in all other meetings where prayer is offered. Pres. McKay was a true Prophet, Seer, and Revelator; President of the Church, a great teacher and leader and a most successful missionary.

Lafi Toelupe
Leone, American Samoa



President McKay as president of the British Mission (left) and as superintendent of the Deseret Sunday School Union.

A MAN OF LOVE AND PERSONAL CONCERN

I have had but few opportunities to come close to David O. McKay, but each time has proved to be personal, memorable, and cherished deeply. I have sensed that I have had a rare opportunity in communing with one of God's chosen spirits.

In 1916, when I went from my parents' home in Palo Alto to teach in a Utah high school, I spent several weekends in Huntsville, the birthplace and boyhood home of President McKay. He had already been an apostle for ten years. I had grown up in California and he was the first of the authorities of the Church I had met; the charm and magnetism and spirituality of this young man of forty-three was apparent to me and the others

at a simple ward party I visited. We all enjoyed his lively interest. They were all proud to claim him as their own.

Sometime between 1931 and 1938 he came to Palo Alto Ward at times to visit his son Llewelyn, who was attending Stanford University. My husband, the bishop, called him to the stand, and we all enjoyed his messages to us, full of encouragement and enlightenment. He always showed much love and personal concern.

In 1963, my husband and I embarked upon a new experience, and President McKay's wiggly little signatures on two missionary calls to the Scottish Mission are still greatly cherished by us both. While at the Mission Home, we ate all of our meals in the basement of the Hotel Utah, near the barbershop which President McKay patronized each morning, and we had a number of encounters with him. Some of the young missionaries, hoping to serve him in some small personal way, got the idea to walk him back to his apartment, but later reported that they had to run to keep up with him.

When we told him that we were on our way to his beloved Scotland, the land of his forefathers and his own earlier missionary labors, he just beamed, thrilled and happy to hear this news, and visited with us in his gracious manner.

We love and honor President McKay among the great of our times and will try to live so that we will meet him again. He was truly a man of God. He drew many of the great of the world into his presence, by his wisdom and his dedication to his calling — men who recognized that he would enrich their lives and perhaps help them to understand their problems and possible solutions.

Myra Thulin
Palo Alto, California

“WHEN SPIRIT SPEAKS TO SPIRIT”

The deep sense of sorrow that I felt upon hearing of the passing of the prophet was incurred not because of any direct relationship I've had with him, nor was it the type of remorse that is prompted by the anticipation of missing or being without a loved one.

My sorrow was motivated by a fear, a fear that was couched in the recognition that there are those members of the Church, i.e., new converts, young people, etc., who have known President McKay only as a white haired man who because of the aging process needed to be assisted constantly and who “usually spoke about the family” rather than as a vigorous, athletic, inspired Prophet, with profound insights on making this life a great experience.

I've resented the demeaning attitudes of some within and outside the Church who respected the kindly David O. McKay, but felt he never spoke out on the major contemporary issues. His discourses on the Family, Fatherhood, Motherhood, the Christ-like acts, etc., were felt by some to be “skirting

the real issues of our time." My personal life has been enriched by the counsel of President McKay because, for me, rather than skirting issues he went straight to the very core of the problems of our society.

The central problem of our society and our larger world community is the lack of Christ-like character. Poverty, immorality, man's inhumanity to man, violence, etc., the influences that Professor Toynbee found to be destructive of any civilization, are the *results* of the lack of the Christ-like character in man. President McKay dealt with the *cause* of these problems. His was the voice of a prophet who was concerned with the *prevention* of the social disorders of our time. President McKay's writings were not the philosophical exercises of a Pratt or Talmage, but rather a penetration through the superficial into some of the very practical everyday acts that *any man, anywhere, in any situation* could do to bring into his life the peace and serenity that come only with putting into practice the gentle and emphatic principles of Christ.

To me, David O. McKay was the paradigmatic man of our dispensation in exemplifying, through the written and spoken word, the rewards of Christian living. I've felt that no man with whose life I've been acquainted has lived this type of life more profoundly than he. For this reason I have become greatly concerned to search out, through studying the insights of this man, the keys to the happy life for myself, and I have personally resolved that my children and the university students I teach and counsel at the L.D.S. Institute at Stanford will have further opportunities to know the prophet. It would be a great tragedy if the writings of President McKay, with their sense of urgency as it relates to the *family as the vehicle by which personalities and attitudes can be changed*, were to end up as "dust collectors" in our personal libraries.

There is a need in our Church to respond to the living prophet, Joseph Fielding Smith, and to his insights and clarifications, but there is also the necessity for us to reread and retell and reacquaint ourselves with the inspiration and revelations which were given to the living prophet of the 1950's and 60's.

Perhaps my fears that the Gospel as mediated by the prophet will have its impact diminished with time are unjustified, but my desire is that his writings and insight should live on. *Not as mere memorial*—for this would have been repugnant to him, but rather because the joy, happiness and sense of awareness of the good life which I've found are a direct result of "the secrets of the happy life" which flowed from the pen of David O. McKay. I've become a better man, a better husband, a better father because of the application of the above suggested principles. Only my wife and God really know how true and significant that change has been.

President McKay's spirit has spoken to my spirit through the written word, and I was edified; and because I was edified I could give of self to my family, friends, and neighbors.

Joseph C. Muren
Sunnyvale, California

REFLECTIONS ON THE MINISTRY OF PRESIDENT DAVID O. MCKAY

It is not difficult to identify the large difference that President McKay has made in the character and historical movement of the Church. I refer to the obvious fact that especially during the period of his presidency the Church has broken some of its parochial bonds and hopefully has begun to move toward universality. At least there are evidences that this is the case, and I doubt that anything as important as this has happened to the Church in the past century.

To conserve and strengthen its community character and at the same time overcome the limits which the community ideal inevitably imposes upon it is the most difficult task which confronts the Church. Here, it seems to me, is where President McKay exhibited his special strength as a leader.

The recent stirring of the Church toward universalism is represented not so much by its missionary expansion as by its building "foreign" temples, not by any change in doctrine, but by a change in disposition. The Church has always had quite extensive missions, but with the exception of the Polyne-sians served by the Hawaiian Temple, the converts came to America to become full-fledged Mormons. The doctrines taught and believed in foreign climes have been the same as those taught and believed in Utah, but a part of one's conversion to the gospel, if he were a native of Europe, South America, or the Orient, was to learn to sing the songs of Zion, to join the "gathering" to Israel, and all too often to abandon precious values in his native culture to become a "Utah" Mormon. In our romantic and sentimental moments we are sometimes inordinately attached to the ways and attitudes of the past which identify our faith with Western American geography and social behavior. But I hope that a new era has begun in Mormonism, an era of higher and broader horizons, of a finer sense of the universal quality that properly belongs to religion.

A variety of social, political, and economic as well as religious forces are active in breaking through the parochial character of Mormonism. During the years of President McKay's administration the Church was affected by the large social forces which followed upon the Second War: the remarkable increase in world trade, travel, and communications, the advances of technology, increasing industrialization, and the movement toward world unity symbolized by the United Nations or expressed in the ecumenical trends within Christianity. I am afraid that much of the ecumenical spirit has passed us Mormons by, mainly because of our preoccupation with ourselves and the condition of our own faith. But that in this period the Church began to enlarge its perspectives on its place in the world, magnifying its vision, and moving, though slowly, toward an identification of itself with all men, was surely due in large part to President McKay's own moral disposition and ideals, ideals which were inclusive rather than exclusive, which included rather than excluded his fellowmen. That from an early date he possessed a quality of world-mindedness not commonly found in the Church is known

to all who have followed his ministry. It was a world-mindedness made possible not so much through his acquaintance with the world, which was extensive, as through his insight into the condition of the human soul.

I am concerned, of course, not with the recent rapid growth of the Church or its geographic extent, but rather with transformation in its character. The importance of our becoming a Church which in some way embraces the world rather than simply calls men "out of the world" to settle in the valleys of Western America, can best be seen by a glimpse or two of religion in the past. I have in mind the magnificent transformation of the religion of Israel when its prophets gained the vision of their God as the God of all mankind. Or Paul's determination that Christianity was to be a religion of the world, a conviction which defeated those who would have kept it a sect of Judaism.

Universality as a religious ideal is possible only where there is an authentic conception of the reality of the individual, a genuine concern for his dignity and worth, and a full measure of human sympathy. It was not an accident that Jeremiah, who may have been the first of the prophets to declare unequivocally that there is only one God and that he is the God of all men and all nations, was also the first to clearly champion the moral freedom and responsibility of the individual. Nor was it an accident that in teaching that Christ came to save all men, Paul declared that each is precious in the sight of God. I believe that the universalism of President McKay, his identification with humanity, was grounded in his respect and concern for the individual, his reverence for the freedom and autonomy of the moral will, his sympathy and compassion for every person.

My point, then, is a very simple one: that President David O. McKay, whom we knew and loved as a charismatic leader and friend, combined the virtues of kindness, compassion, love, and profound commitment to the moral and intellectual freedom of every person with a strong consciousness of the unity of mankind and the ideal possibilities of human brotherhood. We may hope that future historians will find that his ideal was in fact the beginning of a new era for the Church.

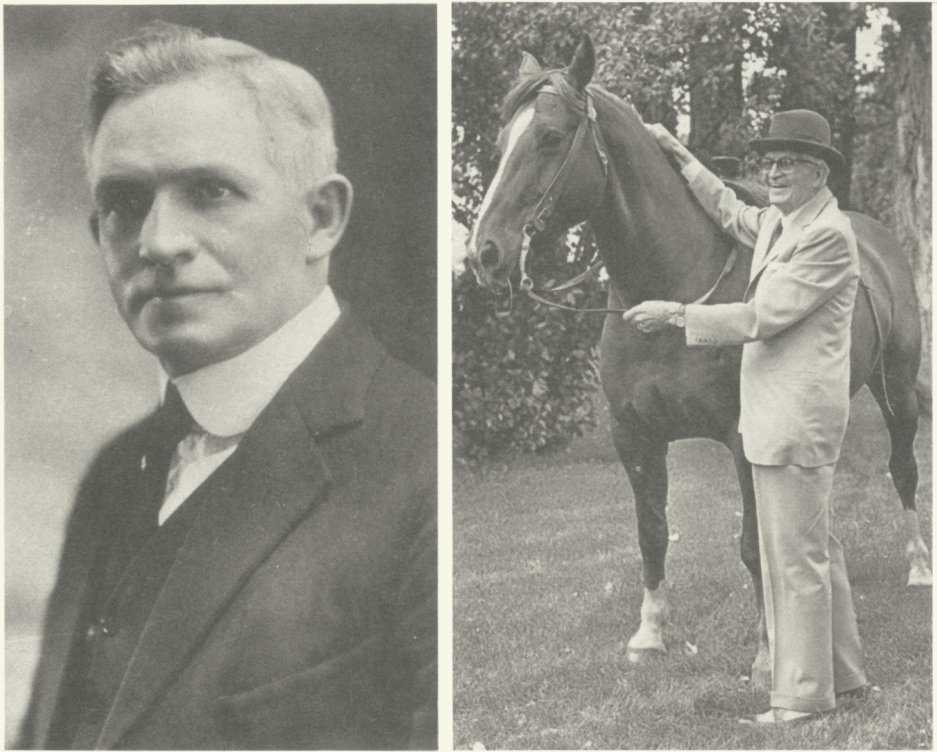
Sterling M. McMurrin
Salt Lake City, Utah

THE PROPHET IS DEAD

The prophet is dead. Feeling a special quiet in the chapel this morning I sensed others were experiencing his going too. What did this mean to me? Why my tears and sorrow? Surely he was old enough to die. The Church would continue. Was his death stopping something for me? Why sorrow?

Not finding answers in my sorrow I turned to my joy and then I knew. Here was a great human man, a prophet, who had freely given himself to others. Because I had received of his giving I cried. This sorrow I felt at his dying was a reflection of the joy I had experienced in his living — the self he gave and the message.

The summer I was nineteen I worked in the Church office building. I had come from Florida, a convert who had never seen a prophet. I had hoped that by working in the same building, one day by chance I would see him. It was very important to me that I see a prophet. The last week of my summer job I went to President McKay's secretary and explained my desire to see the prophet and asked if she would tell me his coming and going schedule so that I might see him. Accepting my desire and persistence she told me to come in the following day at the time President McKay would be coming out of his office to check his schedule with her. The next morning, when he came to her desk, she called me over and introduced me. I remember well



that great big man with deep, still eyes looking down into my face and extending his hand. As we shook hands he invited me into his office and there offered me a chair. The visit must have only been five minutes but to me it could have been a wonderful hour. He was unhurried. He asked me how I was but before I answered I sensed he already knew my deep inner feelings. As our brief visit ended he said, "You're from Tallahassee. Oh, we have a wonderful little branch in Tallahassee." You would have to have lived there then to know it was a branch with highly unusual love and support among its members, but President McKay seemed to know this and sent love and greetings to the Saints there.

This all comes back as a memory of his giving self, who thought everyone was important and worthwhile.

The message came much later. I was no longer a young girl full of fervor and belief and he was no longer a great big man in stature. I attended the opening of the Oakland Temple and heard President McKay offer the dedicatory prayer. Before I heard the prophet pray I had been full of questions and so spiritually hungry that I hurt deep in my soul. When he prayed, what I heard, as if for the first time, was gratitude for our relationship to God, for the mission of Christ, and for the beautiful commandment that we love one another. I came hungry and I was fed.

Mona Jo Ellsworth
Palo Alto, California

ON SHAKING HANDS WITH DAVID O. MCKAY

There were advantages and disadvantages to living across the street from Brother and Sister McKay. On Sunday we couldn't play football in the street because there was always the possibility that President David O. McKay would drive up in his big, black Buick to visit his grandson. The first time he came we were caught passing the football in the middle of the street. President McKay just smiled and waved, but we felt as if we had committed a felony. Playing football on the Sabbath was one thing, but being seen playing football by the prophet was another. After the first encounter we always played in the back yard on Sunday afternoon. Whenever the Buick was spotted, we'd put the football down and walk around the house to wave and greet President McKay. We didn't see him often, but often enough that we felt we knew him personally.

This special relationship to the prophet of God was always a source of pride. Whenever I would tell my friends and relatives about it, I made it sound as if we were on a first-name basis. Each time President McKay would visit his grandson, I wanted to go shake his hand, introduce myself, and tell him that I was a Teacher in the Aaronic priesthood. But when the younger children ran right up and said hello, I kept my distance and watched the way he spoke to them. He was an old man, but his eyes and face were deeply alive. I don't think I had a very full conception of the meaning of the words "prophet, seer, and revelator," but I knew that there was something unique about this man. Something that made him easy to honor and love.

One Fast Sunday a year or two later, I was officiating at the sacrament table when I saw President McKay come into the rear of the chapel. He was coming to bless his newest great-grandchild. I didn't know of any set procedure for when the prophet came to Sacrament Meeting, but it seemed perfectly natural when everyone stood up in respectful silence. Everything took on a different significance that day. Blessing the sacrament was not just reading a card, it was blessing the emblems of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. The weight of the covenants made in partaking of the sacrament also seemed heavier than I remembered in the past. The deacon who was to pass the sacrament to President McKay was so nervous that his face was red and hot

with perspiration. I was a little nervous myself, but the sacrament was administered reverently and even the babies who were to be blessed were quiet.

When President McKay blessed his great-granddaughter it wasn't loud enough for everyone to hear, and I was a little disappointed. But the prophet's presence affected the way I listened to the testimonies. Instead of my usual critical approach to everything said in Testimony meeting, I listened and even prayed that the Holy Ghost would inspire those who wanted to bear their testimonies. I didn't feel my usual embarrassment when an elderly sister bore the same testimony I had heard her bear every month since I had moved into the ward. Just when I was expecting the bishop to stand and close the meeting, President McKay got up and walked to the pulpit.

After eight years I don't remember what he said to the congregation that day, but I do remember knowing that I was listening to a prophet. I was concentrating so intensely on the man, how he looked and what he said, that everything was hazy except the prophet's face. The bishop stood up after President McKay's testimony, closed the meeting, announced that we would sing "We Thank Thee O God for a Prophet" as our closing hymn, and that his first counsellor would close with prayer. Our ward had never been known for the volume of its singing, but that Fast Sunday we made up for our previous lack of enthusiasm. I sang as loud as I dared—no particular part, just somewhere between the soprano and bass notes.

At the close of the meeting the entire congregation formed a line to go up on the stand and shake hands with President McKay. It seemed like a long time to wait to shake someone's hand, and I remember feeling a slight resentment for some of the older brothers and sisters who stopped to talk. I thought the line would move faster when the children and young people started shaking hands with the prophet. But no one hurried us and President McKay was interested in speaking personally with the children. As I got nearer to President McKay my eyes got moist and I didn't have a handkerchief. I decided not to wipe my eyes and tried to convince myself that it was just hay fever acting up. I looked straight into President McKay's eyes and shook his hand. He was smiling and I smiled and even my watery eyes smiled. The prophet turned to Bishop Andrew and said, "Bishop, you have some fine young people in this ward."

I walked down from the stand and out of the chapel into the sunny afternoon. I was glad that I could walk home by myself and think about what had happened. I hadn't even introduced myself and yet at the time it seemed unimportant. Maybe I felt the way I did because I knew that he was a prophet and spoke with God; perhaps it was because I was a Latter-day Saint and he was our leader. It was difficult for me to analyze things on an empty stomach, so I decided to forego any conclusions and go home to dinner.

That was the last time I saw President McKay at a personal distance. My life has changed in many ways in the eight years since that meeting. I've been away to school, I've served as a missionary in England, my understanding of the gospel of Jesus Christ has matured, and yet my belief that David O. McKay was and is a prophet of God has remained constant. My knowl-

edge of the purpose of a prophet, seer, and revelator has increased, but my testimony that God does speak to men in this day is primarily based on personal experience with David O. McKay when the Church was little more than a habit in my life.

Scott Cameron
Stanford University

PRESIDENT MCKAY AS A NEIGHBOR

[Recorded as told to a group of children at a Family Home Evening]

My grandfather used to say "There's lots and lots of 'man-ism' in Mormonism." Often we see President McKay and we think and talk of him as the prophet. I grew up in the same little valley in Northern Utah where he was from, and we saw him and thought of him as a man, of the real things he did as our neighbor.

You've read a lot about President McKay, heard a lot about him; you hear about him at Church and even in the paper and you read about him even though we live a long way from Utah. I'd like to tell you about a man you've probably never heard about—a man named Jesse Wilbur. Even though you've never heard about him he was a very important person to us. All those who knew him loved him very much, and I should tell you that he was a very good friend of President McKay. Probably they were boys together; they were about the same age. At one time President McKay's father was chosen to be the bishop of the ward in Eden (a small town near Huntsville, where the McKays lived) and for awhile they had sort of a traveling arrangement, so President McKay probably attended church in Eden some of the time and this is probably where he got to know Jesse Wilbur. Jesse grew up and President McKay grew up and became famous and traveled all over the world. Jesse might have taken short trips to Ogden and Salt Lake but he mainly stayed close to Eden. He ran "the shop," that's what he called it. We used to go to the shop lots of times and at the shop he had a forge. He had the gas pumps with gas for the cars, but the really important thing was that he was a blacksmith. If any of the farm machinery needed repairing, he did it. One of my favorite things was to go with my dad when he took our two big horses down to the shop to have new shoes put on them.

Probably the only time that Jesse's name was in the paper was when he died, and many people wouldn't think of him as an important person. But he was an important person to us, and he was always good to us when we were little children. He used to keep candy at the shop so we could have some candy when he came; he'd always talk to us and he asked us about things that were important.

Jesse always used to have a cigar. He didn't smoke the cigar, but he chewed on it and I never saw him without it. He had a big mark on his lips and actually he would chew and eat some of it and probably spit the rest out, I don't know. But it was just a part of Jesse; if you didn't see the

cigar you didn't see Jesse. Jesse was not a member of the Mormon Church and he was one of the very few people who lived up in Huntsville or Eden who were not L.D.S. His wife belonged to the Church and he had his children baptized, but he was never a member of the Church.

President McKay would talk to Jesse about the Church and about the Gospel. All the people who lived there were betting among themselves whether Jesse would join the Church, because they knew he loved President McKay and President McKay loved him and President McKay certainly loved the Church. And so President McKay would come to Jesse and talk and talk and talk. As it so happened, Jesse did not ever join the Church and he died some years ago. Maybe his cigar had something to do with it, I don't know. But even though Jesse was not an important man to lots of other people, President McKay, who at the time of Jesse's death was a very important man who had even met with presidents of the United States and kings and queens, came up to this little town of Eden and spoke at Jesse's funeral. They were very good friends.

Whenever President McKay had a chance, he would bring his horses over for Jesse to take care of. He had a favorite horse called Sonny Boy that he always used to ride and he'd come over and spend the whole afternoon talking with Jesse and sometimes, just by accident, I would happen to be down at the shop when he came to visit. Winter in that valley is very cold, with lots of snow, and the first time I saw President McKay as a little girl (he wasn't President then) he was over at the shop. He looked to me like a giant of a man. When I was older he didn't seem quite as large, but he had big shoulders and big hands and he stood quite tall and even then I remember he had that beautiful white hair. He had a great big fur coat on the first time I saw him, and I'll always remember him in his fur coat because I had never seen a man wear a fur coat. (Not too long ago, I saw a photo of him in the *Improvement Era* and he was out on a sleigh ride in the winter and had on that same fur coat.) While I was there at the shop he spoke to me, although he didn't know my name. He always spoke to all of us there and I remember he put his hand on my head. It was a great big hand; I guess I thought maybe his hand was really heavy because he was such a big man, but he was very, very gentle.

President McKay kept his horses up at Huntsville; he always had Sonny Boy and some other horses and he'd bring his family up in the winter and they would hitch their horses to a sleigh and go sleigh riding and in the summer they would ride the horses. He had a man who happened to be a relative of ours who would take care of his horses when he wasn't there because they had to be fed every day. This man's name was Harold Newly and it just so happened that about four or five years ago Harold Newly had a heart attack and died and his beloved wife was lonesome and upset. There was a big funeral for Harold and all his friends came and all the people came to tell her how much they loved her and that they would help her and all this sort of thing. But then there came a time when all the friends left and she was all alone, and that's the time when it's difficult, when you need someone

to give you love, someone you can really depend upon. She had noticed that a car had been parked across from her house most of the afternoon, and finally after everyone had left and she was alone and feeling the most terribly lonesome, a man got out of the car and came to her doorstep and said that he came because President McKay, who hadn't been able to come because he was very ill then and couldn't travel that much, had sent him, saying that Laverna (that was the lady's name) would need someone very much, after everyone else was gone; he brought a beautiful bouquet of two dozen red roses from President McKay. To me this tells what a sensitive, sensitive man he was, to know that that was the time when she would need him the most and to send the roses.

