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

Contents

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS		4
ARTICLES & ESSAYS		
THE COMING OF THE MANIFESTO	Kenneth W. Godfrey	11
Wanted: Additional Outlets for I	DEALISM Gary B. Hansen	26
A Progress Report on Dialogue	Garth L. Mangum	38
A New Look at Repentance	Edited by Douglas Alder	41
Despair An A	nonymous Returned Missionary	41
The Long Way Back	L.T.	43
Encounter	Douglas Alder	46
Guilt: A Psychiatrist's Viewpoint	Louis G. Moench, M.D.	50
Some Thoughts on Repentance	Matthew Cowley	55
The Miracle of Forgiveness	Richard H. Cracroft	57
The Gift of Repentance	Lowell L. Bennion	61
THE WORLD CHURCH		
THE CHURCH IN LATIN AMERICA: PROGRESS AND CHALLENGE	Wesley W. Craig, Jr.	66
FROM THE PULPIT		
A Lesson from the Past	William L. Knecht	75
POETRY		
RIVER SAINTS		
Introduction to a Mormon Chronicle	David L. Wright	81
Rich, The Dead Brother	_	81
The Attic Boy		82
The Owner of the Skull		84
The Philosopher's Mother		85
A Gathering of Saints		86
A NAME AND A BLESSING	Dennis Clark	93
UPON THIS ROCK	C. Thomas Asplund	94
	4	

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REVIEWS 96 Marvin S. Hill THE MANIPULATION OF HISTORY Can We Manipulate the Past? by Fawn Brodie Robert Flanders 100 DIALOGUE EAST Courage: A Journal of History, Thought, and Action Samellyn Wood 103 Another View of the Mormons The Mormons: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by Kathleen Elgin Robert J. Morris 104 THE CHURCH AND THE ORIENT The Church Encounters Asia by Spencer J. Palmer AMONG THE MORMONS A SURVEY OF CURRENT LITERATURE Edited by Ralph H. Hansen 107 Deana L. Astle 107 Sources of Mormon Americana in Utah NOTES AND COMMENTS PSYCHOTHERAPY WITH MORMON PATIENTS IN UTAH AND CALIFORNIA — IMPRESSIONISTIC OBSERVATIONS Robert J. Howell Notes from a Mormon Movie-goer Linda Lambert 116 120 EDITORIAL DECISIONS PROBLEMS OF THE MORMON INTELLECTUAL William Mulder 121 THE CHICANO STUDENT UNION AND MIDDLE AGE R. Stanley Shields 123 Samuel W. Taylor 126 My Father's Six Widows ART CREDITS Cover: The sketches in this issue are by the early Mormon artist

J. T. HARWOOD

The photographs and documentary materials are courtesy of: L.D.S. CHURCH HISTORIAN'S OFFICE 10, 17, 21 UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY 16, 25 HAROLD WOOD 92

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Letters to the Editors

The pen and ink sketches in this section are by the early Utah artist James T. Harwood, from the book Our Inland Sea.

Dear Sirs:

I was very pleased to read the David L. Wright material in the Summer issue. Jim Miller's "Introduction" and "Dave Elegy" form an outstanding preface to "The Conscience of the Village." To indicate the exceptional understanding between Jim and Dave, you may like to know that they frequently boarded together. They would work at whatever jobs they could find and would bring their earnings home and pile it on the table; each of them would then take from the pile as necessary.

From my acquaintance with Jim, I find that what he says about Dave is frequently true of himself. More than writing excellent poetry, Jim looks and acts in close accord with my vision of the truly great ones. He lives with Keats, Shelley, and all the Romantics.

Bill Skidmore Brigham City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

We were surprised at Mrs. Sprang's putdown [Summer, 1970] of the Wayne County resident's ability to appreciate the beauty of his country. Perhaps she hasn't been listening, or perhaps the "folks" don't feel they have the right to express their feelings about what is or is not beautiful in the presence of the resident artist. Maybe a person with such a low opinion of her neighbors is not able to feel and understand their language. For whatever reason, we're sure she is wrong.

Three years ago we made a film of the

last cattle drive from the desert to the Boulder Mountain. Our five member film crew spent six days with some of the slowest moving, slowest talking cowboys this side of the Pecos, men who for the most part live within ten miles of Mrs. Sprang and who she accuses of lacking any appreciation for their remarkable environs. They didn't effuse, "isn't this fantastic scenery," inanities in the style of their urban cousins, but they made sure in an unobtrusive way that we filmed this rock formation or that geological fault and wondered when we talked with them alone, if the red of the desert could be captured on film. When we had to leave before the drive was completely over, we felt their disappointment, "You'll miss Pleasant Creek" they said, and we knew we were missing an experience that had profound meaning for them. One of the Teasdale ladies chased our camerman to the next town of Bicknell to persuade him to return and get a shot of the desert from the top of Boulder Mountain.

When we finished the film and showed it to the residents they were kind, but several expressed disappointment, "It's too bad you didn't get a picture of those cattle strung along the ridge at the tail end of the drive," or expressed in one form or another the idea that while it was a good film we didn't do the country justice — which we didn't, because it is impossible.

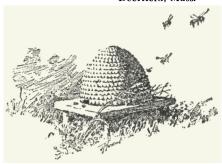
No, they don't lack appreciation of their country. They may not communicate it in a way that some folks would like them to, but we're sure it is there.

Garry and Cozette Shirts Del Mar, California Dear Sirs:

I have just finished reading the first section of David L. Wright's "River Saints" and it rings beautifully and painfully true. For those of us who have lived in Bear Lake County, were raised as Mormons, and now live as expatriates outside the close confines of a small "Mormon" community, "River Saints" comes like a "bath of light," full of insight, understanding and compassion.

I applaud your decision to publish more of David L. Wright's work for he truly seems that creative honest Mormonborn writer.





Dear Sirs:

Bravo! Mr. Bush's Review [Winter, 1969] is at once timely and most scholarly. The appendix to his article refers to the 15 Dec. 1969 letter of Elders Brown and Tanner wherein it is averred that the position of the Church toward Blacks "has no revelancy [sic] whatever to those who do not wish to join the Church." I would like to discuss this point briefly.

If we consider the effect of this policy upon the true believer, we may more readily see its relevance to the non-believer. Christ's criterion for judgement is to behold the fruits.

Feelings of racial superiority are not in harmony with the Gospel of the Brother-hood of Man and Fatherhood of God and my observations lead me to believe that such feelings are rather more encouraged than discouraged in members of the L.D.S. Church by the practice of priesthood denial to worthy Blacks solely because of their skin color.

The Constitution requires that we grant civil rights, but Christ's second mile con-

cept requires that we go beyond the immediately provable action to the more subtle attitude. Tell a black man he's free, but deny him access to certain jobs or residential areas — then read James 2:16 — what doth it profit? To refer to a man as "inferior" or "darkie" in this time and country is to display disrespect for his dignity and self-respect, and speaks eloquently of the real contempt felt by the speaker, protestations of piety notwithstanding.

The Church's present policy toward Blacks does not inspire its members to feel all men are their brothers - except in the abstract and at a distance. Now, insofar as this attitude is manifest in interactions between Blacks and L.D.S. Church members, it is a valid concern to both parties to the interactions. Hence, the statement that the "position has no relevancy [sic] whatever to those who do not wish to join the Church" is simply not true. (Note that even if the effect were to improve relations, the statement would still be untrue). Those who affect an air of injured innocence in the face of challenges to that policy (e.g., Stanford U. athletics) seem willfully to ignore the bad fruits thereof.

I would hazard the guess that the Church will make great missionary gains among fearful whites (in and out of the South) as long as it offers them religious sanctuary for their prejudices. But maybe it's better not to tamper with a man's prejudices — after all, Christ got into some trouble doing that.

Calvin D. Wood Livermore, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

The following was printed in the Times and Seasons on November 1, 1840:

HYMNS! HYMNS!

have been endowed with a poetical genius, whose muse has not been altogether idle, will feel enough interest in a work of this kind, to immediately forward all choice, newly composed or revised hymns. In designating those who are endowed with Poetical genius, we do not intend to exclude others; we mean all who have good hymns that will cheer the heart of

the righteous man, to send them as soon as practicable directed to Mrs. Emma Smith, Nauvoo, Illinois. POST PAID.

Today, one hundred and thirty years later, I would echo this request for new Latter-day Saint hymns, both texts and music, to be written.

I am a doctoral candidate in church music at the University of Southern California, and my dissertation project deals with contemporary hymns in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. I am seeking new hymn texts and new hymn tunes which can be performed by Latter-day Saint congregations and which could ultimately be considered for placement in the next hymnal of the Church.

It is my opinion that modern "Mormon" hymns should not only be appropriate for Latter-day Saint worship, but should also be fresh, creative, and representative of the Restored Church in 1970. They should be an honest expression of how we today feel about the Gospel. They may or may not conform to earlier rhythmic patterns, harmonic formulas, regular meters, uniform stanzas, etc., but should maintain the same standards of dignity, reverence, and beauty that are characteristic of all great hymns.

I believe we are blessed to live in a most exciting period of history — a time of excellence and fulfillment for the Church. May we, through the use of our talents, rise to the occasion, and add to the rich heritage given to us by earlier Saints.

Michael F. Moody 1209 West 38th Place Los Angeles, Calif. 90037

[Recent events at Brigham Young University have been drawn to our attention by the following letter — Ed.]

Dear Sirs:

It's not often that the vice president and president of the BYU studentbody come out and oppose such ideas as war. That's just not supposed to be done on a campus like BYU where peaceful dissent is a communist plot and long hair is a shame to manhood. But they and ten others brave souls did it. Of course over 2,000 students signed a peti-

tion asking for the "re-call" (impeachment) of Brian Walton and Jon Ferguson as a result of their infamous attempt to restore reason to Zion. In their pamphlet, Walton and Ferguson made such outlandish statements as "we do not necessarily equate military service with service to our fellow men"



and "just as killing Christians did not kill Christianity, killing Communists will not kill Communism." They also had the audacity to quote Thoreau and President McKay.

While the quotation from Thoreau is dismissed with nary a shrug ("he wasn't even a Stake President, was he?"), the "BYU Twelve" have been accused of quoting President McKay out of context. Surely a President of the Church couldn't have really meant that "it is vain to attempt to reconcile war with true Christianity!" Well, for those who can't believe it, here are a few more quotations out of context:

From Brigham Young: "Our traditions have been such that we are not apt to look upon war between two nations as murder; but suppose that one family should rise up against another and begin to slay them, would they not be taken up and tried for murder? But observe the martial array, how splendid! See the furious war horses, with their glittering trappings. Then the honor and glory and pride of the reigning king must be sustained, and the strength and power and wealth of the nation must be displayed in some way; and what better way than to make war upon neighboring nations, under some slight pretext? Does it justify the slaying of men and women and children that otherwise would have remained at home at peace, because a great army is doing the work? No: the guilty will be damned for it. It is just as much murder to kill, unjustly, a million at a blow as it is to kill one..."

From The First Presidency (George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark, and David O. Mckay): "... we have the honor respectfully to urge that you do your utmost to defeat any plan designed to bring about the compulsory military service of our citizenry..."

From George Q. Cannon: "I do not want to see our young men get filled with the spirit of war and be eager for the conflict. God forbid that such a spirit should prevail in our land, or that we should contribute in any way to the propagation of a spirit of that kind! But one may say, 'Is it not our duty to defend our country and our flag? Is it not our duty to maintain the institutions which the Lord has given us?' Certainly it is. And it is not the part of cowardice to take the plan that the Lord has pointed out. No man need be afraid that the Lord or any just man will look upon him as a coward."

And if all that isn't current enough, President Joseph Fielding Smith has said the following: "One of the best illustrations of this spirit of enduring wrong rather than retaliating is found in the story of the people of Ammon in the Book of Mormon.



Because they refused to take up arms to defend themselves, but would rather lay down their lives than shed blood in their own defense, they brought many of their enemies to repentance and to the Kingdom of God. This is the doctrine of Jesus Christ as taught in the Sermon on the Mount."

But there may still be some who insist on a higher Authority. For them, in addition to the many passages in the Bible, I offer the following: the entire twenty-fourth chapter of the Book of Mormon and from the Doctrine and Covenants, 42:18-19, 98:16, 98:23-27, 105:38-40, and 134:2, 4.

So perhaps Ferguson, Walton and Co. aren't such flaming heretics after all? Of course not. In fact, from what the Mormon religion really tries to teach, these good brethren are merely following in the footsteps of their C.O. brothers, the people of Ammon. Do you suppose their example might bring "many of their enemies to repentance and to the Kingdom of God"? Let's hope so. It looks like there are at least 2,000 potential converts busy signing petitions at BYU.

Roger Ekins University of Utah

Dear Sirs:

I just received the Winter 1969 issue of Dialogue and am quite interested in Richard L. Bushman's article "Faithful History." It is apparently a result of the continued frustration expressed at the end of his article "The First Vision Story Revived" in the Spring 1969 issue, where he explained his reasons for responding to Wesley Walter's claims. Actually, this explanation was the only significant part of that article, since Walters destroyed all of Bushman's arguments in favor of a 1820 revival. Indeed, if Bushman had had a satisfactory case, the last few paragraphs of his article would have been unnecesary and irrelevant.

Bushman's article in the Winter 1969 Dialogue is an intellectual cop-out. Apparently he has learned that many of the claims of Mormon history will not stand up to the standards of high-level research employed by professional historians. So he is trying to find another approach to Mormon history consistent with both his testimony and his professional life. He is trying to have his cake and eat it too.

I was amazed when I read the Summer 1969 and Fall 1969 issues of *Dialogue* and found that there was practically no comment whatever concerning the "roundtable" on the Palmyra revival. Here was a matter of critical importance to the very foundations of the entire Mormon faith, and no comment at all! The BYU team and Bushman have clearly lost on the question of the 1820 revival.

It is time to face up to the realities of situation. In his articles in *Dialogue* Bushman is being dishonest with both himself and his readers. There are two honest courses he can take in the future: (1) give up on the historical rationalizations and be satisfied with spiritual experiences and the Mormon group life (Bushman stated that "spiritual experience is the most compelling data") or (2) proceed with truthful historical research and be willing to admit the obvious implications (i.e. the First Vision should be scrapped).

Dr. Bushman said in his Spring 1969 aricle: "Honesty requires that one remain true to ("spiritual experience" or "Faith of the faithful") even in the face of other evidence to the contrary." I would only ask that he be honest in his quest for this "honesty."

Bill Williams St. Louis, Missouri



Mr. Bushman replies:

Joseph Smith's story of his First Vision has held up better under historical scrutiny than Mr. Williams realizes. In fact, it is in a stronger position now than ever. Until recently virtually the only firsthand account of how the revivals affected Joseph had come from Orasmus Turner, an apprentice printer and editor in Palmyra from 1819 to 1822, who knew Joseph personally. Turner described Joseph as "catching a spark of Methodism in the camp meeting, away down in the woods, on the Vienna road." The Vienna road led from Palmyra to the neighboring township of Phelps whose village center was known as Vienna. Turner thus left us with a picture of Joseph being converted sometime before 1822 (when Turner left Palmyra) at a Methodist campground somewhere between Palmyra and Phelps.

Now, thanks to the work of various researchers, we have much more information about the religious situation in Palmyra and Phelps with which to fill in Turner's abbreviated account. In Palmyra the Methodists held a class meeting and occasional camp meetings. In June of 1818, for example, twenty people were baptized and forty united to the church. Again in 1820 the Palmyra paper referred to activities at the Methodist camp ground. But the Methodists did not own property yet. As was the usual practice elsewhere, they held camp meetings on borrowed land.

In Phelps, the more vigorous of the two villages in 1819 and 1820, the Methodists dedicated a meetinghouse in late 1818 or early 1819 which was large enough to accommodate a conference in July 1819 of perhaps 100 ministers from all over the Genesee area. We can safely assume there was a great deal of evangelizing at this conference, in Phelps and probably in nearby towns. It is highly unlikely that this gathering of men, whose life work it was to preach wherever they went, would have left Phelps without conducting public meetings. It may be due to this visit that in the following year Phelps experienced what a participant described as a "religious cyclone which swept over the whole region round about and the kingdom of darkness was terribly shaken." Membership in the circuit which included Phelps jumped from 374 to 654. The excitement may have touched Palmyra too, for in July 1821 the Methodists purchased property on the Vienna road and shortly afterwards began construction of a chapel, indication that their numbers were increasing

Meanwhile Presbyterians in Phelps were also enjoying a harvest which benefited their church at Oaks Corners, another village in the township. The average admission from 1806 to 1819 had been five members a year. In 1820 thirty joined, twenty-two of them by April. Throughout the presbytery of which the Phelps congregation was a part, the number of conversions increased dramatically. The clerk of the presbytery noted in February 1820 that "during the past year more have been received into the communion of the Churches than perhaps in any former year." We do not know what happened in the Palmyra Presbyterian church

in this banner year, for no report was made at the February meeting and from 1820 to 1822 the church was without a pastor. Palmyra Presbyterians would have had to travel elsewhere or attend another denomination. If they went to Phelps in 1820, they would have encountered an unusual excitement.

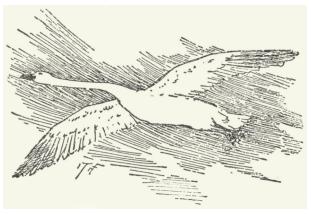
Mr. Walters' main contention is that no revival occurred in Palmyra itself in 1819 or 1820. His argument against Joseph Smith's story rests on the assumption that village residents would not have traveled to an adjoining town to a revival meeting. But that is indeed unlikely. Members of the little Methodist class meeting would surely have wished to hear the ministers gathered for the annual conference, and Presbyterians without a pastor must have occasionally gone to Phelps to church. Furthermore, it was customary in this era for Americans to travel considerable distances to revivals. One of the famous conversion stories of the Great Awakening of 1740 tells of a man who heard one morning of George Whitefield's impending visit to a town ten miles away. The man dropped his work in the fields and rushed off at once to hear Whitefield. Along the way he met hundreds of others heading in the same direction. By the ninteenth century the practice of traveling to revivals had become institutionalized in the camp meeting, where people came and camped while they listened to preachers for two or three days. The fifteen mile journey from the Smith house to Phelps village (twelve miles as the crow flies) would not have seemed like an insurmountable distance to the Smith family. To a fourteen year old boy it would have been no more than a three or four hour hike. The range of Joseph's interest shows clearly in his account where he speaks of the revival as occurring in "that region of country" and in "the whole district of country." There is no reason to believe that the Smith's activities were abnormally limited to the village of Palmyra alone.

I think it can be said in summary that all of the research in recent years has not drastically revised our picture of the events of Joseph's life in 1819 and 1820. We knew before that there were revivals in the general area and that Joseph probably was affected personally at a Methodist camp meeting somewhere along the road to Phelps. But now we understand much more precisely where the centers of activity were to which Joseph referred and what church life was like in Palmyra and Phelps. The next step for historians is to discover more about the strife of words and contention for converts which impressed Joseph Smith as much as the conversions themselves.

Dear Sirs:

In the Spring 1970 issue of Dialogue, you included a list called "Selected Works of Mormon Interest" at the end. Fortunately, or unfortunately, I was included. To set the record straight, my work is a dissertation, done at the University of Utah in 1969: Dennis L. Lythgoe, "The Changing Image of Mormonism in Periodical Literature, 1830-1969" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1969). I am presently negotiating for its publication, and hope that soon it can rightfully be included in such a list. As a result of your listing I have already had a request from a book firm that places with libraries to see my "book."

Dennis L. Lythgoe Brockton, Mass.



A. B. CARLTON,

Chairman.
A. B. WILLIAMS,

J. A. McCLERNAND,
G. L. GODFREY.
A. L. THOMAS.

A. I. THOMAS.

A. I. THOMAS.

Commission.

Office of THE UTAH COMMISSION,

Salt Lake City, Ylah, March 4, 1887

The oath required by the L4th Section of the Act of Congress of March 3, 1887, as a condition precedent to registration and voting, may be formulated as follows:

Territory of Utah,	}
County of	\
I,	being duly sworn (or affirmed), depose and tears of age, that I have resided in the Territory of Utah for
hereof; and that I am a native bo	is precinct for one month immediately preceding the date orn (or naturalized, as the case may be) citizen of the United ; that I am;
years of age; that my place of b	usiness is; that I am a
and that I will support the Constitutereof, and especially will obey the Act to amend Section 5352 of bigamy and for other purposes," 1887, entitled "An Act to amend Statutes of the United States, in March 22, 1882, in respect of twill not, directly or indirectly, aid said crimes defined by Acts of Coadultery and fornication; *[and I mist, and that I have not been com "An Act to amend Section 5352 bigamy and for other purposes," athereof, of March 3, 1887, and that of the other sex].	tution of the United States, and will faithfully obey the laws the act of Congress approved March 22, 1882, entitled "An the Revised Statutes of the United States in reference to and that I will also obey the Act of Congress of March 3, an Act entitled an Act to amend Section 5352 of the Revised reference to bigamy and for other purposes," approved the crimes in said Act defined and forbidden, and that I for abet, counsel or advise any other person to commit any of the counsel or advise any other person to commit any of the counsel or advise any other person to commit any of the counsel or affirm) that I am not a bigamist or polyganizated of any crime under the Act of Congress, entitled of the Revised Statutes of the United States, in reference to approved March 22, 1882; nor under the Act amendatory to I do not associate or cohabit polygamously with persons de and sworn to before me this
	A. D. 188
	n. D. 100
Congress; but the classes of persons therein nam	included in [brackets] from the asterisk * to the end, is not included in the Acts of ed are expressly disqualified as voters by the United States laws; and the Supreme Court their discretion, recuire an oath, as one of the meass of ascertaining the outlifications of

By order of the

UTAH COMMISSION,

A. B. CARLTON,

Chairman.



THE COMING OF THE MANIFESTO

Kenneth W. Godfrey

An investigation of the factors which brought about the Manifesto which in turn officially terminated the practice of, if not the belief in, plural marriage helps to illuminate at least one process by which revelation comes. Political and social pressure was brought to bear upon Church leaders, financial sanctions seemed on the verge of destroying the Kingdom of God, and men sustained as prophets, seers and revelators reasoned, sometimes even argued, and sought the Lord in prayer for an answer to their difficulties. That God responded by confirming the rightness of what they had already concluded becomes apparent from the writings of Apostle Abraham H. Cannon, whose diaries bring additional insight to bear upon some very difficult problems. These diaries prompt and perhaps justify another article that has to do with the most publicized of all Mormon practices, plural marriage. Kenneth W. Godfrey is Director of L.D.S. Institutes and Seminaries for Arizona and New Mexico. He lives in Tempe, Arizona, with his wife and family, and holds the Ph.D. in History from Brigham Young University.

Our story probably begins as early as 1831. The place is not Utah but New York, yet the setting is somewhat the same because a Mormon prophet was involved in initiating plural marriage, just as one was responsible for its cessation. Another common factor was communication with God, first from man to God and then from God to man. Though the questions were different they were at least the same in that plural marriage was the subject of both prayers.

According to President Joseph F. Smith, W. W. Phelps and Orson Pratt, Joseph Smith seriously considered plural marriage as a part of the restitu-

tion of all things as early as 1831.¹ In fact there is some evidence to support the contention that he might have taken his first plural wife later that same year. Yet largely because he was somewhat reluctant to teach such a doctrine to his "Puritan" followers, polygamy was probably not practiced by a significant number of Saints before they settled in Nauvoo. In that city a number of the Prophet's more devout followers actually married more than one woman.²

Andrew Jenson, one of the most revered of the Latter-day Saint historians, officially acknowledged that Joseph Smith had taken twenty-seven wives before his death.⁸ Fawn Brodie lists forty-eight women allegedly sealed to the Prophet and at least one other writer believes he can document over sixty plural wives taken by the Mormon leader while he was alive.⁴ That Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, John D. Lee and many others had entered into plural relationships before the Saints left Nauvoo is a fact attested to by scholars of Mormon history. Still the first public acknowledgment that Mormons not only believed in but practiced plural marriage did not come until after the Saints had migrated west, the year being 1852.

One of the Quorum of the Twelve who had only reluctantly entered plural marriage himself when first asked by the Prophet, was selected by Brigham Young to preach the first public discourse upon this subject. The "Gauge of Philosophy." Orson Pratt, declared that plural marriage was a part of the restitution of all things, was sanctioned by the Bible and was indeed a commandment from God to His latter-day Saints. He would later have a debate with the renowned Reverend Doctor J. P. Newman, arguing that the Bible did indeed sanction plural marriage. Following this public announcement by Apostle Pratt, plural marriages were entered into with a kind of haphazard spirit depending, as shown by the historian Stanley Ivins, upon how vigorously the federal government was, at that moment, trying to stamp out the practice.⁵

^{&#}x27;William W. Phelps to Brigham Young, August 12, 1861, Unclassified Letter File, LDS Church Historian's Library, hereafter referred to as ULF. An article also appeared in the Warsaw Signal, April 25, 1844, which talked about the early beginnings of plural marriage.

For documentation of this statement see Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Causes of Mormon, Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois 1839-1846," Ph.D. Dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1967, pp. 90-111.

^{*}Andrew Jenson, The Historical Record, Vol. VI, May 1887, copy in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Church Historian's Library. Keith W. Perkins, a student of Mormon history, in his master's thesis quotes a letter from Wilford Woodruff to Andrew Jenson in which President Woodruff says, "We do not think it is a wise step to give these names to the world at the present time in the manner in which you have done in this 'Historical Record.' Advantage may be taken of their publication and in some instances, to the injury, perhaps, of families or relatives of those whose names are mentioned." Wilford Woodruff to Andrew Jenson, August 6, 1887, Wilford Woodruff's Letter Books, LDS Church Historian's Office, found in Keith W. Perkins, "A Study of the Contributions of Andrew Jenson to the Writing and Preservation of LDS Church History," Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, May 1971, p. 40.

^{&#}x27;Stanley P. Hirshson, The Lion of the Lord (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), pp. 184-223.

⁵Stanley Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," Utah Historical Quarterly, 35 (Fall, 1967), 309-321.

For the next ten years Mormons defended, preached and practiced plural marriage without official governmental interference. There was no law proscribing such activities in the territories of the United States. Then, following another Utah petition for statehood in 1862, Congress passed what became known as the "anti-bigamy" act which made the practice of plural marriage against the law. This forced Latter-day Saints to re-examine their relationship to the law of the land. Such scriptures as "for this purpose [that no man should be in bondage one to another] have I established the Constitution of this land, by the hands of wise men whom I raised up unto this very purpose, and redeemed the land by the shedding of blood," and "now, verily I say unto you concerning the laws of the land, it is my will that my people should observe to do all things whatsoever I command them," must have been thoroughly studied by thoughtful leaders. Yet there seems to have been no thought given at this time to abandoning plural marriage. At least one scripture declared that any law of man which might be different than constitutional law "cometh of evil" (D&C 101:78-80; 98:4-5) and the Latter-day Saints were almost unanimous in their belief that the anti-bigamy law was a law of man. Furthermore, an official declaration that the Saints had voted to accept as binding upon themselves read that only governments and laws which preserved life, free exercise of conscience and private property should be obeyed (D&C 134: 2, emphasis added).