You know, the people who lived up there were very proud because President McKay was the prophet of the Church, but they never called him President McKay, even when he became president. All the people who lived up in that area sort of felt he belonged to them and so as I grew up I never heard people at home call President McKay by that name. They always called him David O. They never called him Dave, never were disrespectful, but always called him by his first name.

As I said in the beginning, my grandfather always said there was a lot of "man-ism" in Mormonism and sometimes we forget this, that the leaders of the Church are human beings. Not to detract anything at all from President McKay, because he was such a great man, but you know, even though he was the prophet and president of the Church, he had a fault, one fault I knew about. Maybe he had others. But one fault we all knew about. Lots of times when we were either riding down through Ogden Canyon or coming back up from Ogden or maybe just driving around one of these roads, we'd pass him and we always knew him because he drove a particular kind of big black car and we'd see the white hair. That's all we would have time to see because he would flash by as fast as he could go. He had one fault; he liked to drive too fast. And the people used to joke about it because he drove much too fast for safety. They would say, "Well, I guess he thinks the Lord won't let anything happen to him, but what about the rest of us?" As he did become older, I think finally his family insisted that he have someone to chauffeur him. They felt it was not safe because he still drove just as fast though he probably didn't have as good reflexes as when he was a younger man. So later on, everyone felt a little safer when he would come with either his son or someone else in the family driving.

It was not an easy thing for someone from that locality to work for the kind of education he had. In his day he was well educated for that area. It was not a common thing. The majority of the people there might have gone on to some school but the central aim was to go back to the farm for a lot of them, so that it was unusual for him to move out and go into the field of education. He certainly didn't do it because anyone else was doing it. But I never heard anyone in my family resenting his moving beyond. There was a great deal of pride that he was a son of the valley and he had done this.

Those are the things I remember about him and about the little place where I grew up. Growing up there was like being held in a soft cocoon for a number of years, because you were so protected and so many people loved you and cared about you. It was difficult in lots of ways. The worst part of it that I remember was the winter. It was extremely cold and as a little girl we didn't have central heating at all. We had coal, and it was my job and my brothers' to keep the coal bucket full and to bring what we called kindling, the little scraps of wood to start the fire. We always had to get up in the morning to a cold house until the fire could be burning bright, and we always had to go to bed in an icy cold bedroom, so I was always glad when it was spring. When President McKay was a little boy, quite young, his daddy was sent on a mission back to Scotland, and the boys (President McKay had two or three other brothers but he was the oldest) had to stay and do all the farming; that meant all the work to produce the food, go get the wood (because then they wouldn't have had coal), to raise the animals and kill some of them sometimes for meat, and all this these young boys had to do to help their mother. And their mother had to work because their father was gone (for two years as I remember) back to Scotland.

So as President McKay grew up it was not an easy boyhood in lots of ways, and he worked very hard. He always loved his home in that valley and he always thought his boyhood was a great contributor to his success in later life. He never forgot the people who lived there and was always good to them and always loved them. I think growing up there did contribute somewhat to his greatness.

Lorraine Pearl
Los Altos, California

THE HEART OF MY FATHER

Thomas Asplund

Who knows what an electronic microscope might do to the great
gulf fixed between faith and knowledge? I suppose that one day some
chemical mechanic under the flickering death of fluorescent tubes
will find deep within the coiling chemistry of my island body a germ
of that narrow dirt road

which ran through summer's miasma of sweet
clover between a beaten windbreak of dusty
cottonwoods and an irrigation ditch

where once

my father ran down tripping ruts of clay

in flight and play

to the straight

gray sanctuary of home. I must say it plainly without the rhythm of
convention without the rhythm of history because I sense in my
patterned cells the tentative cry the first unmeasured measure of a
melody

carried by the constant wind which ran down the road with my
father and over the paintless clapboards and over the wagon-breaking
buffalo wallows in the prairie beyond and over the stamped sod of
the dugout where my grandfather kept

in the close dark room of earth

his

wife and children during their first winter as prairie creatures

and near the wind the formless exhortation of Prophets

*"Brother, the Church has contracted with the Canadian Government
to carry out the construction of an Irrigation Canal just east of*

Our Cardston settlement. The Lord would like you to assist Us in this Important Endeavour."

IMMIGRANTS AND SETTLERS

200 MILLON ACRES OF CHOICE FARM LAND FREE

The Canadian Government will give settlers in Western Canada up to 160 acres of land at no cost. To obtain title settlers must cultivate a minimum acreage, construct a building on the land and establish residence.

APPLY: Department of Citizenship and Immigration,
Ottawa, Canada or the Territorial Land
Registration Office.

Blessed are the Meek, for they shall inherit the Earth.

Blessed are the poor in spirit.

Blessed are the poor in beauty.

Do you know the geography of a hard search for Beauty?
the mint patch by the ditch

gold and purple flags blooming early
at the sheltered side of the house

strawberries

and hard clabber glass marbles with secret swirls
and bubbles
a new issue of the Free Press (with coloured comics)

trees

a watermelon that ripened before frost

Oh, this sounds like a catalogue of bathos in our jungle of beauty in
our riot of restraint in our supermarket of enlightenment where it is
impossible to know the difference between sentimentality and hunger.
The hunger of waiting for things to grow

for snow to melt

for visitors to come

for wind to stop

for the promised coming of a father who left to
preach the gospel or to build a canal or to follow the sheep-shearing
or to join a threshing crew.

Welcome Beauty, welcome, welcome

"Welcome, welcome, Sabbath morning.

Now we rest from every care.

Welcome, welcome is thy dawning

Holy Sabbath, day of prayer."

The stage is set with high dark leather chairs, the saucy chorale of
a pump organ and the Bishop, hatless white-haloed forehead and leather
face, tending

*"Bless the leadership of Thy Church from the Prophet and
General Authorities at the head thereof, down to the least and last
ordained."*

my boot is cracking right there by the lace
"We pray for the Missionaries in the field and in distant
lands across the sea. Lead them to the doors of the Honest In Heart."

brother ramsbotham's milking overalls are sticking
out under his Sunday pants
"Help us to go about our various activities this Day in a
manner which is pleasing before Thee."

sister harris took the sacrament with her left hand
"And return us to our various places of abode in Safety."
Where have you builded your abode? The foolish man built his house
upon the sand. But the wise man built his house upon

160 acres of
unbroken prairie. Rough-sawn spruce. Poplar fence posts. One
unfloored room. You work on the irrigation canal six days each week.
On Saturday you try to finish early, ride 25 miles and with the horse
and hand-plow break the new land which you have selected for its
black richness

and for the handful of Mormon neighbours.
Ten acres to qualify the first year whether it grows or not. Work
through the long prairie twilight each Saturday night. Rest on the
Sabbath morning and take sacrament with your neighbours in the nearby
home of Brother and Sister Anderson, before the long ride back.

But one silver windless day in June the ground is singing.
Enough land has been broken to qualify and all but one acre is seeded.
A small acre open and ready.

But there is no ox, and too much sunshine to find a mire.

Lord, forgive me
For my life rests in the abundance of Thy Creations
My joy is in the seed of my loins: I am Thy Hostage, But when
the Earth blooms my loved ones can come to dwell with me again
And we can be one; even as the Father and Son are one.
So you begin to plant the seeds quickly

letting them fall where
they may. And you work quickly to mitigate the offense until you are
hailed to a startled stop by a Mounted Policeman in his hard red coat.

Hello, he says.

hello
I've noticed you working this place the past few weeks. Where
are you from?

i'm working a team on the irrigation canal
near Stirling.
A Mormon, eh?

(that involuntary twitch of fear) yes.
From Utah then?

yes.
Your family still there?

yes. i'm trying to get the place ready for them.

(The Law speaks with a soft English accent, sounding casually direct and official. It looks like General Kitchener.) *Did you know it's against the law to work land on Sunday?*

(Perhaps you can pretend righteous ignorance but guilt prevents the further sin.) yes.

I'm sorry. I'll have to give you a summons. We don't generally worry about a little Sunday work, you understand; but Anderson your neighbour saw you this morning and swore out an official complaint. I don't like it you understand. It will only be a small fine.

(I was a stranger, and ye took me in; I was sick and ye visited me, in prison and ye came unto me.)

Hope your family enjoys it here, says the Mountie as he wheels his horse away.

In the silent lightless winter morning you can enjoy the small warm spot in your bed, buried beneath the comforting weight of quilts and flannel sheets, knowing that it is not your turn to rise and milk the cow or fill the reservoir in preparation for the coming day. But the hour is coming when all must rise

and struggle to the warming
kitchen and dress stiffly before the dull yellow lamplight is
smothered by the dull yellow daylight

the reluctant dawn.

My grandmother sinned weekdays in a stained teacup. And on Sundays she worried about dressing

and feeding
and facing neighbours
and the Church of the Devil
and the Poor Lost Tribes
and the Great and Dreadful Day

but her faith was elsewhere.

Always she listened in the wind
for the whisper of God.

For by Grace are ye saved through faith

lest anyone should boast
and she searched in the dust for the blessings of God
taking from
shattered clay the fruits of toil

reaping where she had sown and
storing up her treasure. Each harvest was a battle

a bitter war
with the late spring, the wind, the early frost. And each September
her kitchen was filled with green tomatoes, wrested from the killer
clear night of first frost
to ripen in the safety of her redoubt

But sometimes she fasted. And sometimes she prayed. She knew her enemies.

Her youngest son was a frail and beautiful child when she first travelled to the Canadian wilderness. At the urging of a wealthy aunt,

the child was left in the safety of that childless Utah home to avoid the rigors of settlement. He was a fair and quiet boy, whose unspoken needs returned blossom and grace to careful love given. When the aunt suggested that an adoption be arranged so that she could raise the child with security and advantage, my grandmother sensed another enemy and in reflex gathered that which she claimed for her pain to the safety of her affection. But her affection was not sufficient and the child died. Thereafter my grandmother watched more carefully for her enemies

and her quick
hands and her quick eyes were always ready.

Her marriage, as I knew it, was chiseled, hard
marked by the
erosion of wind and frost. It was not reconciled or shared
but like
genuine virtue it was unconscious of its success and its toughness.
Happiness, as such, was not an issue.

There were too many important
things to worry about. Fair share of irrigation water. Horses in
the garden. Potato bugs. Children playing near the well. Stinkweed.
The milk cow going dry. Grandma worried. Knotting her hands in her
apron she darted to the kitchen window

at each sound
at each silence
when the wind knocked
when the wind whispered
and when there was nothing
more to worry about my grandmother died.

My grandfather, on the other hand, had an accommodation with the land. He treated it kindly, accepting respectfully whatever it chose to give. He could taste its sweetness touching a handful carefully with his tongue-tip and leaving a few stray bits hanging on his moustache. He could divine its secret waters with a willow branch.

Hey, said Raymond Knight (rancher and gentleman of wealthy Utah family), you're supposed to be out at my place digging that well.

Grandpa was leaning on the sunny store front on the main street of the town named for Brother Raymond. He examined the board sidewalk, pulled his moustache, bit his tongue.

i can't dig that well anymore.
But I've already paid you, said Brother Raymond.
(not looking up) i can't dig that well anymore.
You promised that well for this week. I've got stock coming in five days and I need the water, said Brother Raymond.
(still not looking up) i can't dig that well anymore.
Why in the Sam Hill can't you, said Brother Raymond.

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(looking at the sun and squinting tightly)
i can't dig that well anymore because it's got four feet
of water in the bottom of it.

and thus did my grandfather play with life and its secrets (faith
without laughter is dead) The tough armtwist with fate (for laughter
suffereth long; is not puffed up; Beareth all things) And in the game
my grandfather kept his eye to the sun and secret stream

the dark and dazzling depths
the silent sinews of the scarlet-slashed Book of Life.

In the beginning was the Word

and the Word was made flesh
and dwelt among us full of grace and truth
the secret stream of words
and the anxious hand that broke the back of the Book of Life
light by light
in the yellow night

my grandfather read The Book

a book

any book.

His scriptures had been worked till they lay limp on the sideboard.
But with equal care he would read the backs of fertilizer sacks.
Corn-flakes boxes. The Watchtower. Pocket novels. At tomato-picking
time he would stop to read the old newspapers that his wife had used to
line the boxes. With hand-held glass he gleaned and pried from every
journal a richness of names and places . . . Cordoba, Pretoria, Nanking,
Addis Ababa, Blanchard, Graziani, Cambrai, Jutland, Haig, Shensi, Neuve-
Chapelle, Coral Sea, Salonika, Smuts, Manchukuo, Anzio.

And on a large coloured map hanging by the telephone he plotted
and counselled the armies and generals and their wars and rumours of
wars. In those moments with his grown sons or priesthood brethren,
when Grandma and the women were elsewhere

and nothing of practical

importance needed to be said

he could blossom with passionate two-
handed gestures to argue the dark ways of history and the glorious
ways of God.

But he floated gently

backwardly

through old age to death as
one will who doesn't like to fight. His funeral was the first I had
ever attended. It was an afternoon of passionate Words that he would
have enjoyed, the Words of Redemption and Salvation and Unseen Worlds
and peace that now seemed too real and too practical for his quiet
folded hands

the hands that once bounced and cradled me in blessing

*If there are any of you with children to be blessed, would you
please bring them forward.*

a name and a father's blessing
for the blessings of the
father will prevail

*If there are no more ordinances to perform I will open
this meeting for the Bearing of Testimonies by members of the con-
gregation. Brothers and Sisters, the Time is yours to use as you
see fit.*

now i am alone in my wilderness of time the vast, dry
prairie of time the lonely winter night of time

time the temperer
time the temptor
*If thou be the son of thy father command faith in this broken
bread, and angels will bear you up.*
is it not written?

yes is it not written in my forehead?
in the Book of Life? is it not written in the chemistry of my blood
the blood which is the life thereof?

the time is mine
but where there be time it shall perish for
time
majestically
magically
melts
like the wind it is always here
and never
and always beyond
and where there be faith it shall

once I huddled with other boys in
the chapel's last bench during a summer fast and testimony meeting.
A young sister of the Ward who was plain and backward stood suddenly
beside her mother at the piano and sang "If I Could Hie to Kolob"
then sat down leaving the congregation in a vast shoe-watching
silence. We sat in stunned, forced reverence. No one ever sang a testimony.
She sang her testimony. Using the words of another person. Composed.
A testimony should not be bound by structure, it should be a unique
expression of one's own faith.

My father's prayer before the Sunday feast that day was
quiet, deliberate, unusual in its phrasing. After we seated ourselves
and broke our fast my father told us of the meetings of his childhood.
Meetings of faith. Of saints who bore testimonies in unknown tongues.
Of saints who bore testimony by prophecy and the interpretation of
tongues. Of times past. And my heart turned to my father.

He spent almost a dozen years in the glorious paradox of
service as a Bishop. Once, in a spasm of fear, a long-inactive member
of my father's Ward summoned him to her death-bed. Her grieving
husband, a member of the small congregation of another struggling sect,
had invited the ministration of his own pastor. The Minister and my
father came to the quiet house at the same time. As they waited together

in the close atmosphere of pain and anxiety, the woman died. That issue being settled, the Minister immediately raised the next item of business—in which church would the funeral be held?

The Minister presented a carefully balanced case with fervent civility and structured conviction. There was little doubt that the husband of the deceased was the principal beneficiary of the oblations of the Church—and his wife had not really asserted her religious impulses; indeed, she had frequently attended her husband's church meetings. But he fortified his careful logic with a forthright testimony; *We are only a small Church. But the children of God have always been small in number.*

I waited for the lightning of my father's reply
for the majesty of His Priesthood
for the great white tumbling stone of his faith
for the star of the morning
the crumbling drums and trumpets
the voice of angels

we believe all people are the Children of God, said my Father.
and he yielded to his adversary

The funeral was held in the Church of the Minister. My father attended as a faceless mourner.

And my heart turned to my father and I sensed
in the blood that poured through my turning heart
the pain of hunger
the pain of time
the pain of faith
the chemistry of faith

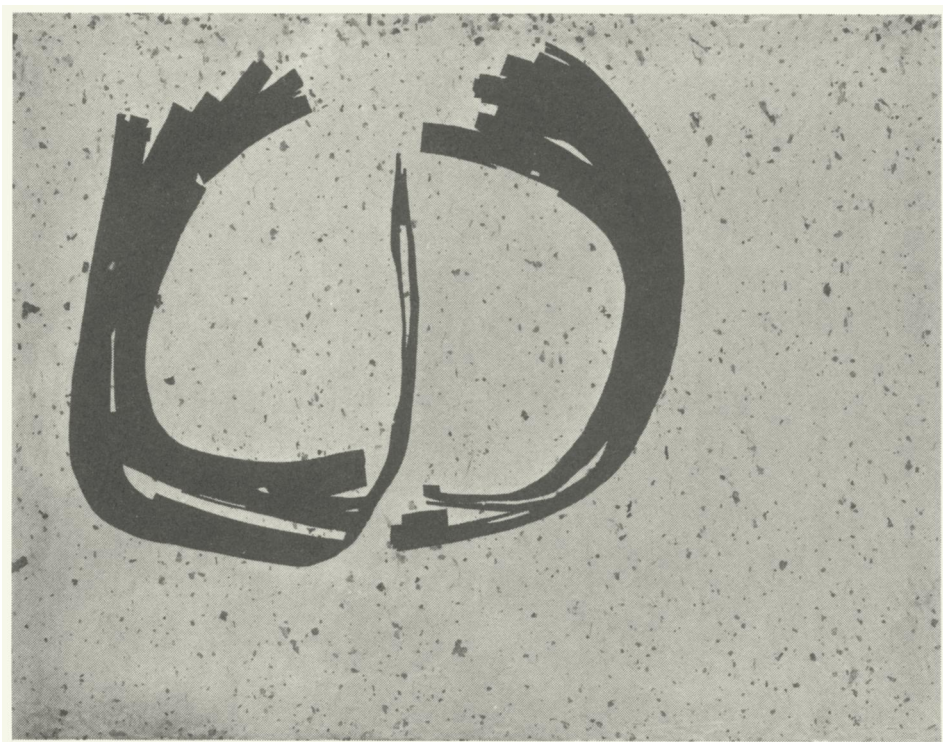
And I prayed for my naked and bloodless soul in the coming of that great and dreadful day.

ON HAIKU ART

In the human presence is the real salience of life. I'm interested in that — the human resonance really that exists in all things and so in my work, though somewhat modified, somewhat less than obviously descriptive — not too close to the “now,” but as the remembered. To get much closer seems to remove it from the “me” and makes it a part of somebody else.

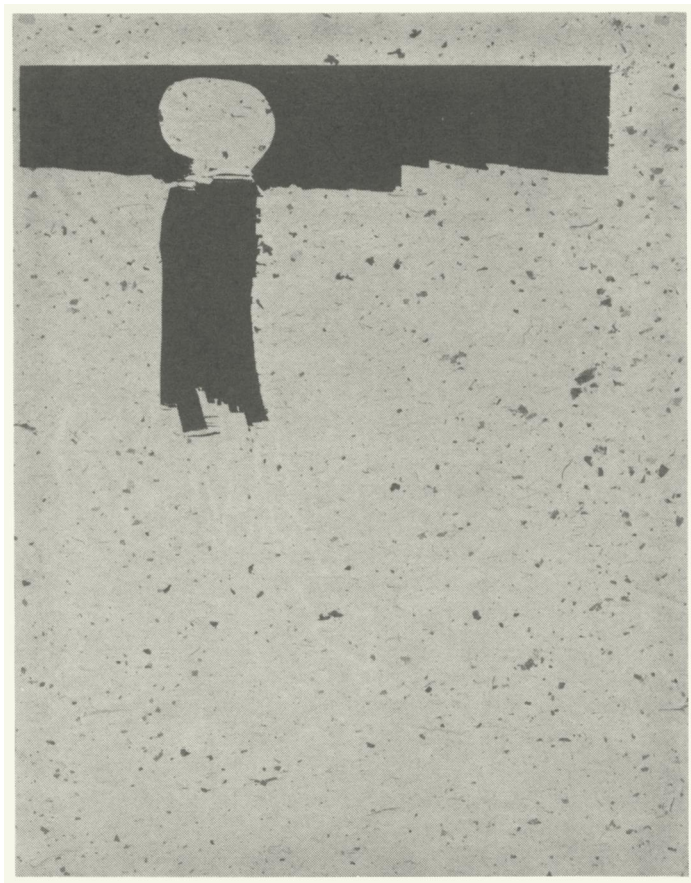
Haiku poetry has this quality — the overtones of personal human poignancy. It says a great deal but it really asks a question. Unless one recognizes a question is being asked — and finds an answer within himself — it isn't complete. In that sense you can't illustrate such a question, but perhaps that resonance can be made visual. I've tried to find, beyond the surface of words or descriptions a valid solution for its abstract resolution. I'd rather make a question-making statement than one of storytelling or recording.

—Robert Marriott



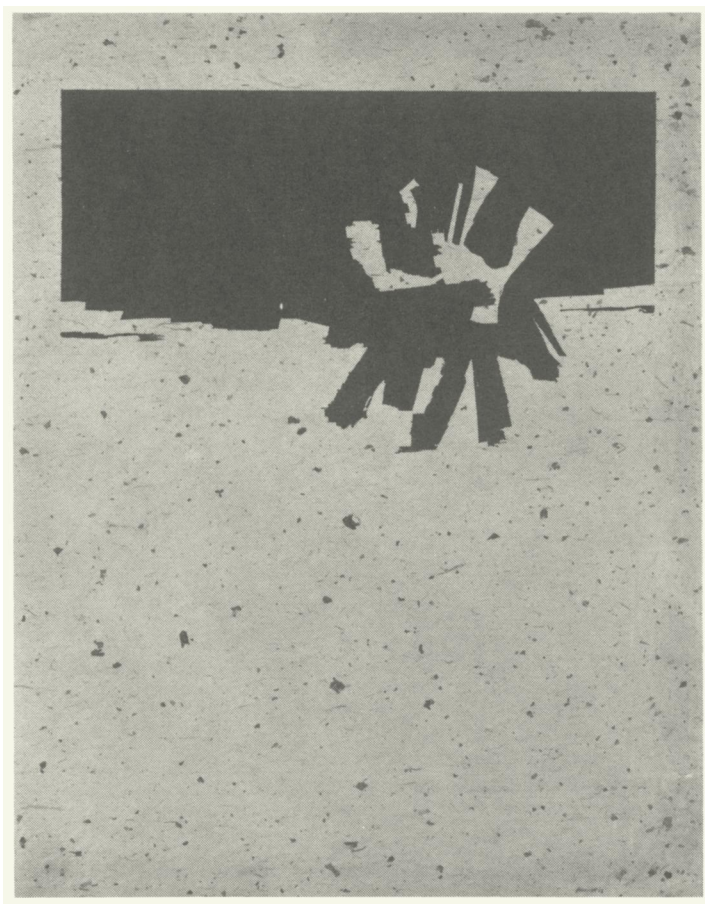
Having sucked deep
In a sweet peony,
A bee creeps
Out of its hairy recesses.

—Basho



A thicket of summer grass
Is all that remains
Of the dreams and ambitions
Of ancient warriors.

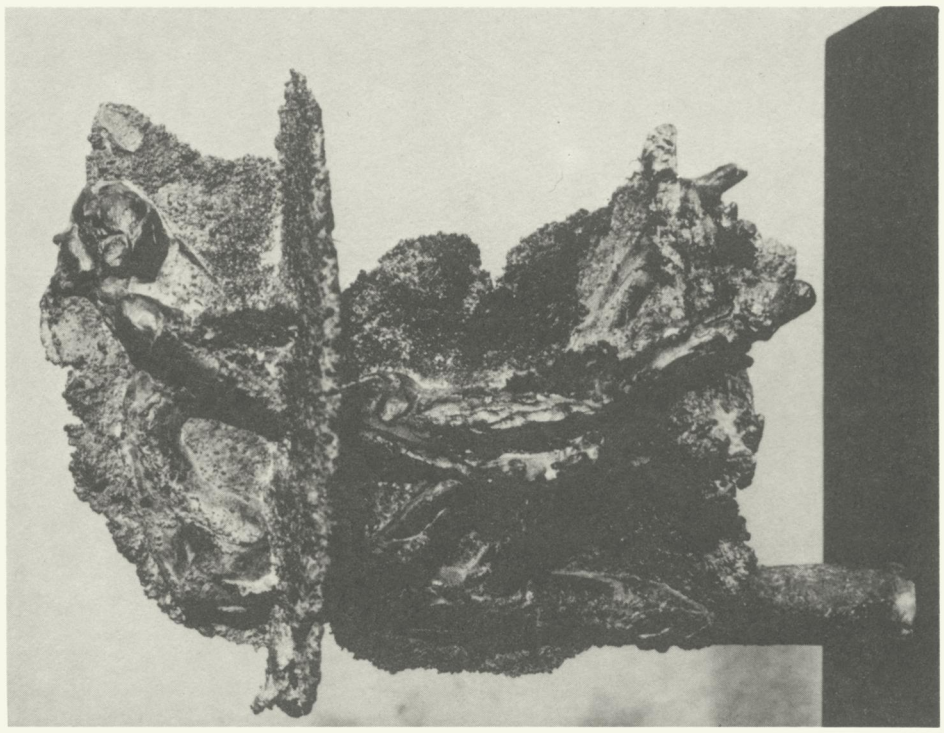
—Basho



A farmer's child
Hulling rice
Arrests his hands
To look at the moon.

—Tosei

"I often verbalize in an attempt to find myself. I do the same with drawings. Using my journal, drawings, and verse — or whatever other tools might seem appropriate at the moment — I lay the foundations to my ideas, scatter them out in front of me so that I can get some perspective to what I really believe and want to say in my sculpture. Consequently, the verse becomes much more descriptive, symbolic, call it what you will, and the sculptural statement is a culminative effort — often a finalization of the idea."



BOY DIVING THROUGH MOSS

A boy with joy and fear inside
stood on the plank
above the pond.
He sensed the cold, dark water
underneath,
and, daring,
was aware of that
which he must do.
He dived and fell
and felt the wetted cold.
He felt the mosses part
and give his plunging body
to the depths.
And on the edge of there
he bent his back
and forced the arced re-entry up,
and, shattering the surface,
took the first moist breath of air
and felt the new pure light
about his head.

Oh, sweetest grin!
To know the leap from life
through death
and into life again.

Dennis Smith

Reviews

THE SECULAR RELEVANCE OF THE GOSPEL

Louis C. Midgley

Since Cumorah. By Hugh W. Nibley. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co. xx + 451 pp., \$4.95.

Louis C. Midgley is Associate Professor of Political Science at Brigham Young University.

What message has the Book of Mormon for our world? Does it speak to those who sense their own involvement in the greatness and the misery of secular existence? Hugh Nibley, in a portion of *Since Cumorah*, strives to provide an answer to these questions. We are badly in need of a serious discussion of the issues he raises. Usually, however, an abashed silence has followed his scholarly contributions. In order to see what he is up to in the closing portion of *Since Cumorah*, which is my intent in this essay, it is useful to understand something of his role in Mormon intellectual life. Nibley has been a source of dismay in certain circles, but why should he cause consternation? The answer is simple, though consequential.

Hugh Nibley has long been waging a major two-front war: his best-known campaign is against what might be called "Cultural Mormonism"; but an equally significant campaign is now under way against a form of "Sectarian Mormonism" now having some popularity, especially in certain academic circles. Both the Cultural and Sectarian types are eager to effect an accommodation of the gospel with features of the prevailing culture. That Nibley has defended the integrity of the gospel against the Cultural Mormons is rather well known; what is not nearly as well known is that he has evoked the Book of Mormon against the efforts of Sectarian Mormons to align certain American middle-class values with the gospel, as well as the recent attempts of some Mormons to sanctify a radical political ideology by attributing it to God.

In *Since Cumorah* we see Nibley in a somewhat new role; one, however, that is remarkably open and free of rancor. He has often appeared to his Mormon audience as a warrior with a verbal rapier who busies himself in the defense of the faith by impaling the enemies of Joseph Smith and the Mormon scriptures. Both *Sounding Brass* and *The Myth Makers* reveal Nibley in this role.¹ He has both a taste and a talent for irony, and is tempted to sarcasm and mockery. I like his style. All the blundering, pompous, self-assured folly of this world, and especially that manifest in the opposition to the gospel, deserves what it gets. Such verbal fireworks do not always accomplish their mission; however, the style and tone of *Since Cumorah* is different, and those readers who know Nibley only in one role might do well to examine the book carefully.

Since Cumorah is a massive effort to test the Book of Mormon. Such an endeavor is an affront to those Cultural Mormons who feel that the book has already flunked, while some Sectarians reject the scholarly enterprise as wholly irrelevant to the truth of the gospel. However, the material I wish to examine constitutes a special kind of test. Mormons who are genuinely concerned about (and perhaps even those engaged in) the current struggle over political ideologies which threatens to polarize and split the Church should give some serious attention to Nibley's argument, even though it is not presented in the familiar form of an "ism."

He begins with the recognition that among Mormons generally there is an astonishing degree of indifference toward the doctrinal content of the Book of Mormon, as well as a rather profound awareness of its prophetic message. For the Saints, the Book of Mormon is often a sign of God's revelatory activity, and, as such, they may feel a deep commitment to it. However, as Nibley points out, the book itself "claims to contain an enormously important message for whoever is to receive it, and yet until now those few who have been willing to receive it as the authentic word of God have not shown particular interest in that message." He insists, and I think correctly, that everything about the book is "of very minor significance in comparison with what the book actually has to say. As we see it, if an angel took the trouble to deliver the book to Joseph Smith and to instruct him night after night as to just how he was to go about giving it to the world . . . , that book should obviously have something important to convey. The question that all are now asking of the Bible — 'What does it have to say that is of relevance to the modern world?' applies with double force to the Book of Mormon, which is a special message to the modern world." His feeling is that "the ultimate test of the Book of Mormon's validity is whether or not it really has something to say" to our age.

Nibley's effort to show the secular relevance of the Book of Mormon will

¹Nibley entered the Mormon academic scene in 1946 with *No Ma'am, That's Not History* — a criticism of Fawn Brodie's famous "biography" of Joseph Smith. This earned him the undying hostility of numerous Cultural Mormons. For some reason they could not get over the impertinence of the "upstart" Nibley criticizing the likes of Brodie, although his early impressions have now been mostly vindicated.

come as a shock to some Mormons. Thus far he has avoided being caught in the narrow, partisan controversy between the party-men whose world is either "liberal" or "conservative." But this does not mean that he has neglected to say things of relevance about problems like, for example, the current polarization of political opinion within the Church — he has, but his contributions, until recently, have been either "hidden" in essays in academic journals,² or couched in the words and hence the authority of Brigham Young. In *Since Cumorah*, and especially in the part entitled "The Prophetic Book of Mormon," there is an extended discussion of the secular relevance of the prophetic message of the Book of Mormon wherein Nibley addresses himself to issues that genuinely and deeply concern, as well as divide, the people of God.

The Nibley that surfaces at the end of *Since Cumorah* is quite likely to trouble some of his former allies. He has long been known as a critic of the efforts of those within the Church who wish to see the gospel reconciled to prevailing currents within the culture. Efforts to harmonize the gospel and the culture have taken a number of forms. Some of the most energetic efforts have come from some Mormon intellectuals who, under the influence of the Protestant liberalism of the pre-World War II period, wished to see Mormonism become fully consistent with a brand of secular humanism. Their strategy was to capitulate wherever there seemed to be a serious tension. Hugh Nibley has provided the most significant intellectual obstacle for those who strove to avoid embarrassment over the gospel by retreating into a secularized Cultural Mormonism or by transforming the gospel into a variety of Protestant liberalism or humanism.

Almost alone, Nibley has stood in the way of Mormons who have given up on the Book of Mormon as a source of doctrine (for example, because they have accepted liberal Protestant notions about man's predicament) or those who have more or less rejected the possibility that the book is genuinely the word of God. He has also become the rallying-point for opposition to the development of something like the *Kulturprotestantismus* (Cultural Protestantism) of German theological liberalism after Schleiermacher — a kind of *Kulturmormonismus* that would no longer be threatened and embarrassed by assaults from prevailing science and philosophy because the Mormon religion was to be defined simply as the highest flowering of culture and therefore fully consistent with the science and philosophy of the day.

Some Cultural Mormons have thus come to see in Nibley an ironic, biting, sarcastic, clever, erudite defender of what they understand to be an irrelevant, authoritarian theological conservatism. Further, since many have come to live and die by slogans, it has been assumed by friend and foe alike that, since Nibley is critical of those who would capitulate to the culture by

²Nibley's "The Unsolved Loyalty Problem: Our Western Heritage," *Western Political Quarterly* 6(1953):631-57, can for example, be read both as (1) a straight examination of an issue that plagued the 4th century and which happens to have parallels with the politics of our own time, and, in addition, as (2) a subtle effort at reading a sermon to the Saints about their proclivities.

making Mormonism into a brand of Protestant liberalism or humanism, he must also be an arch political conservative. After all, these people reason, "is it not perfectly obvious that a theological liberal and a political liberal are the same thing?" Nothing could be further from the truth. *Since Cumorah* shows that his critics (and perhaps some of his Sectarian supporters) have misunderstood his position.

The argument of "The Prophetic Book of Mormon" provides a powerful and convincing antidote to counteract the poison of the narrow, partisan, extremist political ideology now being advanced by certain Mormon intellectuals. Nibley has done what no other Mormon could do (and some would not have even thought it possible): he has removed the Book of Mormon from the arsenal of weapons available to the conservatively oriented right wing. The current effort to align the gospel with a worldly political ideology and the Church with a political mass movement is a yeasty fermentation that is entirely inconsistent with the prophetic message of the Book of Mormon. Though his arguments and the conclusions are obvious, Nibley has not made a special effort to call attention to them (why buy trouble?), and it is with some reluctance that I do so. The mood among some Mormons is such that the mere hint that one does not share their social and political opinions is likely to generate a spasm of hostility, indignation, and revulsion, as well as charges of apostasy and heresy. The ideology of the Sectarials tends to include the following: (1) rejection of civil rights legislation that is intended to protect the freedom of conscience and speech and to prevent persecution and discrimination; (2) the abolition of public welfare programs; (3) opposition to taxation; (4) indifference, and even hostility, to the poor, indigent and otherwise unfortunate; (5) the encouragement of military aggression against the evil of other nations; (6) class, national and racial hatreds and conceits. Nibley argues that these cherished social and political nostrums cannot find support in the Book of Mormon and are inconsistent with the gospel.

Most Sectarials will not readily admit that I have described the content of their ideology correctly. They would, instead, want to speak in terms of fundamental principles such as individual initiative, self-reliance, freedom, or of evils such as government regulation and interference, and the welfare dole. With a peculiar kind of honesty, Nibley has torn away the silken veil which piety still draws over our own worldly ambitions and motives. What is really wrong with individual initiative, self-reliance, and so forth? Nothing if they are taken in their proper setting, but as moral absolutes they no longer conform to the law of love; they represent, instead, a crude, worldly ethic, a kind of morally blind Social Darwinism which stresses the survival of the fittest. The Book of Mormon actually describes in horror such a point of view: "every man fared in this life according to the management of the creature; therefore every man prospered according to his genius, and . . . every man conquered according to his strength . . ." (Alma 30:17). Now we often hear talk of a universal, immutable, irrevocable Law of the Harvest which determines that men get paid for whatever they do. But not according

to the gospel, which speaks for love and mercy. Nibley points out that

for charity [i.e., *agape*, love] there is no bookkeeping, no *quid pro quo*, no deals, interest, bargaining, or ulterior motives; *charity gives to those who do not deserve and expects nothing in return*; it is the love God has for us, and the love we have for little children, of whom we expect nothing but for whom we would give everything. By the Law of the Harvest, none of us can expect salvation for "all men that are in a state of nature . . . a carnal state . . . have gone contrary to the nature of God," and if they were to be restored to what they deserve would receive "evil for evil, or carnal for carnal, or devilish for devilish." (Alma 41:11, 13.) "Therefore, my son," says Alma in a surprising conclusion, "see that you are merciful unto your brethren." (Alma 41:14.) That is our only chance, for if God did not have mercy none of us would ever return to his presence, for we are all "in the grasp of justice" from which only "the plan of mercy" can save us. (Alma 42:14f.) But God does have mercy, and has declared that we can have a claim on it to that exact degree to which we have shown charity towards our fellow man. (Italics supplied.)

Then Nibley points out that "charity to be charity must be 'to all men,' especially to those evil people who hate us, 'For if ye love them which love you what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans do the same?' Nor should we demand or expect charity in return. . . . Still, we might say that the Law of the Harvest wins after all, since we must have and give charity to receive it." How does this relate to concrete political and social issues? In this way: our ambition, pride, self-confidence, and love of status, power, and wealth negate our love of God, a love which must be expressed in our love for our fellow-man. Our actions and our rationalizing social and political ideologies do not always express love, but often a carefully disguised and moralistically rationalized loathing, hatred, or indifference.

Though we seldom worship icons, our chief problem is still idolatry. We are constantly tempted to set our hearts upon our worldly treasures, and, when we do, these objects become our gods. Our worshipping (i.e., counting as divine) human ideas, philosophies, or value-systems must also be counted equally to fall under that which God forbids when he forbids us to manufacture gods from the things of this earth. Nibley argues that the Nephite practice of making gods out of their gold and silver was simply worshipping the stuff as if it were divine. When our hearts are set on power, prestige, influence, status, our luxurious homes, then our political and social views will surely reflect these concerns. Our ideologies often merely rationalize our commitments to the values of this world. Hence it is all too easy to see what really stands behind the pious slogans, rubrics, and clichés advanced by the Sectarian supporters of radical ideologies.

Earlier I mentioned six elements which are commonly found in the Sectarian political ideology. Nibley indicates that the prophetic message of the Book of Mormon speaks to each of these issues.

1. Nibley feels that the Book of Mormon fully supports efforts both to protect civil rights and to prevent persecution and discrimination.

Some have felt that the attempt of the state to implement the ideas of liberty and equality by passing and enforcing laws repugnant to a majority, *i.e.*, laws restraining persecution, discrimination, slavery, and all violence whatever, is an infringement of free agency. But plainly the Nephites did not think so. As we have seen, they believed that no one was ever without his free agency: one can sin or do unrighteously under any form of government whatever; indeed, the *worse* the government the better the test: after all, we are all being tried and tested on this earth 'under the rule of Belial' himself, "the prince of this world"; but since no one can ever make us sin or do right, our free agency is never in the slightest danger. *But free institutions and civil liberties are, as history shows, in constant danger. They are even attacked by those who would justify their actions as a defense of free agency, and insist that artificial barriers erected by law to protect the rights of unpopular and weak minorities are an attempt to limit that agency.* (Italics supplied.)

In addition, Nibley shows how the Book of Mormon stresses what we would call the freedom of conscience and religion, *i.e.*, freedom to believe or not believe. The point was made by Joseph Smith in the King Follett Discourse: "Every man has a natural, and in our country, a constitutional right to be a false prophet, as well as a true prophet." Joseph Smith claimed that God suffered the establishment of the United States Constitution to provide first and foremost such freedom of conscience (Doctrine and Covenants 101) and the statement on government in the Doctrine and Covenants (Section 134) makes freedom of conscience the key to the legitimacy of human government. (Nibley has treated these themes at some length in the essay entitled "The Ancient Law of Liberty," found in *The World of the Prophets*.)

2. Nibley finds that the Book of Mormon does not necessarily oppose what we now call public welfare programs. King Benjamin's insistence on the necessity of equality resulted in his authorization of such programs. "He insisted that anyone who withheld his substance from the needy, no matter how improvident and deserving of their fate they might be, 'hath great cause to repent' (Mosiah 4:16-18). . . ." Nibley denies that these were merely private welfare activities.

3. Welfare programs need to be financed, and one method is through public taxation. Benjamin's son Mosiah

wrote equality into the constitution, "that every man should have an equal chance throughout all the land. . . ." (Mosiah 29:38.) "I desire," said the king, "that this inequality should be no more in this land . . . ; but I desire that this be a land of liberty, and every man may enjoy his rights and privileges alike. . . ." (Mosiah 29:32.) This does not mean that some should support others in idleness, "but that the burden should come upon all the people, that every man might bear his part." (Mosiah 29:34.) This was in conformance with Benjamin's policy of taxation: "I would that ye should [this is a royal imperative] impart of your substance to the poor, every man *according to that which he hath* . . . administering to their relief, both spiritually and temporally, according to their wants." (Mosiah 4:26) (Italics are Nibley's.)

After giving another example of a royal order (Mosiah 21:17), Nibley adds: "Here taxation appears as a means of implementing the principle of equality. Whenever taxation is denounced in the Book of Mormon, it is always because the taxer uses the funds not to help others but for his own aggrandizement." Moroni saved the constitution of Mosiah from the king-men by enforcing equality. "This drastic enforcement of equality was justified by an extreme national emergency; but both Alma and Moroni had pointed out to the people on occasion that the worst danger their society had to face was inequality." (Cf. Doctrine and Covenants 78:5-6).

4. The last seventy pages of *Since Cumorah* are brimming with references to our neglect of the poor. Nibley sees Mormon 8:36-39 as a prophetic warning to the saints in our own time.

"And I know that ye do [present tense] walk in the pride of your hearts; and there are none save a few only who do not lift themselves up in the pride of their hearts, unto the wearing of very fine apparel, unto envyings and strifes, and malice, and persecutions, and all manner of iniquities. . . ." (Mormon 8:36.) Here is our own fashionable, well-dressed, status-conscious and highly competitive society. The "iniquities" with which it is charged are interesting, for instead of crime, immorality, and atheism we are told of the vices of vanity, of the intolerant and uncharitable state of mind: pride, envy, strife, malice and persecution. These are the crimes of meanness; whereas libertines, bandits and unbelievers have been known to be generous and humane, the people whom Mormon is addressing betray no such weakness. They are dedicated people: "For behold, ye do love money, and your substance, and your fine apparel, and the adorning of your churches, *more than ye love the poor and the needy, the sick and afflicted.*" (Mormon 8:37). These people do not persecute the poor (they are too single-minded for that), but simply ignore their existence: ". . . ye adorn yourselves with that which hath no life, and yet suffer the hungry, and the needy . . . to pass by you, and notice them not." (Mormon 8:39.)

5. The entire chapter on "Military History" (chapter 11) and much of the remaining seventy pages of *Since Cumorah* is devoted to warning the saints against wishing to see political power and especially military force used to punish the wickedness of other parties and nations, *no matter how wicked they may actually be*. The proper theme, Nibley maintains, should be co-existence, a word he uses over and over, and not the venerable old though utterly insane and unrighteous notion of "kill or be killed," "it is either you or me." The saints should always practice forbearance toward their enemies and strive for peace, even sometimes at the price of other values (e.g., Mosiah 20:22 and cf. several important statements by the First Presidency); they should only fight defensively and for limited objectives. War and the threat of war is God's way of showing us that both sides are bad. "Of one thing we can be sure, however — the good people never fight the bad people: they never fight anybody: '. . . it is by the wicked that the wicked are punished; for it is the wicked that stir up the hearts of the children of men unto bloodshed.' (Mormon 4:5.)"

6. Being righteous has nothing whatever to do with our being a member of a particular family, party, class, nation or race. Likewise, according to Nibley, wickedness should not be attributed to those who do not belong to some fashionable group. It is not our business to judge other men's sins. "If they have not charity it mattereth not unto thee," the Lord told one Nephite prophet who was inordinately concerned about the sins of others. (Ether 12:37.) Instead, we must come to realize that before God we are all beggars. If we show our faith through love, God will see and respond with mercy toward us. However, when our hearts are set upon some worldly object or value, when we "seek not the Lord to establish his righteousness" (Doctrine and Covenants 1:16), we actually worship some worldly likeness instead of God. Then we lust after the riches of this world, upon which our hearts are set; then we begin to seek power and gain that we "might be lifted up one above another." The cycle is familiar: with wealth or other prosperity comes a feeling of pride and superiority, from which comes intense status-consciousness and an insatiable need for those things which assure our status (especially power and wealth). Why are we unhappy? "We seek not the Lord to establish his righteousness." Instead we set our hearts on the vain things of this world; we are anxious about the wrong things. "Please note," writes Nibley, ". . . wickedness does not consist in being on the *wrong side* — in the Book of Mormon it never does." Party, class, nation are all equally irrelevant to the question of righteousness of one and the wickedness of another group and turn us from the actual human predicament and its authentic solution.

But what about race? For the second time, Nibley has examined what he calls "The Race Question." The very title is enough to excite some anxiety, which only shows that the subject needs to be dealt with. What he examines, of course, are the ethnological teachings found in the Book of Mormon and the use of group labels (e.g., Nephite, Lamanite). The relevant issue is the problem of dark skin — "black" and "white." The terms "black" and "white" are used, Nibley argues, as *marks* of a general way of life; that is, they are cultural designations. They are marks, they are also intended by God, and they are put upon the holder by his own actions, but there is no miracle of skin color changing from light to dark ("white" to "black"?), except as one adopted a certain cultural pattern.