Possessing a very strong belief kindled by their leaders that the laws of God have to be obeyed even if they conflict with the laws of men, Latter-day Saints were prepared to go to prison if necessary in defense of their convictions. But first they were desirous of testing the constitutionality of the anti-bigamy law. Proceedings began with Elder George Reynolds as the defendant.⁶ Shortly after the death of Brigham Young the United States Supreme Court finally handed down its decision in which the anti-bigamy law of 1862 was declared to be constitutional.⁷

This action put the Saints in a very difficult position because of their belief in the sanctity of the Constitution and the declaration of their scriptures that the law of the land should be obeyed. The Supreme Court had declared the law of the land to be contrary to the Mormon matrimonial system. Thus each Latter-day Saint was in effect forced to decide whether one part of the Constitution, namely the first amendment guaranteeing religious freedom, was superior to a decree of the Supreme Court regarding an act of Congress. His dilemma was further increased in intensity because some of his scriptures plainly stated that in obeying the law of man and/or the Constitution he obeyed God ($D \dot{v} C$ 58:21). For example, the Apostle Paul instructed the saints of his day to render obeisance to the "powers that be" because they were ordained of God (Romans 131:1).

⁶B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, V (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), p. 19.

¹Joseph Fielding Smith, Essentials in Church History (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1966), p. 576.

The Mormon's concept of continuous revelation came to their rescue as did their conviction that a prophet led the church to which they belonged. Almost immediately, speaking on this relevant subject, the President of the Twelve Apostles, John Taylor, declared in the Tabernacle:

Do we propose to govern or interfere or rebel against the government of the United States? No, we do not. That is not in the program. Has God given us a law? Yes! Have they made a law to punish us for obeying His law? Yes. All right we will get along and do the best we can, but we won't forsake our God and all those who are willing to abide by the law of God signify it by raising the right hand.8

The vote was unanimous as Mormons declared their allegiance to God. With increased governmental pressure attempting to force obedience, President Taylor became even more clear regarding the moral obligation of Latter-day Saints. Again in the Tabernacle he declared, "Polygamy is with us a matter of revelation, also a natural law which rules the lives of millions on this globe. One sure thing is that we will not surrender polygamy" (DNW, 12 Nov. 1880). Though they were to imprison or shoot almost all Mormons, he further stated, "there will always be somebody left to carry on the work" (DNW, 25 Feb. 1885). Then again on February 1, 1885, he very forcefully proclaimed that he wanted to obey the laws of the nation but that no man had a right to control his or any other Latter-day Saint's conscience, and his conscience told him to obey God. He further declared that no honorable man would disobey, and that he would die if necessary in defense of the truth (Stout, pp. 229-230). However, President Taylor admonished the Saints to refrain from coming out in open rebellion against the "powers that be." Rather they were advised to do right, fear God and observe His laws, but with no "bloodshed, no rendering evil for evil" (DNW, 25 Feb. 1885).

Yet in spite of such bold talk in public there was uneasiness on the part of many Mormons in continuing to live in opposition to declared constitutional law. Some members of the Church would not enter plural relationships because of government sanctions against them. And even Saints like President Taylor and Bishop F. A. Brown, who declared, "If the conscience of the American people is outraged at my conduct by obeying what my conscience prompts me to be my duty to my God . . . they are welcome to it" (Deseret News, 15 July 1885), seemed to believe very sincerely that the anti-polygamous law, in spite of the court ruling, was a violation of the First Amendment and was consequently invalid. Many Mormons apparently believed the Lord would intervene on their behalf and that those who opposed them would soon be overthrown.9

By 1886 it was becoming more obvious that something would have to be done regarding either the law or plural marriage, or both, or the Saints

⁸As quoted in the *Deseret News Weekly*, May 12, 1880, p. 227 (hereafter referred to as *DNW*). Also quoted in Wayne Stout, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Wayne Stout, 1967), p. 127 (hereafter referred to as Stout).

⁹Gustive O. Larson, "Utah and the Civil War," Utah Historical Quarterly, 33 (Winter, 1965), 55.

would have to leave the United States. In spite of many "anti-government" speeches both before and after the Civil War, most Mormons were loyal and held strong positive feelings toward the Nation. Yet colonies were begun in Mexico and Canada, where there were no official rules against plural marriage.

The alleged revelation given to John Taylor on September 27, 1886, provides further evidence that there was a growing concern regarding Church teachings which made it necessary for the Saints to disregard the laws of the land. Outside pressure was causing President Taylor considerable anxiety as he contemplated the fate of his people. So great was his concern that he made the subject again a matter of prayer. In response to his petition the Lord told him, "All commandments that I give must be obeyed . . . unless they are revoked by me or by my authority." The Lord then reiterated for the benefit of President Taylor that He had revealed the New and Everlasting Covenant and had spoken in great plainness to the Saints regarding this covenant. In the last part of this revelation the Lord, through President Taylor, said, "I have not revoked this law, nor will I, for it is everlasting, and those who will enter into my glory must obey the conditions thereof . . ."10

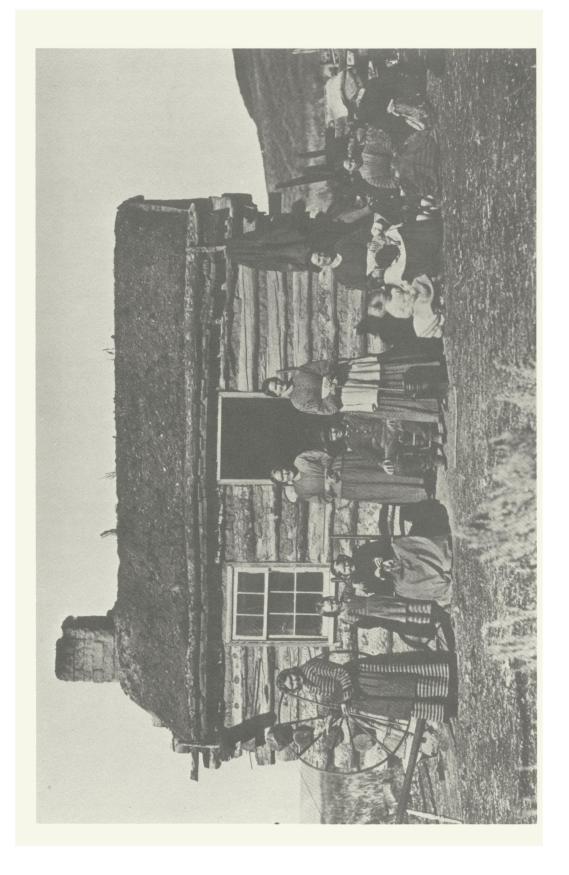
President Taylor was thus assured that for the present at least it was the Lord's will that the Saints continue to oppose human law and that they contract and live in plural marriage relationships. So strong was his and other Church leaders' convictions regarding plural marriage at this time that George Q. Cannon, President Taylor's first counselor, would later say, "We believed that it was right to carry this principle out; and if we had been sentenced to be killed, I suppose some would have felt that it was right for us to submit to that rather than yield the principle" (DNW, 21 Nov. 1891).

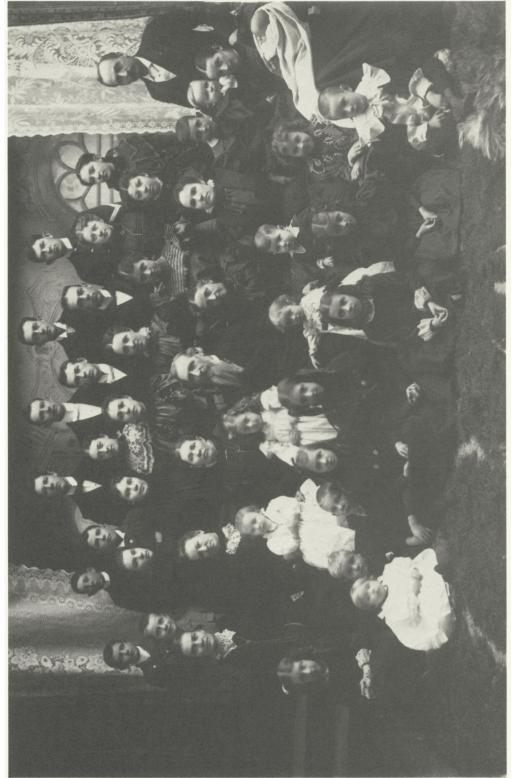
By July 26, 1887, President John Taylor was dead. In the last year of his life, while still on the "underground," he married at least six additional wives in a further attempt to keep the law of God. Wilford Woodruff soon took his place as prophet, seer and revelator for the Church. The Edmunds-Tucker Act became law, the Church was disincorporated, the Perpetual Emigration Fund was confiscated, and further sanctions adopted in an attempt to squelch plural marriage.

Though a polygamist himself, Wilford Woodruff was concerned about the worsening situation. Discussions within the hierarchy of the Church regarding plural marriage were frequent as Church leaders pondered not only

¹⁰Dean C. Jessee, "A Comparative Study and Evaluation of the Latter-day Saint and the Fundamentalist Views Pertaining to the Practice of Plural Marriage," Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959, p. 101. The family of John Taylor claims that the revelation referred to above was found in the prophet-leader's papers and the original given to the Church historian. Since that time it has not been available to the public and the Church Historian allegedly has declared that it is not in the Church Historian's Library. However Dean Jessee concluded in his study that it is highly probable that such a revelation does exist. The alleged revelation published in full in the Jessee thesis was taken from a publication of the so-called Fundamentalists called *Truth* (July 1949), 41-43.

[&]quot;When governmental opposition to plural marriage became so strong that it was dangerous for Church leaders practicing plural marriage to appear in public they often, traveling under assumed names, went into seclusion. The term "underground" is frequently used by historians to describe such measures to avoid arrest.





Two contrasting views of polygamy. Above, a man and his five (or six) wives, supposedly near Farmington, Utah, 1888. Below, the wives and children of President Joseph F. Smith.

their own fate but also the fate of the Church. Joseph F. Smith, President Woodruff's first counselor, was still in hiding using assumed names, and George Q. Cannon was free only because he had served a prison term in defense of his beliefs.¹² His mind "considerably exercised in regard to the prospect of the people being taxed under the liberal rule to such an extent as to ruin them," Wilford Woodruff gave the matter even more thought and prayer.

Then the Idaho test oath became law, 18 and was declared constitutional by a hostile Supreme Court. In writing about a Mormon's conviction under the Idaho law the editor of the Deseret News Weekly declared:

The appellant violated no law. He did not practice bigamy or polygamy, nor did he advise anyone else to do so. It does not appear that he even believed in these practices and certainly he repudiated them by his oath. He simply belonged to the Mormon Church and claimed his right to worship in that Church. This act undertakes to say that he shall not do this without forfeiting his franchise, one of the most sacred rights of citizenship.¹⁴

Because of such stringent laws which sought to circumscribe the Saints, President Woodruff, as early as 1889, secretly ceased giving permission for plural marriages to be solemnized. That he held the keys and had the right to do so was not seriously disputed by members of the Mormon faith.¹⁵

By January of 1890, in the words of the editor of the Deseret News,

As the lines have been drawn tighter in Utah the Church has quietly sent out its colonies into Arizona and New Mexico. These colonies have carried with them the dogmas and practices of the Church, and put them into force as soon as they are strong enough. (DNW, 4 Jan. 1890)

¹³A large number of old Mormon families have a picture of one of their relatives in prison garb in company with George Q. Cannon. Most of these pictures have become cherished family relics.

¹⁸Idaho adopted a law which in essence made it impossible for a Mormon to vote in an election; a similar law was proposed for the Utah Territory. See Gustive O. Larson, Outline History of Utah and the Mormons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1958), p. 214.

¹⁴DNW, 11 Jan. 1890. The name of the editor is not given nor attached to the article.

¹⁵An interesting entry is found in the diary of L. John Nuttall, dated November 24, 1889. Nuttall writes: "The President W. W. told me that he had made the subject a matter of prayer . . . [and] he asked me to copy [the] revelation which he had received. I did so. Having heard Bro. J. W. Young[']s reasoning I felt very much worked up in my feelings. For I did not feel that as a Church we could assume the position in regard to Celestial Marriage which he seemed to desire. [W]hen Pres. Woodruff commenced talking to me this evening I felt he had become converted and actually trembled[,] for I knew such had not been Pres. Woodruff's feelings before. [B]ut as I wrote at his dictation I felt better all the time and when completed I felt as light and joyous as it is possible to feel, for I was satisfied that President Woodruff received the word of the Lord."

Because of Dean C. Jessee's fine study it is now possible to report that the only revelation recorded and preserved dated November 24, 1889 says nothing directly about plural marriage. The one revelation given to President Woodruff on that date is in the handwriting of Nuttall and is reproduced in full in Jessee, pp. 172-173. Perhaps of greater significance is Nuttall's attitude and feelings which seem to indicate that J. W. Young, at least, was arguing for the cessation of plural marriage; this points out that such discussions must have been occurring in the leading councils of the Church. Unfortunately the Abraham

By the spring of 1890 the leaders of the Church had launched a three-pronged approach in an effort to save the Church from what they considered to be "evil and designing governmental officials." First, they had officially refused to sanction or perform any additional plural marriages; second, colonists were sent to Arizona, New Mexico, Old Mexico and Canada to establish a stronghold where possible future plural marriages could be performed; and third, in accordance with the wishes of the chief leaders of both political parties, but more particularly the Republican Party, an attempt was being made to balance the party system in Utah. 16

By June, in a further attempt to quell political fears, President Wood-ruff declared that no plural marriages would be permitted to occur "even in Mexico unless the contracting parties or at least the female has resolved to remain in that country."¹⁷

Latter-day Saints believe that revelation can come in open vision, by means of divine declarations, and various other ways, including "the still, small voice." But Mormons have never held that such "dramatic" means of receiving communication from on high exhaust the divine possibilities. Frequently they have adopted a pragmatic approach, believing that if a chosen course works and good results accompany it then it must be approved by God. It would seem that Wilford Woodruff, in his initiated policy, was indeed being pragmatic and such a course was beginning to bear "good fruit." It could be argued effectively that he had also embarked upon a course and was now seeking divine confirmation. George Q. Cannon reported that in the beginning "the spirit . . . at no time . . . seemed to indicate what should be done (A.H.C. "Diary," 10 Apr. 1890). Such a declaration by the eloquent Cannon would suggest that the Lord was allowing the Brethren to struggle and grow as they worked toward an acceptable solution to their problem.

As pressure from the United States government continued in some quarters, at least a few of the Saints argued that if plural marriages had in fact been discontinued in secret that a public declaration of such a policy should indeed be given so that the effects could be fully utilized. Though the pressure mounted no such declaration from President Woodruff came until the fall of 1890.

H. Cannon diaries have nothing significant under the date November 24, 1889. J. W. Young at this time was having serious marital problems with one of his wives and the whole matter may relate to this rather than plural marriage.

¹⁶See J. D. Williams, "Separation of Church and State in Mormon Theory and Practice," *Dialogue* (Summer, 1966), 30-54, and Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Prophets in Politics," unpublished paper, Brigham Young University, 1966.

[&]quot;Abraham H. Cannon, "Diary," 10 Apr. 1890, copy in possession of the author. Hereafter referred to as A.H.C. "Diary."

¹⁸The welfare program of the Church or the Home Evening Program might be cited as examples of this kind of approach to revelation. See William E. Berrett, "Revelation," an address given to seminary and institute instructors meeting at Brigham Young University (June 27, 1956), also quoted in James B. Allen and Richard O. Cowan, Mormonism in the Twentieth Century (Provo, Utah: Extension Publications), pp. 91-92. See also Joseph F. Smith, Home Evening With Suggestive Exercises and Explanations (Salt Lake City: Granite Stake of Zion, 1909), copy in possession of the author.

Repeatedly, if we may believe President Woodruff and George Q. Cannon, the Mormon Prophet prayed about plural marriage and "besought God... to show him what to do" (A.H.C. "Diary," 6 Oct. 1890). Then on September 24, 1890, "the spirit came upon him," and in response to that spirit the Mormon leader wrote a news release, now called the Manifesto. The Spirit had confirmed that it was right to prohibit the further contracting, publically at least, of plural marriages. Left unresolved was what to do with existing polygamist families. (See A.H.C. "Diary," 19 Oct. 1891.) Thus the Lord had only answered the immediate question and had left the Saints to resolve the other problems that resulted from such an answer.²⁰

¹⁹Wilford Woodruff left Salt Lake City for California on September 3, 1890 and did not return until September 21st. He makes no reference to the Manifesto during his California trip. The first hint is his reference to a meeting on an "important subject," on September 24, 1890. This information was supplied by Dean Jessee of the Church Historian's Office.

²⁰It has frequently been asserted by the so-called Fundamentalists, that the Manifesto was not a revelation at all. In support of this view Thomas J. Rosser tells the following story. "On Monday morning, the 25th [May 1908], our conference priesthood meeting was held, which lasted four hours and a half. After the preliminary exercises, President Charles W. Penrose asked if any of the brethren had any questions on their minds, and if so, to present them now before he delivered his message to us.

Up went my hand.

'Alright,' he said.

'President Penrose,' I said, 'I have heard much discussion on the principle of Plural Marriage, some saying that it is withdrawn from the earth and that the Manifesto was a revelation from God. Dear President, what about this case?' Then I related to him the testimony of the Sister, which is written above, and then I asked him, 'Why should she receive this testimony if God has withdrawn that principle from the earth, and the Manifesto is a true revelation from God?'

President Penrose then rose to his feet, scratched the side of his head with his right hand for a moment or so, then stretched out his right hand toward us and said: 'Brethren, I will answer that question, if you will keep it under your hats. I, Charles W. Penrose, wrote the Manifesto with the assistance of Frank J. Cannon and John White. It's no revelation from God, for I wrote it. Wilford Woodruff signed it to beat the Devil at his own game.' See Thomas J. Rosser to Mr. Robert C. Newson, August 4, 1956. Copy in possession of the author.

In a letter to the author, Dean C. Jessee, a member of the Church Historian's staff, wrote: "Your reference to a meeting in Treararchy, Wales at which Charles W. Penrose allegedly stated that he wrote the Manifesto, and the reference to the Wolfe testimony in the Smoot proceedings where he claims that John Henry Smith told him that the Manifesto was a trick to beat the devil at his own game are both frequently used quotations of the Fundamentalists.

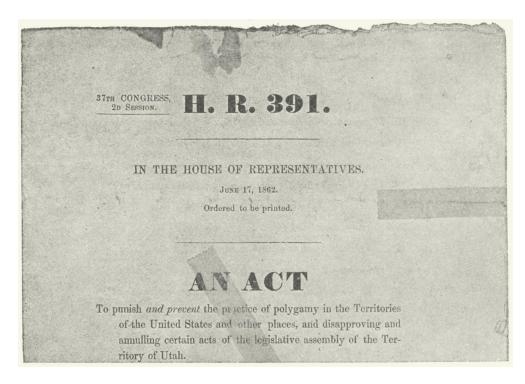
"In checking the matter, the Church has no minutes of a meeting in Treararchy, Wales on May 25, 1908. Neither do we have a journal of Charles W. Penrose. Aside from statements in Fundamentalist literature I have been unable to find any reference to this meeting in Wales, or anything that would verify the Wolfe testimony in the Smoot investigation.

"To my knowledge there is no written revelation upon which the Manifesto was based."

Dean C. Jessee [signed]

(Dean C. Jessee to Kenneth W. Godfrey, April 5, 1968, copy in possession of the author.)

Wilford Woodruff himself recorded in his diary on September 25, 1890, "I have arrived at a point in the history of my life as the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints where I am under the necessity of acting for the temporal salvation of the Church. The United States government has taken a stand and passed laws to destroy the Latter-day Saints on the subject of polygamy, or patriarchal order of marriage[,]



In the October 1890 general conference of the Church the news release was read, approved unanimously according to the record, and defended (Deseret News, 7 Oct. 1890). Scripture was called to reinforce the Mormon leader's action and a very thoughtful, carefully worded defense by George Q. Cannon persuaded some reluctant Saints to follow their sustained leader.

More than a year later President Wilford Woodruff, in a public address given in Logan, Utah declared that the Lord had shown him in vision and by revelation what would have taken place if he had not stopped plural marriage:

Had we not stopped it, you would have no use for Brother Merrill, for Brother Edlefsen, for Brother Roskelley, for Brother Leishman, or for any of the men in this temple at Logan; for all ordinances would be stopped throughout Israel, and many men would be made prisoners. This trouble would have come upon the whole church, and we should have been compelled to stop the practice.²¹

and after praying to the Lord and feeling inspired, I have issued the following proclamation which is sustained by my counselors and the twelve apostles."

The diary of Marriner W. Merrill states that the Manifesto was read and approved by all the brethren, September 24, 1890, before it was released to the press. Melvin Clarence Merrill (ed.), Marriner Wood Merrill and His Family (n.p., 1937), p. 127. In defending his issuance of the Manifesto, President Woodruff boldly declared, "I say to Israel, the Lord will never permit me nor any other man who stands as the President of this Church to lead you astray. It is not in the program. It is not in the mind of God. If I were to attempt that, the Lord would remove me out of my place, and so he will any other man who attempts to lead the children of men astray from the oracles of God and from their duty" (Wilford Woodruff, General Conference, October 6, 1890).

²¹G. Homer Durham, ed. *The Discourses of Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Inc. 1969), p. 215.

The Mormon leader went on to explain that work for the dead, which is such a vital part of Mormonism, would have been brought to a halt and then he vigorously affirmed that the Spirit of the Lord was very much with him and that the Church was still being led by God.

The foregoing represents how the leaders of the Church were defending the Manifesto, but what were the Mormon leaders saying in private? With the recent acquisition of the Abraham H. Cannon diaries it is now possible to accurately report what was taking place in meetings of the Council of the Twelve Apostles.

Back as early as December 1889 Cannon had reported in his diary that great pressure was being applied to the leaders of the Church to make "concessions to the courts in regard to its principles." Neither of the President's counselors, he reported, would advise him "as to the course he should pursue." After laying the matter again before the Lord, Wilford Woodruff reported that he had been told not to "yield one particle of that which he had revealed and established" (A.H.C. "Diary," 19 Dec. 1889). A feeling of peace, Cannon said, pervaded the room as the Mormon Prophet spoke (A.H.C. "Diary," 30 Sept. 1890). Little else is said about the difficulties besetting the Saints by Cannon until September 30, 1890, six days following the press release previously mentioned. In the meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve held that Tuesday, the issuance of the press release was freely discussed by those present. That discussion is reported in detail in Cannon's diary under the date of September 30, 1890:

Lorenzo Snow, President of the Quorum of the Twelve, said,

The Lord will not permit any faithful Saint to lose blessings through the acts of the wicked or because of circumstances over which the individual has no control. . . . A faithful man, though he may have wayward wives and children, will doubtless have the power hereafter given to him to bring them up to a plane of happiness and exaltation, even though he may have no influence with them here . . . the very important law concerning baptism is at times suspended as in the case of married women whose husbands are opposed to the gospel, or minors whose parents object to the baptism of their children. I can see great good and no inconsistency in this matter.

Next Apostle Franklin D. Richards said,

In the issuance of this Manifesto I see good and those who possess the spirit of revelation will understand and appreciate it . . . When President Woodruff prepared his Manifesto it was without the aid or suggestions of his counselors. He took a clerk and went to a room alone where under the spirit of inspiration he dictated the declaration he desired to make and their [sic] was only one slight change made therein when it was read to counselors Cannon and Smith. Therefore I feel it is from the Almighty.

John W. Taylor, who fifteen years later would be excommunicated from the Church because of his private disregard for the Manifesto, then spoke,

When I first heard of this Manifesto I felt to say Damn it, but on further thought I felt it was not right to be so impulsive. I do not yet feel quite right about it. My father when President of the Church sought to find a way to evade the conflict between the Saints and government on the question of plural marriage but the Lord said it was an eternal and unchangeable law and must stand. President Woodruff lately received an encouraging revelation in regard to this principle, and now I ask myself, 'Is the Lord a child that he thus changes?' Yet I feel the Lord giveth and the Lord can also take it away.

Moses Thatcher, who just six years later would be dropped from the Quorum of the Twelve because of his refusal to sign the political manifesto,²² remarked,

In 1885 Pres. Taylor made a public statement in the tabernacle that he had taken a course to place himself outside the reach of the law and many persons then felt and do feel that he was seeking to avoid the issue, just as many now feel concerning Pres. Woodruff's declaration. Yet I feel that both of these brethren acted exactly right. The law of God is not abrogated, but in order to try the nation which has long called us traitors of the practice of this principle, the cause of offence is removed, so that the law makers and people may be left without just excuse in their prosecution of the Saints...

Francis Lyman was the concluding speaker that day and is quoted as having said.

I endorse the Manifesto, and feel it will do good. I design to live with and have children by my wives, using the wisdom which God gave me to avoid being captured by the officers of the law.

The meeting then adjourned until ten o'clock the following morning, October 1, 1890. Prayer was offered by Quorum President Lorenzo Snow, and then John H. Smith said,

I cannot feel to say that the Manifesto is quite right or wrong. It may be that the people are unworthy of the principle and hence the Lord has withdrawn it. I cannot consent to cease living with my wives unless I am imprisoned.

Heber J. Grant stated,

I approve of the Manifesto and feel that it is merely a public announcement of the course which we had already in our private councils decided to adopt and this being the case I do not know why we should not receive any possible benefits which may arise from a public declaration. Yet I believe greater trouble will follow the

²²The political manifesto was published and discussed in an article by President Wilford Woodruff in *DNW*, 19 Oct. 1895.

prominent Elders in the Church through the adoption of this policy. If this plan had been accepted in the beginning of this crusade the nation would not have been tried as it has been and would not be worthy of condemnation such as it now merits, hence I feel this has come at a proper time.

Anthon H. Lund, who was the concluding speaker, said, "Sickness prevented my being here yesterday to my sorrow. I feel that the Manifesto will result in good — I gave my approval to what has been done.

That apostles also struggle to understand when decisions are made, is evidenced by the statements quoted above. Not one declared that God had spoken to him and said the Manifesto was of divine origin. All attempted to understand the revelation penned by their President's clerk by use of their reason, and they were at this time at least struggling with themselves and Deity for confirmation. That such confirmation was slow in coming is attested to by the fact that two members of the quorum were forced to resign, fifteen years later, for their refusal to abandon plural marriage.

CONCLUSIONS

In the coming of the Manifesto we have seen the struggles of men as they attempted to encounter Deity and learn His will. We have witnessed a Prophet of God, as external pressure was applied, reason, pray and try in various ways to save those Saints who followed him from sorrow, suffering and anguish. Willing to defy the laws of the land only after they had been slowly tested through the courts and then quietly submitting to the decrees of those courts as they marched to prison, the Saints proudly witnessed that they would obey God rather than man. Theirs was not a wild, passionate, violent rejection of law but rather, for the most part, a peaceful determination to worship God in the way they believed to be proper.

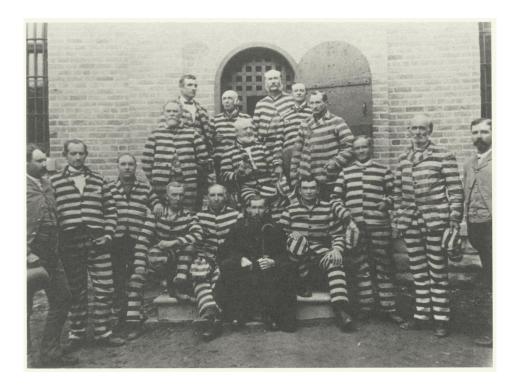
Then, as pressure became even more severe, as it became clear that other doctrines of the Church, including work for the dead, would suffer a serious setback unless something was done, a faithful, devoted president of the Church, with some counsel, decided upon a three-pronged plan to win governmental favor; he then struggled with himself and with Deity to know whether such a plan was approved or not. When divine confirmation came a public declaration was penned and the world heard, but for many months did not fully believe, that the Mormon Church had abandoned plural marriage.

The Lord, George Q. Cannon argued, basing his argument upon scripture, would reward the Saints for the desires of their heart and no condemnation would result, because environmental pressure forced them to abandon the practice of plural marriage. The Lord will at times change true doctrines and practices if his covenant people are subjected over long periods of time to external pressure. But it should be noted that the Saints did not officially abandon plural marriage until the Lord had spoken, as a further indication that they obeyed God rather than decreed congressional law, which

their Prophet deemed to be evil. Not willing to condone violent demonstrations against unjust laws, they quietly, legally at first, refused to submit until a revelation from God told them they could do so with divine favor.

It is not strange that some Mormons never would abandon plural marriage given the Latter-day Saint concept that each man has the right to confirm divine decrees of the prophet, seer, and revelator. Some Mormons, including two members of the Quorum of the Twelve, apparently either did not receive or were unable to recognize divine confirmation and hence continued to engage in plural relationships. Other Saints either received confirmation or were glad to follow the counsel of their prophet-president without going to the Lord in prayer.

Coming largely in response to specific needs, revelation from God is truly a happening. There can be no greater experience whether it be the grand, expansive dramatic vision of an apocalypse or the sublime calm and peace that comes as the mind of God communicates with the mind of man. That such experiences come after struggle, thought, frequent hours of prayer, is humbly attested to by those Latter-day Saints, including the author, who are convinced that Wilford Woodruff and his successors are indeed prophets of God.



A polygamist group portrait taken at the Utah State Penitentiary, Sugar House, during the late 1880's. George Q. Cannon is seated in the center, holding a bouquet of flowers.

WANTED: ADDITIONAL OUTLETS FOR IDEALISM

Gary B. Hansen

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Youth is not a time of life; it is a state of mind. We grow old only by deserting our ideals.... You are as young as your self-confidence, as old as your fear, as young as your hope, as old as your despair.

-Samuel Ullman

That we are living in a time of dynamic social, economic, and technological change, the results of which have had and will continue to have a profound and lasting impact, is readily apparent to all of us.

There appears to be an almost inexorable trend towards complexity and enormity in the size of organizations, both private and public. This tends to increase the distance between the individual, whether employee, customer, or taxpayer, and the top echelons in any organization to which he might belong. In addition, there has been a steady increase in urbanization, resulting in large aggregations of people living and working in megalopolies of awesome proportions. The introduction of automation and cybernetics into ever greater spheres of our working lives has also threatened the security and feeling of self-worth of many people. More and more of us are subject to replacement and redundancy. Finally, there has been a phenomenal increase in the avail-

ability and use of sophisticated communication and transportation facilities, the result of which is to bring the rest of the world and its problems literally into our living rooms.

The above trends are also having considerable impact on the family as an institution. There has been a steady erosion into the traditional province of family functions and sphere of influence. The education and training of youth, for example, is now largely performed by agencies external to the family. Children today also look outside the family for most of their social and recreational activities and work experiences.

How are we as Latter-day Saints faring under the impact of these changes? More specifically, what is the impact of the modern trends enumerated above on the principle of "Zion-building" or the building of the "Kingdom of God on earth"?

The literal establishment of "the city Zion, the New Jerusalem," and "the gathering" of the Saints thereto in preparation for Christ's Second Coming, were doctrines of paramount importance and central to the faith of early Latter-day Saints.¹ Much of their behavior, particularly their steadfastness and determination in the face of extraordinary persecution and affliction, cannot be understood without knowledge of these doctrines. Certainly the fulfillment of these goals was uppermost in their minds throughout the Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and pioneer Utah periods of Church history.

An examination of the Mormon family and its relationship to the principle of Zion-building is an appropriate point of departure for this discussion. A Mormon child in the mid-19th century was reared in a home where all the members were engaged in the common cause of making a livelihood and literally building the kingdom of God on earth. The family in rural Utah probably had received a direct call from President Brigham Young to settle in Sanpete County, Bear Lake County, or whatever; consequently, all the family members knew the purpose and importance of their being in a particular location. They were engaged daily in cooperative endeavors with many of their neighbors, similarly "called," in order to make the desert "blossom as a rose." Irrigation projects, land clearing, the establishment of grist mills and procurement of lumber for homes and buildings all required the utmost cooperation among the pioneer settlers. Since there was little money, an individual often labored for no reward other than the knowledge that he was improving the community and that his children, if not he, would reap the benefit of his toil.2

The call to preach the Gospel for an extended period also served as a direct outlet for the idealism of young Latter-day Saints. Those who heard and accepted the message of the Restored Gospel were encouraged to participate in the gathering by emigrating to Zion where they could help build the Kingdom under the direction of the Prophet of the Lord. After com-

^{&#}x27;The location of the City of Zion was revealed to the Prophet Joseph Smith in July 1831. The event is recorded in the *Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 57.

²Joseph Fielding Smith, Essentials in Church History (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 13th Edition, 1953), pp. 566-567, 569.

pleting a proselyting mission the young men returned home to resume the temporal work of building Zion.

Reading the diaries of the pioneer Saints and the history of their era impresses one that they had a deep and abiding conviction of being engaged in a cause greater than themselves — one which provided a focal point for their idealism and all-encompassing channels for its expression. Young people reared in that period appear to have had little difficulty in making the transition through adolescence into adulthood. They were not considered as a separate group with special problems, i.e., "teenagers," but as an integral part of an important and dynamic enterprise. As they matured their idealism was fully engaged in "The Cause" and their transition smoothly made into adulthood and its accompanying responsibilities. Every member of the family was inducted into the labor force when he was old enough to help with the work of the family enterprise. Throughout the entire period young people were constantly made aware of their roles and responsibilities in the primary and continuing task of building the Kingdom of God on earth.

What, we might ask, is the pattern of life experienced by Latter-day Saint youth today? First of all, the Church remains firmly committed to the importance and centrality of the family. Our renewed emphasis on Home Teaching and Family Home Evening attests to this fact. This renewed emphasis also indicates a growing concern over the deterioration and assault on the family by many forces in urban society.

Unlike their 19th-century forebears, the 20th-century Mormon family probably lives in a city or its metropolitan suburbs. Even Utah, which was once mainly a rural society dominated by agricultural activity, has been largely transformed. The present situation is one of high urbanization and increasing industrialization. Over 75 percent of Utah's 1,000,000 population now lives along a 100-mile strip called the Wasatch Front, which consists primarily of the adjacent metropolitan areas of Ogden, Salt Lake City, and Provo. Of even greater significance is the fact that less than one-third of the Church membership now resides in Utah. The remainder are scattered throughout America and the entire Free World. Most of these members also reside in urban areas. Many of them are recent converts to the Church and, consequently, without the benefit of a "pioneer heritage," which at its very least includes a spiritual legacy of the Zion-building concept. Furthermore, unlike most present-day American Mormons with middle-class values and standards of living, large numbers of these newly-converted, non-American Mormons live in restrictive or less well-developed societies — many of them lack the educational, economic, and cultural opportunities most of us take for granted.

Today's typical Latter-day Saint will have a hard time maintaining the Zion-building zeal of yesteryear. He probably works in an office or factory located in an urban setting; his wife may work as well. Their children are no longer needed for farm work, unless you can call a quarter-acre of lawn in back of a suburban Salt Lake City home a farm. The family members will most likely belong to several clubs and organizations in their community

in addition to the Church and its auxiliaries. Because of the availability and pervasiveness of modern communication and transportation facilities, today's Mormon family should be knowledgeable (though in fact, few are) about what is happening in their own neighborhood and community and in the rest of the nation and world as well.

Even though some present-day LDS youth may work on newspaper routes, as baggers at the local supermarket, tending children, or on construction crews during summers while at college, such activity is seldom seen as part of a family enterprise — much less Zion-building activity. Furthermore, the out-of-school activity of these young people ranges across the whole gamut of Church-school-and-community-sponsored events, each with different purposes and publics — and with different types of influences on their lives.

The exhortations and sermons which the Mormon family receives throughout their church attendance and the additional contact which they have with the Church and its members are now a much smaller part of the totality of their range of information, experience, and activity.

Young members today still have the "iron rod" of the Gospel as an anchor which provides meaning and purpose to their lives in these times of change. And like their 19th-century counterparts they still have the opportunity to render missionary service in a variety of locations throughout the world for specified periods of time. But on their return home it is much more difficult for them to become integrated into adult roles which encompass the same degree of literal Zion-building experience and zeal than it was for their great-grandparents. Even those few who may follow their fathers into the family firm or farming operation can no longer view their work as a kingdom-building activity which is as compelling and all-absorbing as was possible in an earlier era.

The majority of today's LDS youth faces a lifetime of employment in one or more large, secular, impersonal, bureaucratic enterprises, whose primary purposes are the maximization of profits, organizational maintenance, and efficiency of operations. While this is undoubtedly not as bleak as it sounds, and for some this type of employment offers adequate opportunity and rewards, it is difficult to visualize anyone receiving the same degree of inspiration and spiritual uplift — or feeling the compelling sense of mission and purpose — from working in huge modern enterprises as did those pioneers who colonized St. George, Manti, Colonia Dublan, and Cardston. Most employment today taps little religious and social idealism and provides even less identification with Zion-building. (The participation of Jews in the building of the modern state of Israel is a notable exception.)

We cannot and should not attempt to return to a romantic Arcadia of yesteryear — to the pattern of rural life experienced by the 19th-century Mormon pioneers. We all enjoy — and rightly so — the comforts and conveniences which are the fruits of industrialization, urbanization, and "progress." But the entire lifelong energies of the pioneer Saints were, of necessity or design, directly focused on their religious goals. There was little distinction between their temporal and spiritual activities; their temporal activities

were very much a part of and supportive of their spiritual activities, and were directly focused on building Zion preparatory to the Second Coming of Christ.

One of the most striking changes in the pattern of life experienced by 20th-century Latter-day Saints, as compared with our 19th-century predecessors, is the transformation of our concept of Zion. Whereas it was once thought of as encompassing all temporal (i.e., economic and social) and spiritual elements in a unified whole and was expressed in terms of concrete programs of colonization and community building in the relative seclusion of the valleys of the mountains, this is no longer the case. It is now thought of by many church members (or at least appears to be) as being strictly a religious or spiritual principle. While our concept of Zion may still be the same today as when first espoused by the Prophet Joseph Smith, the world in which we live has undergone vast and fundamental changes from that which existed in his day. We now live in a pluralistic society which has undergone a dramatic process of secularization. Yesterday's Zion is now merely one of fifty American States. Consequently, the immediacy and importance of Zion-building to individual Latter-day Saints has become increasingly remote; and our opportunity and ability as a Church to carry it out has become correspondingly more difficult.

The fascinating story of the decline of the "Great Basin Kingdom" and the assimilation of the Mormon Commonwealth into the larger American society has been brilliantly told by Leonard J. Arrington.⁸ One of the consequences of this transformation, according to President Joseph Fielding Smith, has been the decline of the principle of cooperation among our membership.

Today it is largely the case, that a man who gives his time even though it be in some labor from which he is bound to receive his portion of the reward, feels that he must receive some monetary remuneration for the time he spends. And thus, due to the modern labor conditions and the closer contact with the outside world, with all its customs, theories and established institutions, this excellent and neighborly custom of co-operation, which existed in the days of President Brigham Young, has almost entirely passed away.⁴

Today we seem to have to work at creating a pale shadow of this former substance; and we do so in the face of an increasing number of obstacles and handicaps. Our proliferation of activities and creation of numerous auxiliaries appear to be, in part, an attempt to artificially recreate the climate and conditions which were once experienced more directly by our progenitors. This response is perhaps necessary and inevitable, given changed circumstances, including loss of the isolation, homogeneity, and rural character of Zion. Nevertheless, one wonders whether our present efforts and programs are adequate and suitable in meeting today's challenges. One ob-

⁸Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latterday Saints, 1830-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958).

⁴Smith, pp. 569-570.

serves the rising indices of delinquency and deviant behavior exhibited by our own youth as well as by their non-member peers, and by the burgeoning catalog of social ills clearly evident around us, both at home and abroad.⁵

Should we limit ourselves to preaching against the all too visible effects of today's serious problems, or do we also need to work at eliminating the underlying causes? If our ideals and divinely inspired precepts for living in these latter days are in danger of being blunted and weakened through our absorption into secular, pluralistic societies undergoing momentous change, perhaps it is time to take stock of our position. Do our present patterns of social and economic life in affluent America enable us to maintain our vitality and dynamism — and identity as a "peculiar people" — and at the same time effectively contribute to the achievement of our ultimate goals as Latter-day Saints? Could we improve our performance in achieving these goals, both individually and collectively, by modifying in any way our existing social, economic, or other relationships?

For example, are there any alternative approaches or paths open to Latter-day Saints which might be used to harmonize our secular lives more closely with the religious concept of Zion-building than is now possible through a short period of missionary service followed by "millions of meetings"? Are there activities which could offer our youth more productive and challenging alternatives through which they might develop and express their idealism and enthusiasm than through civil disobedience, "pot," and spynets? Are there activities more substantial than "make-work projects" and "supervised recreation" available to our youth? Are there suitable alternatives through which young Latter-day Saints can make meaningful contributions to the solution of some of the pressing economic and social problems of our day? And could not the underlying foundation for such endeavors be of sufficient breadth and scope so as to offer comparable experiences to LDS youth, whether they live in Salt Lake City, Los Angeles, New York, London, Paris or Melbourne?

Of course, the possibilities for Kingdom-building in the physical sense, i.e., the ability of Latter-day Saints to build communities and create a society in Western America which encompasses more humane, social and economic relationships than exist in the larger secular society, may well have ended with the "closing of the frontier." It is entirely possible that our goals today are meant to be those of conserving individual morality and the maintenance of spiritual testimonies in a declining society, and not meant to include those of remaking society on a more utopian model of Zion. If this is the case, then the primary emphasis on our own internal group affairs and withdrawal from the larger society and its problems (other than for such activity as is necessary to earn a livelihood) in anticipation of the events long foretold by the prophets, is the proper course. If, on the other hand, there is still good reason for us to continue the temporal work of Zion-building as we once did

^{5"}Youth Arrests Soar 60% in Decade," Salt Lake Tribune, July 28, 1963. Also documented on KUTV's special report on the use of drugs in Utah, aired during the summer and fall of 1967.

in our heroic period, then the search for opportunities of service for our youth is both necessary and desirable.

Latter-day Saints do, of course, have many opportunities to serve in common experiences of inestimable value. One of the most unique features of the Church is the opportunity it affords the members to continually work together in many different capacities and by so doing to foster a strong sense of community and solidarity. Much of this activity today, however, is limited to the spiritual realm, and within the parameters of a member's relationship to his ward or branch as an ecclesiastical and social unit. There is concern for the temporal welfare of the individual member within a ward, but there is little extension of this to the larger community, e.g., the secular pursuits of members and their relationship to the concept of Zion-building.

Missionary work offers to those who participate a tremendous opportunity to serve and to grow, in addition to the direct benefits of proselytizing new members. The building-missionary program is another form of activity open to a limited number of young people. Although less publicized, it has been quite successful in tapping the idealism of youth as well as fostering in a direct sense the notion of Zion-building. This program has been particularly effective in offering young men, some unable to fulfill a proselyting mission, an opportunity to serve at a time when they needed a healthy outlet for their energy and enthusiasm. It has been especially successful in foreign areas such as the South Pacific and Europe.* In both proselyting and building-missionary activity the young people are engaged in activities which can be directly ascribed as Zion-building; their idealism and enthusiasm are focused and channeled into action programs of considerable importance and lasting value.

Unfortunately, the return or release of these youth leads them many times back into secular activities and pursuits which no longer elicit any idealism or selflessness. For many returned missionaries the decompression to life at home is a traumatic experience. Some are let down and thoroughly disillusioned when they compare the example of the Savior - whose precepts they have been attempting to live and expound for several years with the seeming inconsistencies and hypocrisy which they encounter in the lives of their co-religionists as well as the "Gentiles." There appears to be an aura of purposelessness and materialism which penetrates even the lives of their families and friends. (It is rather incongruous for the returned missionary to contrast the picture of the suburban middle-class American Mormon - with his beautiful home, two-car garage, color TV, boat, swimming pool, and mountain cabin - with that of an impoverished Indian member in Central or South America or with the young British or European Saint who lacks an opportunity for higher education because of the restrictive nature of his country's educational system.)

A considerable number, perhaps the majority, of returned missionaries soon lose their idealism and sense of immediacy and closeness to "the work

^{*}The building missionary program has been terminated since this paper was written — in a complete reorganization of the church building program.

of the ministry." Their senses are dulled by the mesmerizing tempo and enticing attractions of affluent suburban living — and the accompanying struggle necessary to keep up with or ahead of the Joneses. In either case their firsthand experience with Zion-building soon fades into the memories of missionary reunions and Treasures of Truth books. The idealistic nurture they receive henceforth accrues only from routine church activity. It is usually nominal and must be balanced against the increasing weight of corrosive forces pressing in upon them in their secular affluent communities. (For some, more direct calls to church service as mission presidents, building missionaries, etc., may follow in later life, and for a limited number seminary and institute teaching offers an outlet for their continued full-time service.)

At present, there are no Church-sponsored organizations or outlets on the campuses of institutions of higher education attended by LDS youth (including BYU) to help our young people focus their idealism and desire to serve on meaningful, constructive Zion-building activities. While the nascent LDS Student Association is attempting to meet the needs of LDS college students in the social and cultural realm, there has not been an indication thus far that these functions will be expanded to include Zion-building action programs in the socio-economic realm. There is, unfortunately, no LDS analogue (domestic or foreign) to the Cornell-Brazil Project in which LDS students can participate.⁶

The fading of what was once a graphic vision of the New Jerusalem (Utopia) on this earth and the demise of specific economic development programs to bring it into existence may not appear to be too great a loss to some Latter-day Saints in affluent, sophisticated 20th-century America. But without such vision clearly before our youth in these times of international crisis, pervasive moral decline, and social indifference — and without constructive ways for them to exercise their faith and to engage their idealism and enthusiasm in remaking the existing world in that image — they and the rest of their generation are in danger of becoming frustrated, disenchanted, and rebellious. Or, at the other extreme, they may become very materialistic, self-seeking and apathetic. Examples of both types can be found in the Church today. Preachment of moral purity unless followed by individual morality and programs of social betterment smacks of hypocrisy. And young people today are quick to compare the lives and social deeds of their elders with their high-sounding moral rhetoric.

The Cornell-Brazil Project is a program of education and social action developed for students attending Cornell University by the Cornell United Religious Work (CURW). Each year a selected group of students undertake language and other relevant studies during the academic year in preparation for a summer project of social action and field experience in a community located in the northeast of Brazil. They spend the entire summer gaining insight into the problems of the indigenous people and engaging in a specific development or research project. After they return to Cornell they have an additional seminar to evaluate the summer's experience. Many of these students, upon the completion of their college training, accept full-time employment and undertake careers which will enable them to utilize their skills in additional Zion-type building activities.

ZION-BUILDING IN THE 20th CENTURY

Some of the LDS youth who have had their horizons broadened and latent idealism awakened through missionary service (plus those who are similarly motivated through other experiences or circumstances) gravitate to professions which are oriented toward progress, development, and improvement. This is true of many returned missionaries who are especially aware of and concerned about the problems and needs of members of the Church in those areas in which they have labored. These missionaries have seen firsthand how new members of the Church, including large numbers of youth, accept the exhilarating ideas of progress and a better way of life as set forth in the Gospel plan and try to implement their new-found hopes and desires in the society in which they live. They see also how these new members are often faced with hardships, frustrations, and bitter disappointment which may seem insurmountable, since they, without help, cannot resolve the problems which confront them. The society in which they live usually does not share their vision; it does not provide them with opportunities for self-improvement. Quite often it may treat them as an unpopular minority with all the handicaps which this implies.

Many missionaries feel a love and concern for these people, and this often impels them to choose occupations which will prepare them to help resolve such problems. While their initial concern may be for the members of the Church in the mission in which they served, they soon become aware that many of these same problems are faced by members of the Church all around the world; that the problems of Mexico and South America have much in common with the problems in England and New Zealand (and even in America).

As these young Latter-day Saints, many of them specializing in those fields which will prepare them to help people in underdeveloped areas of the world, work and prepare in their chosen fields, and as they consider the implementation of the things which they are learning, an increased desire emerges to be of assistance to our own members in less-developed areas. All of this presents them with a problem: They would like to be helpful but they do not know how to go about it. Practically speaking, there appears to be no place within the Church for them to utilize their professional skills, talents, and dedication in providing assistance to our own members in less well-developed areas. The only avenues presently open to them appear to be government-sponsored assistance programs (e.g., AID, Peace Corps, VISTA, Job Corps, etc), private or (non-LDS) church-related organizations (e.g., International Voluntary Service, American Friends Service Committee, World Education Incorporated, etc.) and college- or university-related programs. The work of many of these organizations may benefit Church members in their particular areas as part of the larger or specific groups for whom the programs are designed to assist, but there is no comparable program or agency which offers similar opportunities for service among Latter-day Saints.

The question raised is whether the Church can or should play any significant role today in tapping and helping to channel the idealism, energy,

and expertise of our youth in tackling the problems faced by our own members (not to speak of their neighbors) in the realm of educational, economic, and social development, wherever they happen to live, as was done extensively by our 19th-century progenitors in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and Utah? In asking this question I am not in any way implying that the Church is not already doing a great deal to help our less fortunate members. We have the Indian Student Placement Plan, the Welfare Plan, and the extensive educational programs in several areas of the world. The point is that most of the existing programs do not reach the hundreds of thousands of new Church members who have joined the Church outside of America in the last decade. Few of these new members in foreign lands are in a position to take advantage of BYU or the benefits of Welfare Square. Emigration to America, once a natural and inevitable step in missionary work, is no longer the solution either, due to changes in Church policy and U. S. immigration laws. Zion now encompasses the whole world and Church members abroad are being encouraged to remain at home and help build up the Church in their native lands. Recent changes in U. S. immigration policy have removed the national quotas of former years and in their stead placed educational and skill qualifications designed to attract the most desirable emigrants regardless of their country of origin.

Foreign Church members possessing low educational and skill levels can no longer look to America as an unqualified "land of opportunity" combining both social and economic advancement to all comers. Regardless of their personal desires they must now remain at home until such time as their own nations or the Church provide them with sufficient educational facilities and opportunities to enable them to surmount these new immigration barriers. Without such assistance they may constitute a growing body of second-class members of the Church when compared to North American members with our middle-class values, standard of living, and educational opportunities.

The existence of thousands of Latter-day Saints who are not middleclass Americans, having access to the educational and other benefits which we enjoy, would seem to call for new programs to meet their needs based on bold thinking. What are some of the possibilities? A program or programs might be designed:

- 1. To foster the principles of cooperation as practiced by the Saints in the 19th century and to help recreate and amplify the Zion-building concept in the minds and hearts of our membership and particularly our youth through meaningful firsthand development experience among our own members.
- 2. To provide a healthy, socially desirable and very useful outlet for the energy and idealism of our youth, exercised through their direct participation in worthwhile projects.
- 3. To make a substantial contribution toward helping our less fortunate members to obtain the blessings and benefits of progress and self-improvement in their lives and in their own societies so that they too might enjoy a better life in the present as well as eternally.

As an example, it might be feasible to create a Mormon Peace Corps or LDS Development Teams, composed of teachers, doctors and nurses, economists, agronomists, businessmen, cooperative specialists, community developers, etc., which could work with the Indian Saints in Peru and Guatemala, or the members in Brazil and the Philippines for an extended period of time, helping them to improve their economic and social conditions. Perhaps we could even help some of our members colonize the virgin lands now being opened by the governments of several Latin American nations by utilizing principles of cooperation developed in Pioneer Utah.

LDS schools might be designed and operated as part of a comprehensive and integrated Church program encompassing missionary work, educational uplift, and economic and social development. Perhaps an "Agricultural Institute" could be established in Latin America to provide education and vocational training for young members living in rural areas.

In many of these same countries there are large numbers of Latter-day Saints living in urban areas. There is also considerable on-going migration from the rural areas into the cities. Secondary-vocational schools coupled with a program of small business development assistance, could make a real contribution toward improving the economic opportunities of young urban Latter-day Saints.

Even in Great Britain and Western Europe there are thousands of young Latter-day Saints lacking opportunities for higher education and technical training due to the restrictive nature of their national systems of education. The establishment of several LDS colleges or educational and vocational guidance centers in strategic locations could help these young people immeasurably to improve their economic and social opportunities.8

The development of substantive education-social action programs for LDS college students under the auspices of the LDS Student Association or other groups, on the model of the Cornell-Brazil Project, also offers a means of involving our youth in a cause greater than themselves. Such programs, if tied into an international LDS development scheme, could provide LDS youth with constructive and desirable outlets for their energy and enthusiasm. They would also help our youth overcome their ethnocentric tendencies and give them a world view and better understanding of the Restored Gospel as it transcends national and cultural boundaries.

The above examples are, of course, only a few of many possible approaches to the educational, economic, and social problems faced by Latterday Saints in underdeveloped countries. The development of creative solutions to each of them could also include opportunities for service to Church members with requisite skills. With a little thought many more ways of assisting members in these countries could be devised, ways which could at the same time enable greater numbers of young Latter-day Saints than is

For a fuller exposition of the educational needs of LDS youth abroad and some possible solutions see Gary B. Hansen, "Vocational Guidance: A New Role for the Church Educational System," unpublished manuscript, January 1967, 18 pp.

^{*}Ibid.

presently possible to energize their idealism through participation in a variety of programs of Zion-building.

What better way could there be to demonstrate that the Gospel of Christ, as represented through His Restored Church, is a Gospel of hope and a way of life; that we are striving to fulfill the commandment of the Savior to love our neighbors as ourselves by going beyond mere preachment and platitude? What better way to demonstrate a constructive and viable alternative to the revolutionary "isms" being propounded as the panacea to the peoples of the underdeveloped nations of the world? What better way to enlist the support and channel the idealism of a generation of young people reared in an age of uncertainty, affluence, and materialism; an age where one's identity is lost among the numbers of an IBM card or in a multiversity, and for which the only recourse for many seems to be protest marches and LSD. LDS youth are indeed fortunate to have their testimonies of the Gospel as an anchor in these troubled times. But they too are subject to the same dehumanizing forces as their non-member peers and are in equal need of additional constructive outlets for their idealism. A renewed emphasis on Zion-building could offer one such outlet.



A PROGRESS REPORT ON DIALOGUE

With *Dialogue* in its sixth year, it seems appropriate to report to you, our faithful readers, on the progress and problems of the journal.

The initial response, demonstrated that *Dialogue* met a real need in Mormon society. Scholarly journals are rarely self-supporting. They are ordinarily subsidized by universities or by professional societies. *Dialogue* has no institutional attachments or subsidies. Yet its subscription list reached 3500 within its first six months and soon rose to above 5000.

Since that time, subscriptions have fluctuated between 5200 and 6400, with over-the-counter sales adding an additional average circulation of 750. Eighty percent of the present subscribers are renewals. Useful comparisons covering somewhat the same markets might be the Western Humanities Review, supported by the University of Utah, with approximately 1000 subscribers, the Utah Historical Quarterly, organ of the Utah Historical Society, circulating to approximately 2300 members, and BYU Studies with approximately 2500 subscribers.