Nibley finds that the Book of Mormon is busy warning us about our temptation to be concerned about wealth, status, prestige, power, and influence. After all, sin is anxiety about the things of this world. The real source of our wickedness is our desire to live something that is not genuinely worthy of our love, our urge to worship a mere likeness, our tendency to be concerned about some trivial thing. The one thing we fear in this world and resent above all other things is being edged out of our (rightful?) place at the table when Mother Technology's pie is being cut. Things seem to merit status and we are *all* tempted by such ephemeral things. The trouble with the conservatively oriented political ideology with which some of the saints are now flirting and which is now being taught as God-given by some

Sectarian teachers is that it represents a setting of the heart upon the wrong things. Its motive is not charity; its much vaunted principles are merely *of this world* in spite of its many pious pretensions. The chief weakness of the Sectarian political ideology is that it is a clumsy attempt to accommodate the gospel to certain features of the prevailing culture. We are often quite anxious lest our wealth, our hard earned wealth, for example, be taxed by an evil and profligate government and given to Blacks, the poor, or someone else who did not earn it. We forget that we are all beggars before the Lord and we miss the point of the Great Commandment (Cf. Mosiah 4:16-27). We worry about our status, our influence and power, our place in this world. A vain, worldly political ideology which happens to express our fears and reflect our anxieties is seized upon as an expression of a profound truth and eagerly made a corollary of the gospel. What irony! The gospel is *not* just another ideology. The good news about Jesus Christ is an affront to all ideologies; it challenges all the presumptions we label as "isms." Our worldly wisdom is foolishness to God. We take ourselves and our world entirely too seriously when we try to insist that we can have it both ways, that our own "isms" — whatever they may be — and the gospel are both equally true. Of course, this strikes at both the Sectarian and Cultural brands of Mormonism, for they both strive to accommodate the gospel to something they prize in the secular culture.

Further, we misunderstand the gospel when we assume that we can deduce something from it (something always suspiciously like what Herbert Spencer, Frederick Bastiat, Robert Welch, John Dewey, et al. have already said) that will serve as a true political ideology.

As soon as we yield to the enticement to associate the gospel with a worldly ideology, we begin to ready the thought police. However, the Book of Mormon stands directly in the way of any such nonsense, as Nibley has often pointed out. It is not the job of the saints to go around forcing anyone, in any way, to do or not to do or believe or not to believe anything. "The Book of Mormon," according to him, "offers striking illustrations of the psychological principle that impatience with the wickedness of others (even when it is real wickedness and not merely imagined) is a sure measure of one's own wickedness. The Book of Mormon presents what has been called the 'conspiratorial interpretation of history.' People who accept such an interpretation are prone to set up their own counter-conspiracies to check the evil ones. But that is exactly what the Book of Mormon forbids above all things, since, it constantly reminds us, God alone knows the hearts of men and God alone will repay." Our commission is only to preach the gospel and not to enforce righteousness or judge anyone.

In fact, the wicked of this world are not our concern at all. Our problem is, instead, what Nibley aptly calls the "Nephite Disease," i.e., the temptation to set our hearts on the riches of this world, and our own ambition, self-righteousness and pride. This disease may not appear nearly as dreadful as those diseases which infect others. To the saints, however, it is fatal, if unchecked, while those infected by the far more ugly diseases may yet

be healed by the gospel. Nibley's thesis is that the Book of Mormon was made available to our world to warn *us* about the Nephite Disease. Our problem, then, is not the wickedness of others — we have no room to gloat — but our own worldliness. One should not use the Book of Mormon to blast the Russians, the Chinese, the Communists, the Blacks *or anyone else* whom we currently are being taught to hate and fear; its message of warning is primarily for the saints, i.e., for those who freely choose to heed the gospel message.

It is to be hoped that Nibley's book will be read and seriously considered — even more that the Book of Mormon will itself receive our attention. My experience with students at B.Y.U. convinces me that vast numbers of young Mormons, and often the most able and faithful young saints, are eager for the message of the Book of Mormon and deeply appreciate having it pointed out. It is a shame that so many students go through a long course of study on the Book of Mormon with, of all things, Bastiat's *The Law* as a guide. (This little book is an old criticism of the evils of socialism that has recently been promoted by the John Birch Society. In a number of "religion classes" at Brigham Young University it has actually been a requirement that one read Bastiat's book in order to receive an A in the study of the Book of Mormon.) Perhaps those teachers who see things more the way Nibley does — they are clearly in the majority — could arrange to have Part V of *Since Cumorah* reprinted in an inexpensive edition and made available to students as a commentary on the Book of Mormon, if such a thing seems to be needed. This would certainly seem to make more sense than the continual use of old (or new) tracts on socialism, communism or the welfare state, written by those wholly or partially ignorant of the gospel. Teaching the Book of Mormon in ways that fill the student's mind with irrelevancies, worldly nonsense, partisan political opinions (e.g., public education is an activity of the devil, or *all* public attempts to assist the poor and indigent are demonic) only makes the gospel message seem absurd and totally irrelevant to our world, and drives many young saints into fanaticism or eventual apostasy.

Some Mormons indeed are losing their faith altogether, simply because the expressions which they are expected to assimilate are quite divorced from the realities of man's actual existence. Thus instead of the gospel message appearing to have any deep relevance to life, it is now sometimes made to appear as something mostly, or even totally, irrelevant to the predicament of the secular world. However, as Nibley ably shows, the gospel is more than merely something that serves to give the unreflective a comfortable feeling: it has meaning for one caught up in the current sweep of tragic events. In fact, its message only really takes on meaning when man begins to sense that he is teetering on the rim of an abyss. For without God's mercy, our best efforts are only an heroic but still laughable gesture.

A COMMENTARY ON STEPHEN G. TAGGART'S
*MORMONISM'S NEGRO POLICY: SOCIAL
AND HISTORICAL ORIGINS*

Lester Bush

Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins. By Stephen G. Taggart. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. xiv + 82 pp., \$4.00. Lester Bush, who is now serving as a Lieutenant in the U. S. Navy, has done extensive research, perhaps more than anyone in the Church, in the Library of Congress and all the university and Church collections in Utah on Mormonism and the Negro and the history of the Negro in the L.D.S. Church.

Stephen Taggart has attempted in *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins* to show that the present Mormon Negro policy is "a historical anachronism—an unfortunate and embarrassing survival of a once expedient institutional practice" which emerged in response to stress encountered in Missouri. With this demonstration that "the action of social forces explains the present Mormon posture toward Negroes," it becomes apparent that "the Church would need only declare its disposition for a change to occur." Since other authors have previously "demonstrated" the socio-historical origin of this practice without noticeable effect on the Church,¹ one expects this to be an especially ironclad case—tightly reasoned, well documented, and presumably with some new references, perhaps even contemporary with the period.

The essay does indeed appear more comprehensive than previous treatments, and it cites some uncommon, though seemingly very relevant, references. One has the impression that a very good case is being made. If the Mormons in Missouri were so clearly swayed by their environment with regard to the Negro, why not the whole Church doctrine? Problems are evident which question the validity of Taggart's conclusions. After a generally accurate and well documented rehearsal of the Jackson County period of the Church, one finds an increasing incidence of speculative statements and secondary sources, and a sprinkling of factual errors. More distressingly, one finds a number of relevant points omitted from Mormon history and doctrine and the general setting in which they arose.

We are informed, initially, that after the founding of the Church, Mormons with "abolitionist attitudes" went to Missouri, an area to which they became attached through "both economic and ideological forces." Facing,

¹Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History* (New York, 1945) is probably widest known; most convincingly documented is Naomi F. Woodbury's "A Legacy of Intolerance: Nineteenth Century Pro-slavery Propaganda and the Mormon Church Today" (master's thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1966). Other current works include Jerald Tanner's *The Negro in Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City, 1963); Jerald and Sandra Tanner's *Joseph Smith's Curse upon the Negro* (Salt Lake City, 1965); and sections of general treatments of Mormonism, e.g., William J. Whalen, *The Latter-day Saints in the Modern World* (New York, 1964), and Wallace Turner, *The Mormon Establishment* (Boston, 1966). See also Jan Shipp, "Second Class Saints," *Colorado Quarterly* 11 (1962): 183 and Dennis Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery and Mormon Doctrine," *Western Humanities Review* 21 (1967): 327.

among other problems, hostile proslavery sentiment in the old settlers, the Mormons were willing to attempt "to reduce the conflict which threatened to drive them from the state by abandoning their initial abolitionist tendencies and adopting some form of proslavery posture."

Unquestionably the Mormons were viewed as a threat to slavery in Missouri. They were not slaveholders and had come from the home of the growing "antislavery impulse"; furthermore, their path—New York to Ohio to Missouri—paralleled in time and route the movement of abolitionist sentiment into the West.² Yet one is disappointed that essentially no effort has been made to document the claim that the early Mormons were, in fact, abolitionists.³ The only evidence cited to defend this point is taken from an article in *The Evening and the Morning Star* which was an emphatic denial of any interference with the slaves.⁴ Warren Jennings, to whom Taggart acknowledges a considerable debt for insight into the Jackson County period, deals with this question and concludes, "there is no concrete evidence that the Mormons ever incited, conspired, or tampered with the slaves . . ."⁵ Nonetheless, as is correctly observed, the Missourian perception of the Mormon position was important, and not the actual Mormon practice.

In 1833, Taggart proceeds, a crisis developed when "the Mormon press in Missouri" issued a cautionary note on immigration of free Negroes into Missouri. The article was misunderstood by the Missourians as an invitation to free Negro Mormons to come to Missouri. In response to the vigorous anti-Mormon activity which ensued, the Church within one month's time changed its stated position from having "no special rule" with regard to Negroes to a desire "to prevent them from being admitted as members of the Church."

This history is well substantiated. If one ignores the unnecessary speculative statements Taggart now inserts periodically,⁶ the significant points are undeniable. The "Mormon press" (i.e., W. W. Phelps) responded most remarkably to the winds of environmental stress. One small point should be made; Elijah Abel was not the first free Negro convert to the Church, as

²Many abolitionists were associated, additionally, with religious evangelism and the temperance movement.

³For the most part, Taggart has made rather casual usage of the term "abolitionist," employing it interchangeably with passive opposition to slavery, and failing to distinguish among the broad spectrum of views held by abolitionists (gradualists to immediatists); these distinctions become more important in the Nauvoo period. He also ignores the anti-Negro, anti-abolitionist sentiment in the Northeast, which shortly resulted in widespread disorder, including riots in Palmyra, New York, in 1834 and 1837. See John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, 3d ed. (New York 1969), p. 235.

⁴*The Evening and the Morning Star* 2:122 (January 1834): 122.

⁵Warren A. Jennings, "Factors in the Destruction of the Mormon Press in Missouri, 1833," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (1967): 67. This excellent work adds to many of Taggart's primary references for this period several other seemingly relevant testimonies concerning early Mormon views toward slavery.

⁶E.g., "a few converts . . . who *probably* subscribed to the slave system . . ."; "it is *reasonable to expect* that the Mormons would have . . ."; "the threat . . . *may have been* aggravated by a revelation . . ."; and, "to the extent that . . . , it would have been construed as an attempt . . ." (my italics).

is suggested. At least one other, known variously as Black Pete and Black Tom, had joined in Kirtland within a year of the organization of the Church.⁷ It is not clear that either Pete or Abel was known to Phelps, or that either had the necessary citizenship papers to go to Missouri. Pete's parents were slaves; and though Abel was born in Maryland, his family was later from Canada, raising the question of his having made use of the underground railroad.⁸ In any event, there is no indication that Abel planned ("Abel . . . may have intended . . .") a trip to hostile Missouri. In fact, he originally went to Kirtland, not Nauvoo.

Taggart next relates that shortly after the expulsion of the Saints from Jackson County, Joseph Smith, upon obtaining a "clear impression of the explosiveness of the slavery issue" and "in the context of his recent firsthand experience in Missouri," reached the decision "to exclude Negroes from the priesthood"; however, he "advised only members who approached him on the subject, and who were concerned with the southern Church" (this in 1834). The following year reportedly brought "the first official declaration of policy regarding Negroes made by the Church," declaring "Formally . . . support of the legal institution of slavery . . ."

With these claims come the first serious questions as to the adequacy of the research, as well as to the validity of the conclusions drawn. The remarkable "documentation" for the origin of the practice of denying the Negro the priesthood is the testimony of Zebedee Coltrin, and to a lesser extent the testimony of Abraham O. Smoot, given May 31, 1879.⁹ These are the only references cited at any time in the article to support the claim that Joseph Smith taught denial of the priesthood to the Negro.¹⁰ But the source needs further evaluation. Granting that "Coltrin's statement was recorded forty-five years after the fact" and that it therefore "would be unwise to accept its detail without question," Taggart still assumes "as generally correct the report" that Joseph Smith decided not to give the Negro the priesthood "in mid-1834."¹¹ This is indeed a commendable memory, especially in

⁷He is spoken of as being a member of the Mormon Church in early February 1831 (*Ashtabula Journal* of February 5, 1831, Stanley S. Ivins Collection, Utah State Historical Society, Notebook 2, p. 221). There are a number of later references to Pete, who was one of two Negro Mormons to claim to have received revelation.

⁸Abel's mother reportedly was originally a slave in South Carolina. With slave parentage, neither could have obtained citizenship papers very easily.

⁹Taggart's footnote cites a secondary source (William E. Berrett, *The Church and the Negroid People* [Orem, Utah, 1960]) which in turn refers to a *Journal History* entry of May 31, 1879. Actually, the *Journal History* contains no such entry near that date (if at all) and the correct source was actually John Nuttall's journal for that day. The quote, however, is accurately reported.

¹⁰See *Journal of John Nuttall*, 1 (1876-1884): 290-93, from a typewritten copy at the Brigham Young University Library. A copy is also preserved in the manuscripts section of the Church Historian's Library-Archives.

¹¹"Generally correct" comes to mean that after a forty-five-year time lapse, the dating is adequately precise to be used in specific reference to other events, e.g., Coltrin's visit took place "just after Joseph Smith returned to Kirtland"; "More than eighteen months after Joseph Smith was approached by Greene and Coltrin . . ."; "Thus, one year after meeting with Greene and Coltrin, Joseph Smith evidently . . ."; and, "during mid-1842 . . . more than eight years after the practice was begun."

view of Taggart's stated belief that part of Coltrin's testimony is in error ("events show this tone in his testimony to be an artifact"). Of more serious concern is the absence of any attempt to evaluate the reliability of the sources. Nowhere is it mentioned that Coltrin's own account reflects prejudice to the subject;¹² nor that Coltrin, himself, two years after the reported conversation with Joseph Smith *ordained Elijah Abel* to the priesthood office of a Seventy¹³ (to the Third Quorum, not the Second as Coltrin recalls in 1879);¹⁴ nor is evidence given of Coltrin's later criticisms of Abel in a Seventies meeting.¹⁵

The testimony of Abraham O. Smoot is not emphasized because Smoot was unable to date the origin of the practice as early as 1834. Even so, it would have been worthwhile to point out that Smoot came from a line of slaveholders, and reportedly owned a slave himself while in Utah¹⁶ (this slave described by him in later years as "one of the 'whitest Negroes' living");¹⁷ or one might expect mention of Smoot's refusal, in 1844, under Southern pressuring to distribute Joseph Smith's presidential views which were critical of slavery.¹⁸ More substantial documentation than the testimonies of Smoot and Coltrin seems indicated.

The first "official" Church position on *slavery* (there is no reference to *Negroes* in the 1835 statement referred to by Taggart) may not have come in 1835, but rather two years prior, immediately after the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri. And this would not have been in the form of a policy statement of support for slavery, but rather as a divine condemnation of it: "It is not right that any man should be in bondage one to another . . .".¹⁹ This

¹²Coltrin speaks of a "warm" argument even prior to his talk with Joseph Smith, in which he advocated denying Negroes the priesthood; moreover, he reports that in administering to Abel, he had "such unpleasant feelings" that he vowed he "never would again Anoint another person who had Negro blood in him. [sic] unless I was commanded by the Prophet to do so" (*Journal of John Nuttall*, 1:290, or Berrett, *The Church and the Negroid People*). In later years Coltrin is tied circumstantially to a practical joke carried out against an elderly Negro in Utah (see Kate B. Carter, *The Negro Pioneer* [Salt Lake City, 1965], p. 24).

¹³*Minutes of the Seventies Journal*, kept by Hazen Aldrich, then a president of the Seventies; entry for December 20, 1836. Manuscripts collection, Church Historian's Library-Archives.

¹⁴*Ibid.*; Aldrich, Coltrin, and J. Young were then presidents of the Third Quorum, and all were present.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, entry for June 1, 1839. This reference suggests that Abel was out of favor with a number of the brethren in the quorum "because of some of his teachings." It is of interest that Abel was clearly in possession of his priesthood, a fact obviously known to Joseph Smith, who was at this meeting. Yet Smith is not recorded as having made any comment.

¹⁶Carter, *The Negro Pioneer*, p. 24; also, C. Elliot Berlin, "Abraham Owen Smoot, Pioneer Mormon Leader" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955), for Smoot's family background.

¹⁷In a letter written in 1897 by Smoot to Spencer Clawson, quoted in entirety in Carter, *The Negro Pioneer*, p. 25.

¹⁸Berlin, "Abraham Owen Smoot," p. 33. This study was largely taken from Smoot's personal journal. Abraham Smoot is also the source in later years (under President Joseph F. Smith) of the account attributed to David Patten in 1835 in which Cain appears to Patten (in the South) as a large "very dark" person, "covered with hair," and wearing "no clothing"; see Lycurgus Wilson, *Life of David Patten, the First Apostolic Martyr* (Salt Lake City, 1904), pp. 45-47.

¹⁹Doctrine and Covenants 101:79, given December 16, 1833.

statement, traditionally interpreted as meaning economic bondage by reference to a later revelation,²⁰ is never mentioned in early Mormon discourses on slavery. It is not entirely clear from the context that such a restriction is justified.

Careful reading of the policy statement passed in 1835 reflects that it was not so much an endorsement of legal slavery as it was a statement of support for legal institutions in general, which would include slavery where it was legal.²¹ It should be noted that the statement was shortly thereafter amplified by Joseph Smith in a letter to the "elders abroad," in which he made it clear that the obligation to teach slaves the gospel had not been removed.²² The elders were simply instructed to consult the masters first.²³ The Mormons had preached to Negroes from the earliest days of the Church. Black Pete was a member in February 1831; the *Journal History* speaks of preaching to Negroes in the summer of 1831; and Abel joined in 1832. The "Rules and Regulations to be Observed in the House of the Lord in Kirtland" drafted by Joseph Smith and others in 1836 provided for "black or white" (as well as "believer or unbeliever").²⁴ As late as 1840, the First Presidency issued a statement anticipating that "we may soon expect to see flocking to this place [Nauvoo], people of every land and from every nation . . . [including] the degraded Hottentot . . . who shall with us worship the Lord of Hosts in His holy temple and offer up their orisons in His sanctuary."²⁵

To return to Taggart's narrative, we are informed that because of a continuing "minority of verbal abolitionists within the Church," the "leadership" was forced "to develop a theological justification for its proslavery statements." This was "essential for the safety of the membership in Missouri, for the attainment of the land of Zion, and for the success of the Southern missionary effort . . ." "The required argument had already been documented for him—complete with scriptural proof texts—by Southern churches . . ." and was utilized by Joseph Smith and others in the *Messenger and Advocate* (October 1836).

With these ideas, the article is briefly on firm ground again. The three discourses referred to embody virtually all the proslavery arguments then prevalent, and represent the most extensive treatment of slavery found during the first decade of the Church.²⁶ Though the notion that Canaan, slavery,

²⁰D&C 104:16–18, 83, 84, given April 23, 1834. Both revelations, as well as the statement issued in 1835 appeared in the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants.

²¹D&C 134.

²²*Messenger and Advocate* 1:180; 2:210–11 (September and November 1835).

²³If permission was denied by the masters, "the responsibility be upon the head of the master of that house, and the consequence thereof . . ." (ibid.).

²⁴See Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, B. H. Roberts, ed. (Salt Lake City, 1902), 1:75.

²⁵Ibid., 4:213. The temple ordinances presently denied to Negroes were not announced until 1841 (sealing) and 1842 (endowments), and were not performed in the temple until 1846 and 1845, respectively.

²⁶A well documented discussion of the similarity of antebellum proslavery arguments and Mormon teachings is found in Woodbury, *A Legacy of Intolerance*; a broader treatment without reference to the Mormons is J. Oliver Buswell's *Slavery, Segregation, and Scripture*

and the Negro were somehow related gained wide acceptance in the nineteenth-century South, it was not new. This belief had been relatively common in seventeenth-century America as one of the justifications for enslaving Negroes, but had fallen into disuse until the biblical attacks of evangelical abolitionists (slave-holding became a "sin") in the nineteenth century forced its recall. Previously this connection had been found in sixteenth-century England at the time of the English "discovery" of Africans; and the concept can be traced to Hebraic literature of at least 200 to 600 A.D.²⁷ There is evidence that Joseph Smith believed this tradition, for he mentions parenthetically that Negroes were "descendants of Ham" as early as June 1831, well prior to any difficulty within the Church over the slavery issue.²⁸

As Taggart notes, the statements in the *Messenger and Advocate* represented a personal (rather than "official") response to the growing frustration in the Church over the slavery issue. The suggestion, however, that this was primarily directed at Missouri difficulties, and in particular at abolitionists within the Church, lacks evidence. The Mormons long had been saddled with the charge of being abolitionists. Though the charge was repeatedly denied, it persisted and continued to plague them wherever slavery was "tolerated." Because of the growth of the Church in the South generally, the embarrassment of an abolitionist's visit to Kirtland was sufficient to trigger the extensive discourses found in the *Advocate*.²⁹

During this same period (about 1836), Taggart proposes, a "theological justification" for the practice of denying the priesthood to the Negro was "evidently contemplated." "For some reason, however, [Joseph Smith] did not make his efforts public until 1842," when this justification "was published as part of *The Book of Abraham*." "Consequently, ordinations of Negroes continued . . . until as late as 1841."³⁰

(Grand Rapids, 1964); see also Caroline Shanks, "The Biblical Anti-slavery Argument of the Decade 1830-1840," *Journal of Negro History* 15 (1931): 132.

²⁷Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812* (Baltimore, 1968), p. 36, and Part 1 in general.

²⁸Smith, *History of the Church*, 1:75. The earliest published version of the account (*Times and Seasons* 5 [1844]: 448) deletes this expression; however, it is present in the original handwritten entry of the *Manuscript History of the Church* (Church Historian's Library-Archives) following the date June 19, 1831.

²⁹This, by Joseph Smith's own testimony. "I am prompted to this course, in consequence, in one respect, of many elders having gone into the Southern States, besides, there now being many in that country who have already embraced the fulness of the gospel Thinking, perhaps, that the sound might go out, that 'an abolitionist' had held forth several times to this community, and that the public feeling was not aroused to create mobs or disturbances, leaving the impression that all he said was concurred in" (*Messenger and Advocate* 2:289); and, shortly thereafter, "[Y]ou can easily see it was put forth for no other reason than to correct the public mind generally without a reference or expectation of any excitement of the nature of the one now in your county [in Missouri]" (*Messenger and Advocate* 2:354). There is no evidence that abolitionists within the Church played any substantial role at this time. The "many who profess to preach the gospel [who] complain against their brethren of the same faith, who reside in the south . . ." refers to the evangelical abolitionists in general.