Responsibility for the publication of *Dialogue* has been borne almost entirely by a small of group of Mormon faculty and students, all volunteers, at Stanford University. Members of the Board of Editors around the nation have donated their time in evaluating manuscripts, and printing and mailing have been directed by volunteers in Salt Lake City. In fact, for the first three years all efforts were volunteer. Since 1968, some clerical assistance (averaging about \$300 per month) has been purchased at Stanford. No other personnel have been paid, and the income from subscriptions has been expended entirely for printing, mailing, and office supplies.

Until recently the subscription revenue met all costs of publication with a small margin. Then, despite cost cutting efforts, the national inflation pushed costs above current revenues. Because of the almost total dependence on volunteer help, publication gradually fell one issue behind schedule.

Although *Dialogue* has profited from the generous support of an outstanding group of editors, writers, artists, and academicians, it has lacked the advice of experienced business managers. The managing editors were grateful, therefore, when they were recently approached by several individuals of impressive administrative experience in business, government, and universities who were committed to *Dialogue's* objectives and concerned for its future. These men and women have volunteered to serve as a Board of Trustees:

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40/DIALOGUE: A Journal of Mormon Thought

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Robert A. Rees	Assistant Professor of English, University of California, Los Angeles	Sunday School and Primary Teacher

The first act of the new Board of Trustees was to examine *Dialogue's* financial standing. Discovering that publication and mailing costs were exceeding subscription revenue and that subscription rates had not been increased since 1967, it reluctantly but necessarily directed an increase to \$9 for new subscriptions and \$8 for renewals.

The Trustees are strongly committed to the view that *Dialogue* should meet the market test. That is, if its subscribers are unwilling to pay the full cost, it should not exist. However, there has never been a substantial advertising campaign. Since marginal costs are substantially below average costs, raising the circulation will bring down unit costs. Therefore, the decision has been reached to appoint unofficial *Dialogue* representatives throughout the stakes, wards and missions of the Church, and to undertake a selective mail solicitation. The Trustees have also decided to accelerate the publication schedule to bring the delinquent issue into correspondence with the calendar. Publishing three issues within a short time span will of course result in a temporary situation of costs accumulating more rapidly than revenues.

Once the publication schedule is current and the number of subscriptions raised to 10,000, *Dialogue* will be on a firm financial foundation. A full time business manager, in addition to clerical help, can ease the burden borne so long by the unpaid editors, leaving them to devote full attention to editorial policy and to maintaining and improving the quality of the journal.

Many of you have been approached for funds and assistance in promoting subscriptions. But we have it on the highest authority that we should all "be anxiously engaged in a good work and do many things of our own free will." Even if you have not been personally contacted, therefore, you will hopefully understand that contributions at this time are both needed and appreciated.

The Board of Editors will continue to contribute their time in soliciting, choosing, and editing articles while the Board of Trustees provide financial counsel and policy. With your help, far more people will have access to a journal committed to the exploration of Mormonism's value in a philosophically floundering world.

Garth L. Mangum Chairman, Board of Trustees

A NEW LOOK AT REPENTANCE

Edited by Douglas Alder

With this slender sheaf of essays, DIALOGUE turns to a reflection on applied religion. Through the experiences shared here, all Latter-day Saints may possibly find a dimension of themselves illuminated, whether they be saint or sinner.

First, the despair of sin is captured by a youth in anguish. Where he leaves off another picks up and describes her self-renewal. Two confidantes, a psychiatrist and a bishop, reflect on their role as catalysts in the process of repentance. Brief encouragement from an apostle captures the warmth awaiting us following true repentance. A review of a new book by another apostle tells us of the miracle of forgiveness. Finally a Mormon theologian unfolds the profundity in repentance that may have eluded our routine understanding.

DESPAIR

By An Anonymous Returned Missionary

What is it that makes a man degenerate? Is it possible for a man to descend so far that he would rather die than try to return? These questions have stuck in my mind as I sit at the edge of the gutter ready to drop into the vast nothingness of the sewer.

As I look back on my life and realize how I got here, it is not with any great surprise: there are so many routes to the gutter. Some people are

born here; some people arrive from the pillared porches of large mansions; some come from the steps of the chapel; and others come straight from the pulpit itself. People have been known to skirt the gutter, jumping in and out, almost certain to stay eventually. Occasionally a person will sit on the curb for years just looking at those in the gutter, empathizing with them and what goes on there, then suddenly jump into the gutter himself. I think this was what happened in my case.

It doesn't really matter how a man gets here because once he is caught up in the current, it becomes very difficult for him to turn back. This is where a man loses his reason. He no longer has control over himself. Soon he finds his life ruled by his habits and the greed of other people. As he travels down the gutter he will eventually come to the grilled entrance of the sewer at the end of the street. If he is a small person, and most men who find themselves in this situation are, he will drop into the sewer. If he is a big enough person, he might hesitate. He will have a little time to think before the current completes its erosion and he falls.

Here I am — caught on that grille, and I wonder what will happen to me. What does the wino feel after years of looking at life through a bottle? How much strength does a man like that have? Can he break out of the steel bottle by which he feels he is surrounded? What happens to the hard-core junkie? At first the world must look good through the hypo. As time passes, the junkie is on a one-way street — down. He is faced with a decision to let himself go or to try to kick the needle. The latter alternative would send him through the worst kind of hell a man can endure. But how much can a man endure?

Many people stuck on the grille solve their problem with sleeping pills or a razor blade. Others let themselves fall into the lifelessness of the sewer. How many have made it back? What is true happiness, if there is such a thing?

Right now I am looking up the street and down into the sewer through a bottle of booze. I guess I thought it might help to replace the happiness of the morality of which I robbed myself and the last bit of worldly success that my peers rightfully took from me. My alcohol is not a crutch. I have no more crutches. I don't even have enough money to eat right now. I am alone. On my trip down the gutter I chose to be alone. Now I have no choice. What I do, I will do alone. I got myself here.

Sometimes I feel as if I were enclosed by a steel ball. No escape; there is nothing I can do. Inside I feel rage. I want to take an axe and destroy. I want to destroy the world, the world that dealt me such a dirty hand. I sit in a dirty hotel room looking out the window. I hear a radio — it cries a deep, soulful blue sound. I see the people walk by, way below. I see someone I could easily be in a few years, months — tomorrow: He walks unsteadily, attempting to stop the few people he passes at this late hour. They pass with an effort to avoid him. A door slams shut. The music fades into mellowness.

I feel despair - empty.

THE LONG WAY BACK

By L.T.

The repentance preached in Sunday sermons today and shouted by ragged old men carrying placards proclaiming the end of the world has more meaning to me than the medieval condemnations inciting fear of great hell-fire in the hereafter. But even more, I have come to see repentance as a unique process which allows a person to actually change, improve, and continually progress.

At twenty-one, I'm a veteran of a major repentance. The realization of the value of repentance came to me in none other than the infamous Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco. I had gone there desperately searching for the answers to "Why?" I religiously read my Zen, shared huge happy smiles with the locals, and experimented with all sorts of drugs. The above ingredients added up to a potpourri of terrible confusion, and one morning I found myself in a crashpad coming off methedrine. I was in an emotionally frantic state and I was very alone.

I can remember the uncontrollable crying fits and then the screaming out to the Lord for help. I practically challenged Him and cried, "Just look at me; I'm supposed to be one of your children and I've never even had the chance to learn about you." I meant this because I had no religious upbringing to speak of. As far as I had been concerned, Jesus Christ and the concepts of heaven and sin were all myths. Although I felt a combination of anger, disappointment and fear, something inside of me persisted. I guess that something was my ability to reason.

I figured that if I could sink into such a state (I wouldn't have believed that even if someone had forewarned me), then there was a good possibility that all the things I had heard about there being a Heavenly Father were true too. And if they were true, it was my only hope. I just kept saying, "Please, please help me."

The answer didn't come in a flash of light, nor did a winged messenger whisk me away to safety. But a message did come. I had calmed down for a few seconds; my mind cleared and something told me that if I wanted help, I would have to change and I was the only one who could do it.

I was then given the key of repentance which opens the door of divine knowledge. The Lord promised, "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." So I asked again, "How?"

And once more I thought clearly and the answer that I received I was not quite prepared for. In Haight-Ashbury I had no real friends, no protection from harm. In fact I was sick, hungry and frightened. I would have given anything to be safe at home with security and love.

I knew then that the only place that could afford me this comfort was

Salt Lake City. This was a complete turnabout because I had disliked this community so intensely. My mother had died when I was ten and my father when I was fifteen. Two weeks before he died, however, my father sent me to Salt Lake City to stay with a good friend of his who was a bishop. I was completely lost; I was in a place where everything was quite different from the atmosphere of Southern California where I had been raised. Besides that, I wasn't a Mormon.

Soon I moved into the home of the bishop's brother and started high school. These people became my guardians and things were great for a while. But I was constantly pulled apart by the two cultures, which resulted in my rebellion. It started with small things like smoking and drinking, and then progressed to a general dislike of the Latter-day Saint people and their standards. My indulgence, of course, finally brought me, at the age of twenty, to the painful and terrible state of near drug addiction. For me to be thinking of Salt Lake City now was a switch. Yet I had to change, not just my habits but my attitude as well. So I was bound and determined to return to Salt Lake City to seek advice from my guardians and to find out more about the Mormon Church.

I was hesitant to leave California though, because something uninviting waited for me on my return to Utah. Seven months earlier I had been released from the Utah State Hospital where I had spent a couple of months recovering from a toxic psychotic reaction to LSD. Upon my release, I had told everyone I knew what I was doing and that I had no intention of ever taking drugs again. Apparently, I was wrong once more, and, believe me, I was very ashamed of my position. It would take a bit of courage to face this but I knew that I had to.

I arrived in Salt Lake City a week later, hitchhiking part of the way. I went to my guardian's home and they knew immediately that something was wrong, because I was so thin and pale and a bit incoherent. After I told them my story, they asked me if I planned to return to the hospital. I defensively said no, but I knew I had to. I was pretty sick and there was no other way to get better.

The hardest part about going back was to face the doctor who had spent so much time working with me. All I had to show for it was that I had come back even worse than before. That hurt both of us. But he said to me, "Well, we'll just have to try harder," and that was a start.

I don't remember too much about the first couple of weeks, because I went through severe depression. They gave me tranquilizers to slow me down. An attendant told me later that she had had to sit up with me for two nights because they didn't know if I was going to make it.

The hospital, in essence, was not a pleasant experience, although a very necessary one. For the first four months I was in a psychotic state suffering from paranoia, delusions, and guilt feelings. A psychosis is a very tricky state of mind. Everything is turned inside-out. I had somehow twisted everything around to refer to me, and that was pretty uncomfortable and confusing, as you might imagine. I really believed everyone was talking about me, includ-

ing people on television and radio. The physical suffering was slight compared to the amount of mental anguish I suffered. Perhaps the real physical suffering was the confinement and regimentation, rising at 6 a.m. and going to bed at 10 p.m., signing off the ward and signing back on again, therapy sessions, ward meetings, etc. I wasn't used to all this discipline but it did keep me motivated, mostly to get well enough to leave.

Then gradually, through therapy, I began to come out of my shell and work out my problems. I had to get to the root of the trouble and discover why I felt the way I did. I call this the "remorse period" or second step of repentance. The first step had come in San Francisco when I realized the need to change.

After six months, I began to come back to my old self, but thankfully to the better half. I had made a lot of progress and I was soon going to be baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. During my hospitalization I had studied the gospel and asked many questions. The answers I received about the Church of Jesus Christ made sense. Such things as the restoration of the Church and its ordinances, strong family unity, and eternal progression were things I could work with and understand. Through much prayer and study I received a strong testimony that the Church was true.

My baptism came and with it new strength. I made plans for a summer job, a place to live, and college in the fall — a new start. These physical and emotional changes constituted my repentance.

And the reformation goes on forever. I am continuing to grow both spiritually and mentally and also beginning to enjoy some happiness from my efforts. Besides that, I feel as if I've learned much and understand more about myself and other people.

In the area of understanding I sometimes worry about my "family" inside the Church more than my brothers and sisters outside the Church. For example, I was living in the girls' dorm last quarter where I frequently heard my good LDS friends condemn someone for smoking. Of course, I wondered what they would think of me if they knew about my background with drugs. On their faces I read not "I'm concerned," but "I condemn." I try to be patient when this happens because I realize my friends in the Church have been sheltered and are only striving to do right. But my tolerance level must always be in check because, to me, a thoughtless statement is dangerous if left uncorrected.

One thing I do know for sure is that in the realm of repentance an open mind is necessary. To say it another way, people simply must gain the capacity to love one another in all circumstances. This above all is truth to me. Although I've overcome all the selfish things like smoking, drinking, and drugs, I must now be willing to change things like attitude and behavior so that I can truly love and understand and care about each person in this world. If during each day of our lives we use repentance, the ideal becomes more of a reality; the path becomes more clear as we walk in the footsteps of our Savior.

ENCOUNTER

Douglas Alder*

That night I was sustained as bishop many students came to offer their congratulations. One couple added, "Bishop, we're engaged!" I had not yet learned to catch that hint which actually meant, "Keep your eye on us — be open and concerned. We'll be in for a recommend interview eventually and, well, we're struggling."

Some weeks later a knock came at our door. This time the engaged young man, let's call him Bruce, was alone. "Bishop, I've got to see you." Again I was so new that I hardly felt the mantle of trust that Bruce was bestowing upon me. So I stepped outside, thinking that a stroll around the block would help Bruce reduce his tension. But it was soon apparent that Bruce's anxieties were justified. So we returned to the privacy of my study.

So here it was — that first encounter with the role of Judge in Israel. How different from my expectations! I had known sin before. It was just that I was unprepared to understand.

Memories of missionary days flooded back into my mind. I had wandered through a secularized, irreverent, crass society where imagination was the only limitation to sin. But that had been somewhat understandable. Those people had been depressed by their war-torn deprivations. Only a few had mustered the courage to try for baptismal worthiness. Night after night I had returned to the cold apartment more convinced than ever that the wages of sin are death. In so many cases the light had gone out of these people.

Then there had been the years in the armed forces. Daily demonstrations of humanity's willful depravity imprinted the conclusion on my mind that living the Gospel commandments was the superior way of life. There I discovered that men who took any faith seriously were islands of virtue. I felt a kinship with them which transcended doctrinal differences. Recent encounters with depraved public morality in the urban East — in entertainment, advertising and increasingly available pornography — had depressed me even as a mere traveler.

These were some of the experiences I carried into my new calling. They made me an advocate of obedience. But those years of being repelled by sin did not lead me beyond a superficial prescription for those who had disobeyed.

As I looked at Bruce, unwillfully the thought dominated my mind: "Why did you do it?" It was that automatic attitude of pity for the disobedient. Inside I could feel a fury kindling. How utterly inexcusable this was. An infraction of the covenant of sexual morality is so serious — especially for

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someone who had willingly made sacred commitments. Bruce had been raised in a stalwart family. He had the advantages of the full church program in a Mormon community. He had survived the rebellion of adolescence and had entered and served worthily in the mission field. I thought, "Why did you do it? You were fully aware of the temptation and the consequences. Yes, I was engaged too, and know the impelling drives of passionate love — but Bruce, that should have been no surprise to you. You should have planned in advance not to linger where you knew you could become weak."

As I pondered Bruce's predicament, I felt that his mission experience had been similar to mine. He, too, had felt that there was something wrong with people who sinned grievously. "At least they aren't like me," the missionary often thinks. "I'd never do that. I wouldn't dare. And besides, though I'm very human, I genuinely don't want to."

How had Bruce forgotten that burning resolve?

To this point I had said nothing openly. Bruce's agony continued to pour out. I tried to be a good listener. But it was hard not to act disgusted. Evidently my restraint encouraged the trust Bruce brought with him — he talked freely though with intense anguish.

The issue began to broaden. It seemed to me that in the mission field Bruce had succumbed to a seductive eliteness. He had felt the selectness of being a dedicated servant, but the Gospel remained something to be carried to others by the "chosen" servants. Neither Bruce nor admittedly I had seen ourselves as sinners — at least of the grievous sort. Somehow we underestimated our potential for sin.

As I looked further into those youthful eyes, I saw that Bruce had been rehearsing this interview for days. He was fully aware of the gravity of the situation. He had screamed at himself, "Do you realize what you've done? Do you remember your covenants? What have you always claimed and taught? Do you recall this scripture and that and yet another? How could you?" I saw this in tears streaming from Bruce's eyes, perspiration beading on his forehead.

I thought of ten things to say. But it was evident that Bruce had been saying them for days. They were all judgmental and they all tasted sour. What I could say seemed trite and useless. All I could come up with was blame.

New questions invaded my mind: "Why are you here, Bruce? Where did you find the courage to face such censure? Why didn't you subvert the system? You wouldn't need a temple recommend interview for many months yet. By then you could have yourself convinced that you were worthy again. It would be devious but it wouldn't hurt like this encounter."

I began to see some hidden depth in Bruce. He wasn't like those sinners I had pitied for years. He knew right from wrong. In reflection I had to admit that maybe they also had known. It was I who was quick to judge, dismiss and run from what I didn't want to see. But Bruce's commitment to the right screamed for action. Now he was deep in the wrong. Anguish

bound him. He had felt sick to his stomach for days. He could not run this time. Bruce was hiding nothing — leaving himself no escape.

Part of my world began to crumble. Evidently returned missionaries are not unusually fortified. Perhaps there is no natural superiority of the Saints. There was something divine in Bruce — in hundreds of Bruces — because he simply would not submit to the justifications that entered his mind. He had to do something. He believed I would know what.

Now not only the ordination but the mantle had been placed upon me. The ordination came from an apostle — but the mantle came from the anguished faith of a simple youth.

My mind finally cleared. A new freshness stirred within me. The question was not, "Why did you do it?" nor "Why did you come?" but, "Where do we go from here?"

Bruce and I had each given the "Call to Repentance" missionary lesson often. So we started there. How different it seemed this time. Our hearts swelled as we both began to grope toward the Gospel's first base. I saw in Bruce the fortitude that I had missed in everyone else before — largely because I hadn't known where to look for it. Memories poured in on me of my own lost opportunities to repent.

I saw in Bruce a weakness, yet also rare strength. It was the power to admit, to confess, to do an about-face instead of justifying the wrong. The answer to the question, "Why are you here?" came with Bruce's simple trust: because the consequences of not coming would be compounding the sin by hiding it. It would mean living a lie. For me Bruce made a principle come alive: Justification is the natural way, the easy way — but the way of self-alienation. It takes courage to face the consequences of one's actions. It seemed to me that we are so often nourished on acclaim that we are unable to face the responsibilities of serious mistakes. We want acceptability so desperately that we prefer escape rather than endangering our hard-won reputation by confessing. But that's just it — prevarication is a second temptation which follows the first. The only solution of integrity is to stop before sin becomes a chain.

So here we are, Bruce. You've sinned and you've suffered. You will suffer more. You have almost miraculously opted for confession rather than facade. So where do we go from here? That is the pertinent question.

The doctrine behind those junior Sunday school steps of repentance became urgent. "Obviously, Bruce, you've forfeited much of your right before God." Bruce looked at me and queried, "Yes, and what about my priesthood?"

The weight that I had so neatly left on Bruce's shoulders began to spread out to include me. I could see that some day soon I was going to have to speak for the Lord. I recalled a recent meeting with a member of the Presiding Bishopric. His words hit home now: "The Gospel's purpose is to help people, not to blame them. If being harsh will help them most, then be harsh. If leniency will actually help them, then do that. But, Bishop, remember it is not your decision to make. It is the Lord's. Contact Him. That is your calling. Avoid following your own convenience."

We concluded that first night with a prayerful supplication that transcended anything I had known for years. During that communication these words came to my consciousness:

Behold, he who has repented of his sins, the same is forgiven, and I, the Lord, remember them no more. By this ye may know if a man repenteth of his sins — behold he will confess them and forsake them. (D&C 58:42)

The weight Bruce felt was as heavy as he feared but he surprised himself at his own strength. He felt like he was his own man now. As we parted I was overcome with gratefulness for his trust but even more grateful for that divine option of repentance. Throughout the evening it had unfolded itself to me in expanding beauty. Everything I could have said to Bruce would have been so phony, so superficial, without that doctrine. What I said to him would seem severe to anyone without a commitment, but for the two of us, it was like a fresh miracle to discover that link between confession and redemption. In many ways Bruce was a man to be admired.

For the first time I was able to relate to a sinner. The term itself took on a new tone. I remembered how Jesus had used the word with an openness that had always eluded me.

Weeks and months passed. Bruce and I learned together. Both of us re-read Matthew Cowley, who said, "Somehow, I just can't get past the first principles." Jesus began to take on a new role. He looked quite different through the eyes of one who stands forfeit before God. Dependence on Him is altogether different from mere admiration. "Unto you I command that you forgive all men, but I will forgive whom I will," He said. "There are so many people to forgive, particularly myself," Bruce thought. I admitted, "Up to now sinners somehow seemed generically deficient. But do they ever look different now." Bruce found a new view of other people. I just swallowed hard trying to mask my inadequacies in perceiving the most basic precepts of the Gospel while being surrounded with it all my life. For example, there was "grace." That doctrine had seemed so arbitrary to me. Leave it to the Calvinists. Mormonism's uniqueness spoke of free agency and eternal progression. But grace looks different from a sinner's viewpoint. It is an unhaughty hope in which one feels a new comfort in a Savior. Redemption likewise becomes so crucial. It is like human magnanimity - but with divine power attached. Until now it had seemed too theological to me, but through Bruce I found I had just been ignoring my own soul. I, like most, had been tantalized by acceptability rather than knowing myself and "harkening unto the Lord."

Later interviews had to battle with despondency and regression. In addition there was the question of restitution. Bruce's youthful exuberance about the pursuit of perfection had to adjust to a whole new view. It was not just this one serious transgression. It was his lifetime of ignoring repentance. True, he had admitted his faults and misdeeds. He had prayed

about them and even overcome them occasionally. But that was that. That was all anyone did. It was sort of a "water under the bridge" approach. It was a Gospel according to acceptability, not one of redemption. In depressed moments Bruce wondered if the whole spark had not gone out of life. Dare he even strive for the celestial? Yet what use would sixty more years of living have if it weren't possible?

I recoiled at such questions. What was that promise? "... and I, the Lord, remember them no more." Bruce was in gear with a divine power that few knew: heavenly forgiveness. Ironically it is the central message of "the good news." He needed to complete the process. To salve his agony now might leave him with unfinished business always in the back of his mind. The achievement of full forgiveness now would endow him with a lofty spirit that could call forth unused powers from his soul. I felt Bruce passing me up, and many others who were now pausing on a plateau. If Bruce could sustain his new relationship with God, there was no limit to his potential.

I couldn't help but look at myself, my family, and our ward stuck on that plateau of convenient church activity. I worried less about Bruce than those who were not compelled and might not discover that first base. Our plateau was comfortable and acceptable, but deceiving. Where is the power to self-motivation without the crisis of despair? Must a man lose his soul in order to save it?

I began to take long walks.

GUILT: A PSYCHIATRIST'S POINT OF VIEW

Louis G. Moench, M.D.*

President Stephen L Richards, concerned with some of the psychiatric problems which had come to the attention of the First Presidency, asked if I had time to drop over. In the minute required to walk to his office, there was time for a quick examination of the conscience, a prophetic preview of the topic of the interview.

President Richards was aware of the case of a woman patient in an out-of-state hospital who had been advised by a member of the professional staff to avail herself of the "benefits" of a weekend pass in a motel with a male patient, unrelated except by membership of both in the L.D.S. Church. The implication was that this would be therapeutic and would hasten her release date. In a consultation with the woman's husband and her bishop,

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I had expressed doubts as to the benefits of such "therapy," expressed fears that the expected guilt feelings would greatly complicate the illness, and suggested other forms of treatment which are usually more effective and which do not violate the moral standards of the Church.

President Richards reviewed another case in which a psychiatrist had advised an L.D.S. patient to abandon her guilt feelings over an earlier immoral experience.

These cases, and others, had made him wonder if current psychiatric practice included advice to abandon moral standards and to forgive misbehavior which resulted in guilt feelings.

He expressed concern about the authority and the validity of psychiatrists forgiving sin or encouraging immoral behavior. What would be the ultimate effect on the person if sin did not produce suffering (including guilty feelings), personal acknowledgement of error, confession, repentance (including learning to identify and deal more effectively with one's vulnerability), forgiveness (especially if earned) and the personal growth which comes from a problem mastered?

We agreed that it is indeed unfortunate that a few psychiatrists, considering themselves the world's most sophisticated citizens, have what might be called a Jehovah complex and feel it is their privilege and duty to manipulate the lives of their patients, ostensibly for the emancipation of the patient from archaic restrictions, but probably more for the psychiatrist's own ego extension and vicarious gratification. Freud's analytic theories are supposed to place the blame for all mental disorders on repression of sexual instinctual drives. Most serious students of Freud do not see his theories as advocating license but rather responsibility, and point to Freud's exemplary personal and family life. The majority of psychiatrists see enlightened self-control and ethical responsibility as the desired goal.

The patient may misinterpret as approval the psychiatrist who listens without passing judgment or without falling off his chair in shocked amazement or disapproval. Recognition and study of the patient's irresponsible behavior, as a step in learning more about himself and learning more mature control, may be mistaken for forgiveness or encouragement of the irresponsible behavior.

There is legitimate doubt about the rightful role of the psychiatrist in some problems of guilt. For ages people have sought instant salvation, and in recent years, instant power, instant relief of discomfort, and prompt and miraculous cure of all illness; they often seek the short-cut, the evasion, the vicarious resolution of guilt feelings. Sin and measles are both undesirable, and their eradication laudable; but uncomplicated measles do not require treatment, run a natural course, leave long-term immunity, and are not short-ened by obscuring the rash with calamine lotion. Passive immunization with gamma globulin may avert an attack during an epidemic (and is properly used in circumstances where measles would be especially hazardous at that time) but the immunity is short-lived. If guilt is serving a useful purpose, if it is part of a successful ongoing process — not incapacitating nor crippling —

it is more appropriately a matter for religion to facilitate the resolution than for psychiatry to circumvent it.

But guilt is not always the result of misdeeds. Every addict of the latelate show as well as the most experienced district attorneys are aware of the false confession. The more the capital crime is a cause celebre, the more people come in to confess. The confessor may wish to share the grisly glory and momentarily rise above mean and miserable nonentity. He may have been raised to feel that he, personally, is responsible for all the catastrophes in the world, the crabgrass in the lawn and mother's unhappiness, and automatically volunteers to take the blame if anything goes wrong. The sackcloth-and-ashes costume is a familiar and sweetly sour mantle for some persons. Religions with formal and stylized confessional processes encourage some people to take the chronically continuous-continual guilty role.

Guilt, or the convincing facsimile thereof, may be a small price to pay for, and a key ingredient of, vicarious gratification. The hysterical woman (the modern counterpart of the colonial witch) who confesses illicit sexual relations may enjoy the imagining, the recounting, and the shocked reaction of the persons to whom she confesses. She runs no risk of pregnancy nor venereal disease, and receives great attention, especially if her promises to repent and reform are made conditional on the amount of attention she is given and the vigor with which her soul is saved. Almost every mission president, bishop, and surely every general authority, has encountered this woman (or man), whether or not she is so recognized. A bishop called late one night, broken-hearted, because a teen-age girl in his ward had just confessed to him in dramatic, colorful detail, multiple sexual escapades with numerous boys. Poor, pitiful, unpopular girl, longing for a date, suddenly fantasizing great popularity, and at the same time enjoying shocking the father-figure.