³⁰Elijah Abel, to whom Taggart's source refers, was in reality ordained a Seventy in 1836. There have been numerous subsequent cases of men of Negro ancestry reportedly receiving the priesthood. The most commonly cited include a "colored" Elder in Batavia,

These are significant claims—if they have been justified. However, in looking for evidence to support the position, one is again disappointed to find a group of inferences and semi-relevant quotations. As with many of the other proposals, they may be correct, or they may not; unfortunately little light is shed on resolving the question. Several assumptions have been made. Basic is the unquestioned acceptance of the 1879 interview with Coltrin and Smoot. This allows Taggart to ignore his own observation that the Book of Abraham “is vague and cannot by itself be said to justify denying the priesthood to Negroes,” because “in the presence of an eight-year-old informal practice of denying the priesthood to Negroes” it becomes “sufficient” justification.

This ignores a lack of evidence that Joseph Smith ever used the Book of Abraham to justify priesthood denial (nor apparently did any other Church leader, until the Utah period); neither is there any mention that Joseph Smith’s “brief reversal” of opinion on slavery *preceded* the publication of the Book of Abraham (which is difficult to reconcile with even the claim of its corroborating divine sanction of slavery by supporting Southern proslavery traditions).⁸¹

N.Y., ordained by “Wm. Smith” at an unknown date (*Journal History*, June 2, 1847); Samuel Chambers, a prominent Salt Lake Negro reportedly active in the Eighth Ward Deacon’s Quorum in 1873–74 (noted in *Manuscripts History* card reference); two unnamed Negro Elders reported in South Carolina (*Journal History*, August 18, 1900); Eduard Leggroan, a “deacon” in Salt Lake City’s Ninth Ward (reported in Carter, *The Negro Pioneer*, p. 51); and several of Elijah Abel’s descendants, e.g., his son Enoch and grandson Elijah, both reportedly Elders (Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Joseph Smith’s Curse upon the Negro*, pp. 8–12). Some of Abel’s children, themselves with light complexions, married into “white” families, and the descendants of these marriages have largely “passed over” from Negro to white. The problem of what policy to follow in cases such as this, where a priesthood holder finds unexpected Negro ancestry, has not been resolved consistently by the Church. Though Brigham Young is said to have excluded anyone with as much as “one drop of the seed of Cain” in his blood, occasional exceptions are reported more recently, particularly if the individual was assigned a lineage other than Cain, Ham or Canaan in his patriarchal blessing.

⁸¹See the letters exchanged by John C. Bennett, C. V. Dyer (active in the abolition movement in Chicago) and Joseph Smith in January and March of 1842 (*Times and Seasons* 3:723–25). The Prophet continued to distinguish between his position (a friend of “equal rights and privileges to all men”) and being an abolitionist (*Times and Seasons* 3:806–8), a distinction made very explicit in his presidential platform of 1844. Joseph Smith’s stand when more fully expounded was very similar to the more gradual school of emancipationists of the 1830’s, an approach largely superseded in the 1840’s by advocates of immediate emancipation. As noted earlier, Taggart makes little reference to the historical setting in any other place than Missouri. He dispenses with the seven years in Ohio with the observation that there “the membership had been largely exempt from the slavery conflict,” notwithstanding that Ohio had been the headquarters of most abolitionist activity in the West during the 1830’s. Rather he prefers to emphasize the one year during which the Church headquarters had moved to Missouri (1838)—which “meant that the tone of normative Mormonism was now being set . . . where the membership was directly exposed to the conflicts forcing the Church away from abolitionism . . .” And he makes no reference to the growth of the abolitionist movement in Illinois in the 1840’s. Relevant to his observation on the effect of being in Missouri was Brigham Young’s statement “If I could have been influenced by private injury to choose one side in preference to the other, I should certainly be against the pro-slavery side of the question, for it was pro-slavery men that pointed the bayonet at me and my brethren in Missouri . . .” *Journal of Discourses*, 10:110–11.

What of the claimed "contemplation" in 1835? The Egyptian alphabet and grammar now available has not yet been dated.³² The specific references made by Joseph Smith in 1835 to the actual content of the grammar and alphabet (or to the Book of Abraham) refer only to astronomy, not to the flood story.³³ In view of this, how can Taggart's conclusions be drawn? Simply: "The Egyptian alphabet and grammar . . . *appears* to have been the product of Joseph Smith's effort . . . [in] 1835 It *appears* that the passage in *The Book of Abraham* concerning the curse of Canaan was written during the most intensive period of conflict³⁴ Thus, *one year after his meeting* with Greene and Coltrin, Joseph Smith *evidently contemplated* the development of a theological justification for the practice of denying the priesthood to Negroes" (q.e.d.) (my italics)

One must admit that in spite of the inadequacies of the above position, the parallels between Mormon Scripture and the contemporary proslavery arguments are striking.³⁵ In the early 1840's the Mormon leadership could argue using only direct quotes from what were to become Church Scriptures: "the seed of Cain were black" (Moses 7:22); "a blackness came upon all the children of Canaan" (Moses 7:8); "[the] king of Egypt was a descendant from the loins of Ham, and was a partaker of the blood of the Canaanites by birth" (Abraham 1:21); "and thus the blood of the Canaanites was preserved in the land" (Abraham 1:22); 'and . . . from Ham, sprang the race which preserved the curse in the land" (Abraham 1:24); "[Pharaoh was] cursed . . . as pertaining to the Priesthood" (Abraham 1:26); and Ham's son, Canaan, was cursed to be a "servant of servants" (Genesis 9:25). Those familiar with the "Inspired translation" of the Bible (dating from 1831) could have added that Canaan had "a veil of darkness . . . cover him, that he shall be known among all men" (Genesis 9:50, Inspired Version).³⁶ Thus, Joseph Smith had armed the Church with evidence that clearly vindicated holding Negroes as slaves, as well as denying them the priesthood. Or maybe it is not so clear. Why would he so extensively justify a position on slavery he had rejected?³⁷ Why

³²Joseph Smith's *Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar* (Salt Lake City, Modern Microfilm Co., 1966).

³³These comments were made on October 1, and December 16, 1835. Smith, *History of the Church*, 2:286, 2:334. At least nine other 1835 references to the papyri included by Roberts say nothing more than "Egyptian records" or "grammar" about the content (July; October 7, 19; November 17, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26).

³⁴The year 1835 saw a relative lull in the Missouri difficulties.

³⁵Most impressive, perhaps, is the letter by W. W. Phelps, referred to by Taggart in a footnote, in which Phelps proposes several months *before* the papyri were even in the possession of the Church that Cain and his children were forever "cursed" with a black skin, that Ham married a Canaanite woman, preserving some of the "black seed" through the flood, and that Canaan, Ham's son, "inherited three curses: one from Cain for killing Abel; one from Ham for marrying a black wife, and one from Noah . . ." (*Messenger and Advocate* 1:82). Phelps has added to the traditional chronology that Ham's wife was a Canaanite, immediately reminiscent of the Book of Abraham's "this king [the Pharaoh] . . . was a partaker of the blood of the Canaanites by birth" (Abraham 1:21). More likely the idea was drawn from the already extant Book of Moses reference to an antediluvian people of Canaan who became black (Moses 7:8).

³⁶Joseph Smith, Jr., *The Holy Scriptures* (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1944).

³⁷Joseph Smith criticized slavery over at least the three years from 1842 to 1844. Con-

does no Mormon publication utilize this "obvious" argument for slavery during Joseph Smith's lifetime?³⁸ Why does no one for many years tie these Scriptures to the denial of the priesthood to the Negro?

These are perplexing questions. To assume without evidence that subsequent interpretations of Scripture were necessarily those initially used is no more justified than the assumption that they were created for the purpose for which they later came to be used. A careful reading of the Mormon Scriptures reveals a most confused picture—Cain's descendants, who "were black," are never again identified after Moses 7:22 (an antediluvian time); nor are Cain's brethren who were shut out with him (Genesis 5:26, Inspired Version).³⁹ The antediluvian people of Canaan were apparently not black until they fought with the people of Shum (thus are questionably, if at all, connected with Cain) (Moses 7:8); and the Inspired Version renders Canaan as *Cainan*, and gives the impression that these were the prophet Enoch's own people (Genesis 7:6–10; for Enoch's background, Genesis 6:43–44, both Inspired Version). Nowhere is it stated that Ham married a descendant of the antediluvian people of Canaan. The closest suggestion of this is through reference to Pharaoh, a descendant of Ham and also a descendant of the "Canaanites" (Abraham 1:21), yet the other references in the Book of Abraham to Canaanites refer to the descendants of Ham's son, Canaan, to whom the Pharaoh could have been related also. All that is said of Ham's wife

trary to the impression gained from Taggart's article ("brief reversal"), there are probably as many different published statements in condemnation of slavery by Joseph Smith late in his career as there were supportive statements earlier.

³⁸The earliest reference cited in previous treatments of this subject was an article by B. H. Roberts in 1885. Even at this late date the argument was still tentative, even speculative, in nature:

"Others there were, who may not have rebelled against God, and yet were so indifferent in their support of the righteous cause of our Redeemer, that they forfeited certain privileges and powers granted to those who were more valiant for God and correct principle. We have, I think, a demonstration of this in the seed of Ham. The first Pharaoh—patriarch—king of Egypt—was a grandson of Ham: . . . [Noah] *cursed him as pertaining to the Priesthood . . .*

"Now, why is it that the seed of Ham was cursed as pertaining to the Priesthood? Why is it that his seed 'could not have right to the Priesthood?' Ham's wife was named 'Egyptus, which in the Chaldaic signifies Egypt, which signifies that which is forbidden; and thus from Ham sprang that race which preserved the curse in the land.' . . . Was the wife of Ham, as her name signifies, of a race with which those who held the Priesthood were forbidden to intermarry? Was she a descendant of Cain, who was cursed for murdering his brother? And was it by Ham marrying her, and she being saved from the flood in the ark, that 'the race which preserved the curse in the land' was perpetuated? If so, then I believe that race is the one through which it is ordained those spirits that were not valiant in the great rebellion in heaven should come; who, through their indifference or lack of integrity to righteousness, rendered themselves unworthy of the Priesthood and its powers, and hence it is withheld from them to this day" (*The Contributor* 6:296–97) (Roberts' italics).

The reference to "indifference" in pre-earthly life was not new. Orson Hyde expressed similar views in 1844 without reference to the priesthood ("lent an influence to the devil, thinking he had a little the best right to govern"); Joseph Smith Hyde, *Orson Hyde* (Salt Lake City, 1933), p. 56, cf. Orson Pratt in 1853 ("not valiant in the war"), *The Seer* 1:54–56. Hyde's remarks may be relevant to the otherwise unexplained statements of John Taylor that Cain's lineage was preserved through the flood that "the devil should have a representation here upon the earth . . ." (*Journal of Discourses* 22:304, 23:336).

³⁹Joseph Smith, Jr., *The Holy Scriptures*.

is that her name was "Egyptus, which in the Chaldean signifies that which is forbidden" (Abraham 1:23);⁴⁰ yet we are told that Ham, shortly before the flood, was of such high standing that he had "walked with God" (Moses 8:27). The Pharaoh and his lineage, the only persons identified as being denied the priesthood (Abraham 1:26–27), are minimally identified—as descendants of Ham and Egyptus. Only with the Pharaoh is any connection between the descendants of Ham through Egyptus, and those through Canaan, even suggested, yet the Pharaoh was hardly a "servant of servants"; moreover, the Pharaoh is depicted as "white" in Facsimile number 3 in the Book of Abraham, in obvious contrast to a "black slave belonging to the prince." Finally, no reference is made to any son of Ham other than Canaan being cursed with servitude, nor any lineage of Ham other than that of Pharaoh being denied the priesthood. The cause of the priesthood denial is not given (one wonders about idolatry), nor is there any continuous lineage of "black people" apparent in any of the Scriptures. The "blackness" which overcomes individuals or groups periodically seems to represent the same divine displeasure found in Book of Mormon references to "blackness" overcoming the clearly non-Negro Lamanites.⁴¹ Similarly, "curses" are adequately plentiful to make nonspecific allusions to "preserving" previous curses almost impossible to trace back to their origins with certainty.

The question of the historicity of the Books of Abraham and Moses needs further analysis, especially as it pertains to the Negro and the priesthood.⁴² The connection in English tradition, as noted earlier, of the Negro with Ham and Cain dates to at least the rediscovery of Africa by the English in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the association with Ham is found in much older Hebraic writings.⁴³ Winthrop Jordan states that initially these beliefs were not associated with a justification for enslaving Negroes,⁴⁴ which reminds one of Joseph Smith condemning slavery at the very time he was claiming, in effect, validity for the tradition that Ham and Cain were associated with dark people. There is also a need for an adequate treatment of the biblical references used on the priesthood-slavery issue.⁴⁵

Taggart has ended his historical survey with a disappointingly brief

⁴⁰It is not totally evident that Egyptus is being portrayed as the literal wife of Ham, for in the patriarchal order individuals separated by several generations are often spoken of as daughters or sons of one another. In Abraham 1:25, an "Egyptus" is described as "the daughter of Ham."

⁴¹2 Nephi 5:21. The belief that a "black skin . . . has ever been the curse that has followed an apostate of the holy priesthood" is no longer considered grounds for priesthood denial based solely on darkness of skin color. The implications of this early belief for present practice need further study.

⁴²Hugh Nibley has entered this field with his current *Improvement Era* series, "A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price" (January 1968 to present), but has only minimally discussed the priesthood question.

⁴³Jordan, *White Over Black*, discusses the implications of these views for the institution of American slavery. His study was not designed primarily to trace these ideas to their origin; see also David B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, 1966).

⁴⁴Jordan, *White Over Black*, pp. 18–19.

⁴⁵Obviously relevant, for instance, are the numerous intermarriages reported between the House of Israel and the Canaanites, Egyptians, and Ethiopians.

treatment of the period from the death of Joseph Smith until the end of the Brigham Young era—disappointing because it is in this period, and later, that most of the available contemporary source material is found. The first known documentation of the policy of priesthood denial comes in 1849.⁴⁶ By 1852, reports of this practice had become almost commonplace.⁴⁷ Notably these statements are without reference to Joseph Smith. One wonders just how early the documentation is for Joseph Smith having initiated the practice of denying the priesthood to Negroes. In spite of the many instances under Brigham Young in which this practice was reiterated, none of the quotations in general use refers to Joseph Smith as the originator⁴⁸ (although Brigham Young does say that Joseph taught that Negroes were not “neutral in Heaven”).⁴⁹ One might infer from the 1879 interview that there was some question in the minds of John Taylor and Brigham Young, Jr., as to Joseph Smith’s views on the subject.⁵⁰ And Lorenzo Snow, when president of the Church in 1900, is unsure whether Church teachings on the Negro originated with Brigham Young or Joseph Smith.⁵¹ There are a few who attribute these teachings to Joseph Smith. Their written testimonies, as in the cases of Coltrin and Smoot, come many years after the fact, and coincidentally after decades of actual priesthood discrimination.⁵² Among those who could have heard it from Joseph Smith, two were of note in Church leadership. George Q. Cannon reported in 1895, and again in 1900, that Joseph Smith originated the practice because of a connection of the Negro

⁴⁶*Journal History*, February 13, 1849. Lorenzo Snow had asked about the “chance of redemption for the Africans,” and Brigham Young replied that “the Lord had cursed Cain’s seed with blackness and prohibited them the Priesthood”

⁴⁷Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison mentions “blacks being ineligible to the priesthood” in his *The Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints, in the Valley of The Great Salt Lake, etc.* (Philadelphia, 1853), p. 143. This work, prefaced in July 1852, was written after a “year and one half among them.” The practice of priesthood discrimination is also mentioned in a *Deseret News* article, “To the Saints,” April 3, 1852. Wilford Woodruff later reports that Brigham Young taught this idea in a speech to the legislature that year; however Young’s January address states only that Negroes must always be servants to their superiors, without explicit reference to the priesthood (Matthias Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff* [Salt Lake City, 1909], p. 351; and “Governor’s Message to the Legislative Assembly of Utah Territory, January 5, 1852,” or *Deseret News* of January 10, 1852).

⁴⁸In addition to the references cited in notes 46 and 47 above, see: *The Seer* 1 (1853): 54–56; *Journal of Discourses* 2 (1854): 142–43; *Journal of Discourses* 2:184 and 8:29, both 1855; *Journal of Discourses* 7 (1859): 291; *Journal of Discourses* 11 (1866): 272; and *Juvenile Instructor* 3 (1868): 173.

⁴⁹*Journal History*, December 25, 1869.

⁵⁰Taylor was investigating a report that Joseph Smith taught *not* to discriminate which was alleged to have originated with Coltrin.

⁵¹This sentiment was expressed March 11, 1900, and is recorded in a letter by George Gibbs to John Whitaker, January 18, 1909, found in the Whitaker Collection at the University of Utah, as well as at the Church Historian’s Library-Archives. President Snow, while discussing the curse of Cain, is reported as saying he did not know “whether the President [Brigham Young] had had this revealed to him or not . . . or whether President Young was giving his own personal views, or whether he had been told this by the Prophet Joseph” The observation was of particular significance as Lorenzo Snow had asked Brigham Young about the practice as early as 1849.

⁵²The “six” testimonies cited in Taggart’s work, by reference to the 1879 meeting, are of course only two testimonies—those of Smoot and Coltrin.

with Cain;⁵³ and Franklin D. Richards said essentially this in 1896.⁵⁴ However, by this time usage was being made of the Joseph Smith translation of the Book of Abraham in support of the priesthood policy.⁵⁵ One wonders if it has been only in the twentieth century that the idea that this practice originated with Joseph Smith has become widely accepted.⁵⁶

By contrast there is no question but that Joseph Smith thought the Negro was descended from Ham; however, this belief when initially recorded was by no means in a revelatory context, and would appear to have been little more than the contemporary view. As mentioned earlier, the original statement was expressed in 1831, and only parenthetically. At an early meeting, the gospel was preached to "all the families of the earth . . . several of the Lamanites or Indians—representatives of Shem; quite a respectable number of Negroes—descendants of Ham; and the balance was made up of citizens of the surrounding country (from Japheth)."⁵⁷ In 1836, as Taggart notes, Joseph Smith extended this belief to a justification of slavery; by 1842, while he still referred to the Negroes as descendants of Ham, he no longer felt this was a justification for slavery.

There is also contemporary evidence, at least in the 1840's, to show that Joseph believed the Negro to be descended from Cain. Here again the preserved statements are parenthetical, and one wonders if this idea, too, was not merely the reflection of a prevalent belief. The reference cited in documentations of the Prophet holding this opinion was from 1842—"[T]he Indians have greater cause to complain of the treatment of the whites, than the negroes, or sons of Cain."⁵⁸ If Joseph Smith did hold this belief, might not his statements on Cain be a source to link him to the idea that the Negroes

⁵³*Journal History*, August 22, 1895; and the Whitaker letter cited above.

⁵⁴*Journal History*, October 5, 1896.

⁵⁵Although the earliest informal usage of the Cain-Egyptus-Ham-Pharaoh justification is probably lost, the generally available published sources utilizing this argument date from the post-Brigham Young period. As noted earlier, B. H. Roberts postulated this idea in 1885 (*The Contributor* 6:296-97); it was repeated in 1891 in "Editorial Thoughts" in the *Juvenile Instructor* of which George Q. Cannon was editor (26:635-36); and appeared again in 1908 in *Liahona, the Elder's Journal* (5:1164). More recently this argument has found wide circulation.

⁵⁶Possibly through the influence of Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith who attributed the practice to Joseph Smith (*Improvement Era* 27:564-65, 1924 and later). Recently this idea has been reiterated in a letter from the First Presidency to Dr. Lowry Nelson in 1947 (quoted in John J. Stewart's *Mormonism and the Negro* [Orem, Utah, 1960], pp. 46-47). Nonetheless, the majority of treatments of this subject by the Church leadership (and all documented discussions) still refer only as far back as Brigham Young. Thus, Joseph F. Smith in 1908 when asked about the Negro policy deferred to "the rulings of President Brigham Young, Taylor, and Woodruff" without mention of Joseph Smith; and the First Presidency statements issued in 1949, and again in 1951, referred only to Brigham Young and Wilford Woodruff (see Berrett, *The Church and the Negroid People*, pp. 16-17), though the most recent (December, 1969) refers to "Joseph Smith and all succeeding presidents of the Church" as having taught that "Negroes . . . were not yet to receive the priesthood." (see appendix)

⁵⁷As cited in note 28 above.

⁵⁸*Manuscript History*, January 25, 1842; or Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:501. Recall that this idea was current in defense of slavery and had been used by W. W. Phelps eight years prior to this time.

should be denied the priesthood?⁵⁹ This is an area which has been largely ignored, perhaps because it has not been particularly fruitful.⁶⁰

As interesting as the sudden availability of sources on the priesthood policy shortly after the Utah period begins are the numerous justifications of slavery cited by the brethren in the West based solely on the curse on Canaan, and contrary to Joseph Smith's recent position.⁶¹ One wonders how Joseph would have reacted to slave-owning apostles,⁶² or to the formal legalization of slavery in Utah in 1852.⁶³ The belief that the Negroes were descended from Cain was soon very widespread in Utah, being commonly mentioned in early publications, and was almost invariably the justification given for denial of the priesthood to Negroes.⁶⁴ And this remains the official belief to the present day.⁶⁵

Taggart has concluded his essay with an "implication"—"Mormonism's practices regarding Negroes should be viewed as matters of policy rather than as points of doctrine," and therefore subject to non-revelatory change. Though his historical analysis is subject to serious question, he renders the

⁵⁹This was the claim of those initially attributing the Negro doctrine to Joseph Smith, cited in notes 52 and 53.

⁶⁰E.g., in 1840 Joseph stated that Cain's priesthood had proved a cursing to him because of his "unrighteousness." There was no obvious tie to the Negro, but at least the priesthood is connected in some way to Cain. The same day this statement was made, the First Presidency issued the message anticipating the "Hottentot" soon worshipping with them in the Nauvoo temple (Smith, *History of the Church*, 2:213 and 4:298). If Joseph was not concerned with the curse of Canaan in his criticisms of slavery, might he not have viewed a curse on Cain as equally irrelevant to the present situation?

⁶¹Not merely a justification of slavery, the belief became common that Negro slavery was divinely sanctioned, and that slaves could not be freed nationally in spite of the efforts of abolitionists or even a Civil War. For Brigham Young's views to this effect, see *Journal of Discourses* 2(1855):184; *Millennial Star* 21:608-11, and *Journal of Discourses* 7:290-91, both 1859; and *Journal of Discourses* 10(1863):250. This belief had been expressed in a *Times and Seasons* article as early as 1845 (*Times and Seasons* 6:857). The progress of the Civil War initially posed no threat to this idea, as it was widely believed that the United States as then constituted would not recover from the war, that shortly masses of down-trodden would be fleeing from all over the world to Utah, and that the time when the Saints would return to Jackson County and assume control of the government was virtually at hand (see *Millennial Star* 23:60, 300, 396, 401; 24:158; *Journal of Discourses* 11:38; *Deseret News*, July 10, 1861; and *Deseret News*, March 26, 1862, for sentiment to this effect). When war's end found the Saints still in Utah, little more was said; Orson Pratt did attempt an explanation in 1866 (*Millennial Star* 28:518).