Depression is far more common than the public realizes. Characteristically, the depressed person goes through a process of introspective rumination in which he asks, "Why did this happen to me?" He searches his soul and his life history. And who hasn't done some nasty thing of which he is ashamed? Or neglected to do something he should have done? Closed boxes are reopened. Old, cold ashes are sifted and sifted again. Settled conflicts are revived. Historical battles are re-fought. Experiments in growing up are reviewed. "Aha! I've found it! It is no wonder I feel this way. I was the worst person who ever lived! The sin was unforgivable! No wonder the Lord turns his back on my prayers!" Long, patient inquiry may bring to light the horrible misdeed. The young psychiatrist's common reaction, when the sin of the ages is finally held up to light, is, "You mean to tell me you've been wasting my time and your health on that trivia? Why, it is nothing!" (There he goes, forgiving sin, and since the sins are often sexual, he is condoning sexual misconduct.) This doesn't dispel the depression in the least, any more than the bishop's reassurance that the Lord has forgiven. The remembered, magnified, or imagined sin is not the cause of the depression, but an apparent cause which conforms to the patient's concept of causality. And

since it is not the cause but only the symbol, attacking the symbol does not relieve the illness, and alienates the helper from a position of usefulness.

The intensity of the guilt feelings may drive the person to act on his concept of personal worthlessness. Suicide is a leading cause of death, and most suicides are persons who have been overwhelmed with guilt feelings. Our assessment of their validity or invalidity does not alter the victim's view of himself. Even in "well" persons, guilt and behavior may not be related quantitatively.

A person's concept of what is good or bad, and therefore his concept of himself as a good or bad person (and hence his feelings of guilt or lack of guilt), rests on the basic family attitude about goodness or sinfulness in mankind in general and children in particular, on what things are acceptable or not acceptable, on permissiveness or rigid discipline, on methods used to obtain compliance, on the value system of internal or external controls, and on the skills taught in attaining control. If the child is brought up to the tune of, "No! Don't do that! Naughty, naughty, You're a bad boy!" he may feel that only a small number of things are permissible and he is bad if he doesn't constrict his life. Or he may rebel against the whole list. If mother's feelings are always being hurt, as a way of exercising control, he automatically feels guilty later when anyone is offended, though this guilt is often combined with explosive rage.

If he is raised in total permissiveness, under the theory that letting him express whatever feelings he has in whatever way he chooses will automatically eventually result in his being an adult with all the desirable qualities, he may say in all seriousness, "I don't know why people can't acknowledge their faults. Why, I'd be the first to acknowledge mine, if I had any!" His desirable qualities are desirable only to him. The rights and well-being of others are of minimal concern to him. Anyone who stands in his way must be destroyed. The system which doesn't give him instant power and instant orgastic gratification, must be overturned (usually to the tune of noble, lofty slogans and altruistic clichés). A little guilt might be very effective in permitting such a person to live his life in peace and harmony with others. The psychopath probably has caused more suffering than anyone else in history, and his problem is a defective conscience, a guilt-deficiency.

Inability to tolerate guilt feelings may lead to denial, to one's self or to others, of the experience giving rise to the guilt, or a flight into repetition of the same or similar behavior. Premature forceful confrontation of the person, by the clergyman or the psychiatrist, with a demand that he feel or acknowledge wrongdoing, may drive him into further acting-out of his conflicts.

Failure to take personal responsibility for one's inadequacies or misdeeds is often projected onto society, one's ancestors, teachers or loved ones, or onto divine disfavor or supernatural evil creatures. "I'm depraved because I was deprived" is currently a common social complaint; the deprivation may have been for food, shelter, protection and love, or for one's share of sugar cereals. "You made me what I am today, I hope you're satisfied!" is the title of an

old, petulant song, a theme repeated over and over in the currently popular fashion of searching for environmental causes.

"The devil made me do it," says the little boy caught with his hand in mother's cookie jar. Perhaps he was just hungry, and his mother made delicious cookies. The devil provides a convenient scapegoat, but the price one pays for using him thus is the fear that one is in his power, and guilt feelings for letting him have that power.

Projection of guilt onto others may convince them of their guilt, though they may not know of what they are guilty. The wayward husband often blames his wife and she, in turn, says, "Where did I fail?" Parents of wayward or willful children plead, "What did we do wrong? We gave him everything he wanted!"*

President Richards and I accepted the premise that ideally the clergy and psychiatrists could and should work together, with common or at least compatible goals, but in actual practice the cooperation is far from ideal.

I acknowledge the validity of President Richards' concern, and expressed the concern psychiatrists often have when encountering the clergy treating illness, often without recognizing it as illness. We agreed that each discipline tended to look on people's problems as belonging in his domain, and each often minimized the proper domain of the other, that cooperation between the two is often praised and much less often practiced.

We agreed that guilt serves useful and constructive purposes in helping a person achieve inner control, and in converting a mistake into a learning and growth experience, but it may become pathological in amount (excessive or deficient), in duration, or may be distorted or symbolic. In some circumstances, it is appropriate to deal with guilt itself, but in others it becomes advisable to understand and deal with the underlying process.

It is not appropriate for psychiatrists to forgive sin or to encourage behavior or attitudes contrary to the religious standards of the person or of the community. The psychiatrist should be familiar with and respectful of the patient's religion and encourage the healthy application of and participation in his religion. He is often much more aware of the pathological forms of religious involvement, such as entheomania, scrupulosity, asceticism, fantasy, denial, etc., than the wholesome forms of religious participation.

The clergy should not treat mental illness (except where especially trained or as part of a professional team), should be aware of the pathological forms of religious belief, should be aware of the principles of mental health, and should recognize the more overt signs of psychiatric disorder. The psychiatrist and the clergyman can use each other as resource persons without competitive concern. In the enormous middle ground of human experience and relations, mutual respect and cooperation between the psychiatrist and clergyman enlarge the calling of both.

^{*}Present-day university administrators are now going through agonizing soul-searching to see where they have been responsible for suffering, injustices and social sickness around the globe.

Having outlined an acceptable working arrangement between religion and psychiatry, President Richards, a wise, kind and thoughtful man, returned to his home, and I returned to mine.

SOME THOUGHTS ON REPENTANCE AND FORGIVENESS

Matthew Cowley

Good old Judea [New Zealand], where I became a man (if I ever did become one). At the age of seventeen, I was young indeed to have had the experiences I had there, but they were worthwhile and have since been an anchor to my faith. It was there that I learned that there is saintliness in sinners; that sinners sometimes manifest greater love than some so-called Saints. It was there that I descended below all things and rose to the greatest heights of loving the weakest of the weak. It was there that my mind was first enlightened and my soul enlarged by the impact of the Holy Ghost. It was there that I first became the recipient of the gifts of the Spirit. It was there that I learned the value of patience, long suffering, kindliness, forgiveness and the other virtues that are so necessary in the regeneration of the human soul. No greater respect have I ever received as a bearer of the priesthood than I did from the people of Judea, both members and non-members alike. When I was there as a mere boy, they would come all hours of the night and day for confession, and for counsel and for administration. "And a little child shall lead them." They taught me the significance of this scripture. It was there I came to know that poverty may be priceless as a source of genuine happiness. I have never seen a happier nor more fun-loving folk than were they. And they still are. Their happiness was punctuated with inter-family feuds, quarrels, but the grudges were soon forgotten. They would "cuss" each other out one minute and sing together the next. There amidst fleas and filth, I loved and was loved. Dear old Judea!

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I have in my office every day good and faithful members of this Church who are depressed, who are frustrated, who think they are not being saved, and most of these people whom I see are just as worthy as I and some more worthy. Why they are frustrated, I don't know, unless someone is trying to scare them into the celestial glory. I like to get fun out of this business — good, wholesome, righteous fun — get a kick out of it. When I obey the principles of this gospel, I am the happiest man on earth. When I don't,

then I am depressed, then I have a right to worry about myself; but, when I am trying to do the best I know, then I tell you, I am having the time of my life.

I learned this philosophy from the natives out in the islands. They are a simple people. They know how to repent, and they know how to repent often. They know how to be forgiven, and they know how to forgive themselves. I learned that from them. Why, they can come in every week and repent for the same offense, and if you forgive them, they go out walking on air, the happiest people you ever saw; but over here I have talked to people who have been forgiven thirty-five years ago and who have been almost perfect ever since, and they are still saying, "I'll never forgive myself. I'll never forgive myself." Brothers and sisters, teach these youngsters how to forgive themselves when they are forgiven.

Another thing we need in this Church is a willingness on the part of the people who need help to come to us for help. Too many of them feel that there is a barrier — between them and their bishop, for instance — that they have sinned, and as a result they hold this within themselves. It breaks them down, and eventually they can't stand it any longer, and they go to somebody to bare their hearts and their souls, and then they discover that they've wasted a lot of time being depressed, frustrated, and worried because there is forgiveness in the Church for the repentant soul who honestly and sincerely repents. We are all God's children as President Smith used to remind us in every sermon. We are all his children, and he loves us all. I am convinced of that.

I was at a stake conference recently. A man came up to me Saturday night and said, "Brother Cowley, will it be all right if we have a meeting with you between the morning and afternoon sessions of conference?" I said, "Yes, who are you?" He said, "The Alcoholics Anonymous want to meet with you in the Tabernacle between the two sessions of conference." The most inspirational meeting of that conference was with those sixty men and women who had been confirmed alcoholics but who had turned their lives back to God again and who had learned how to repent and purge from their lives all the assorted things which came to them from the use of alcohol.

Brothers and sisters in this Church, the last words President Smith said to me when I visited him in the hospital, and he could scarcely speak were, "My boy, you will always find good in everyone if you look for it." Remember that when you see these young men and women in your ward. Remember that if they are drunk Saturday night, maybe a year from now one of them will be the bishop of the ward, or two years from now. I know a man not far from here who was a chain smoker for fifty years, who didn't go to church much. He is a bishop now — a wonderful bishop because he speaks the language of those who need help. That's an important thing in this business we are in, too — trying to understand the other fellow's viewpoint, trying to find out what caused him to do this. Maybe it was family background. Maybe you and I have just been luckier than he. To us Providence

has been kind. As we read in that hymn, "Let each man learn to know himself." To us has Providence been kind. Consider all of those things.

(From Matthew Cowley Speaks [Salt Lake City, Deserte Book Company, 1954], p. 437; pp. 133-135. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.)

THE MIRACLE OF FORGIVENESS*

Richard H. Cracroft

In The Miracle of Forgiveness, Elder Spencer W. Kimball, acting president of the Council of Twelve, has written an often moving, spiritually refreshing, and highly readable book. In attempting this book-length examination of the principle of forgiveness, Elder Kimball seeks "not . . . to entertain," but to entice many to "repent of their sins . . . and to purify and perfect their lives." In twenty-three lucid chapters, he extolls the priceless gift of repentance for a troubled world, a gift of peace to the "anxious, restless, frustrated, perhaps tormented soul." The gift is not a dole, however, and Elder Kimball divides his book into three basic parts which probe the effort necessary in identifying the nature and the guises of sin; understanding the unvarying steps to repentance; and, finally, recognizing and avoiding the allurements which nudge, push, then hurtle a mortal down that well-traveled Broadway. Elder Kimball concludes his work with a discussion of the Church's role in bringing the sinner to his knees and a reminder of God's infinite mercy and joy in sanctioning the transforming miracle.

In developing his ideas, Elder Kimball fortunately transcends the mediocrity which has beset the works of too many Mormon writers who, in their sincere zeal to preach the gospel to a wider congregation, have published poorly edited paste-and-scissors pastiches of their discourses. Such works, bought dutifully by many, but read, one must suspect, by few, too often amount to little more than a rehash of principles on which church members are essentially in agreement; and the active member, finding at least one or two such books in his Christmas stocking, vaguely and perhaps guiltily feels that he has read or heard it all somewhere before. These generally lifeless works likely do not transform as many lives as the more carefully written,

^{*}The Miracle of Forgiveness. By Spencer W. Kimball. Bookcraft, 1969, xii, 376 pp. \$4.95. Richard H. Cracroft is a member of the Department of English at Brigham Young University.

carefully edited classics of such writers as B. H. Roberts, James E. Talmage, or John A. Widstoe.

Perhaps it is for these reasons that Elder Kimball once determined he would never write a book, doubtless recognizing the responsibility of lending his name and office to any work which might fall short of literary and doctrinal excellence. But *The Miracle of Forgiveness* is no such embarrassment to its author. Elder Kimball has written a book, from start to finish, and in planning, organizing and writing this book he has made a respectable and significant contribution — not only to the many who will be comforted and discomforted by his message, but to modern church literature in general.

Certainly the book has its flaws, but they are minor and infrequent, and are, it would seem, the result of trying too hard rather than not trying hard enough. Too often, for example, Elder Kimball follows the general practice of strengthening his already well-established points with bits and pieces of the writings of such *literati* as Dante, Tagore, Samuel Johnson, and Oliver Wendell Holmes. This piecemeal ladling too often violates not only the author's context but the context of the doctrine being examined: Often the quotation seems grafted on rather than arising naturally from the discussion. And in rendering these quotations, Elder Kimball is often guilty of introducing bits of poetry or quotations with the familiar "somewhere-I've-read" apologies. In most cases, moreover, the passage quoted does not contribute tellingly to Brother Kimball's presentation.

In fact, when Elder Kimball begins to slough off these too-glaring and self-conscious concessions to literature and literary techniques (which he does increasingly as the book progresses) his book soars far beyond the standard products of the Deseret Book-Bookcraft syndrome. When Elder Kimball allows himself to write enthusiastically of his nearly three decades as a member of the Council of Twelve, when he begins to relate a few incidents from the thousands undergone as a respected counselor and admonisher of sinning saints, the book becomes exciting. Wisely keeping his citation of scripture and the writings and discourses of other church leaders to a minimum, Elder Kimball fuses doctrine and experience in the time-honored LDS fashion, and the result is edification and, refreshingly and inadvertantly, entertainment. The book is packed with material such as this anecdote in which he recalls his labors on behalf of an errant young man in Mesa, Arizona:

I found him only a little sorry he had committed adultery but not sure that he wanted to cleanse himself. After long deliberation in which I seemed to make little headway against his rebellious spirit I finally said, "Goodby, Bill, but I warn you, don't break a speed limit, be careful what you eat, take no chances on your life. Be careful in traffic for you must not die before this matter is cleared up. Don't you dare to die." (His italics.)

Although there is a kind of gallows humor here, even the flintiest of sinners would find it difficult to resist such a warning.

Elder Kimball is obligingly personal throughout the book, granting here and there warm and satisfying insights into himself as a human being, insights cherished by Latter-day Saints. For example, he relates at one point how he sharply rapped his forehead on a low-hanging branch while mowing his lawn. He learned his lesson — until the following spring, when he repeated the rap. Comparing his experience to that of the sinner who fails to learn from his wrongdoing, Elder Kimball comments wryly, "He who cannot learn by others' mistakes is stupid. He who cannot learn by his own mistakes is a fool." At other times he shows himself as a young boy who "cussess" wayward cows, quarrels with his brothers, and thinks forbidden thoughts — until he is moved by the scripture proclaiming that the Lord will judge a man by his secret thoughts and actions. Such admissions and insights are too few, but they lend a warmth and humanity to the book which enhance his message; indeed, the slight smudges on the halo enlarge the man without diminishing the saint.

Throughout, however, Elder Kimball's message is clear: he, like the Lord, will not tolerate the sin, but he will love the sinner. This gentle but authoritative tone becomes a pattern in his correspondence (from which he quotes frequently), a pattern of practical advice coupled with spirituality. President Kimball clearly feels comfortable in blending the short and the long range to achieve happiness in human relationships. He writes, for example, to a young LDS wife of her marital discord:

When I talked with you, I understood that you had forgiven each other and would start from there to build a beautiful life. Apparently, I was mistaken. All my warnings and pleadings seem to have fallen on deaf ears. . . . I have never been able to feel that you had wholly purged the selfishness from your own soul. . . . The disease [of mutual selfishness] is not cured by the separation or the divorce. . . . The cause must be removed. Being young, both of you are likely to marry again. Each of you is likely to carry into the next marriage all the weaknesses and sins, and errors you have now, unless you repent and transform. And if you will change your life for a new spouse, why not for the present one?

The book cites numerous examples of all kinds of persons entrapped in a variety of sin, and the reader gains new insight into the resiliency of the General Authorities as they counsel, perhaps in the space of one hour, the adulterous High Priest and the innocent missionary; as they counsel the fornicator and, a few minutes later, ponder the prospects of the millennial Kingdom. Elder Kimball tells of an embittered stake president who fell into apostacy because he felt he had been released too early; of the sweet acceptance of Matthias F. Cowley on his being dropped, late in the last century, from the Council of Twelve; of the lady who rejoiced at not being recognized by Elder Kimball, crying, "If you can forget me and my transgressions, I have new hope that my Father in Heaven may forget." And he tells of

aiding in the reconciliation of two prominent yet feuding Latter-day Saints in the eastern part of the United States. Finally, despairing of bringing the pair to terms, Elder Kimball was moved to recall for them the passage in the Doctrine and Covenants which reads: "he that forgiveth not his brother his trespasses standeth condemned before the Lord. For there remaineth in him the greater sin." The response was immediate:

Shocked, the two men sat up, listened, pondered a minute, then began to yield. This scripture . . . brought them to their knees. Two a.m. and two bitter adversaries were shaking hands, smiling and forgiving and asking forgiveness. Two men were in a meaningful embrace. This hour was holy.

Although Elder Kimball deals with the whole range of sin, including sins of omission, lethargy on the part of church members, and even the sin of being a slothful student, he seems most deeply concerned with the variety of sexual temptations and sins, which, in his experience with members of the Church, seem most devastating. He focuses intensely on masturbation, homosexuality, and premarital and extramarital sexual relationships. He speaks candidly to those involved in such sins and to those who are being or probably will be tempted. On all who have sinned he "frowns," as does the Lord in Edward Taylor's poem, "with a smiling face," offering no slick way to repentance, but assuring all of the efficacy of the miracle of forgiveness to be found at the end of the precarious path. To such, and to all, he offers a penetrating "Test of Conviction," a series of questions by which one may gauge one's own sincerity and his degree of repentance. The questions range from "Do you wish to be forgiven?" to "Have you confessed your total sins?" and, finally, "How much suffering have you endured? Is your guilt swept away?"

Although Brother Kimball denies any "claim to originality," his book is a rich old wine in refreshing new bottles (though he might object to the image). He avoids the patent interpretations and illustrations by showing the application of the time-honored principles in our own day, and he graphically portrays for a sobered reader the modern-day Saints of our own wards and stakes enduring the age-old miseries evoked by the burden of age-old sins. Elder Kimball reminds us that though there may be nothing new under the sun, there is manifold and heartbreaking repetition of the old.

His book is therefore a "gentle invitation" to Latter-day Saints to examine their lives. It is a movingly unpretentious call to repentance from an Apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ, an exhortation couched in controlled and reasonable tones; and his message, clear and simple, reminds each Latter-day Saint, in an age fraught with intra-church and social strain, of the central issue in each of our lives.

THE GIFT OF REPENTANCE

Lowell Bennion*

Except for the preaching of evangelists — whether of a Billy Graham or of the small holiness sects — one hears little of repentance in this secular age, and this is also true among Latter-day Saints. It is not that we lack admonishment to keep the commandments and to forsake some practices, but the prophetic cry, "Repent ye, repent ye," in the spirit of an Amos or a John the Baptist is absent. Anyone speaking in this vein is likely to be labeled a fanatic if not mentally disturbed. Repentance is not considered a viable principle in contemporary society.

One reason for the neglect of this basic gospel principle may be that our interpretation of repentance has become shallow or superficial. The modern, pragmatic temperament tends to associate repentance with the breaking of undesired habits. This emphasis is illustrated in the frequent Sunday school discussion of the "R's" of repentance: recognize the wrong, feel remorse, resolve to do right, make restitution, and replace wrong with right. This practical, step-by-step way of changing behavior has been described by secular writers like William James and Aldous Huxley, the latter of whom begins his *Brave New World* with these words:

Chronic remorse, as all the moralists agree, is a most undesirable sentiment. If you have behaved badly, repent, make what amends you can and address yourself to behaving better next time. On no account brood over your wrongdoing. Rolling in the muck is not the best way of getting clean.

This kind of advice makes good sense, even though it pertains to only one aspect of the principle of repentance.

In the Scriptures, repentance implies a whole new stance towards life, a transformation of a person in feeling, thought, conviction, and action. It brings a man into a new relationship with himself, with others, and with Deity. Repentance begins with a realization of one's insufficiency, an awareness of spiritual need, and with a vision of a new kind of life that would fulfill one's idea of what life should be. As one scholar has said, "Religion is always the enemy of self-satisfaction."

Furthermore, repentance is not an isolated principle which one can follow or ignore according to whim. It is a basic response to life which is intimately related to other responses: to humility, faith, and love, among others. Gospel

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principles — like life itself — hang together, building a mosaic of the religious life. Like the fundamental concepts of any science or art, religious principles are interrelated; they build on and enrich one another. One principle, such as repentance, is not to be understood save in the context of both life and religion. For example, repentance is unthinkable without humility. Jesus taught this in the first Beatitude when he said, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," which has been translated by Goodspeed as "Blessed are they who feel their spiritual need." It is followed by the second Beatitude, "Blessed are they that mourn," which is believed by some scholars to mean "Blessed are the penitent," or blessed are those who recognize and repent of their sins. Humility leads to repentance as naturally as blossoms turn into fruit.

Illustrations of the above interpretation of repentance will be provided from Judaism, New Testament religion, and the Restored Gospel, particularly the Book of Mormon. (Before turning to them, however, I wish to assert that this study is a mere beginning and purports to be simply an exploration of an old but neglected theme.)

Judaism, founded as it was on the Mosaic Law, has been endlessly defined by Pharisee and Rabbi. This trend, called legalism, has led to criticism by Christians, beginning with Paul's famous dictum: "The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life." Legalism, however, is only one tendency in Judaism and is an unfair and inaccurate description of Old Testament religion and even of the Law of Moses. Sin for the Jew was more than disobedience to a set of rules and commandments, and repentance was more than the breaking of habits. A Danish scholar, Johannes Pederson in *Israel, Its Life and Culture*, reports that the Hebrew word for sin denotes "failure" and "an infringement on the psychic totality." He continues, "One cannot sin with a whole heart for sin is the very dissolution of the totality. If the soul is throughout sinful, then it means that it is entirely dissolved, decayed; then it is no longer to be reckoned a human soul" (p. 411). Sin is the opposite of righteousness, for a righteous soul is healthy and whole.

In the New Testament, repentance continues to mean a complete relationship to life. The Greek word translated into the English "repentance" means "to have a new mind." Jesus said that a man must be born again of the water and the spirit and become as a little child if he is to see the Kingdom of God. Paul would settle for nothing less than for his converts to become "new creatures in Christ Jesus" or to "be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord." Paul's own radical change of mind and hearts — as he embraced Christianity — served as a prototype to him of that which should happen to all men.

In Latter-day Saint theology, repentance is also far more than a psychological exercise in changing one's habits. Here, as in the Bible, repentance is part of the whole process of accepting Christ by which believers learn humility which, when combined with faith, leads them to bear witness in baptism of their willingness ". . . to bear one another's burdens, . . . to mourn with those that mourn; yea, and comfort those that stand in need of

comfort, and to stand as witnesses of God at all times and in all things, and in all places..." (Mosiah 18:8, 9).

The Book of Mormon provides fresh insights into the first principles and ordinances of the Gospel. The remainder of this paper will suggest and illustrate some of the Book of Mormon contributions to an understanding of the principle of repentance — one of the major themes of the entire record.

The Book of Mormon repeatedly links repentance to man's relationship to Jesus Christ. Amulek, for example, in discoursing on the atonement, says,

And thus he shall bring salvation to all those who shall believe on his name; this being the intent of this last sacrifice, to bring about the bowels of mercy, which overpowereth justice, and bringeth about means unto men that they may have faith unto repentance. (Alma 32:15; emphasis added)

How does Christ give one the means to have the faith to repent? In the first place one cannot know Jesus without gaining a vision of life and what it might become. In the light of this new perspective, a person can recognize his own immorality and spiritual mediocrity. Repentance often begins not in recognizing the wrong, but by seeing the right which puts the wrong in perspective. One cannot come to know Jesus Christ in any real sense and remain the same person.

Secondly, after a person recognizes his sin and wishes to repent, he often makes the mistake of trying to lift himself by his own bootstraps. That is, he has an internal struggle fighting sin directly. Often the more he concentrates on fighting sin, the more he succumbs to his awareness of its presence. If lust, for example, is a man's problem, he will gain no victory just by thinking about it. This I learned as a young missionary through an unusual experience. A brother came to me after church services one evening in an utter state of despair. After his marriage, but before his baptism, he had committed adultery. His wife would not forgive him and reminded him continually of his low character. He had come to accept her estimate of him. Like David in The Psalms he was crying, "Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me."

I asked him, "What have you done to change your state of mind?" He replied, "My brethren told me to fight it."

I replied, "There is a better way, for there is no strength in weakness." We prayed together. I gave him a book to read to get his mind on other things. And then quite by chance or inspiration, I asked him, "How would you like to prepare the Lord's table each Sunday morning?" He answered, "Do you think I am worthy?" My reply was, "No, none of us are, but I believe the Lord would be pleased to have you render Him this service." I also asked this brother to speak in church on a principle of the gospel of Christ that had come to mean something to him, which he did.

In these few ways, my friend began to relate to Christ. He served Him with his hands, his mind, and his heart. In three months he came to me

again after church services, bright-eyed, cheerful and grateful, saying, "I am a new man. I have a new mind." In the service of Christ he had risen above sin.

The Book of Mormon clarifies the meaning of the sacrament of the Lord's supper and introduces the prayers used in the blessing of the bread and water. The words of these simple but meaningful prayers also bring the sincere participant into a closer relationship to the Savior and tell him how he can fill his life with the Spirit of Christ which will lift him above his weakness. The blessing on the bread is as follows:

O God, the Eternal Father, we ask thee, in the name of thy son, Jesus Christ, to bless and sanctify this bread to the souls of all those who partake of it; that they may eat in remembrance of the body of thy Son, and witness unto thee, O God, the Eternal Father, that they are willing to take upon them the name of thy Son, and always remember him, and keep his commandments which he has given them, that they may always have his Spirit to be with them. (Moroni 4:3; emphasis added).

Anyone who will believe in Christ, engage in His service, keep His commandments, and always remember Him will find means unto repentance.

The Book of Mormon adds still another dimension to man's struggle to overcome sin through his relationship with Christ. King Benjamin, in a farewell address to his people, says of the Savior,

And lo, he shall suffer temptations, and pain of body, hunger, thirst, and fatigue, even more than man can suffer, except it be unto death; for behold, blood cometh from every pore, so great shall be his anguish for the wickedness and abominations of his people. (Mosiah 2:7; emphasis added).

It is a well-known Christian belief that in the atonement Jesus suffered for man's sins, but King Benjamin says He suffered because of them. This and other scriptures suggest something equally profound: Christ's love for men is continuous, and therefore so is his anguish for their failings; He not only suffered but still suffers because men sin. It pains Him to see the children of men destroy themselves. If a sinner understands this and loves Christ, he will be moved to reduce the Savior's suffering by repenting of his own wrongdoing.

The little book of Enos illustrates the power of prayer and the need to persevere in one's desire and search for a new mind. Enos writes,

And my soul hungered; and I kneeled down before my Maker, and I cried unto him in mighty prayer and supplication for my soul; and all the day long did I cry unto him; yea, and when the night came I did still raise my voice high that it reached the heavens. (Enos 4; emphasis added.)

And when assurance came to Enos that he was forgiven of his sins, he asked in amazement, "Lord, how is it done?" And he was told, "Because of thy faith in Christ."

The whole-souled nature of the principle of repentance is also illustrated in this experience of Enos, for he wrote, "When I had heard these words I began to feel a desire for the welfare of my brethren, the Nephites; therefore, I did pour out my whole soul unto God for them." Repentance changed his relationship not only with himself and with God but also with his fellowmen.

A final idea from the Book of Mormon suggests that forgiveness, which is God's response to repentance, is a continuing experience — as is repentance — and that it is contingent on love and service to others. Benjamin wrote, "for the sake of retaining a remission of your sins from day to day I would that ye should impart of your substance to the poor . . . administering to their relief, both spiritually and temporally . . ." (Mosiah 4:26). Here repentance and forgiveness are linked with an ongoing Christian life. The same emphasis is developed in the words of Moroni at the close of Nephite history: "And the first fruits of repentance is baptism; and baptism cometh by faith unto the fulfilling of the commandments; and the fulfilling the commandments bringeth remission of sins . . ." (Moroni 8:25. Note also verse 26; emphasis added).

This paper began with the notion that the word "repentance" is viewed by some as outdated in our secular culture, that it has been replaced by psychological and other pragmatic efforts to help people find themselves and cope with the world in which they live. Men everywhere are disatisfied with life and are seeking self-renewal or self-actualization or whatever the latest expression for this phenomenon might be.

Repentance — as defined by the Hebrew prophets, Jesus and Paul, and Book of Mormon teachers — continues to offer a viable alternative to dissatisfaction. It invites a man to be born again through his love of God and neighbor and by his commitment to the teachings and mission of Christ.

The World Church

THE CHURCH IN LATIN AMERICA: PROGRESS AND CHALLENGE

Wesley W. Craig, Jr.

As a part of our continuing interest in Latter-day Saints overseas, the Editors of DIALOGUE intend to publish essays in The World Church more frequently. This contribution is by Professor Wesley W. Craig, Jr., of the Sociology Department and Latin American Studies Program of Brigham Young University.

Non-Catholic religious groups have been increasing at a rapid rate in Latin America since World War II. For example, during the five-year period, 1952-57, the number of Protestants expanded from 2,866,000 to 4,534,000 — a fifty-eight per cent increase.¹ The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has prospered at an even more accelerated rate as evidenced by a Latin American (South of the Rio Grande River) membership of 9,921 in 1952 and 24,114 in 1957 — a 143 per cent increase. Even more significantly, the LDS Church grew during the succeeding decade, 1957-67, from 24,114 to 156,313, an increase of 548 per cent in the ten-year period.²

The change in religious conversions by world geographical areas indicates the increasing relative importance of Latin America to the LDS Church. In 1952, Latin American convert baptisms constituted only twenty per cent of the total Church conversions outside of the United States and Canada. European conversions constituted fifty-five per cent of the total foreign conversions

¹Kenneth Scott Latourette, Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Vol. V of The Twentieth Century Outside Europe, N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1962, p. 168.

²Statistical Information compiled in the LDS Church Historian's Office.

that year. However, by 1964, Latin American conversions had grown to fifty-seven per cent of all foreign conversions, and Europe had fallen to twenty-one per cent. During the same period, Asia slipped slightly, from twenty-seven to twenty-four per cent.³

Underscoring the dramatic growth of conversions in Latin America was a comment made at the Fall 1970 Semi-Annual Conference of the Church in Salt Lake City by one of the General Authorities who stated that within the next seven years it is anticipated that the total LDS Church population will consist of more Spanish-speaking than English-speaking members.

What is contributing to this growth of the Church in Latin America? Who are the new members? What are their needs? How is the Church influencing their lives?

The conventional point of view in the Church attributes the increase of conversions in Latin America, especially among that part of the population known as Lamanite, to the ministration of the Holy Ghost upon the souls in that area. Recent statements by various Church authorities call attention to prophecy (especially in the Book of Mormon) regarding the awakening of the Lamanites in the last days and the restoration of their former rights and blessings.⁴

That recognition of spiritual influences at work in Latin American LDS missionary work does not preclude the consideration of social factors as contributory causes, or intervening variables in the process of conversion. One has but to consider the traditional rigidity of social class in most Latin American countries and the concomitant limitations on social mobility and alternate religious choices to recognize that social change itself facilitates the opportunities for pluralistic religious activity. Using this framework, one might ask, "To what degree does the Holy Ghost stimulate social changes, or work through such changes to accomplish spiritual objectives?"

The increase in non-Catholic religious groups in Latin America is related to profound social changes resulting from four inter-related variables: population growth, migration, urbanization, and industrialization.

The first, a burgeoning population, directly results from the reduction in the death rate. The World Health Organization, a branch of the United Nations, and the Public Health Division of the Organization of the American States have collaborated with Latin American governments in significant public health programs over the past twenty years. These efforts have resulted in millions living beyond the first year of life who otherwise would have died. Furthermore, adults are escaping the grim horrors of many disseases which earlier ravished Latin America. Indeed, the population of

^{*}Ibid.

[&]quot;See A. Theodore Tuttle in following articles: "The Gospel Growth in South America," Improvement Era, 68 June 1965), 501-502; "South America... Land of Prophecy and Promise," Improvement Era, 66 (May 1963), 352-359, 394-396; "The Spirit of Missionary Work in South America," Improvement Era, 67 (June 1964), 463-465; "Field White to Harvest — South America," Improvement Era, 68 (June 1965), 501-502. Also, the Improvement Era, 66 (May 1963), has a special feature on "The Church in South America."

Latin America increased from 126,325,000 in 1940 to 238,310,000 in 1965, and it is now doubling every twenty-five years.⁵

This significant population growth is setting in motion a series of migrations which are funneling millions of rural people into the larger urban centers of Latin America. The hovels around major cities (variously called favelas, chinampas, and barriadas) attest to the logical but unanticipated influx of rural migrants to urban areas. Both local and national governments have been caught unprepared by this inundation of migrants and have failed to meet this challenge. But come the imigrants do, with limited education and few material possessions. They are convinced that urban life can promise no less than the starvation which threatens them in their overcrowded countryside.

Along with their rural migration, cities in such countries as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela are experiencing industrialization. While the unskilled rural migrant may have difficulty obtaining employment in semi-skilled, industrial positions, they often do make ends meet through work in related jobs such as building construction and in peripheral activities as vendors of minutiae.

A study contrasting Protestant conversions in Brazil to those in Chile indicates that:

Heavy concentration of migrants in areas where the Evangelical churches and sects have recruited most of their followers constitute additional evidence that acceptance of Protestantism is indeed a reaction to changes in the traditional way of life.⁷

Do LDS conversions reflect the influence of these variables? While no empirical study has yet been made of these phenomena, my personal observations based upon residence and travel in a number of these countries lead me to answer, Yes. A substantial number of LDS conversions in Latin America are coming from the lower classes, many of whom are recent migrants from rural areas, especially in those countries with heavy rural Indian populations, such as Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia.

These migrants, no longer bound by the rigid social structure of their small rural communities, for the first time in their lives are experiencing relative freedom to make choices about religion.8 Somewhat frightened, un-

⁵Carmen A. Miro, "The Population of Twentieth Century Latin America," in J. Mayone Stycos and Jorge Arias (eds.), *Population Dilemma in Latin America*, Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc., 1966, p. 2.

⁶In addition to the usual governmental lethargy and budget problems, there is the added fear of national and urban leaders that the initiation of low-cost housing programs to incorporate the immigrants would be an additional stimulus to even greater migratory influxes.

^{&#}x27;Emilio Willems, "Protestantism and Culture Change in Brazil and Chile," in William V. D'Antonio and Fredrick B. Pike, Religion, Revolution and Reform: New Forces for Change in Latin America, N.Y.: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964, p. 100.

^{*}For a parallel to this phenomenon consider the high conversion rates of the LDS Church in California and the Pacific Northwest — areas which have witnessed a heavy influx of migrants, especially from small towns in the Midwest. People who formerly would have turned the LDS missionaries away from their doors while living in the Midwest,

skilled, and often uneducated, these migrants gain their first impression of the LDS Church through two friendly, obviously middle-class people in their own rural communities. Their initial attendance at an LDS service is increasingly located in a sumptious (to them) structure which reflects middle-class values. But the people whom they encounter there are mostly like themselves — poor, and desiring new friendships and upward mobility. They often see membership in this congregation as a social step upward. They anticipate that it will help their children to improve their own social position through education and leadership-skill development which might be converted into an improved socio-economic status in the broader society.

The organization of the Church serves as an integrating force for rural migrant converts. The Church, however, competes with a number of other groups which also provide this type of support, including Pentecostal churches which appeal strongly to this same people; regional associations of migrants from the same rural localities; barriada, or poor neighborhood associations which have organized in order to protect the small urban plot which they have occupied illegally as squatters; labor unions; credit and housing cooperatives; etc. All of these social organizations offer alternate services and opportunities for social integration into the urban scene.

The preceding view of the rural to urban migratory pattern, while explaining one very important phase of the dynamics of LDS conversion, does not provide a complete picture of the growth of the Church in Latin America. Some countries, especially Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, with much larger percentages of recent European immigrants, reflect more of a lower-class and middle-class conversion to the Church, with an occasional upper-class convert lending strength and support to leadership positions in the Church. Differing in kind from the lower-class rural convert, the analysis of these more prosperous converts merits future separate treatment.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC NEEDS OF THE LDS CONVERTS

In what ways does the LDS Church help meet the social and economic needs of its membership in Latin America? An obvious strength is the facility with which the Church organization seeks to incorporate the newly baptized member into the various spheres of organizational activity, such as the Mutual, Relief Society, and Priesthood. Through these experiences the new member often sees himself engaged in the development of administrative and social skills which he has lacked. These often help him in his regular occupation, and he can see their material and social benefits.

These, however, are but a few of the perceived needs of the typical convert. He often lives in a slum and has difficulty obtaining any capital through loans to start a small business. He finds that his children often are unable

for fear of what their friends or neighbors would think, now open their doors to the missionaries; their new neighbors could care less, and their old-town friends are far away. The social pressures for conformity to traditional patterns have been weakened.

^{*}While most missionaries are from the United States, there is a small but growing, number of Latin American missionaries serving in Latin America.

to obtain entry into over-crowded and inferior schools, or they are ostracized in Catholic schools. His own livelihood is not based upon his merits, but upon "who he knows," and the people he knows (i.e. Church people) do not open employment opportunities because they are too often like himself. Limited funds for the care of bad teeth, parasites, and tuberculosis are all too often harsh realities for the convert. Discussions in Priesthood meetings often center on such questions as, "Why couldn't we, as church members, work together in developing a housing cooperative, or a credit cooperative, or have church schools for our children so they would not have to attend private Catholic or impoverished public schools?"

Some of the sharpest criticism of the LDS Church in Latin America comes from non-LDS friends, with some familiarity of LDS programs in the United States, who ask, "Why don't you start cooperatives among your people here in Latin America like your Church was famous for during its early struggling days in Utah?" Or, "Why don't you help your members with welfare participation programs, provide jobs like the Deseret Industries does, or develop schools and educational opportunities for your people?" To these pointed queries the North American Mormon defensively replies, "It's true that we are not engaging very much in these material things, but we are helping to change personalities and increasing moral strength in our converts, which will redound not only to their personal advantage and happiness, but also to the general improvement of their country." There then follows a lengthy discussion of the dishonesty of bureaucrats, the bribe (mordidas), sexual promiscuity, etc. to show that there is indeed a need for such societal improvements. A second answer to the above question is that the organizational activities of the Church give its members administrative skills and social graces which they can convert into higher social status in their country.

Were other religious organizations carrying out comparable programs of proselyting and organizational activity, the questions might not be so barbed. In recent years, the Catholic Church, however, has responded to the challenges of Protestant and Mormon incursions by developing an aggressive social program designed to regain its precarious hold over nominal Catholics. For example, credit unions under the direction of Catholic priests, exemplified by the successful pioneering efforts of Father McClelland in Peru, have been proliferating throughout Latin America. For the first time local Catholics see the Church as a significant support for their material needs through the availability of low-interest loans. New Mormon converts take a look at this service and ask, "Why don't we do it?"

Seventh-Day Adventists, Catholics, Baptists, and Methodists are responding to the lack of adequate schooling in many Latin American countries through the development of private school systems. Governments, hard-pressed to maintain their existing services in the face of increasing population and inflation, look gratefully upon the support from these private groups in areas where they are not capable of providing enough. Latin American Mormon converts take a look at their new, costly meeting houses (chapels designed

by Americans in Salt Lake City for extremely different conditions in Latin America) and ask, "Why don't we use these lovely buildings as schools indeed, why aren't they designed in the first place with school-use in mind?" The Church has had difficulty obtaining local support for the construction of the lovely new chapels recently built in Latin America, but local members insist that if these were designed as schools for their children (in addition to regular church activities) that the Church would have no trouble securing local volunteer support. Indeed, what impresses many observers in Latin America is the significant demand of the lower classes for adequate schooling. In many cases, the parents themselves help build government schools, without remuneration. They desperately want their children to have new educational opportunities. One of the most common replies to the question as to how the lower-class peasant perceives his lot in life is, "I don't expect that things will change very much for me, but I'm certainly going to do everything possible to assure that my children have a better chance in life." Better chances are seen as being inextricably linked with educational opportunities. Rural Latin Americans often pay fifty per cent of their annual income (which might be around \$400 per year) to send their children to school, often away from home in larger towns.

The Church has barely begun to respond to this challenge of educating its members in Latin America. From the Rio Grande to Panama, only Mexico has an educational program for LDS children, with slightly over thirty elementary schools and a modern secondary and normal-school educational complex in Mexico City. However, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Salvador, and Panama have no church schools, although they have sizeable and increasing LDS congregations. In all of South America only Chile has LDS schools, and only five elementary schools exist there. In Bolivia, a school has been initiated in one of the chapels, but is operating without formal church support.

Experience of the LDS schools in Chile indicate that the Church not only gains converts through the schools, but that parents of children in the church schools participate more fully in regular church activities.¹⁰

PRIVATE SUPPORT OF NORTH AMERICAN MORMONS TO LDS CHURCH WORK IN LATIN AMERICA

A little-known facet of the LDS Church in Latin America is the presence of an increasing number of non-missionary North American Mormons who are residing there. These range from short tenure U.S. governmental or private business employees to a number of families who have migrated to Latin America on a permanent basis. A few examples will illustrate their varied involvement.

One member, an employee of the U.S. Internal Revenue Service, accepted a contract with the U.S. Agency for International Development to

¹⁰Interview with Dale Harding, first administrator of LDS Church schools in Chile. November 1968, Provo, Utah.

help a South American country develop a better tax program. With no previous experience in Latin America and no knowledge of the Spanish language, he was soon called to be a counselor in a branch presidency. Even before he could speak Spanish well, he was made branch president.

Probably more typically, many former missionaries return to Latin America with U.S. corporations in executive positions. They often serve at the branch, district, and mission levels, often as counselors giving guidance to the local leadership of the Church. "Long-termers," including some former missionaries who return to Latin America, marry local girls and settle down to work as permanent employees of U.S. corporations in Latin America.

However, these patterns are giving away to a new type of immigrant — the returned U.S. missionary who seeks to earn his living in Latin America, but, who at the same time wants to "do something to advance the cause of the Lamanites" (especially in the more Indian countries of Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru). One young family has moved to the interior of Guatemala and purchased a farm, complete with over a hundred Indians who "come with the *hacienda*," and has become engrossed in an effort to develop its charges through an amplification of their opportunities on his private farm.¹¹

Another young man, a farmer from Logan, Utah (not a returned Latin American missionary), looking for agricultural business opportunities in Latin America, surveyed possibilities from Mexico to Argentina and then decided to purchase land in the newly developing eastern lowlands of the Andes, near Santa Cruz, Bolivia. His agricultural venture has become somewhat more complicated with the arrival of five Bolivian LDS families from the highlands near La Paz, who have been sent to him through the encouragement of the Mission President. These five families represent the lowincome sector of the Bolivian economy and are attracted by the possibilities of an experimental colonization project under the private auspices of this American farmer.

AYUDA

Other church members have wondered if they might not be of service to the Lamanite populations of Latin America by donating their time, professional skills and resources in various ways. A number of these men and women founded an organization entitled AYUDA, Inc. (meaning "help" or "assistance" in Spanish). This non-profit foundation was incorporated in Utah in 1968 with the specified objectives of providing material and technical support to Lamanite members and non-members in Latin America and elsewhere. A medical clinic was established by AYUDA in the Indian town of Cunen, Guatemala on July 4, 1969 — initiating a voluntary service requested by community officials in that community.

Since that time some forty different volunteers have given anywhere from two weeks to twelve months unpaid voluntary service to the Indian and

¹¹See "Sell that Thou Hast . . . and Come and Follow Me," Church News (March 9, 1968), p. 11.

Latino population of that community. Volunteers have included medical doctors (specialists as well as general practitioners), nurses, nurses' aids, educators, construction specialists, bankers, etc. They have ranged from single persons to families with as many as seven children. Most of the volunteers have been LDS but a number of non-members have also collaborated. Personnel have come from Arizona, California, Idaho, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, and Utah.

Plans for the community include the training of local para-medical personnel who can themselves meet many of the future needs of their own people. Support is being sought for the construction of a medical clinic with adequate equipment to handle the needs of the region which includes some 30,000 Mayan Indians who speak the Quiché dialect. Another proposal would establish an agricultural, experimental and training station to help local farmers improve their income and general economic condition through the application of more scientific agricultural techniques and practices.

This project has caught the imagination of some LDS members in Guatemala. A young Guatemalan medical intern has donated his services on several occasions and would like to spend full time at the project if a basic stipend for expenses could be provided. Other Guatemalans have donated sheets and baby clothing to the patients in the medical clinic. A nurse from BYU developed a program for expectant mothers during her eight-month sabbatical leave spent in the community. A limited post-primary school has been established in the community by AYUDA (the first school in the community's history with education beyond the sixth grade). The wife of the school director founded a pre-school day-care center in which children receive nutritional increments, most of which are provided by CARE, Inc. with distribution in Cunen being effected by the AYUDA personnel.

The dental component of AYUDA, has recently secured a specially equipped dental mobile-trailer which will enlarge the radius for AYUDA service in the region.

Some twenty-four Friends of AYUDA groups have been established throughout the U.S. and include units in Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, Palo Alto, Phoenix-Mesa, Provo, Sacramento, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, and Washington D.C. These groups undertake various activities to develop support for the field projects in Latin America.¹²

CONCLUSIONS

Little question remains as to the initial attractiveness of the LDS Church to many Latin Americans. Increasing numbers of baptisms attest to its centripetal force in drawing converts. More salient at this point is the question, "Can converts become ingregated and find satisfaction materially as well as spiritually?" No formal studies have been carried out on the subject of LDS inactivity in Latin America; however, indications are that in many

²²Anyone interested in participating in or organizing a Friends of AYUDA group should write to: Director/AYUDA, Inc./1034 North Fifth West/Provo, Utah 84601.

areas there is a high loss of church membership after baptism. Increasingly, the Church must confront the broader challenges relating to the material needs of its membership, including schools, greater skill development, economic opportunities and supportive social arrangements which facilitate material well-being.

The formal structure of the Church already appears to be on the threshold of changing its stance in some areas. The appointment of a new Commissioner of Education for the Church and the comments of General Authorities in recent months attest to a new mood with regard to expansion of LDS education programs in Latin America. The expanding work-missions among U.S. Lamanite populations under the stimulus of the BYU Institute of American Indian Studies reflect a tentative probing of the possibilities for implementation of economic assistance through formal Church channels.

Aside from formal Church response lies another vital question: "To what degree will affluent Mormons in the U.S. personally assume responsibility for brotherly assistance to their less privileged brethren?" The individual activities of a few U.S. members in Latin America and the initial response to AYUDA'S activities may presage substantial interest, desire and willingness to become involved to a significant degree.

Increasingly, the future of Latin American Mormons becomes linked with the faith and dedication of U.S. Mormons.

From the Pulpit

A LESSON FROM THE PAST

William L. Knecht

William L. Knecht practices law in Berkeley, California, on Telegraph Avenue. He is an avid history buff. The following sermon, which was delivered in the Oakland II Ward on July 13, 1969, won honorable mention in DIALOGUE'S 1969 Silver Awards competition for religious literature.

The year was 1856. Times were bad, economically, in Europe and particularly in England. In Utah, as in most developing economies, the need for human resources was high. Emigration committees were formed and funds collected and pooled to assist the poor in getting to Zion. Out of these efforts the handcart scheme was born.

It was the responsibility of church agents in Europe to charter ships. Other agents in St. Louis and Chicago were to buy lumber, iron and canvas, for shipment to Iowa City where carpenters and blacksmiths fashioned the materials into carts. But more emigrants came than were expected and fewer carpenters and fewer blacksmiths were available than were needed.

Because there wasn't enough money, Church agents had to skimp on the iron, and they bought green lumber instead of seasoned wood. Thus, the carts were not built in large enough quantities, nor soon enough, nor well enough, and large numbers of emigrants ended up waiting under the hot Iowa summer sun.

Some of the emigrants, as they got off the boats, thought it prudent to stop in Boston or in New York and find lodgings and jobs to recruit both their financial and physical strength, and postpone the trip across the plains for a year.

One such family, named Loader, consisting of a father, mother and two girls, stopped in New York. They wrote a letter to their son-in-law, who with his child and pregnant wife was still in Liverpool. The son-in-law, John Jaques, worked in the office of Elder Franklin D. Richards, who had charge of the emigration. John wrote a letter to his father-in-law:

My pleasure [upon receipt of your letter] changed to great pain and unfeigned sorrow when I read it. I have read the letter about half a dozen times. I could scarcely believe that you could have sent such a one. There is not one atom of the spirit of Zion in it, but the very spirit of apostacy. I felt to exclaim in my heart, "who has bewitched you, and with whom have you been taking counsel, that you should so soon forget the goodness of the Lord in delivering you from this part of Babylon, and opening up your way to Zion?" Jesus Christ wept over Jerusalem and said, "How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" . . . And I truly felt to weep over you as Jesus did over the Jews. Here I have been praying and exerting my faith and influence with the Lord, and with you, to get you gathered to Zion, and now that He has been graciously pleased to open up your way, you turn around in His face, and ungratefully tell Him you cannot walk in it, but He must bring you a wagon to ride in! It is truly grevious to me, and I am sure it is to God and to His good spirit. If I were to turn aside on my way to Zion, for such trifling reasons as those in your letter, now that the Lord has so kindly given me the privilege of going, it seems to me that I ought to be damned, and I have no doubt that I should be.

You invited me and my family to stay awhile in New York, and you will get lodgings ready for us. We appreciate your kindness, and feel thankful for it. But you must allow us to decline the offer. I tell you plainly, that if you would get us lodgings, pay for them, clothe and feed us with the best that Babylon can offer, and give us 10,000 into the bargain, we would not stay with you in New York; no, not if fifty brothers and sisters or fathers or mothers were to ask us to stay. Brothers, sisters, fathers or mothers, when they put a stumblingblock in the way of my salvation, are nothing more to me than gentiles. As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord, and when we start we will go right up to Zion, if we go ragged and barefoot. Why do not you rise up as a man of God, and say that you and your house will serve the Lord, and will go up to Zion at all hazards?...¹

The letter had its desired effect and the family from New York joined the writer and his family from Liverpool and together they left Iowa City.

The day after they left Council Bluffs, John's wife had her baby. The baby came without too much difficulty but the new mother was hardly prepared to start walking. Further, his sister-in-law had hurt a shoulder when a cart rushed down a ravine to a creek bed, and she had now developed a fever. The captain of the company offered the new mother a ride but would allow no one to accompany her, so the offer was refused. The two families laid over a day and a night, and then began their effort to catch up with the

rest of the company. After an all day and all night exertion, they reached their friends but were told, because it was so late, that they could not put up a tent — that they could not build a fire. Imagine, an eighteen hour trip, with but one stop for food, and now they were forbidden a fire because it was against some rule!

They laid out on the ground and slept until morning. Too tired to rise for breakfast, they barely got underway with the company and were without food until noon!²

Another family — the McBrides — consisted of a father, mother, and a flock of little ones. Soon after leaving Iowa City, mother and father became so tired that they took turns riding, draped across the cart. The strongest of the two started off immediately after breakfast and walked until they could walk no more. The weakest of the two parents rode the cart until it caught up with the, now resting, other parent, and they changed places. That's a difficult way to travel.

One evening, after a particularly hard trip, coming into camp long after all others, they found the most desirable sites taken, and the easily gathered wood already collected, and so in the rain, the oldest boy, twelve years old, gathered some soggy twigs and started a fire to heat some gruel and tea for the family. Then came the call to prayers. All but the boy and his mother joined the rest of the company. The second-in-command, checking up to see who hadn't gone to prayers, found Sister McBride and her son Heber working over a smoking fire. He kicked out the fire, kicked over the soup, and said, "That'll teach you to stay away from prayers!"

John Jaques wrote about those prayer meetings. He said: "In all the . . . daily routine the only serious mistake was the semi-daily obligatory public prayer meetings. . . . Harsh words were sometimes uttered and harsh measures were sometimes adopted to cause all men, women, and children, and even the sick, to attend these public prayer meetings, morning and evening."

One other major problem was presented to the emigrants. At Council Bluffs, in August, they held a meeting to decide whether to stay over for the winter or go on to Utah. Many were tired. Some loved ones had already been buried. Food was short and the hoped for — the promised supplies — were not at hand. The emigrants were joined at this moment by certain apostles who had stayed in Iowa City to wind up affairs, and who were now hurrying to Utah.

Some of the people wanted to stay at Winter Quarters. Others pointed out that they didn't have much money to buy food for the winter and that they didn't have much with them — food, or shelter, or clothing. Besides, there were several other considerations. Some apostate Mormons had settled nearby and they were dangerous to the spiritual safety of the emigrating converts. There was equal danger from the gentiles who lived in the area and who would try to persuade the able-bodied emigrants to settle down and work.

²MSS Journal of Patience Archer Rosa Loder, Special Collections, BYU Library.

⁸Typescript Journal of Heber Robert McBride, Special Collections, BYU Library.

^{&#}x27;John Jaques, Salt Lake Daily Herald, January 12, 1879.

A council meeting was called. The fears felt were spoken. Then one of the apostles spoke, He, "a prominent and sanguine gentleman[,] promised to eat all the snow the emigrants would find between the Missouri and Salt Lake"

Another told the emigrants that they were the children of God, and promised them that they would go through safe and unharmed. "The Indians, the seasons, nay, the very elements, would be controlled for their benefit, and after they had gotten through, they would hear of storms on the left and on the right, of which they, in their traveling, would know nothing."

That was late in August. It started snowing October 19th, when the emigrants were at the last crossing of the Platte River. Snow came earlier, stayed longer, and was piled deeper than ever before — and all that with 40 below zero temperatures

According to one who was with the company, fires, when they could be made, served three magnificent purposes. If you had any food — and the rations were now one-quarter of a pound of flour a day per person — you could cook it on the fire. And it made a warm — albeit perhaps muddy — spot to sleep. And in the morning, it made the task of digging a hole to bury a dozen or twenty dead people, easier.