⁶²Charles C. Rich, and possibly Heber C. Kimball; see Jack Beller, "Negro Slaves in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2:122-26.

⁶³"An Act in relation to service," passed and approved, February 4, 1852. This statute more nearly paralleled the practice of indentured slavery found in Illinois than it did Southern slave codes.

⁶⁴This idea was particularly common in the discourses of Brigham Young. Occasionally both the curses on Canaan and Cain would be discussed jointly (e.g., *Journal of Discourses* 7:290-91). Negroes receiving patriarchal blessings in Utah were assigned to the lineage of Cain, Ham or Canaan as a rule. Elijah Abel, addressed as "Elder" and "orphan," was not assigned a lineage when given his blessing by Joseph Smith, Sr., in 1836.

⁶⁵Modified at present, as it was on occasion in early references, to the extent that the "blood" of Cain merely designates those to be denied the priesthood, for some reason not fully understood; being a descendant of Cain, per se, is not considered a sufficient justification (see the First Presidency statement of 1951, Berrett, *The Church and the Negroid People*, pp. 16-17, and other sources).

objections somewhat academic with his final quotation. Almost as an afterthought he supports his conclusion with an excerpt from a letter sent by Sterling McMurrin in August 1968 to Llewelyn McKay regarding a 1954 conversation with President David O. McKay:

[President McKay] . . . said with considerable feeling that "there is not now, and there never has been, a doctrine in this Church that the Negroes are under a divine curse." He insisted that there is no doctrine of any kind pertaining to the Negro. "We believe," he said, "that we have scriptural precedent for withholding the priesthood from the Negro. It is a practice, not a doctrine, and the practice will some day be changed. And that's all there is to it."⁶⁶

Taggart adds, in a note, that "Llewelyn R. McKay has informed the writer that when he received Dr. McMurrin's letter he read it to his father, David O. McKay, and he reports that President McKay told him that the letter accurately represents what he said to McMurrin in 1954." While the verification would have been more impressive had it come from President McKay,⁶⁷ this statement is obviously one for careful consideration. The fourteen-year time lapse⁶⁸ as well as McMurrin's acknowledged bias on this issue seem relevant, but the recent independent substantiation of the report largely neutralizes these objections.

One is struck by the contrast of the McMurrin quotation with other reports of the beliefs of President McKay. Though at least one well known letter may be partially reconcilable with this new quotation, most statements seem incompatible.⁶⁹ The First Presidency statement issued in August 1951, under President McKay, said:

The attitude of the Church with reference to Negroes remains as it has always stood. It is not a matter of the declaration of a policy but of a direct commandment from the Lord, on which is founded

⁶⁶Stephen G. Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970), p. 79. The comment came after McMurrin had "introduced the subject of the common belief among the Church membership that Negroes are under a divine curse. I told him that I regarded this doctrine as both false and morally abhorrent and that some weeks earlier, in a class in my own Ward, I had made it clear that I did not accept the doctrine and that I wanted to be known as a dissenter to the class instructor's statements about 'our beliefs' in this matter.

⁶⁷"President McKay replied that he was 'glad' that I had taken this stand, as he also did not believe this teaching. He stated his position in this matter very forcefully and clearly and said . . ." (continued in text above).

⁶⁸Copies of the letter were sent to all the McKay sons, and there have been unofficial and conflicting reports about others verifying the sentiment also.

⁶⁹Though McMurrin made a "detailed record of the conversation . . . within several hours of the time it occurred," these notes are reportedly lost. There was no one else present.

⁷⁰Although nearly everyone addressing the Mormon Negro policy quotes President McKay, virtually all references are taken from just two sources. One of these, a response to a reporter made at the dedication of the Oakland Temple in November 1964, states that the Negro will not be given the priesthood "in my lifetime, young man, nor yours" (quoted in John Lund, *The Church and the Negro*, 1967, p. 45; there are minor variations in other reports of this response).

The other source is a letter dated November 3, 1947, and written by President McKay (then Counselor in the First Presidency) as his explanation of "why the Negroid race cannot

the doctrine of the Church from the days of its organization, to the effect that Negroes . . . are not entitled to the Priesthood at the present time"⁷⁰

Taggart cites no reference to President McKay other than the McMurrin quotation, and thus avoids the problem of reconciling various statements. Though every prophet from Brigham Young to the present has concurred in denying the priesthood to the Negro, none publicly has made specific claim to a revelation of this matter—all (except perhaps Brigham Young) have deferred to preceding prophets. Nor does the First Presidency statement of 1951 cite a specific revelation, but rather quotes a Brigham Young discourse on the curse of Cain. Therefore, the McMurrin quotation does not contradict any explicitly claimed revelation. Moreover, the Church's position on the Negro historically has shown enough variability to suggest the possibility of a "policy" interpretation. Theologically, however, such a change in stated position by the Church would reflect a need for clarification of where, on the spectrum from "revelation" to "personal opinion," are found such concepts as "doctrine," "policy," and "First Presidency statement."

While it is clear that Taggart has not proved that "Mormonism's practices regarding Negroes" are solely "matters of policy," he nonetheless has added a number of significant documents to an already substantial list.⁷¹ The evidence of these documents, and others, would seem to require a more

hold the priesthood." Excerpts from this letter are commonly used to show President McKay's support for present Church practices. The recent "policy statement" signed by Presidents Brown and Tanner included the three most cited passages:

The seeming discrimination by the Church toward the Negro is not something which originated with man; but goes back into the beginning with God . . .

Revelation assures us that this plan antedates man's mortal existence extending back to man's pre-existent state.

Sometime in God's eternal plan, the Negro will be given the right to hold the priesthood.

Curiously, in context these quotations lack some of their finality, and "this plan" spoken of in the second quote is found to be the general "plan of salvation" rather than a specific reference to the Negro-priesthood practice. The tone of the letter seems more searching and tentative than revelatory or doctrinaire. Finding no solution in "abstract reasoning," and knowing of "no scriptural basis for denying the Priesthood to Negroes other than one verse in the Book of Abraham (1:26)," President McKay "believes" that "the real reason dates back to our pre-existent life" Citing the case of Pharaoh as a precedent for priesthood denial (a denial that "may have been entirely in keeping with the eternal plan of salvation"), his ultimate answer to the problem is faith in a "God of Justice." The letter, read in its entirety, seems more a defense of men, individually, not receiving the priesthood than an explanation of group discrimination based on race. See Llewelyn R. McKay's *Home Memories of President David O. McKay* (Salt Lake City, 1956), pp. 226-31. No reference to Cain, Ham or Canaan is made in either of the above quotations.

"This statement, perhaps not drafted by President McKay, has been until now the only "official" Church statement cited in treatments of the Negro policy. Though generally dated August 17, 1951, President Henry D. Moyle stated that it was actually made in 1949, and was subsequently reaffirmed under President McKay (Henry D. Moyle "What of the Negro?," address delivered in Geneva, Switzerland, October 30, 1961). Similar views were expressed in the First Presidency letter of 1947 written to Dr. Lowry Nelson. In the future the December 15, 1969, statement will likely be referred to as most authoritative.

"The McMurrin quotation, Lorenzo Snow statement of 1900, and Phelps letter of 1835 are each remarkable references which, to my knowledge, have not been cited in previously published studies.

extensive response by the Church. There remains no period source to support the contention that Joseph Smith was the author of the present Church Negro position. Joseph Smith did express the then prevalent opinion that Negroes were descendants of Canaan and Cain; yet he did not relate this to the priesthood in any account now available. In contrast to others who believed the Cain-Canaan tradition, Joseph Smith came to teach that this did *not* justify Negro slavery, and spoke clearly against that institution. In fact, a Negro known to him was ordained to the priesthood in Kirtland and held the priesthood in Nauvoo. And, under Joseph Smith's direction, the First Presidency anticipated soon having other black African converts joining them in worship in the Nauvoo temple.

With the move West under the leadership of Brigham Young, this history, as presently understood, changed dramatically. The curse on Cain is found central to many discourses, and is seen to be the justification for priesthood denial to the Negro. The curse on Canaan is interpreted in a manner that not only justifies Negro slavery, but also places the institution beyond man's power to eliminate. Moreover, in contrast to Joseph Smith's high opinion of Negro potential,⁷² Brigham Young expressed the view that Negroes were almost universally inferior to whites and had limited leadership potential.⁷³ Those succeeding Brigham Young have relied heavily on his discourses for documentation of early Mormon beliefs on the priesthood question (slavery was removed from discussion by the Civil War). Additionally, one begins to find common usage of the Book of Abraham as "scriptural support" of modern beliefs, as well as the claim that the Church's views on the Negro have not changed since being set forth by Joseph Smith.

Because of the limited circulation or inaccessibility of some Church records, the history of this subject remains tentative and incomplete. There is an obvious need for more research into the views of the Negro held in the formative years of the Church. Equally obvious is that careful reading of Taggart's article, as well as this commentary, will reveal that little has

⁷²E.g., "[T]hey came into the world slaves, mentally and physically. Change their situation with the whites, and they would be like them . . ." "[F]ind an educated negro, who rides in his carriage, and you will see a man who has risen by the powers of his own mind to his exalted state of respectability. . ." *Millennial Star* 20:278.

⁷³At one time Brigham Young described the Negro as "seemingly deprived of nearly all the blessings of the intelligence that is generally bestowed upon mankind" (*Journal of Discourses* 7:290-91), and in his governor's message of January 5, 1852, he stated that "[we should not] elevate them . . . to an equality with those whom Nature and Nature's God has indicated to be their masters."

A view of Negro inferiority was also developed extensively in an unsigned series of articles in the *Juvenile Instructor* in 1867-68 entitled "Man and His Varieties." In this, it was said that the "Negro race" was "the lowest in intelligence and the most barbarous of all the children of men," and that they "appear to be the least capable of improvement of all people" (*Juvenile Instructor* 3:141). As recently as 1907, evidence of Negro racial inferiority was cited in a priesthood manual (B. H. Roberts' *Seventy's Course in Theology*, Year Book I (Salt Lake City, 1907), pp. 165-66. This is a seemingly relevant area which has not been adequately treated as yet. A related area in need of investigation is the possibility of an initial distinction being made between free Negroes and slaves, particularly in view of the claims of Coltrin and Smoot, who were in the South, and the two earliest Negro priesthood holders, who were in the North.

been established in any absolute sense. Yet significant questions have been raised which subsequent study should attempt to clarify.

APPENDIX

December 15, 1969

"To General Authorities, Regional Representatives of the Twelve, Stake Presidents, Mission Presidents, and Bishops."

Dear Brethren:

In view of confusion that has arisen, it was decided at a meeting of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve to restate the position of the Church with regard to the Negro both in society and in the Church.

First, may we say that we know something of the sufferings of those who are discriminated against in a denial of their civil rights and Constitutional privileges. Our early history as a church is a tragic story of persecution and oppression. Our people repeatedly were denied the protection of the law. They were driven and plundered, robbed and murdered by mobs, who in many instances were aided and abetted by those sworn to uphold the law. We as a people have experienced the bitter fruits of civil discrimination and mob violence.

We believe that the Constitution of the United States was divinely inspired, that it was produced by "wise men" whom God raised up for this "very purpose," and that the principles embodied in the Constitution are so fundamental and important that, if possible, they should be extended "for the rights and protection" of all mankind.

In revelations received by the first prophet of the Church in this dispensation, Joseph Smith (1805-1844), the Lord made it clear that it is "not right that any man should be in bondage one to another." These words were spoken prior to the Civil War. From these and other revelations have sprung the Church's deep and historic concern with man's free agency and our commitment to the sacred principles of the Constitution.

It follows, therefore, that we believe the Negro, as well as those of other races, should have his full Constitutional privileges as a member of society, and we hope that members of the Church everywhere will do their part as citizens to see that these rights are held inviolate. Each citizen must have equal opportunities and protection under the law with reference to civil rights.

However, matters of faith, conscience, and theology are not within the purview of the civil law. The first amendment to the Constitution specifically provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The position of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints affecting those of the Negro race who choose to join the Church falls wholly within the category of religion. It has no bearing upon matters of civil rights. In no case or degree does it deny to the Negro his full privileges as a citizen of the nation.

This position has no relevancy whatever to those who do not wish to join the Church. Those individuals, we suppose, do not believe in the divine origin and nature of the Church, nor that we have the priesthood of God. Therefore, if they feel we have no priesthood, they should have no concern with any aspect of our theology on priesthood so long as that theology does not deny any man his Constitutional privileges.

A word of explanation concerning the position of the Church.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints owes its origin, its existence, and its hope for the future to the principle of continuous revelation. "We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal, and we

believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God."

From the beginning of this dispensation, Joseph Smith and all succeeding presidents of the Church have taught that Negroes, while spirit children of a common Father, and the progeny of our earthly parents Adam and Eve, were not yet to receive the priesthood, for reasons which we believe are known to God, but which He has not made fully known to man.

Our living prophet, President David O. McKay, has said, "The seeming discrimination by the Church toward the Negro is not something which originated with man; but goes back into the beginning with God. . . .

"Revelation assures us that this plan antedates man's mortal existence, extending back to man's pre-existent state."

President McKay has also said, "Sometime in God's eternal plan, the Negro will be given the right to hold the priesthood."

Until God reveals His will in this matter, to him whom we sustain as a prophet, we are bound by that same will. Priesthood, when it is conferred on any man comes as a blessing from God, not of men.

We feel nothing but love, compassion, and the deepest appreciation for the rich talents, endowments, and the earnest strivings of our Negro brothers and sisters. We are eager to share with men of all races the blessings of the Gospel. We have no racially-segregated congregations.

Were we the leaders of an enterprise created by ourselves and operated only according to our own earthly wisdom, it would be a simple thing to act according to popular will. But we believe that this work is directed by God and that the conferring of the priesthood must await His revelation. To do otherwise would be to deny the very premise on which the Church is established.

We recognize that those who do not accept the principle of modern revelation may oppose our point of view. We repeat that such would not wish for membership in the Church, and therefore the question of priesthood should hold no interest for them. Without prejudice they should grant us the privilege afforded under the Constitution to exercise our chosen form of religion just as we must grant all others a similar privilege. They must recognize that the question of bestowing or withholding priesthood in the Church is a matter of religion and not a matter of Constitutional right.

We extend the hand of friendship to men everywhere and the hand of fellowship to all who wish to join the Church and partake of the many rewarding opportunities to be found therein.

We join with those throughout the world who pray that all of the blessings of the gospel of Jesus Christ may in due time of the Lord become available to men of faith everywhere. Until that time comes we must trust in God, in His wisdom and in His tender mercy.

Meanwhile we must strive harder to emulate His Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, whose new commandment it was that we should love one another. In developing that love and concern for one another, while awaiting revelations yet to come, let us hope that with respect to these religious differences, we may gain reinforcement for understanding and appreciation for such differences. They challenge our common similarities, as children of one Father, to enlarge the out-reachings of our divine souls.

Faithfully your brethren,

THE FIRST PRESIDENCY

By Hugh B. Brown
N. Eldon Tanner

SHORT NOTICE

George Washington and the Mormons. By John J. Stewart. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1967. Pp. 108. \$1.25.

John Stewart has written a little book the purpose of which is, apparently, to show that George Washington was "one of the wise men whom God raised up" as an instrument in His hands "to make possible the restoration of the Gospel and Church of Jesus Christ." The quotation is from the dust jacket; the author is not quite as specific. There is, however, ample evidence in the book itself, somewhat more scattered, to indicate that the dust jacket statement is essentially the author's view. Stewart begins with a chapter on the views of Joseph Smith and the Mormon Church regarding the Constitution of the United States, devotes the major portion of the book to a brief sketch of Washington as a person and an account of his public career, and concludes with several very brief chapters devoted to Washington's relevance for and relationship to the Mormons.

The first chapter is unexceptional. It, like the rest of the book, relies heavily on quotations (at times the book seems like little more than a string of quotations held together by an occasional sentence of the author's) which will be very familiar to most readers of *Dialogue*. He does, there and elsewhere, make a point of the importance of "freedom" to the spread of the gospel and the prosperousness of the Church, but since he never makes very clear what elements compose his concept of freedom — other than freedom of religion — the point will raise questions only in the minds of those who read something into the words which the author may imply, but never explicitly delineates.

The picture of Washington drawn here is one which stresses the virtues, ignores the frailties, and in general makes of Washington something of the demigod with which we are already too familiar. The account of his public career is more realistic, stressing as it does the difficulties Washington had in leading the Revolutionary army, although more than one reader will question the author's assertion that it was "the sheer personality of Washington that was the decisive element in the three crucial events of early America — the Revolutionary War, the Constitutional Convention, and the first national administration." Important as Washington may have been in these events, it is doubtful that he was really the "decisive element." Certainly Stewart does not substantiate the assertion. Again, he gives us long excerpts from Washington's letters and from other such sources. Thus, he shows us how Washington reacted to events; he does not demonstrate very clearly the extent to which he controlled them or even what his contributions at key points may have been. The section is also somewhat unbalanced, since the author spends a disproportionate amount of space on the period of the Revolution and rather neglects the presidential years.

If the title is accepted at face value, the major contribution of the book should be to show the nature and extent of Washington's relationship to those matters cited at the beginning of this review — to relate Washington to the

Mormons. Here the book does very little. We are told that Washington was religious, a man of high morality and great integrity, a believer in America's potential greatness, a strong supporter of the Constitution, and very much on the side of religious freedom. We are also told that these are things which Washington and Joseph Smith had in common, and that they are the great truths of the Book of Mormon. In short, Washington was like Joseph Smith, since they both had many of the same personal traits and shared many ideas, and those ideas may be found in Mormonism. How one proceeds from that assertion to the conclusion that Washington helped make possible the restoration is never made clear. And the problem is compounded by the fact that most of those ideas are so general as to make the link rather tenuous at best. Stewart does spend a chapter on the common view of Washington and Joseph Smith regarding the emancipation of slaves, which is the closest he comes to citing anything distinctive, but even this point will hardly bear the burden placed upon it. In short, the author fails to show, in any clear and effective way, just what Washington had to do with the restoration of the gospel and the establishment of the Mormon Church. The problem may well be that there is no such case to be made. Either one accepts it as an automatic tenet of his faith, or one does not. The historical record, even with a good deal of judicious selection, some questionable suggestions (see, for example, p. 31), and a little twisting (consider the rather curious treatment of the Articles of Confederation, pp. 59-60), will not provide the proof.

Van L. Perkins
Riverside, California

Register of L.D.S. Church Records. By Laureen Jaussi and Gloria Chaston. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1968. Pp. 400. \$3.95.

Register of L.D.S. Church Records is a very useful, handy, and worthwhile addition to the available genealogical research tools. It lists all the important Church records that have been microfilmed, with call numbers, introduction, and a brief explanation for each record. The book also provides information on L.D.S. records that have not been microfilmed but must be searched at the Genealogical Society. This register will make it easier to become familiar with Church records that contain genealogical information.

Included among the more than 11,500 serial numbers in the book are family group sheets that have been microfilmed, Church census and membership records — listed both alphabetically and geographically — emigration-immigration indexes, temple records, and Salt Lake County vital statistics since 1848. Anyone doing research in L.D.S. records could save time and trouble at the Genealogical Society by referring to this book for the appropriate serial numbers.

Eve Nielson

Among the Mormons

A Survey of Current Literature

Edited by Ralph W. Hansen

*The Fault lies in the carping spirit
of mankind, that we are always praising
what is old and scorning what is new.*

*Tacitus, DIALOGUE DE ORATORIBUS,
Sec. 18.*

*Indeed, what is there that does not
appear marvellous when it comes to our
knowledge for the first time?*

*Pliny the Elder, HISTORIA NATURALIS,
Bk. 7, Sec. 6.*

When *Dialogue* made its appearance in 1966 it was no doubt considered by some to be a daring undertaking. However, it was soon apparent that *Dialogue* served a purpose or, better, met a need. That others were aware of the success of *Dialogue* was made evident with the revitalization of the *Brigham Young University Studies*, which has published some very exciting issues of late. I would particularly call your attention to the Spring 1969 issue, which is devoted to the origins of Mormonism in New York. Individual articles in this issue are listed by author in the bibliography which follows. Recently there have been other journals vying for our attention and support. The first of these is *Mormon History*, which is published by David and Karla Martin, "active L.D.S. members, formerly Brazilian South Missionaries." The Martins' object is to "bring as much history as possible to as many people as possible." History, in this case, is defined as college theses on church history subjects, reprints of various books by and about Mormons, and "college papers." It is the intention of the publishers to issue *Mormon History* monthly in loose-leaf form so it may be kept in a binder. In the first issue, dated March 1969, the articles are all related to the question of the Spaulding Manuscript's relation to the Book of Mormon: "Sidney Rigdon, a lecture by his son John," "The Spaulding Manuscript in Oberlin (Ohio) College Library," "The Spaulding Story, Duly Examined," by John E. Page, and "The Spaulding Manuscript (pt. 1)." All of these are reprints and of some general interest. However, since the Martins reside in Illinois one cannot but wonder if an

emphasis on original sources, many still in the possession of Church members in the Illinois area, would be of greater interest to a wider readership?

Another new journal is *The Carpenter: Reflections of Mormon Life*, which is published by a group of students and faculty of the university and L.D.S. Institute in Madison, Wisconsin. *The Carpenter* describes itself as "an independent quarterly serving the literary interest of the Mormon community." The editorial preface to volume 1, no. 1, states that "*The Carpenter* will reflect the uniqueness of the Mormon experience and the variety of opinions and talents that make up Mormonism." In this first issue there is a section somewhat similar to *Dialogue's* "Roundtable" called "Forum" which is concerned with "The Morality of Hunting." In addition to articles of general or historical interest to church members (included in the bibliography below), the first two issues of *The Carpenter* contain a liberal portion of interesting poetry and fine art work, altogether a very impressive beginning for a journal using the resources of one L.D.S. community. No explanation of the name Carpenter is offered. Could this be an allusion to the occupation of Jesus? We wish our two cousins well and hope that they have a long life and serve to stimulate other new publications by L.D.S. communities or special interest groups.

A third journal which will appear in 1970 is *The Western Historical Quarterly*, sponsored by the Western History Association and Utah State University. Although devoted to the broad range of Western Americans, we can expect articles of Mormon interest to appear in this new quarterly. The Western History Association has had great popular success with its *The American West*, which will continue to be published. However, the desire for a scholarly journal has long been expressed by many members of the W.H.A. and the answer is *The Western Historical Quarterly*. With a captive audience (all members of the W.H.A.) it may be superfluous to wish them well, but showing no favorites, we dare not deny them a blessing.