Old people died. Young people died. Men died. A few women died. Children were born. And still more snow. The emigrants were helpless. Their leadership disintegrated. Tempers became very short. But the apostles had gone ahead, and ten days later advance parties of a rescue company from Salt Lake City found the desperate remainder of the handcart companies sitting in the snow. It took five weeks to get the survivors out of the mountains and into Salt Lake City, but it was done.

In the meanime, the President of the Church, Brigham Young, preached a sermon. It was a magnificent sermon. A shorthand reporter took it down verbatim, which is fortunate, because we might not believe what was said that day if we had only the memory of his listeners to rely upon. Well-known people in the Church have said that Brigham Young would never have preached such a sermon. We know better, because Brigham Young read the transcript and directed the Deseret News to print parts of it.

If our elders in the east — the apostles — had sent our immigration in the season that they should have done, you and I could have kept our teams at home; we could have fenced our five and ten acre lots; we could have put in our fall wheat; could have gotten up wood for ourselves and for the poor that could not help themselves . . . whereas now our hands are tied.

This people are this day deprived of thousands of acres of wheat that would have been sowed by this time, had it not been for the misconduct of our immigration affairs this year. . . . Here is [and he named the apostle] who has but little knowledge of business except what he has learned in the Church; he came into

⁵Ibid, December 1, 1878.

⁶T. B. H. Stenhouse, The Rocky Mountain Saints (New York, 1873).

⁷Jaques, op cit, January 5, 1879.

the Church as a boy, and all the public business he has been in is the little he has done while in Liverpool. . . . If at the Missouri River, . . . he had received a hint from any person on this earth, or if even a bird had chirped it in the ears of Brother, he would have known better. . . . What is the cause of our immigration being so late this season? The ignorance and mismanagement of some who had to do with it. . . . 8

Will you consider for a moment what you would have done had you been an emigrant on the banks of the Missouri? Would you have whispered in the ears of the apostles? Would you have stood up in the middle of the congregation and said, "Now look here, you say that this is the Lord's plan, and you are his servants, but you are being stupid servants, and we will not follow you"? You'd have been in big trouble, as the kids say, if you'd done that! Or would you have said, "Well, they are apostles, and whatever they say must be right; I don't have to think about it for myself"?

Lest I be misunderstood, let me state unequivocally, that I am not trying to foster a general spirit of dissension. Those who want to dissent, disagree, usually feel free enough to do so.

I recognize, I accept, I encourage the spirit of unity under authority that has made the Church a vehicle of strength to aid in the salvation, both temporal and spiritual, of millions of people. It is not an organization that has been, or is, or should be governed by concensus.

But often enough to be a problem is the quenching of the spirit of a member who feels strongly enough about an issue to voice an opinion different from the majority.

You see, some apostles would have been unhappy to have anyone disagree with their decisions. But in the case of the handcart company, the ultimate earthly authority wished that someone had whispered in the ears of the apostles. Brigham Young was so emphatic about the matter that he promised to cut off from the Church anyone who ever did anything so stupid again.

Consider the problem of the Saints of the handcart company. The call to prayer is sounded. *Must* you go? Must you go, no matter *what*? Consider, too, the problem of their leaders.

On the other hand, what would you do if you had hundreds of weary, tired emigrants in your charge, with winter fast approaching? Wouldn't you want to have as much prayer as possible? Don't you believe that if the emigrants just had *enough* faith and just prayed *hard* enough the Lord would have fulfilled the promises of his leaders?

The point, stated another way, is that you are responsible for your own salvation, both temporal and spiritual. I have only a peripheral responsibility for you, a primary responsibility for me. The bishop's responsibility for you is greater, but still only peripheral. He is to train you to get salvation, not to give it to you. Each of us has to bear the burden of our own salvation

^{*}Journal of Discourses, 4:66, 68. The sermon was proofed and approved by Brigham Young and, under his direction, published in the Deseret News on November 12, 1856.

and with that responsibility we have the privilege of seeking facts, of seeking inspiration or revelation, and we have to decide for ourselves whether we'll stay at Winter Quarters or press on to the Valley. And we have to be willing for someone else to make the opposite decision, without our running off to the bishop, or stake president, or some apostle.

We are not likely, soon at least, to face the question faced by the Martin handcart company at Winter Quarters; our usual decisions are much more mundane. But it is practice in making decisions and living with them, that prepares us for large, fateful decisions. Someday each of us will have to make at least one important decision, important for our own salvation and important for other members of the Church. Every member should feel free, after careful examination of his inner strengths and the external facts, and an appeal to revelation, to voice, in proper place and time, his position.

Can you disagree with a Sunday school teacher, or a Sunday school manual, or a bishop, or even an apostle, without someone complaining about it? We need help in sustaining one another in our differences; one step is to study our past.

We should read history — when it is honest — in an effort to perceive problems and their solutions so that we can learn from the processes as well as from the results. In so doing, we will gain strength and wisdom. Then when the testing comes, we will be prepared to respond. We will not be dissenters for the sake of dissenting, but we will be able to exercise our free agency and to assume the responsibility for our own salvation.

Would, when the time comes, that we would have the wisdom and the strength and that extra something — a love for our fellow beings — to match that of Levi Savage, who, at Winter Quarters in 1856, counselled the Saints to wait over: "The tears rolled down his cheeks as he prophesied that if . . . [they] took the journey at that late season of the year, their bones would strew the way." But he added: "If you elect to go ahead, I will come and assist, though it cost me my life."

⁹Stenhouse, 317. There is ample confirmation of this episode. See, for example, K. Carter (ed.) *Treasures of Pioneer History* (Salt Lake City, 1956), 252.

from RIVER SAINTS INTRODUCTION TO A MORMON CHRONICLE

RICH, THE DEAD BROTHER

The Poet's mother, scrutinizing
A photo of his dead brother, says,
: It seems a thousand years since he lived.
True, the Photo's glossy grin parodies
A millennial past
Once worth a poet's words running toward,
In eras when thought was linked to hope,
Before the breakable trusts of steel and stone
And supersonic this and space probes that
And the minor hypodermic of trivial acquisitions
Spun his "creative" yelps toward less than
The old fisherman's river silence.

Yet, the valley's poet still walks
Within the brother's life,
Still disbelieves the soundlessness
Of that grave Matthew Daniels dug
A millennium ago,
And sees two boys riding horses
To the silver pond
In nightfall glows of opal
And iridescent dancehall lights
Beneath the lap of Baldy Mountain;
Justin too! Now ten steps away,
Decaying in another final bed
Picked and shoveled to cadences
Of Maori tunes.

He, the constable, the conscience third To everyone's duet, Muttering to himself that night, Walking the lane to the silver pond —

: Law and order.... Won't put up with tomfoolishness...
City folks got no right setting up dancehalls here...
O no ya don't.... surrender in the name of the law...
The riders listen and laugh
Infused with youth July and moon,
Reign up while the old man
Passes through the fields
grumbling this gawdy commercialization
Of the village's peace and mountains.

Before the cruel summer was over The boys found a human skull half buried Deep in Pine Canyon. : What would it be like to die? : Ugh!! Like this! Dirt from the skull's eyesockets Sifted through their hands. Half thrilled, half brave, half joyed, They swore their wills upon it Secretly consigning possessions to the survivor — Ponies, dogs, pocketknives, girl friends, And whatever increase came of A dollar and eighty five cents. But now Baldy's runoff waters And gophers of cemetery hill Portend a future play and horror and vow In hands of other huckleberry boys, Believers too in millennial time And everlasting selves.

THE ATTIC BOY

He won't leave his parents in peace, As they pray he will, To practice their God-fearing, Because he knows they can no longer Shove his face in milk whey

Whip with willows or

Yank by his hair from Sunday School seat;

He has lived the seven years since high school

In the old house's attic

Smoking, reading novels, watching TV,

Careful always to remove the stepladder

After he has ascended into his ceiling cave.

: It is almost more than a mother's heart can bear,

His mother says,

An ungrateful son steeped in irreverance.

For did she not drill him countless hours

To memorize faultlessly his Sunday School talks;

Didn't she stand over him every night

Of his childhood life

While he repeated hourly from the Book of Mormon?

What more could a loving mother do?

: We brought him up in the ways of the Lord . . .

Now look at him . . . !

But the poet looks instead at her, Phoebe Jamison Wayne,

Knowing she had her rivers too

And saw them cruelly drained;

Sixth daughter in a family of a dozen,

Dwelling in a log cabin in a grove

Next the mountains, above Silver Pond,

Her parents primitives pioneering

Long after privation was necessary, a hard life, hers,

Divorced from the flows of village life.

Long the teenage winter nights

Staring at genealogy books, recording baptisms,

Tracing her father's lineage back to Adam;

And dim the kerosene lamplight,

Smokey in the wind the logs and gunny sack

Never could keep out;

Married a meek sheepherder, Owen Wayne,

And moved into the village,

Where her son, she vowed, would outsmart

And outreligion the children

Of people who danced at the Silver Pond

While she fed her father's hogs.

But he, born frail and frightened,

Offended her by loving the animals he was ordered to slaughter, Preferred tracing flowers and mountains To genealogy and Joseph Smith's vision, : Why do you think he did it? The poet asks, earlier knowing from the attic boy's tale Of the evening last summer when he, Hearing the family assemble downstairs took His .22 from its peg, Climbed down the stepladder, Leaned against the living room doorframe And fired a bullet into the picture tube, Returned to the attic, drew the ladder up, And turned on his own TV full blast. : Because he went to the city, She says, dead certain, : And got a janitor job there, that's why. He couldn't Stay here and help his poor father and mother . . . No, and after all we done for him . . . No, he had to Leave us here a-workin ourselves to death, And running around with a rough bunch of gentiles, Who taught him to smoke and drink and swear And the good Lord only knows what else . . . !

What else the poet secretly knows
For the attic boy's eyes broke their hardness
Last night,
Telling of four years ago when Kathryn,
His crosslots village sweetheart,
Who rendezvoused with him in pastures
And made love's promises,
Gave birth in a sheepcamp
To her father's child.

THE OWNER OF THE SKULL

The old fisherman babbles nowadays Who was the owner of the skull; There was a moonshining hermit, ex-Mormon, Who as a youth watched federal marshals Bullwhip his polygamist father,
Tie him across a saddle, like a dead elk,
Proceed ostentatiously through the village
For all the saints to view the error
Of their sanctified matrimonial principle,
And haul him to gentile court, then jail;
Impoverished, the family suffered, the mother died.
Well, it was a federal marshal who learned
Of the mountain still
And caught Lenny's bullet between his eyes.

The old constable knows for it was he Who heard Lenny confess,
And took the haunted man fishing below Pescadero
And baptized him back into the graces of God,
In the river;
And caught fifteen trout that day.

THE PHILOSOPHER'S MOTHER

We'll never kick him out, We'll always, as after his destroying the TV, Call him down to supper, And suffer in silence. : I thought of going to college . . . Seven years ago and since . . . Got A's in high school, The attic boys says, smoking, His feet propped on the bedstead. But the poet sees in the steel-dreary eyes Only the affection of change, And thinks: No, you are your own school, And this family, this people, this valley. Leaving him, blowing smoke rings, And certain that the fragilities of the boy And of his mother Blend into kinds of counterpoles, Each exhausting and sustaining themselves Another hundred years By their rivers' catalyst of mutual love.

A GATHERING OF SAINTS

They softened into visiting,
After the weed fire,
Parking their cars and trucks
In the wide part of the dirt road,
Halfway between the homes the poet lived in,
The two decades of his village life;
Visiting of matters apart from this emblazoned threat
To the township's long, inherited peace,
Shaped by less peaceful pioneers who carved
A civilization from a valley Jim Bridger
Swore to Brigham Young could not be humanly inhabited,
Infested with wild beasts, winters in July, and
A swollen river.

Now, the blaze controlled, they talk gently Of sons and grandsons making more money in a month Than they in a year; One a biochemist for the USDA, Another, executive for *IBM*; A business accountant, a military officer, etcetera, But saying nothing of what the poet knows To have been their sacrifices for offsprings Whose fortunes had to be sought apart from the heritage, In worlds of stone and steel — Selling cows, sheep, ancestral lands To send them through universities, Reducing poverty to want; Wise, these old, to see the cast Of the world's change did not lie with villages, Though hurting somewhat that it were not so; Hurting, even yet, for the progeny rarely returns and, Returning, gives scarce evidence of honoring the heritage, Even the language or the values; and jittery Anxious to return to whatever they chase, "Bright" beyond the above villages now, with computers, Promotions and all, oblivious of What the mountains once meant, And scarcely with memory of or connection To those in Cemetery Hill who never made it through;

Yet, they are proud of their go-getters, these old, Unaware of or disbelieving driven nerves Scraping beneath flannel suits and tailfin cars. Educate them — the only way nowadays — Help them "get started" (sell another cow) For family cannot cleave unto family anymore And land must be sold for a gentile's money, If that's what it takes to pay tuition. And even now (sell another cow) when somehow The big salary turns to bad luck or recession Or business overturn. Sell the north forty; Get them through, he's got a degree, he'll prevail; Like his letter says expenses are more nowadays. Just think, everything he eats comes from a grocery store! We don't know, don't understand, send him a check, And he'll be all right. This they don't talk of, But the poet knows, for he too was educated, and home now By way of sold cows.

Now in the sundown, the weed blaze smouldering dull, Their first emergency since the old fisherman disappeared Last winter and they had to hook up the town's Only team (belonging to him) and fetch him From the river -Only at such crises times do the saints gather now, Discounting church where they worship mostly silent now, Often sleeping through services, nudged awake By the ghosts of intense ancestors, To sip the sacrament waters, Then settle again to the thrumming pulpit platitudes, Not to be disturbed anymore by loud Maori chants, Nor conscienced by milky intensely blue eyes and shaking mouth; For the conscience of the village has been quieted. Not at ball games do they gather, for there are none, Nor school plays, for the children are bussed Into the city's consolidated schools And the long-suffering Sadie has hushed the only link To their collective memory. The fire, spreading from leaves the incompetent attic boy Had left untended

Smokes gently in the slow, delicate declining hour Of Sunday,

The sundown disc backlighting the Pescadero Hills
And flaming the poplars at the poet's "old place"
With yellows of autumn leaves
Which cannot sublimate the darker meadows
Where the splendid brother flushed cows home
From willow bush hideaways,
In days when these were mid-aged
And the pioneer houses of the village
Seemed likely to be repopulated
By the blood of youth in the heritage;
Not left to rot as now, each log house,
Or inhabited and remodeled,
Respirited by workers imported by Monsanto to work
In the city's phosophate plant;

Workers moving on, most likely, next year,
Wherever the company trumpets them to.
(Would the splendid brother be Mr. IBM now?)
The poet looks into the darker meadows
And a millennium ago,
Only slightly hearing the villagers murmur
Upon the death of Enoch Henry, one of their number,
Yesterday, at 80, 27 days older than the old fisherman
(According to the attic boy's mother, who
Having traced her blood to Adam, now traces for others)
And repeat as if it's incredible
That he is now town patriarch,
Not knowing, as the poet knows,
He has always been the oldest. . . .

(Horace Mahonri Barnum and Bailey Tate)
Who, in his 70's, fat, stubby, watery-eyed, peppery,
Always Santa Claus at the children's Christmas party,
Leans his elbow on his truck window, squints his eyes
Into the faint smoke, and tells of his chartered excursion
To the World's Fair.
Is of the opinion New York
Was a damned waste of somebody's money,
New Yorkers
Worse than stampeding animals,

Except animals are more friendly. Stopped in Times Square to tell a wino About the saving graces of Mormonism When a hurried elbow knocked his hat off, And stooping, another bowled him over, The potential convert quickly disappearing By the time he pulled his Santa's rotundity together. : Oh they could tell I was a sheepman. . . . Saw it in their eyes. . . . Hell, if living there means getting ahead. . . . I wonder what's the use of. . . . His voice quits, and the poet finishes the memory,

Of his son Rex, city dwelling, making money,

Who put a bullet in his head five years ago,

: Life wouldn't be worth living if

It wasn't for the church . . .

Continues, describing the claustrophobia, the speed,

The noises, how, trapped, he couldn't escape

Because the bus was chartered,

And finally, hardly able to breathe and trembling with Outrage and invective,

Of collapsing halfway through Nebraska,

Making the trip from Wyoming in an ambulance.

I'm all right now, he says, back home,

Convinced only a fool would ever leave the elixir

Air of mountains and the everlasting gospel;

: Starting life all over again,

He laughs, prying his mouth open.

: Looky here, starting to grow teeth again!

Takes the false ones out, plops them into

The poet's surprised hand,

And arranging the angle of his head,

Shows reddened gums with white edges of enamel

Protuding in three places. . . .

(James Simon Armetus Montgomery Ward Tate)

Ex-Bishop, taps his cane

In the fire's weed ashes, saying

: When a president of the United States stands up

Without batting an eyelash and says the farmer is better off

Than he's ever been, he's nothing but a dang-busted liar . . .

Unable to connect the drop to ninety nine cents in wheat prices

To the farmers' voted insistence upon a free market. Financially indentured to a future that Democrats, somehow, Have cheated him of, he had not and would not sell His grand piano, Bought in war-time prosperous years Despite tone deafness, without exception, in his family.

: Not on your life . . . finest piece of furniture In the valley.

Nor had he sold any other of his finest and superfluous Commodities to pay his debts, despite court orders.

Commodities to pay his debts, despite court orders.

For unlike his Santa Claus brother, James S.A.M.W. Tate
Never reduced his standard of living for his children's sake,
And they now remain in the valley or near,
Adding yearly to their father's posterity,
Thus increasing his and their rewards in heaven
(For so it is written).

But it was the Bishop's son, the poet knows, Who slew himself in the Pescadero Hills, Before the poet's time.

That threatened their peace,

He walks among them, from group to group, Noting the members missing from their number -Uncle Arnold Davis, thrown to his death five years ago When his tractor struck a badger hole, circled And ran over him — Pete Hart, retired sheepherder, inveterate Jack-Mormon, Who boasted of hitting a foul ball off Walter Johnson When Walter was a lumberjack and everybody else fanned — Found frozen in his house, A week after his death, in the posture of prayer -Uncle Milt Jennings, after three years of insanity And memory-clear juvenility -And dozens of others, And now Enoch Henry who searched for 30 years The walls of his cabin As the old fisherman searched his river for eighty, Of these the poet ponders, While the decimated and feeble remainders of the heritage Mill contentedly among the ashes of a fire

Their lives now a continuum
Of selling cows
To progress the world into enrichments
Their children assure them exist,
Somewhere out there
In the space of fast moving planets
Where ours will dump its problems —
Soon — one day;
Long before millennium.



A NAME AND A BLESSING

the father and his friends, holding the holy high priesthood and the infant, stand in a circle, facing each other, right hands supporting the baby — rising, falling to gentle it — left hands on the next near neighbor shoulder, on the stand before the meeting of saints this fast and testimony sunday;

having forsaken food for thought, having sought for the companionship of the holy ghost (a spirit of promise), considering the creation of bodies (his, his wife's and god's) he is to name and bless, the father now closes his eyes to shut the world out, bows his head to see the child,

begins talking with god into the microphone so the congregation may share revelation of fatherhead; like making an application he labels the frightened child, then plunges into blessing if the ghost lures him down, under forms and records to that silence of mind where spirit speaks freely in the depths of life, of deaths; and hears, searching experience for knowledge of this child that he may learn to bless it, then asks father god to signify thru spirit he has found resources to impart by mind to help his child grow into resonance with the child jesus, the man christ.

C. Thomas Asplund

UPON THIS ROCK

We laughed in the temple and found favor where the Lord lashed with lightening and laughed too

when he saw the size of salvation.

Adam between the consecrated trees
tied his hammock for secure slumber
and fell not with the night
and with the morning rose not
but slept in the sun

As tangled fishermen slept too, in a garden tumbled in sleep secure in the infinite grass and dreamt of glory which flashed by them in the night then shattered like a crowd of guilty waifs found apple-stealing when Old Man Death raged.

Oh Jesus loves this careless freckled world that stretches aimlessly where

lilies left and fig blossoms blown

(eye hath not seen)

blackbird whistle and bobwhite song (nor ear heard)

and hours and days that no man knoweth

flutter fall

in the forest

like

wastrel leaves.

With all of that

Jesus had to trust

a calculated concern

(dreamless with the pungent balm of love frugal with the poisoned sacrament of sop)

to tie Him on a tree.

Reviews

THE MANIPULATION OF HISTORY

Marvin S. Hill

"Can We Manipulate The Past?" by Fawn Brodie. First Annual "American West Lecture," Hotel Utah, Salt Lake City, October 3, 1970. Copies available from "The Center for Studies of the American West," University of Utah, \$1.00. Marvin S. Hill, the author of a forthcoming book on Joseph Smith, teaches History at B.Y.U.

On one occasion in Kirtland, Ohio, when the congregation was told by an elder that the Latter-day Saints must be bound by the written word of God, Brigham Young responded that he would not be circumscribed by written scripture. Alluding to the Bible, Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants, he said, "When compared with the living oracles those books are nothing to me." Joseph Smith nodded his agreement and said, "Brother Brigham has told you the word of the Lord, and he has told you the truth."

For the student of Mormonism, Brigham's affirmation is instructive. While Mormons venerate their sacred books, and read them (especially when the stake president assigns a chapter for an approaching conference) the final word comes not from any scriptural passage but from the living oracles. The Saints hang more upon the words of their prophets than upon the canons of the written law. This is one reason it may make little difference to them if they are told that some of the divine books have been altered, or even that the accepted view of the origin of one of their books might have to be revised. Like the American people generally, the Mormons have a very strong presentist and futuristic orientation. In some situations this proves a source of strength. Yesterday's mistakes and revisions seem insignificant when compared with the advantage of social stability which derives from waiting upon the word of the Lord.

In light of Mormon presentism, it seems unlikely that Fawn Brodie's recent address at the first annual "American West Lecture," delivered at the Hotel Utah on the evening of October 3, 1970, will have great effect upon the people of Zion. Author of a well-known biography of Joseph Smith and currently Senior Lecturer in History at U.C.L.A., Mrs. Brodie

discussed the question, "Can We Manipulate the Past?" and declared that men in positions of power can and do manipulate written history for purposes of social control. It is the job of the historian, she affirmed, quoting the Cambridge historian J. H. Plumb, to "cleanse the story of mankind from those deceiving visions of a purposeful past," thus preventing it from being put to ruthless use by willful members of the establishment.

Mrs. Brodie applied this principle of her creed to the Negro question in the Mormon Church, maintaining that Church leaders have drawn on but a portion of their relevant "Negro past" by emphasizing Joseph Smith's stand against giving the Priesthood to Blacks and forgetting the change in his attitude. Citing evidence from Joseph's history and public addresses, Brodie argues that within seven years he progressed from public support of slavery to open avowal of abolition and equal rights. For Brodie the evolution of Joseph Smith's views on this question compares favorably with that of both Jefferson and Lincoln.

Mrs. Brodie is to be commended for calling our attention to the historical record on this sensitive issue. Whether she has been wholly fair to Jefferson and Lincoln is one question. Whether she has accurately depicted Joseph Smith is another, but of most interest to Latter-day Saints is whether she has sufficient grounds to declare that the Church establishment has willfully "manipulated" history in this regard.

With respect to Jefferson, Brodie overlooks the fact that during the Revolution he drew up a bill to free the Blacks in his state and provide them with education and protection outside the limits of Virginia. But Jefferson was in an extremely difficult position. He rightly saw that, given the fierce prejudice of his people against the Blacks, to support such a bill openly would be political suicide. He therefore abstained from actively supporting his own reform bill in the Virginia assembly.

For Lincoln too, the political realities took precedent. Although he deeply felt the injustice of Negro slavery, he never allowed this sentiment to blur his clear sense of the politically achieveable. Thus he was able to contribute substantially to the initial liberation of the Negro and yet not alienate those people around him whose help would be needed to make it politically possible.

Joseph Smith was neither a professional politician nor in essence a reformer, but a prophet and a leader of a religious community. He never was in a position to influence the liberation of the Blacks in America. Yet he was a man with a strong sense of national destiny and a genuine concern for the poor and underprivileged. For these reasons he could not help but reflect upon the slavery question and feel compassion for the exploited black man. When running for the Presidential office, he did propose that the government buy the slaves' freedom.

Mrs. Brodie quotes Joseph as saying in 1844, "Had I anything to do with the Negro, I would confine them by law to their own species, and put them on a national equalization." She remarks that while this repudiated intermarriage, it was "in every other respect in favor of total equality. . . ,

a stand which in 1844 was dangerously revolutionary." To support her contention that Joseph had progressed from an extremely conservative position, Brodie contrasts Joseph's 1844 stand with his earlier letter to the editor of the *Messenger and Advocate* in 1836, which urged the Mormon people to shun abolitionism as insurrectionary and affirmed that slavery was God's will. Brodie maintains that Joseph Smith sought here to promote the Mormon missionary program in the South by placating the Southern planter.

Brodie's argument deserves close consideration. Did Joseph Smith undergo a profound alteration in his attitude toward Blacks? Was his early racism unadulterated by liberal sentiment? And if there was expediency behind his conservatism of 1836, was this not also true of his apparent liberalism in 1844?

There is some evidence to suggest that from the beginning Joseph Smith's racism, while manifest, was qualified by Christian idealism. Even in 1830, he would not have excluded Blacks from Church society and fellowship. The Book of Mormon had affirmed that the Lord "inviteth them all to come unto him and partake of his goodness: and he denieth none that come unto him, black and white, bond and free. . . ." Joseph proposed in his letter to the Messenger and Advocate that the missionaries should continue to preach to the Blacks if the Southern masters would give their permission. In Willard Richards' unpublished journal, which he kept for the prophet, it is recorded that Orson Hyde asked Joseph on December 30, 1842, what he would instruct a new member from the South to do with his one-hundred slaves. Joseph replied, "I have always advised such to bring their slaves into a free country and set them free - Educate them and give them equal Rights." Here Joseph insisted that this was "always" his position; while he tolerated the keeping of slaves by a few Saints, this may nonetheless suggest some persistent uneasiness with regard to slavery. Brodie's emphasis on Joseph's 1836 statement, may lead her to underestimate his initial liberal inclinations.

But her weakest claim is that Joseph became the black man's champion after January, 1842, when he "came under the influence of abolitionist C. V. Dyer." Joseph never met Dyer, nor is there sufficient evidence that he came under his influence. While Mrs. Brodie has maintained elsewhere that Joseph Smith and Dyer had correspondence, a careful reading of the *History of the Church* shows that it was John C. Bennett who corresponded with Dyer (but only to a limited extent) and that Joseph, after reading Dyer's letters, commented that he shared Dyer's anger at the Missourians who had sentenced three abolitionists in the state to twelve years in prison. Joseph had personal reasons for feeling that Missourians sentenced men unjustly — this rather than slavery was likely what made him angry.

Again, Mrs. Brodie overlooks the fact that while Joseph might have advocated "equal rights" for Negroes, he had no specific plans for their social improvement after they were free. In the Richards' account it is noted that Joseph believed them incapable of self-government. He told Judge Adams in December 1842, "Should the slaves be organized into an independent government they would become quarrelsome [;] it would not be wisdom . . ."

He is reported in the same source to have told Adams that he could not support a Southern presidential candidate because he might acquire a "religious peak" against the Saints and "subdue them and compel our children to mix with their slaves."