The Carpenter: Reflections of Mormon Life. 1711 University Avenue, Madison, Wisconsin 53705. \$3.00. Quarterly.

Mormon History Magazine, Box 157, Mt. Prospect, Illinois 60056. \$6.00. Monthly.

The Western Historical Quarterly. Sent to members of the Western History Association (\$9.00 to Arrel M. Gibson, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma 73069). Subscriptions without membership may be sent to the Managing Editor, *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321. \$7.00, student \$5.00.

The Bibliography which follows represents periodical articles on Mormons and Mormonism in a broad sense. It is our effort to be comprehensive but time limitations prevent checking every possible source for items of Mormon interest. However, the reader will note three references to articles that appeared in not-so-recent issues of *The Trail Guide*, a journal published by the Kansas City Posse of The Westerners. Since it is unlikely that they will appear in another bibliography, they are listed for the information of interested persons.

The Westerners are thirty-two (or more) loosely connected groups of men throughout the world whose common interest is a love of the history of the American West. The first posse (or corral) was organized in Chicago in 1944. Corrals are now located in most major American cities as well as Paris, London, and other world capitals. Some of the corrals have active publishing programs producing quarterlies or annual volumes which are called Brand Books. As one can expect, the quality varies widely; nevertheless some first-rate information can be gleaned from these works and as I run into articles of Mormon interest they will be reported in these pages.

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RECENTLY RECEIVED

- Hirshson, Stanley P. *The Lion of the Lord*. New York: Knopf, 1969. A biography of Brigham Young based on the vast sources available to scholars in historical collections other than the Church Historian's Office. In his preface the author makes the rather startling statement that the Church Historian's Office collection of "secret" documents is a myth. Recent scholarly use of CHO manuscripts belies both the secret and the myth. More about this aspect of the book in the next issue.

Notes and Comments

VOICES OF FREEDOM IN EASTERN EUROPE

*Participants: Melvin P. Mabey
Kent E. Robson
Ralph J. Thomson*

In this special section three Latter-day Saints who have been personally involved in witnessing the various recent developments within Communism in Eastern Europe tell of their experiences and feelings. First, there is a personal interview with a noted Communist by Melvin Mabey, Professor of Political Science at Brigham Young University; then, Kent Robson, who now teaches philosophy at Utah State University, reports on his recent year at the University of Warsaw on a Stanford graduate exchange fellowship; finally, Ralph Thomson, a professor of Government at Boston University, now Resident Director of its Overseas Graduate Program in Heidelberg, tells of his visits to Czechoslovakia before and after the Russian invasion of 1968.

AN HOUR WITH MILOVAN DJILAS — HEROIC YUGOSLAV INTELLECTUAL

Melvin P. Mabey

By the time he was twenty-five, Milovan Djilas had already served three years in prison for communist activities. His keen mind, energetic spirit, and Partisan valor endeared him to Josip Broz Tito, and before he reached the age of forty, he had acceded to the vice-presidency of Yugoslavia. When his country broke with Russia and the Communist bloc in 1948, Djilas, Tito's heir apparent, led the anti-Stalinist fray. Simultaneously, however, he was becoming disillusioned with the Communist system as he witnessed Party leaders driving the same fine cars, living in luxurious villas, and pursuing many of the identical ostentatious patterns of the "decadent bourgeoisie" the Communists were replacing. The curtailment of freedoms and the enforcement of strict party discipline became increasingly oppressive to him as he compared them with the liberties viewed during his travels in the West.

When Djilas, with true Montenegrin courage, spoke out against these restrictions and appealed for democratization of the Communist Party in Yugoslavia, even his close friend Tito would not tolerate such violation of discipline. In 1954, Djilas was relieved of his government positions and Communist Party functions. His continued insistence upon democratization of the Yugoslav Communist organization and even the suggestion that another socialist party be established in his country met with immediate rebuff by his former comrades in the Communist hierarchy. He was given a suspended prison sentence and put on probation for three years. In December 1956, following the Hungarian uprising, he was jailed for criticizing Yugoslav foreign policy. Nevertheless, he continued to speak out against tyranny and oppression in books such as *The New Class* and *Conversations with Stalin*.¹ Nine of the following ten years were spent in prison.

Since January 1967, Milovan Djilas has lived in quiet seclusion in a modest Belgrade apartment. His days are devoted to reestablishing a family relationship with his wife and their fifteen-year-old son, and concentrating on nonpolitical writing. One of the conditions of his release from prison was that he refrain from public activity for five years.

A short time after the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia last August, I contacted Mr. Djilas and asked if he could visit with a university professor from America. Although his association with westerners had been extremely limited, he cordially invited me to come to his flat.

Inside the entrance to the apartment house, a long row of mailboxes lined the left wall. Whether intentionally or accidentally, the name of the former Vice-President of Yugoslavia could not be seen. Without waiting for further verification of the correctness of the address, and according to instructions given me by phone, I started my ascent to the third floor. I knew that under given circumstances, citizens of a Communist country might experience great difficulties following visits with foreigners, and a sense of uneasiness flashed through me as I was caught on the stone stairs in the gaze of a middle-aged resident of the building.

I was greeted at the door by Milovan Djilas himself. He stood erect, handsomely attired in a brown sport shirt and slacks. Imprisonment had greyed his hair, but his eyes sparkled and his grip was firm as he extended his hand and warmly welcomed me inside. We entered his study just off the entrance hall—commodious, but unpretentious. A large desk dominated the book-lined room.

We sat facing each other in oversized, comfortable armchairs. A small table separated us, as he asked if he could serve me Turkish or American coffee. After I declined, he suggested that at least I might like some mineral

¹*The New Class* explains the development of a country under communism into a slave state with a ruling class which holds the masses "in abject material and intellectual poverty." *The New York Times* described it as "a crushing indictment of Communist rule. . . . One of the most compelling and perhaps the most important sociological document of our time." *Conversations with Stalin*, published in 1962, relates ideas and reactions expressed by Stalin to Djilas in the post-war era. The Yugoslav government, obviously yielding to Soviet pressure, charged Djilas with having revealed state secrets.

water. He left, and I surveyed the room where thoughts had been transformed into meaningful expressions, where dismay and disillusionment inscribed on paper had committed their author to physical isolation from the world. Momentarily my mind compared these pleasant surroundings with the stark reality of the prison confines and the cell shared with a murderer and a thief. There Djilas' writing had turned from polemics to the novel, and the scarcity of paper had often forced him to record his thoughts on the available toilet tissue. "Strict but correct," was how he had described his last internment, but during those four and a half years he had found peace with himself and freedom from resentment.

In a moment, Mr. Djilas returned and shortly afterward his wife quietly entered and placed a glass of sparkling mineral water on the table before me. My thanks were silently acknowledged.

As I explained the reason for my visit, Mr. Djilas picked up a pad of paper from his desk and made notes. He wrote as he asked, "Will you be publishing it? Where? When? How long will it be? Is the journal anti-communist? Now, what would you like to know?" With his interview ended, mine began.

We discussed freedom—individual and collective. Years before, Djilas had been deprived of his freedom because of his concern over the path which the Communist Party was taking. In an interview with a *New York Times* correspondent in 1954, he had said, "I am giving this interview to encourage free discussion as an act of loyalty. I am taking a risk, but one cannot go on without some risk. . . . It will mean a lot for our country to have a citizen say what he thinks. . . . [The Communist Party] must permit freedom of discussion. Now I see this is impossible. Another political formation should be constructed. This could only be democratic and Socialist."

Today, fifteen years later, he still speaks of the need for free discussion. Djilas viewed Czechoslovakia under its liberalization program as being the one communist country in which this was possible. In fact, he had anticipated that it would probably become the first communist country with a really free society. This hope for the future had momentarily been quashed by the Soviet invasion, and he did not consider that this would be the last use of Russian might. He expected increased pressure upon Rumania and the possibility that Russian troops would be used there as well. In like manner, he expressed concern for his own land, but asserted the Yugoslavs would fight unitedly to counter any attack from the Soviet Union. Said Djilas, "The Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia was not the result of an internal communist struggle, but the oppression of one people and state by another. Communism was of secondary importance compared with imperialism." He then added, "The tragedy of Czechoslovakia is, however, that all international juridical authority has been lost." And as an aside, "The United Nations did nothing!"

Continuing his thoughts on the changing world of communism, he said, "There will be differences and contradictions for a long period in most communist countries. Russia will probably always have some. It is a reactionary

country, although it also must undergo changes." He voiced the conviction that communism was moving toward freedom, but, pausing, added, "It may not be realized without a war." Djilas then optimistically asserted that the greatest hope for peace in this world of conflict between ideologies and imperialistic interests was the compromise revisionist and reformist movements.² "They will help delay or avoid a war," he proclaimed.

Freedom is still uppermost in Mr. Djilas' mind. His concern prompted me to ask, "Will your speaking with me jeopardize your future?" Without answering directly, he responded. "No one seeks to spend his life in prison, but I must say what I think even if it means prison for me." He was not taunting the hangman's noose by irrational and flaunting remarks. His record in defense of principle has been well established.

Our discussion had centered on "freedom," which Webster defines as "a very general term, . . . [implying] at one extreme total absence of restraint and at the other, an unawareness of being hampered in any way." Djilas stated that it is "the concrete form of human and social existence." Its purpose, as he defined it, seemed to reflect an awareness of an eternal verity. "Freedom is meant to enlarge the existence of the nature of man."

Djilas, an avowed atheist, turned to religion. He charged that the Marxist view of the origin of religion was superficial and inexact, i.e., that it resulted from social conditions and prejudices. He saw religion as a by-product of man's need to have something to die for. Because of this, it would live as long as human beings existed. Religion and human destiny are immutably connected. Man is a creative being, unlike the animals that inhabit the earth.

For a moment we spoke of Mormonism. His early preoccupation with Marxist philosophy and his later concern with the development of democratic socialism had left him little time for examining religious precepts. He had not heard of the Mormon Church, but knew of the mountains in which its members had found refuge.

The last war had brought Milovan Djilas to Belgrade. Yet his heart remained in his native Montenegro in Yugoslavia's mountainous south. "That is the place to live—in the mountains," he said. "One can breathe freely and think clearly." From these mountains, Djilas had fought as a Partisan to rid his country of Nazi control. He hoped it would not be necessary to repeat the struggle against possible Soviet aggression.

As I retraced my steps down the three flights, my thoughts turned to the words of Tennyson as he described the early fight of the Montenegrins against the Turks:

They kept their faith, their freedom, and their height,
Chaste, frugal, savage, armed by day and night.

Milovan Djilas is a true Montenegrin, as, undeterred by the limitations of his homeland, he continues his pursuit of free expression.

²Although Djilas is not satisfied with the political development of his native land, he views its accomplishments as a compromise which has partaken of both worlds — communist and capitalist. Yugoslav communism has been attacked as being both revisionist and reformist.

COMMUNISTS, AND THEN COMMUNISTS

Kent E. Robson

We wouldn't be at all surprised to learn that two (or more) different Mormons in good standing have rather different attitudes and opinions. Aside from matters of Church doctrine, they may belong to opposing political parties. On social issues, they may differ enormously in their opinions on matters of race, poverty, crime, etc. Even on matters of doctrine, Church history, ecclesiastical practice, etc., they may differ significantly. One Mormon may believe that Mormonism endorses a negative view of man; that all scripture is literally true; that the Lord revealed to Joseph Smith virtually every move he was to make; and that every aspect of Church practice was instituted by revelation. The other Mormon may deny each and every one of these views and many more like them. We are not surprised to discover that there are such different sorts of Mormons, because most of us know Mormons personally who actually do differ that profoundly and still are in good standing (as measured, say, by the fact that they both hold temple recommends).

With Communists, however, it is quite a different story, unless I am mistaken. Most of us do not know any of them personally, with the consequence that there are no restraints on our imagination. We somehow believe that each and every Communist believes exactly the same things, holds identical principles, and believes in precisely identical means to unanimously accepted ends. Furthermore, communist nations are somehow taken to be all alike: equally brutal, equally repressive, and equally intransigent to any change. The slogan "You can trust the Communists to be Communists" is supposed to be more than an uninformative tautology. It is somehow meant to suggest that all Communists are pressed out of the same mold; that all are assembled on some mass production line to careful, precise, and undeviating specifications.

A little reflection should quickly dispel such easy and simple assumptions. After all, Communists are people, and people differ greatly. We should, therefore, not be surprised to realize, upon reflection, that there are Stalinist Communists, Titoist Communists, Maoist Communists, Dubcek Communists, Brezhnev Communists, and even Gomulka Communists. There are Communists who invaded Czechoslovakia and Communists who vociferously opposed that invasion (the French, Italian, and Chinese Communists, among others). There are Communists who have believed in human extermination as a legitimate political means, others who believe that political isolation is the ultimate weapon in eliminating dissident opinions, and others who renounce both the above means to given political ends as inhuman and even harmful to healthy communism.

Two years ago, in March of 1968, there were numerous student demonstrations in Poland. The proximate cause of these demonstrations seems to have been the cancellation of a play by the genial Polish dramatist and writer, Adam Mickiewicz, because the play contained some strongly anti-Russian lines. The deeper causes, however, are to be found in a deep disenchantment

with the government, and this disenchantment was used by certain political factions in Poland to embarrass the present government in a power struggle that was going on at the very highest levels of the Polish Communist Party.

My wife and I arrived in Poland at the end of July, 1968, and during the next year we were able to observe some repercussions of these demonstrations which were for us rather interesting and which disturbed the traditional view we had held, that all Communist governments are alike. There were the usual arrests of students, and during the course of the winter these students were tried in secret trials and given long sentences. This didn't surprise us at all, because we had been led to expect this sort of treatment. What did surprise us was the treatment accorded to some faculty members, who were publicly criticized for having implanted in the minds of the students certain anti-socialist ideas. These men were without any doubt in a serious situation, but I invite you to contrast what became of them, as nearly as we were able to tell, with what has become the usual scenario for treatment of such people in the Soviet Union. Such people in the Soviet Union seem usually to be



arrested, and then either banished to some far-off section of the Soviet Union where they are never heard of again, or they are committed to a mental institution. What happened in Poland was in sharp contrast to this sort of thing, however. Most of these people in Poland were informed that they could no longer teach students in their regular university positions. However, they were not stripped of their academic rank, and for the most part they were given jobs in the Polish Academy of Sciences to do research on a full time basis. Furthermore, it appears that their research will be published in regular books and scholarly journals by the usual Polish printing houses. What is, perhaps, even more startling is that some were given passports or exit permits to take positions in the West, where they could talk all they wanted — even to the detriment of the Polish government — if they so desired. I submit that this is in striking contrast to what appears to happen in some other communist states.

There are in Poland about two million members in the Communist Party—out of a total population of about thirty-two million people—but it was interesting to discover that only a small percentage of these Party members are ideologically motivated. A number of the members are opportunists, who have joined the Party to enjoy the benefits accruing to them from Party membership. What was even more interesting was to discover the motives students have for joining the Party. The Polish students are very well informed about the West, and have full access to all of the significant western periodicals and books in each of their academic disciplines. Up until about two years ago, city dwellers in Poland could even buy *Time* or *Newsweek* right from their newsstands under a cultural agreement with the United States. Unfortunately, under the pressure of reducing our foreign aid expenditures, especially to communist countries, this very valuable program was cancelled by the United States about two years ago, in spite of the fact that the expense involved was very minimal. There is also a surprising number of good books, of both a popular and academic nature, translated into Polish. The upshot of all of this is that students, as I have said, are well informed about the West. But, they have great difficulty in getting reliable political information about their own government or about political occurrences in the Soviet Union which might directly or indirectly affect them. They know that the newspapers and news magazines give a consistently slanted and unreliable view of political events. Therefore, a number of students join the Party in order to gain access to the only source of reliable political information available, namely the Party. There is another reason, or ulterior motive, that some of these students have in joining the Party. They hope eventually, by working through the Party, to be able to effect some changes in the policies and political structure of their government. Some of the very best “revisionists,” in the best sense of that word, have been Poles.

There are other surprising aspects to life in Poland. An unexpectedly large number of Poles are given passports to travel out of Poland to the West and even to the United States. Often the biggest impediment to travel to the United States is thrown up by our own government through its refusal to grant prospective travelers the necessary visas. The reason for this is our government's suspicion that the travelers may be wishing to emigrate from Poland, and we have strict immigration quotas and restrictions.

Again, unlike the situation existing in the Soviet Union and in East Germany, there are no travel restrictions imposed on visitors to Poland. My wife and I could travel wherever we wanted within Poland, as often as we wanted, and with no prescribed routes.

With regard to religion, we were rather surprised to discover in Poland that Roman Catholic priests and nuns in quite large numbers can be seen on the streets of many towns and cities. There are even religious stores in the cities with the unlikely name of *Veritas* (Truth). (Of course, the State, not the Church, is supposed to have a corner on truth.) There is even a store in Warsaw where one can buy Bibles in all translations, including a very good and scholarly translation into Polish. Approximately 95% of all Poles

are baptized, and something over 30% of them attended church each Sunday. Even our own Church members in Poland (yes, we do have some) meet in relative freedom, without the police visitations so common in East Germany. Our members, about thirty of them, are concentrated in the areas of Poland which formerly belonged to Germany and Prussia. Most of them speak both German and Polish. The president of the only Branch we have there and his wife were recently given permission to travel out to Switzerland, where they were sealed in the temple. The Branch has a small branch house which was built in 1929 — the first branch house built in East Prussia. (This branch house was pictured in the March, 1969, issue of the *Era*.) The members live in relatively poor economic conditions, but they are very faithful and carry out the program of the Church as well as they can under the circumstances.

The impression should not be conveyed that life is “a bowl of cherries” in Poland. What I have been trying to stress is that there are differences between life in Poland and life in other communist countries. I have mentioned primarily positive features of life there. I could have just as easily (or even more easily) have mentioned negative features. I would estimate that in terms of the over-all opportunities and alternatives available to the Polish people, using this as a criterion of freedom, the Poles are considerably less free than we are in the United States. Even in this respect, however, there are some surprising exceptions. I suspect that a higher percentage of children from worker and farm families are able to get a higher education at universities than in the United States. I am certain this is true when the comparison is made with Western Europe. For these students and in this one respect, we would, therefore, have to say that they are freer by having more educational opportunities than some of their Western counterparts.

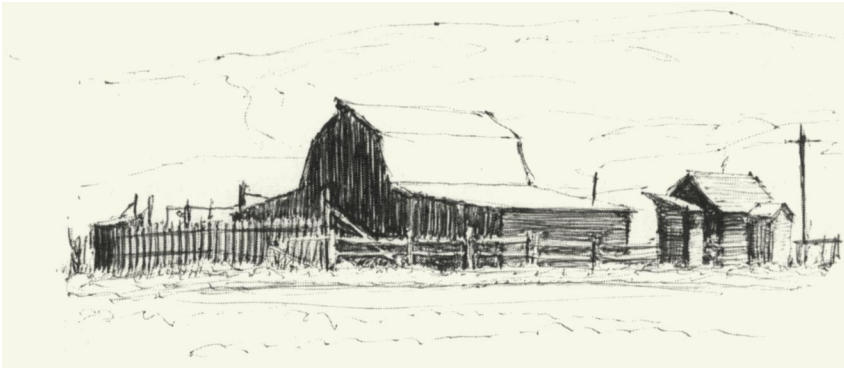
“SPRING” AND “WINTER” IN PRAGUE: SOME THOUGHTS ON THE HUMAN SPIRIT

Ralph J. Thomson

Czechoslovakia is much colder and darker now than it was last year. Not that the meteorological phenomena have been all that different: Prague has consistently registered temperatures as warm as or warmer than those of 1968; nor has the sun been shining any less frequently in the Bohemian, Moravian, and Slovak lands. And yet there is an unmistakable, almost physically tangible change in social climate produced by the cold anger and frozen hopes of fourteen million once-enthusiastic participants in the socialist face-lifting of January–August, 1968. Now that the bitter first anniversary of Russian-led invasion has come and gone, political and economic barometers continue to plunge, the inescapable by-product of a people aware of its transformation from meaningful, active citizenship during the “Prague Spring” into renewed

subject-status under a harried regime increasingly influenced by cool opportunists, pro-Soviet sycophants, and icy cynics.

And somehow the new winds rustling through the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic (CSSR) seem all the more biting when one recalls the atmosphere just prior to the Warsaw Pact intrusion. For eight months the political sun over Prague and Bratislava had been bringing forth a fragile crop of imaginative, intelligent, even bold reforms which, together, comprised nothing less than one of the most unusual social experiments in recent history: the attempted metamorphosis of a thoroughly totalitarian dictatorship



into a viable socialist society based upon the cultivation of the basic human rights and a generous measure of liberal democracy. Steeped as they are in a liberating, optimistic "free agency" tradition, it is soberly appropriate for Church members to examine the nature of those tentative fresh plants whose growth occasioned such cruel changes in the Eastern European weather of 1968-69. What conclusions on freedom, repression and the human spirit flow from this most recent in a centuries-long series of Czechoslovak political tragedies? Can L.D.S. faith in the firm reality of those spiritual intangibles comprising man's agency stand the test of seemingly contrary evidence advanced by the tangible force of the Five-Power intervention and the concrete reassertion of dictatorial controls?

THE ESSENCE OF "HUMANE SOCIALISM"

One initial, powerful truth may be drawn from the very beginnings of the Czechoslovak reform course; for as soon as the most excessive physical and institutional pressures associated with the two previous decades of Stalinist tyranny were relaxed, a spontaneous outpouring of popular insistence upon emancipatory reforms engulfed the once-deceptively passive CSSR. As a result, almost immediately following the electrifying ouster of Antonin Novotny's dogmatic circle in January, 1968, a restaffed Party Central Committee under Alexander Dubcek felt itself constrained to enunciate the essence of the "New Model of Socialist Democracy" (the post-Novotny leadership's label for its programmatic central goal of fashioning a revived "socialism with a human face"). The new hierarchy, sensing that the accumulated

tensions of Communist rule were threatening to burst the Party's carefully engineered political dam, began to open carefully selected sluice gates — at least partially — to the *instinctive* popular striving for free expression and activity.¹ The resulting Action Program² adopted by the Central Committee in April, 1968, contained many far-reaching (and—tragically—to Moscow, startling departures from old-line Communist guidelines.

Perhaps the Program's most important provisions were those which looked forward to the reintroduction of basic civil rights into the CSSR. Take, for example, that passage which specifically recommended that "constitutional freedoms of assembly and organization . . . be guaranteed without bureaucratic limitations and without granting monopolistic rights to *any* organization"—i.e., not even to the vanguard Communist Party! The section went on to stipulate expressly that such freedoms would also be available to previously harassed religious groups. True to the recommendation, freedom of speech and press guarantees were soon enacted into identifiable law. State censorship was formally abandoned in June, 1968, giving tangible legal backing to what had been established practice since early spring. Laws restricting freedom of assembly, although not formally rescinded, were no longer enforced. The results of this new relaxed attitude were striking.

To one traveling into Prague during the exciting July days of 1968, it was immediately apparent that the capital had become one vast "Hyde Park Corner." Knots of people were gathered every few yards in storefronts and on street corners, intensely engaged in unhindered discussion, not only in Czech, but in a Babel of tongues—German, Russian, Bulgarian, Polish, English, and French. Even foreign visitors—from the Communist East as well as from the West—seemed unable to resist the temptation to jump into the verbal torrent. The reality of this ferment was brought home to me with direct personal force the night of the Bratislava Conference of July 31—just three weeks before the "fraternal" military intervention of August—when I was asked by a delegation of Charles University students and young industrial workers to be the American speaker on an open forum before a massive crowd in Prague's Old Town Square. Standing on a parapet of the monument of Jan Hus's defiance of papal authority in the sixteenth century (the symbolic significance of this setting in the circumstances of Czech-Soviet confrontation was lost on no one) and following my earnest Russian counterpart, I was allowed to speak openly in a Communist state of things precious to men everywhere, regardless of social system or ideological schooling. Twenty years of enforced physical and intellectual separation were powerless to

¹I use the adjectives "spontaneous," "innate" and "instinctive" advisedly, for despite a lack of functioning organizational frameworks (Party rule had succeeded in temporarily atomizing all "intermediate associations" in Czech society), individuals and informal groups found means of venting their inherently democratic sentiments most emphatically. There is an important lesson in this inchoate, leaderless Czechoslovakian reformist urge: its very "spontaneity" would seem to confirm Gospel tenets concerning man's inborn strivings for unfettered thought and action, his "innate" sense of *independent* responsibility.

²The text was carried in the official Party newspaper, *Rudé právo*, April 10, 1968. All official quotes, unless otherwise noted, are extracted from this source. Italics throughout by the author. Translations courtesy of the Eastern Affairs Section of the U.S. Mission, Berlin.

prevent a forthright rapprochement of Eastern and Western hearts that night. Notwithstanding differing backgrounds, we found ourselves able to speak candidly to each other of the unfinished business of both societies: America's confused, inglorious hour in Southeast Asia and cancerous racial conflict; Czechoslovakia's attempted emergence from the corrupt, brutal long night of Stalinist subservience, her acquiescence in a systematic inhumanity of almost unparalleled thoroughness.

And yet, there was an unexpectedly positive accent to our give-and-take: twenty years of continuous *agitprop* had not been able to staunch the flow of admiration for certain aspects of American life, whatever its current shortcomings (and the young Czechs were not shy in pointing out the flaws); for somehow, the crowd perceived that the United States remained a land where people could be basically free. A generation that had been born and watchfully reared in the hermetically-sealed atmosphere of Communist orthodoxy and carefully schooled in anti-Western cant, revealed its yearning to extend this blessing to its own socialist homeland. A further lesson learned: If participants were talking that evening from the dissimilar background of anti-theoretical socio-economic systems, they were still united in an inherent desire for the same integrating concept of human dignity and emancipation.

Thinking back to my visits here earlier in the 1960's, I was struck by the contrast with these July days. Conversations then with Praguers had been pleasant enough in their guarded triviality: "Pretty day today," "Where are you from in America?" But people had been reluctant or unwilling to be drawn into discussions of sensitive political and social issues. Now it was clear that they were irrepressibly anxious to speak out, that old taboos were fair game for public commentary. But for all the criticism of past and present wrongs, it was readily apparent that the theme most emphasized was a positive one: protective support for Dubcek's innovative reform program.

I recall joining one spontaneous discussion group in a small park just off the main thoroughfare of Na Prikope just as a young television producer for Radio Prague was telling of his creative emancipation since the lifting of most state censorship in the early spring. Someone in the crowd asked if he was hindered by any lingering official restrictions. He replied that he and his colleagues now proceeded with almost total editorial freedom. The group pressed him: "Isn't this risky in view of the newness of the reform? What of the tentative nature of this step by the regime and the obvious hostility to such legalized openness now being exhibited by old-line party and police elements in the CSSR? What of the heavy counterpressures from Moscow, Pankow, and Warsaw for the reinvocation of strict party censorship. Have things really changed that much? Will they *stay* changed?"

I remember his face tightening and his voice intensifying: "Things *have* changed that much. But even if they haven't, there is no going back for me or for most of my colleagues. For twenty years now we have been dammed up and dehumanized. Today, we can be legitimate professionals—and, most important, we can be honest men again. No, there is no going back for us." A bearded student from the University's philosophical faculty enthusiastically

agreed: "Our lecture halls are honest now, too. We students cannot allow a return to the suffocation of the Novotny days." "That's right! None of us can!" shouted a prematurely old laborer in a battered hat and muddy boots. I moved on to other discussion groups, impressed by the "classless" nature and variety of support for the fledgling Dubcek regime.

As the *Lednove jaro*, the January spring, blossomed out, a growing, hardy strain of *organizational* pluralism began to manifest itself also, shunting aside the previously stifling monolithism of Czechoslovakian society. Groups and clubs—some heavily political in character—were allowed to organize without harassment or significant hindrance. The most important reformist impacts were achieved by the KAN, or Club of Involved Nonparty People; the League for Human Rights, the Circle of Independent Writers; and the Club 231, comprised of victims of Stalinist-Novotny era political persecution sentenced "to sit" under the harsh, open-ended Article 231 of the "Act for the Protection of the Republic." The very names bear witness to the heady stirrings of the period.

Even the members of the trade union movement, until then a most obedient "transmission belt" of the Party's wishes, showed signs of independence by removing summarily many of their Communist-appointed managers and insisting upon their own popular choices. By the summer of 1968, scattered industrial strikes were beginning to make an appearance in the CSSR. Surprised by such phenomena in a Communist system, I went to workers and labor officials with pointed questions concerning the risks and motivations behind their actions.

With evident satisfaction the workers drew my attention back to the official recommendations of the Action Program. There, embedded in the proletarian prose were significant sections stressing the need for decentralization and democratization of the Czechoslovak economy. Although economic reforms in the CSSR had been under way since 1965-66, I was impressed by the singular wording and far-reaching substance of several passages in the document: the "right of various social groups to formulate and defend their specific economic interests," "the right of the consumer to determine his consumption," "free choice of work," and the "independence" of productive enterprises in policy questions pertaining to their own management.

Significantly, the Action Program also advocated major reductions in the authority and activities of the Ministry of the Interior, home of the once-rampant state and secret police. Laws were promised for the purpose of "eliminating provisions which put individual citizens at a disadvantage in relation to the state and other institutions." Both Party and non-Party victims of the "socialist legality" so characteristic of the past twenty years of misrule were assured of complete "rehabilitation" and "indemnification" under the terms of a hard-hitting June law providing for their return to political and public responsibility.

The new Program also urged the passage of laws guaranteeing a form of judicial autonomy, complete with provisions ensuring the full independence of attorneys and defense counsels from the state and the reduction in

powers of state prosecutors. Included was a liberal recommendation that court cases, and even administrative decisions of state agencies, become subject to genuine judicial review. And in the realm of legislative activity, encouragement was lent a National Assembly which had already begun to rid itself of its former rubber-stamp nature by evolving into a forum for sharply clashing open debate and split (!) votes. In sections reflecting the regime's confidence in its growing popular support, the Program guaranteed all Czechoslovakian citizens the privilege of unchallenged movement both within and outside the borders of the state, including the right to remain for lengthy periods, even permanently.

For all the generous, democratizing vision of progressive post-Novotny leaders in the CSSR, it is necessary to emphasize their intention never to allow their Party's leading role to become dependent upon risky popular suffrage. Thus, Czechoslovakia could never qualify as a true democracy, socialist or otherwise, as long as this artificial arrangement of one-party monopoly and self-ordained mandate continued. However, the new leadership did seem genuinely anxious to lend at least an air of democratic liberalism to the Party and to make its claim to persisting ascendancy more acceptable to non-Communists by changing the style of government and redefining certain of its operational premises.

A series of new Central Committee resolutions made public in June and August³ denied that the Party's vanguard role was a "monopolistic concentration of power in the hands of the party organs"; nor was it a "universal 'administrator' of society" with binding directives for "all organizations and



Абсолютно фактически

every step in life. . . ." Instead, the resolutions insisted: "We must see that . . . the party possesses, even on the level of primary organizations, an informal, natural authority based on the communist functionaries' abilities to work and lead, and on their moral qualities." Thus, the Party would (*must*) continue to lead society, yes—but based upon the earned "moral and

³For example, the resolutions and draft statutes of the Communist Party published in *Rudé právo* on June 2, 1968, and August 10, 1968.

political right" to do so. To be sure, there is some sophistry in these lines; still, we would have a difficult time disagreeing with Robert Conquest's point that the overall Prague reform program was a step toward "reintegrating communism into the civilized community."⁴

This, then, is what the cold drifts of Soviet military *diktat* in Prague, Brno, Pilsen, Kosice, and Bratislava have sought to bury; this is what lies squeezed and torn in the "proletarian-internationalist" ice jam presently cluttering the Moldau. The plants which grew between January and August, 1968, threatened to change the appearance of the hitherto accepted Communist field so thoroughly that Brezhnev and his comrades felt they must winter-kill the new growth through invasion. But how successful have they been?

THE POST-INVASION RESIDUE

In those heartrending first months following "the August events," it seemed that Czechoslovaks might actually have *gained* something. For all the physical helplessness and attendant harsh realities of renewed foreign occupation, they appeared to arrive at a solid formula capable at once of confounding the alien oppressor and stiffening the domestic spine: unshakable national unity. This goal, so elusive since the artificial wedding of diverse peoples under Thomas Masaryk's first Czecho-Slovak Republic in 1918, found stunning achievement under the pressure of common revulsion and fear as the meaning of "fraternal assistance" crystallized in the collective social mind. It was an inspiring, bittersweet phenomenon: a rapid, almost visceral unity binding Communists, non-Communists and anti-Communists alike; one which closed the gap between the generations, drew countryside and city together, fused the energies of intellectuals, workers, bureaucrats, and students; a unity which even bridged the broad gulf of resentment between minority Slovaks and majority Czechs.

I shall not soon forget this agitated, yet somehow dignified period. Blurred memory seems unlikely after listening to a recently "rehabilitated" Catholic priest lead his overflow congregation's prayers in behalf of then-Party First Secretary Alexander Dubcek during the first series of Soviet-Czech "normalization" confrontations following the invasion; or after watching Prague teen-agers evoke emphatically approving, if often tearful, responses from citizens twenty, thirty, and forty years their senior as they read their impassioned poetry of freedom and nationalism at the site where a fourteen-year-old boy had been cut down by Soviet bullets during the invasion. It will hardly be possible to forget those delegations of students and journalists streaming to hearty receptions in the factories, or those groups of workers gathered in the University lecture halls, their classless dialogue and crisis-spawned fraternity.

Throughout the fall and winter months of 1968-69 the common leveler of suffering joined with an anticipatory hope for a partially salvageable Ac-

⁴As quoted in Edward Taborsky, "The New Era in Czechoslovakia," *East Europe* 17, no. 11 (November 1968): 23.

tion Program in keeping this solidarity simmering. As late as October 28 (the bitterly ironical fiftieth anniversary of Czechoslovak "independence") and November 7 (the tarnished fifty-first anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution) there were massive, mixed demonstrations in support of fading spring reforms and their initiators within the Central Committee. As late as December, the vast majority of trade union members and students could threaten a crippling strike in support of then-National Assembly President Josef Smrkovsky whose liberal political career was in clear jeopardy. And solemnly, as late as January 21, half a million Czechs and Slovaks from all walks of life could be moved to line the streets of Prague in a grief-stricken renewal of this unity as the funeral cortege of a new national symbol, "Torch No. 1"—Jan Palach—threaded its way to Olsany cemetery. Most recently a dozen Czech cities seethed with several days of mass marches and pitched street battles on the occasion of the invasion anniversary in August.⁵

But such intense collective resistance, rare, dangerous, and exhausting even in the short terms where odds run so heavily against the recalcitrant, is impossible to sustain day in and day out over the long haul. Not many men rise to genuine heroism at any time in their lives; the marvel of Czechoslovakia's almost instant unity of post-August 21 is that so many heroes surfaced in such a concentrated pattern: cobblestone throwers against heavy armor, human-body barricades in front of rolling tanks, clandestine radio operators broadcasting defiant instructions, waves of marchers behind the blood-soaked Czechoslovak tricolor and the stunning spectacle of nearly 14 million passively resistant Schweikian support troops. But, again, there are few who can remain overt heroes all of their lives.

Last summer in Prague I chanced upon that same young television producer who a long year-and-a-half ago had proclaimed so fervently his unwillingness to work under conditions of renewed media control. How was he getting along? What was he doing now? With downcast eyes, he replied, "I am still with Radio Prague. It is bitter, but I've got to feed the family, you know."

And so it is. The overt heroics of August, October and January—and most recently the invasion anniversary uproar—have not been able to blot out the gloomy reality of the hovering Soviet military and political presence. "Reality"—that new key word among the bulk of a populace grown weary—is the immediate necessity of surviving from day to day in at least relative comfort and physical safety; it is clothing one's children, retaining a tolerable job, "getting along" somehow. Thus, as the weeks, then months, of confrontation wear on, we might expect those practical souls—or those less emotionally involved with August, 1968—to become increasingly susceptible to a growing spirit of resignation which could only spell capitulation.

But is this expectation warranted? Is "socialism with a human face" dead, or has it only entered into a period of dark temporary eclipse?

⁵It should be borne in mind that each of these events occurred against the backdrop of massive Soviet forces stationed on Czechoslovakian soil and hundreds of thousands of additional Warsaw Pact troops poised across the several borders of the CSSR.

Somehow, the mounting political drifts and hardening ideological ice of the past year have failed to conceal entirely the fruits of Prague's spring-like season of the soul. Heat continues to generate even now underneath the wintry mantel—to be sure, less dramatically than with last year's terrifying, purgative intensity of self-immolation; less frequently now with the smoldering solemn processions composed of all classes and ages past Jan Hus and Wenceslas in their respective city squares; only rarely now flaming out with energy provided by the burning hammer and sickle flags of 1968. Nevertheless, a steady, low heat persists: one constantly fueled by the bitterness and subtle subversion of millions of passive resisters.

Full communications censorship has been renewed, the border once more sealed against travel to the West, incentive-breeding democratization of the economy reversed; licenses of independent-minded journals and organizations have been revoked, liberal reform leaders purged, and subterranean police activities reinstated. And still the Czechs talk—in restaurants, on trams, at the office, and in the factory—openly, bitterly, mockingly of their foreign masters and domestic fellow travelers. An unassailable core of personal and collective independence flourishes in spite of the occupier's tanks, guns and strident ideological proscriptions. The Czech man-in-the-street continues to be the "unsatisfactory subject" he was under Hapsburg colonialism and Nazi tyranny.

Entering a number of Prague homes during my last visit to Czechoslovakia this past midsummer, I was impressed by the ubiquitous pictures of the now-deposed symbols of democratic socialism, Dubcek and Smrkovsky, and of the non-Communist Masaryks. Nowhere did I see portraits of Gustav Husak or Lubomir Strougal, the current Soviet-approved leadership. In several homes we were asked to join our hosts in moving prayer and spiritual discussion. My experiences during those private moments culminated in a startling new awareness: In reality, it is the Czechs who are the liberated, their masters who are the actual captives. For in the preservation of an internal "secret place" in his heart and mind, each Czech is able to remain the master of his soul and the superior of his oppressor. It is the Soviet soldier with all of his technological military advantages who is confined by cautious commanding officers to his isolated barracks for fear of provoking incidents in the hostile towns he wishes to visit on leave. It is the Soviet soldier who is taunted, scorned, defied, avoided, and ignored when he does come into town. I have seen the self-searching doubt well up in young Soviet eyes as they are exposed to this moral vilification by the physically helpless. In this subtle, yet powerful psychological sense, the Russians are at the mercy of Czechs and Slovaks!

Reflecting back, I can't forget the shouts of youthful marchers in a forbidden protest parade to the Prague residence of Soviet Ambassador Stepan Chervonenko last fall—shouts directed at Russian troops positioned in alleys and sidestreets nearby: "You've got the tanks, but we've got the Truth." Somehow, even my professional awareness of the might of Great-Power *Realpolitik* cannot drive those angry, yet assured, cries from my ears. Could it be that the Hussite scripture is right? "The Truth Shall Prevail"—eventually?

HOW TO READ A MORMON SCHOLAR

Samuel W. Taylor

Mr. Taylor, a professional writer living in Redwood City, California, author of FAMILY KINGDOM and numerous other books and articles on Mormon topics, has a book being published soon on the uranium boom in Mormon country and another on Nauvoo which will be out next year; he has advised us before on how to be a Mormon scholar and how to write for the Mormon market.

Learning how to read the works of Mormon scholars takes a bit of doing, but the rewards are well worth the effort for those who get the hang of it. You must not suppose that you simply can read them for what they say, for this has never been true in any period of Mormon history. From earliest times we have said one thing and meant another. The history of plural marriage provides a prime example of double-talk, where absolutely everything said about it actually meant the opposite of what the words apparently stated. The people of that earlier day took enormous pride in knowing the true coin from the counterfeit, and inasmuch as many of our scholars still practice double-talk, I hereby append the Taylor System for reading them, the result of exhaustive research over many years. You, too, can know the true coin. But you'll have to dig for it.

To begin with, you must learn which scholars to accept, which ones must be read with care and in special ways, and which must be rejected out of hand. As a rough guide, watch the manner in which the scholar refers to Joseph Smith.

The *either/or* scholar will almost invariably refer to the founder of the Church as (capital) The (capital) Prophet (no comma) Joseph Smith. He can be recognized by resounding alternatives: Either The Prophet Joseph Smith was the greatest Prophet of all time, or he was the greatest fake in history. Either you must accept the First Vision exactly as now told (ignoring other versions), or you must reject Mormonism *in toto*. Either every word of the Book of Mormon was exactly dictated by God, and no word was ever changed, or the book must be rejected as completely false (and never mind the fact that through revelation we are told that it was translated by inspiration, not word-by-word, and that there have been some 2,000 changes). Either The Prophet Joseph Smith acted as a prophet 100% of every moment of every day (despite his own denial of it), or he was 100% phony. Either he practiced the Word of Wisdom exactly as interpreted today, or he was a complete hypocrite. And so on, and on, and on; the *either/or* defender of the faith takes the position that the entire gospel rests upon each and every smallest detail of the simplified, streamlined, homogenized, censored, edited and prettified version of the Sunday School lesson or the missionary tract. Thus to question any slightest item of this uninspired version is to attack the whole, and the *either/or* scholar must defend this precarious position at all costs. While you may be amused at his astounding gymnastics of logic as he quibbles, shifts ground, seizes upon irrelevancies and beclouds the issue

with wonderful nonsense, you must consider him as a writer of fiction and not as a scholar at all. What he writes can be judged only upon its entertainment value; factually, it is completely worthless.

You must understand that the aim of the *either/or* scholar is not to tell the truth, but to keep people happy. The newest sin of Mormonism, and possibly the greatest, is to be Negative (which is even more immoral, if possible, than drinking coffee). Heaven help the scholar accused of this heresy. He is in danger of having his picture turned to the wall, his buttons cut off, and being drummed out of the Positive Thinking Corps. The *either/or* craven has completely capitulated; he is knight-errant of the citadel. But the threat of the Negative label affects the work of all but a valiant few.

In rejecting the *either/or* apologist, you must not make the mistake of throwing out the *pseudo-either/or* scholar as well. He is simply adopting the protective coloration, while actually having a concern for the truth and devising ingenious methods for inserting the real scoop without endangering his status (of which more later). The *pseudo-either/or* scholar sometimes reveals his position by his reference to "the Prophet Joseph," or simply "the Prophet." However, the real test is the extent of his astounding alternatives.

The *objective* scholar (bless him) can generally be recognized by his use of the terms "Joseph" or "the prophet," the degree of objectivity roughly depending upon whether the word *prophet* is or is not capitalized. Of late years a few hardy souls have laid claim to complete objectivity by calling the prophet "Smith." But don't be entirely fooled by a single word. A *Smith* scholar may be objective in presentation of fact but not entirely so in its selection. Also, there is the *pseudo-Smith* pretender, who actually is a high-level *either/or* type, the more dangerous by reason of greater care in disguising his propaganda.

On the highest level, the *lower case-prophet* and *Smith scholars* are dedicated to follow facts where they lead. They neither minimize nor emphasize facts disturbing to our far-righteous, but tell it as it was. This rarefied summit is occupied only by an extremely select few, and in between it and the intellectual bargain basement of the *either/or* group, is the great body of Mormon scholars, who by reason of overwhelming pressures are required to employ attitudes and terminology required of our propaganda literature, but who have devised stratagems for slipping the truth in edgewise, upside-down, and backwards. What you have to do is learn the tricks and keep a sharp eye peeled.

A handy device is the *divided payoff*, or the broken stick of dynamite. If a scholar wishes to present data which would explode under the chairs of the Positive Thinkers, he breaks it in half, separating cause from effect. On page 16, for example, he puts half of it, the teaser, but doesn't finish. Then on page 78 he presents the payoff, but with absolutely no reference to the teaser. Only if you remain alert will you recognize it for the other half of the dynamite, which when put together causes a lovely bang.

Another method is the *irrelevant footnote* trick. The scholar keys his teaser on page 16 to an innocuous footnote giving a source so safe, secure

and authorized as to divert even the most positive protector of the status quote. But if you take the trouble to look up the reference, you may be baffled as to why it was cited, for it will only vaguely refer to the subject at hand. The actual purpose of the footnote is to protect the scholar by citing a source so absolutely secure that the reader will accept the teaser *without* checking the reference. Having thus shielded himself, the author drops the subject until page 78, when, apropos of an entirely different subject he makes another footnote. This footnote is entirely irrelevant, and you may pass on, baffled and confused (which is the whole idea), *unless* you have learned how to read and recognize that this footnote actually belongs to the material on page 16, but was separated to avoid explosion.

A common method of shoehorning in the real scoop is the *contradictory-appendix* device. On page 16 the scholar defuses his teaser by quoting a ringing testimony from some Church leader, with a footnote referring you to the original source, included in Appendix B. Appendix B will contain the ringing testimony, all right, but also, buried deeply within its many words, the other half of the dynamite.

One of the most interesting devices, which was used by some of our earliest scholars and has of recent years been revived, is the *red herring conclusion*. Here the scholar boldly puts cause and effect together, laying it on the line in a manner to make you gasp at his audacity. And then in summary he pulls its fangs and protects himself by drawing a conclusion directly contrary to the evidence he has just presented. You realize, of course, why he had to make the red herring conclusion, so you ignore his interpretation while accepting his data.

These are just a few of the many and ingenious ways by which our scholars, confronted by monolithic opposition, valiantly chip away at the foundation of the pre-fab stronghold. Learning how to read them is not easy, but, then, nothing worthwhile comes free.

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