In his March 7, 1844, address before the Temple Committee, Joseph discussed his stand on the Texas question, saying that some were opposed to the annexation of Texas because of the Blacks there. Joseph said that he would annex Texas for that very reason, to prevent the British from freeing the slaves and enlisting them and the Indians in a war to "use us up." Joseph proposed to counter this by freeing Blacks, employing them in the war against Mexico, and then sending them to Texas and eventually to Mexico where "all colors are alike." Joseph's interest here seems more political and nationalistic than humanitarian.

Even Joseph's "calling for the end of slavery by 1850" in his Presidential campaign is not so liberal as Brodie supposes. For his assumption was that each Southerner would take the initiative in freeing his own slaves once he learned that the government would compensate him for his monetary losses. The Prophet failed to perceive that economic and social aspects of slavery made such a proposition unacceptable to the South. When Lincoln offered to buy the slaves in the loyal border states during the war, there were no takers.

Joseph Smith was, therefore, to some degree a racist, a segregationist, a colonizer, and only incidentally a supporter of abolition. He had some elements of liberalism in his thinking, but these had definite limits. His record, like Jefferson's and Lincoln's, is marked by ambiguity. Was he really progressive and in advance of his time in 1844? Colonization of Blacks was by then nearly a dead issue. It had proved too costly. And by 1844 the abolitionist movement was gaining ground in the North, strengthened by many reluctant Americans who may not have had as much compassion for the Blacks as fear that the Southern demand for a cessation of all discussion of the issue would deny the North basic democratic rights. By 1844 Joseph was appealing in his Presidential campaign to people in the North who wanted the annexation of Texas but not the addition of another slave state. Joseph's position looks very much like a politician's compromise; he would give the Northerners the two seemingly contradictory things they wanted. Freeing the slave may have been another way of gaining votes. If Joseph was guided by expediency in 1836, we cannot be sure he was not in 1844.

Mrs. Brodie is right in saying that Mormons do not often hear of the more liberal side of Joseph Smith's thinking about Blacks. Yet the record of the past may have no clear mandate for us in our current Church dilemma. That there was an evolution in the attitude of Joseph Smith is not so clearly substantiated as Mrs. Brodie maintains. The more carefully the events surrounding Joseph Smith's pronouncement are examined, the more ambiguous they become. In her haste to make Joseph Smith progressive, Mrs. Brodie failed to perceive the genuine dilemma the Black issue posed for the Prophet in his day. In this regard he was not unique, but typical of the American people as a whole.

DIALOGUE EAST

Robert Flanders

Courage: A Journal of History, Thought, and Action (an independent quarterly "edited by individuals belonging to or associated with the Rorganized Latter Day Saint Church." 100 East South, Lamoni, Iowa 50140. \$6.00 per year.) Robert Flanders, a member of the Reorganized Church, teaches history at Southwest Missouri State College at Springfield. He is the author of Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi (1966).

"To enter into dialogue with persons
associated with the RLDS movement
To support a means for independent
scholarly expression
To keep current on issues facing the
movement, its history, and its expectations
To keep alive the media for responsible
criticism, concerned recommendations, and
honest response"

In the spring of 1970, with the biennial world conference of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints approaching, an acute polarization of theological positions and emotional sets seemed to have occurred in the movement over the identity, the character, and the mission of the (RLDS) church.1 Communication had become increasingly difficult for those holding dissimilar opinions, and attacks upon the faith, the testimony, and the "authenticity" of opponents was underway. A number of young men and women, mostly of liberal persuasion (many of whom were more or less under attack) agreed that loss of effective lines of communication and a resort to epithet was a situation that the church could not endure. The result was the launching of a quarterly periodical, to be a forum for an expression of responsible opinion in the church, but to be private, without formal institutional connection. (Personal letters from members of the First Presidency and Council of Twelve approbate the purposes of the magazine, and express confidence in a constructive role to be played "if the search for truth is carried on in a spirit of mutual respect and concern," and if "you will keep your board broadly based, representing many points of view and areas of concern.") As of this writing one issue of Courage has been distributed, an April 1970 "pilot" issue, and it is this issue which is here reviewed. The second issue has been printed but not distributed.*

Comparison of *Courage* with *Dialogue* is immediate and natural by those acquainted with the latter and it is a useful comparison. The appearance is similar, though *Courage*, while attractive and skillfully designed is somewhat

¹The controversy, and its expression in the dynamics of the April conference, is described with perception and extraordinary candor by William Russell in "Reorganized Mormon Church Beset by Controversy," *Christian Century* (88:769, June 17, 1970). Russell, a leading exponent of a liberal position, is a graduate of Graceland College and of St. Paul Theological Seminary, a Ph.D. candidate in history at the State University of Iowa, presently a member of Graceland's religion faculty, and a founder of *Courage*.

^{*}The second issue has now been distributed - ed.

smaller, plainer, thinner, obviously less expensive. The editing of Courage is competent, and reflects experience and professionalism (four of the nine executive editorial committee men and women are editors or former editors). The magazine contains six articles, an historical document (Joseph Smith III to L. D. Hickey, 1883), two editorials, three book reviews (a perceptive, unfavorable review of Hirshon's Lion of the Lord, and somewhat less perceptive reviews of Howard's Restoration Scriptures and F. H. Edwards, History of the RLDS Church, Vol. 5), and three letters to the editor. So, apparently, a smaller Dialogue for the smaller Latter Day Saint denomination. But there are some apparent differences, if the first issue of Courage may be considered at all representative.

The tone of Courage is somewhat less denominationally self-conscious than Dialogue, though paradoxically there is more immediate concern with denominational policy and identity. The president of Graceland College grapples with the issue of church relatedness; the Director of the Department of Religious Education speaks boldly to the fiery controversy over a proposed new curriculum for the church school; a brilliant young scholar scores the doctrine of the church as presented by the President of the Council of Twelve, and presents his own startling and provocative alternatives; a retired former editor of the Saint's Herald makes a querulous call for a return to the simple legalisms of One True Church, priesthood authority, and the preservation of the traditional power of the (generally conservative) Order of Bishops over against the aggrandizement of the (generally more liberal) First Presidency with their educated and bureaucratic departmental broods.2 Two of the articles are solidly, professionally theological in content (Donald D. Landon, "A Question of Means or Ends: The Debate over Religious Education," and Harold N. Schneebeck, Jr., "The Doctrine of the Church: A Reply to Clifford Cole"). The Church Historian, Richard Howard, contributes an article the substance of which appeared earlier in Dialogue ("The 'Book of Abraham' in the Light of History and Egyptology"). There is from the first page of Courage to the last a seriousness — almost, one might say, a deadly seriousness - and a candor that is arresting to say the least.

Although the stated purpose of *Courage* is to be a "forum for a variety of viewpoints," it is certain that the moving force behind the enterprise is a relatively small group of persons whose cultural universe is rather homogeneous and decidedly different from that of a majority of adult church members. The group is an elite of intellectuals and professionals, some of whom are extraordinarily gifted, who are for the most part close friends, have frequent contact, and are influential upon one another's thinking. Many are in leadership or hold staff positions in the church headquarters organization. Most were classmates, or students, or professors of one another at Graceland.

²This last article, by Chris B. Hartshorn, is the one "traditionalist" expression in the magazine, and seems curiously out of place; the author is in very fast company. "There are two reasons for my going on record concerning my Church in this new magazine," Hartshorn begins, "(1) The request of its editors, and (2) The possibility of effecting some changes in current trends which are disturbing some of our members."

A notable number are historians or theologians. Many graduated from Graceland with a major in religion (a surprisingly formidable baccalaureate credential), and/or possess the B.D. from Union or Chicago theological seminaries, and/or the Ph.D. in History and Religion from the State University of Iowa (unique among state universities in offering a Ph.D. in Religion and in possessing a Sidney Mead on its faculty). Most of the group range in age from twenty-five to forty-five years and represent the broadening of collegiate education in the RLDS church since World War II. The impact of the thinking of this group upon the church, and especially upon many in the hierarchy, has already been formidable, but is yet at the threshold of influence. Courage may well hasten the process.

The first issue of *Courage*, not surprisingly then, breathes a kind of "new fundamental" Christian spirit, in striking contrast to the ubiquitous pseudo-fundamentalism of the scriptural literalists who confuse the church with Deity and the record of revelation with revelation. In inveighing against the promulgation of creedism as the proper end of religious education, Landon writes:

Latter Day Saintism was born in the awareness that creeds were an abomination. The business of elevating beliefs and doctrines into being the prime focus of faith was judged abominable and remains so for several reasons:

- 1. ... Theological or doctrinal interpretations which suggest finality or inclusiveness [are] in violation both of the nature of faith and the nature of revelation....
- 2. The primary focus of faith is Jesus Christ who is not reducable to propositions. Doctrines and beliefs guide us in our understanding . . . but Christ is not a belief, he is a living reality, and seeks to be *known*, not just known *about*. If beliefs about him [become] the prime focus of our commitment, the experiential base on which the faith is built disappears and we have simply another metaphysical system. Was it not Paul who said, "I know whom [not what] I have believed." (II Tim. 1:12)
- 3. To propose a creed or set of beliefs as a focus of our faith confuses means and ends. The temptation is to conclude that Christianity is essentially intellectual words and ideas that are to be learned for the sake of assent....

Our evangelism, Landon continues, often communicates this image of faith with a series of lectures on church organization, "true" doctrine, apostasy, restoration, life after death, and the Book of Mormon. "The preoccupation of many churches with beliefs reflects the power of denominationalism to distort the gospel." To realize that our security lies not in possession of "all truth" but that "we are in relationship to One whose good pleasure it is to sustain us in the conscientious search for truth and meaning" is especially crucial amid the knowledge explosion of our time. "The pursuit of understanding is an integral part of [the man-God relation], but never supersedes it." Landon calls persuasively for replacing the church's "truth ethic" with a Christian "love ethic."

Finally, there is in *Courage* a recurring emphasis upon the need for new directions based on greater self-awareness and a surer sense of identity. Editorially Paul M. Edwards,³ professor of history and philosophy at Graceland, writes:

We are sitting on the doorstep of our childhood and expecting wisdom where there is, as yet, no familiarity with the agony of the wise. We have felt the romance of logic and the simplicity of coherence, we have felt the first seeds of doubt, but rarely have we ... experienced the treacherous investigation of our own minds. ... Lord God, we need a Socrates. Christ spoke for God; prophets speak for godly men. In all humility, Lord, what we need now are men who will lead us into knowing ourselves by not being afraid of themselves.

⁸Edwards, a great-great grandson of Joseph Smith Jr., recently received the Ph.D. from Oxford University.

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE MORMONS

Samellyn Wood

The Mormons: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. By Kathleen Elgin. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1969. 96 pp. \$3.95. Samellyn Wood is a junior high school teacher of English and history in Los Angeles. She is a member of the Westwood II Ward.

The Mormons is the second in the Freedom to Worship series designed to tell stories of "outstanding Americans of the nineteenth century and their different religious beliefs." The series is intended to fit into the Social Studies curriculum for grades 4, 5 and 6. Kathleen Elgin also wrote the first book, The Quakers.

An introductory chapter of *The Mormons* tells of the westward migration and introduces Charles Rich as an outstanding Mormon leader. The second chapter, comprising almost half the book, tells of Charles Rich's experiences and work in the Church from the time of his conversion to the terms he served in the legislature of the Territory of Utah. The third chapter summarizes the history of the Church from the first vision of Joseph Smith to the successful colonizing of the West, and the fourth chapter answers such questions as "What is the Book of Mormon?" "Did They Practice Polygamy?" and "Why are Non-Mormons Called Gentiles?" A brief chapter discusses the growth and activities of the Church today, and the book concludes with a list of "Some Famous American Mormons of the Nineteenth Century and of the Present Day."

Numerous black and white illustrations by the author are perhaps the strongest feature of the book. Mormons may also appreciate the sympathetic treatment, although some might prefer a more historical objectivity.

With the exception of minor factual errors (such as credit to Ezra Taft Benson and the Mormons for laying the final rails of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads when in fact what they did was prepare roadbed) the book is accurate. However, church concepts are presented in a way that demands a greater knowledge of religion, and specifically the Mormon religion, than most students have.

The major weakness of The Mormons is that while its aim is admirable, it is not written in a way that will hold the interest of young readers and give them a clear understanding of why the Mormons in general and Charles Rich in particular colonized much of the western United States. Nor will a school child understand what the Mormon religion is about. In choosing to tell the story of the Mormons by telling the story of Charles Rich, the author followed the intent of the publishers to tell the story of a great American motivated by religious faith. However, the book is organized so that Rich's story is a hurried account of what he did without an integration of character and beliefs that explain his motivation. Not only is this organization confusing, but it does not leave time in the section dealing specifically with Rich to treat his life with enough depth and drama for a child to imagine and become involved with his work and problems. Furthermore, the responsibility of the author to develop the events of Rich's life with sufficient detail and action is particularly great since his story begins when he is twenty-three years old and there is nothing he does with which a child can easily identify. Beliefs of the Church are not seen as forces for joy and success in men's lives.

Since this book is supposed to show a nine- or ten-year-old child the contribution of Rich and the Mormons to the Westward Expansion, the material could have been presented in a more appealing and understandable way. It is unfair to expect a child to check this book out through choice; even a Mormon would put it back.

THE CHURCH AND THE ORIENT

Robert J. Morris

The Church Encounters Asia. By Spencer J. Palmer. Salt Lake City: Deserte Book Company, 1970, 201 pp. \$4.95. Mr. Morris, a former missionary to Taiwan, is a graduate student of Chinese literature at Brigham Young University.

The motion picture Mondo Cane taught us that the chronicler's job is to assemble his collectanea in straightforward reportage. Dr. Palmer's book is a lucid chronicle (from 1851 to 1969) of some missionarying Mormons turning their faces westward — toward Asia this time. He seeks this missionary work in Asia as the logical extension of our ongoing covered wagon saga.

Although Indochina and Malaysia are considered, China, Japan, and Korea, where church missionaries have done the most work, receive the most vigorous treatment. And Palmer's handling of Korean materials, which he knows best because of his mission presidency there, is tougher and more resilient than the rest.

Much of the narrative comes from Hugh J. Cannon's journal, which Cannon kept while travelling with Apostle David O. McKay on his world tour of misisons in 1921. You share his tremulous wonder as he sees for the first time the ancient Asia. And you tremble there on that brink, knowing that like Star-Child of 2001: A Space Odyssey he will "think of something."

The imperatives to this work are two. First, Dr. Palmer is a pioneer in Church/Asia publications. His books and articles, published since his involvement in Asia as an army chaplain in the 1950's and during his Korean mission presidency in the 1960's have established for him a fundamental role in the Mormon dialogue between Orient and Occident.

Second, our Church has become a world Church. Asia is now part-and-parcel of our Mormon "we." Consider the symptoms: The new Church Office Building at Salt Lake bears an oblate bas-relief world on is facades; semi-annual General Conference is now "World Conference"; we saw the Japanese contingent come to the Salt Lake Temple during World Conference this past fall for endowments in Japanese, and must have glimpsed that the Church is at a threshold of building institutional foundations in parts of Asia; we have recorded prophecies that lead us to anticipate sustaining an Asian apostle within our generation; our temples almost daily perform marriages between Asians and Caucasians; we are involved with Americans of Asian ancestry around and about Church headquarters, because their ancestors once built for us a railroad, and we once built for them a war-time relocation camp.

And I remember that when we organized the BYU Asian Students' Branch three years ago, nobody thought it could work. ("How can Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, and what-not, ever get it together in one branch?") Yet they did get it together. And people began asking why.

So these are symptoms. What are we to do? Until our ultimate concerns are world-concerns, we are still just lip-reading through the "brother-hood" scriptures, and we might as well broadcast rock-and-egg-roll to Asia instead of World Conference.

How shall we tell our new world-fortune? Palmer's book suggests the beginnings of some Asian answers. Dr. Palmer calls his book "a compendium of principal participants in the unfolding of the Lord's work in Asia, mostly since World War II. It is a pilot effort, a harbinger work, an overview for the general readership."

The Gospel scholar will not find in these pages much definitive analysis of how we sing the Lord's song in a strange land. There is merely the statement that we have begun the singing and a glimpse at some of the personalities who have composed the first measures.

In many ways it is a surprising statement. It includes some startling photographs (David O. McKay in Peking's cypress grove where he dedicated China in 1921), and some moving scenes (the director's eye-witness account of filming the Japanese *Man's Search For Happiness* for Expo '70).

So this is a book of people and exuberant human interest (like Gilbert W. Scharff's new Mormonism in Germany). It seeks a new relevance for what

have been the neglected missions of the Church, because relevance must be the operative word in any discussion of our missionary work in Asia (Robert J. Christensen in last *Dialogue* duly noted). Most soldiers and missionaries can tell you that between us and Asians there have often been great gulfs fixed. We need the sort of "bridge over troubled water" that this book provides.

Yet relevance demands facts and long looks at things the way they are. But where does the student go for facts? Sadly, we could type on one page the entire bibliography to date of Church/Asia publications. The Improvement Era, The Relief Society Magazine, BYU Studies, and The World Conference on Records of 1969 all have devoted major space once or twice to works on Asia. The Ensign plans for Church/Asia articles. Dialogue remains aloof.

Dr. Palmer writes, "The full story of the Church encounter in Asia cannot be covered within the pages of one book. Questions dealing with comparative religion — Mormonism and the native Oriental faiths — although of crucial import, must wait for elaboration elsewhere." If this book is a preface, the future, then, must see book-length treatment on each proselytized Asian country, including histories, methods of proselyting, and experiences of the everyday-missionary-on-the-street. There must be footnotes, bibliography, analysis, colloquium. I recommend that we translate this and subsequent works for use in the Asian missions. We should distribute these among the Asia missionaries, as we have done in the past with Alvin R. Dyer's The Challenge. And these will be good reading for our Asia-bound soldiers.

We shall need to be exploring two questions: What does twentieth-century Asia mean to Mormonism? and What does a twentieth-century Mormonism mean to Asia? These questions suggest a dialogue which ought to interest those now in charge of worldwide Church education.

Until we come to terms with that dialogue, our missionaries are like the Chinese wine-poet Li Po — not that they are drunk, but that they are standing in a lurching canoe and grasping at a reflected moon not yet reachable.

The final chapters of *The Church Encounters Asia*, including one on translation work, are open-ended, forthtelling, and future-minded. They are saying what should be obvious by now: we are yet to witness the Church's most exciting encounters in Asia. After all, we still have Russia and Mainland China....

Finally, there is the cover. The cover! It's right on, Brother Brown. With a cover (not to mention endsheets) like that, which you must see to appreciate, you can allow some redemption for the usual bad Deseret Book typography.

At any rate, here is a book of "the romance and high adventure of the Gospel," told, would you believe, to the background of an Asian lute, for the real-life missionary, the armchair proselyter, or just anybody who grooves on watching the meiosis of a Mormon community from a safe distance.

Which is to say, Asia isn't like it used to be. It never was.

Among the Mormons A Survey of Current Literature

Edited by Ralph W. Hansen

As has been the custom in past Autumn issues of Dialogue, this column is devoted to some aspect of locating Mormon collections in research libraries. Previous surveys have dealt with "The Availability of Information Concerning the Mormons" by S. Lyman Tyler, "The Schroeder Mormon Collection at the Wisconsin State Historical Society Library" by Richard Cracroft and Thomas Schwartz, and a general survey of Mormon materials available on the antiquarian book market. In this issue Deana L. Astle surveys Utah sources. Her work is particularly appropriate in view of the criticism leveled at Stanley Hirshson's recent biography of Brigham Young (reviewed in the past two issues of Dialogue). It is to be hoped that this introduction will forestall future arm chair historians who attempt to write Mormon history without availing themselves of the abundant resources in Utah libraries.

SOURCES OF MORMON AMERICANA IN UTAH

Deana L. Astle

INTRODUCTION

This paper was written during the summer of 1968 for a course in special problems in the acquisition of materials at the UCLA Graduate School of Library Service. The original paper has been revised and condensed for the readers of *Dialogue* since much of it dealt with the historiographical prob-

lems inherent in the collecting of Mormon material, a subject which has been treated at length by *Dialogue* and other sources.

This paper is not intended to be an exhaustive study, but is rather a brief survey of the collections of Mormon Americana in the Salt Lake City area, all of which I have visited with the exception of the Church Historian's Office. The purpose, then, of this treatise is to introduce these libraries to those people unfamiliar with their resources and to discuss some of the idiosyncracies of each collection. Also included is a brief discussion of the new bibliography on Mormon Americana.

LIBRARY OF THE CHURCH HISTORIAN'S OFFICE

One of the most important libraries for the study of Mormon history is the Library of the Church Historian's Office, located in the Church Administration Building in Salt Lake City. One of the major functions of this office is to collect, compile, and preserve the records of the Church from the time of its beginning in 1830 to the present. In its library are filed

all printed works by Church organizations, Church members, and others who write about the Church including friendly and anti-Mormon works; the minute books of all Church organizations, patriarchal blessings, manuscript histories, journals, documents, letters, motion picture films, filmstrips, recordings, tapes, pictures, portraits, and other materials that contribute to the Church history or a record of its members.¹

It has easily the largest and most complete collection on the Mormon Church in existence. Its manuscript and journal history collection is unexcelled for records of the pioneers and early members of the Church, though its usefulness is somewhat limited because of restrictions placed upon access to some of the material. Use of manuscript journals and diaries is restricted to descendants of the writer, and others who obtain permission from the family of the writer or the Church Historian.

The resources of the Library are available to all those doing serious research, though "the materials are not available to those whose purpose is to discredit the Church." Copying of some manuscript material is also restricted as there is a "firm policy not to permit copies of their primary source material to be made." It is a reference collection entirely.

As of 19654 the library section, which houses the printed material, contained almost 92,000 items, 26,000 of which were catalogued and easily accessible. This figure includes 1900 doctrinal works, 200 historical works, 5800

¹"Guide to the Historian's Office Library-Archives," p. 1.

²Ibid.

⁸Stanley B. Kimball, Sources of Mormon History in Illinois, 1839-48: An Annotated Catalog of the Microfilm Collection at Southern Illinois University (Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1966), p. 95.

^{&#}x27;Figures are from the "Report of the Office of the Church Historian Including the Historian's Office Library-Archives for the Five Year Period 1961-1965 and an Inventory of Holdings as of December 31, 1965," p. 4.

LDS periodicals, 570 factional works (dissident groups), 700 pro-Mormon works (presumably favorable accounts by non-Mormons), 1200 anti-Mormon works, 7500 "other non-Mormon" and 3300 "other LDS." Pamphlets make up the bulk of the uncatalogued material. The manuscript collection boasts approximately 970,000 items, 14,500 of which are in book form and 1600 of which are on film. 240,000 of these items are ward, stake, and mission records.

SALT LAKE CITY PUBLIC LIBRARY

The Salt Lake City Public Library maintains a closed stack collection of Mormon Americana and Utahiana, as do the other libraries herein discussed, but serves a slightly different clientele than that of the Church Historian's Office Library. Mr. Robert Thomas, the former librarian, commented that the general public feels more free to use his collection than those of the university and special libraries in the area. He has tried, therefore, to duplicate much material found elsewhere in the state to provide a viable resource for the people of Salt Lake City.

Much of the collection of this library was inherited in 1898 from the earlier Masonic Public Library which contained many now rare items on Utah and Mormon history. The collection is maintained by purchasing current material in duplicate so that one copy can circulate, by purchasing microfilm editions of early Utah and Mormon works for those items which are either too difficult or expensive to obtain otherwise, and by searching through antiquarian book dealer catalogs for the few books pertaining to Mormon history which the library does not now have. The Mormon and Mormon related material in the library, excluding microfilm and bound newspapers, totals about 4500 volumes.

THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH LIBRARY

Much material on the Mormons and Utah can be found in the Western Americana collection at the University of Utah. The core of this collection was obtained from the old Utah Territorial Library, for which there exists a checklist from the late 1800s, and from the John A. Widtsoe collection which was strong in early church periodicals, such as the Elders Journal and the Evening and Morning Star. Though adequate, this collection is small in comparison with some of the great collections, and does not have much unique material. Under the guidance of Everett L. Cooley, who became curator in 1969, the collection has begun to grow in importance. The acquisitions program is becoming much more vigorous and some choice items are being acquired. For example, the library recently purchased John Taylor's copy of the Book of Commandments which at one time belonged to Hyrum Smith. It is one of the six or so copies in existence today and is considered to be a perfect copy.

Though the library has early editions of the Book of Mormon and other works, its strength lies in its collection of pamphlets and manuscripts, a

collection which Dr. Cooley intends to enlarge. The library already has thousands of items which are presently being catalogued and made available for public use. Until the cataloging is completed, many items will be inaccessible to scholars. The cataloging has uncovered many rare items of which the library was unaware.

THE UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY

The Utah State Historical Society Library has much of value for the historian. The library contains about 5,000 volumes, which includes printed material, pamphlets, manuscripts, and articles on microfilm. Although the library has few rare books, its collection is strong in microfilm copies of manuscripts and rare books from such libraries as the Bancroft, Yale (Coe Collection), and the New York Public Library (Berrian Collection).

This library is perhaps most important for its Union Catalog of Mormon material which contains information on more than 10,000 items published from 1830 to the present. It was begun by Dale Morgan in the 1930s in connection with his work on the Federal Writers' Project. He visited libraries throughout the country which had significant collections on the Mormons and listed their holdings. These lists form the core of the Catalog.

The project soon grew to vast proportions and was given to the Society to maintain in 1950. The Catalog includes every item that has been uncovered by its compilers on all aspects of Mormons or Mormonism. Each card in this file lists library location symbols, indicating where a particular item may be found, be it a journal article, a doctrinal work, a history, or whatever.

THE BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Brigham Young University Library has the largest collection of Mormon materials available outside the Church Historian's Office. The current acquisitions program is extremely active in acquiring new material, both "pro" and "anti." According to Mr. Donald Schmidt, the assistant director of libraries, the Library is developing an endowment fund to increase the Library's purchasing power, especially at auctions. A recent rare and valuable acquisition was the *Reflector*, the 1829 newspaper in which excerpts from the Book of Mormon were first published under the byline of J. J. Dogberry.

BYU's policy on bidding is related to availability. Material published or written in Utah is of a lower priority than material from New York, Ohio, Missouri or Illinois.

The special collections department contains between 7000 and 8000 items arranged by the modified Dewey 200 series which was expanded by Chad Flake to handle the needs of a large collection on Mormonism. These items range from first editions of the Book of Mormon to diaries, newspaper clippings, histories of the Reorganized Church, diatribes, and bibliographies.

For purchase of current material, which is housed in the main stacks, the library uses the semi-monthly publication Mormon Americana. This pub-

lication is a cooperative venture by six Utah libraries which have divided collecting and reporting responsibility for current material on the Mormons and on Utah in general. Mormon Americana lists new books, dissertations, chapters in books, journal articles, and reviews reported by the Church Historian's Office, the University of Utah Library, the Utah State University Library, the Salt Lake City Public Library, the Utah State Historical Society Library and the Brigham Young University Library. BYU, for example, has the responsibility of locating and indexing periodical articles. Staff members search all the standard periodical indexes and extract references to articles which deal with Mormonism. The Utah State Historical Society, on the other hand, collects all state historical society journals from those states most likely to have articles on Mormon history. The remaining four libraries divide the responsibility for material in book form.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MORMON AMERICANA

In concluding this survey of Utah libraries, one other item must be mentioned — the bibliographical work being done by Chad Flake, special collections librarian at Brigham Young University, which has resulted in the most comprehensive work on Mormon Americana ever compiled. The history and scope of the project are as follows:

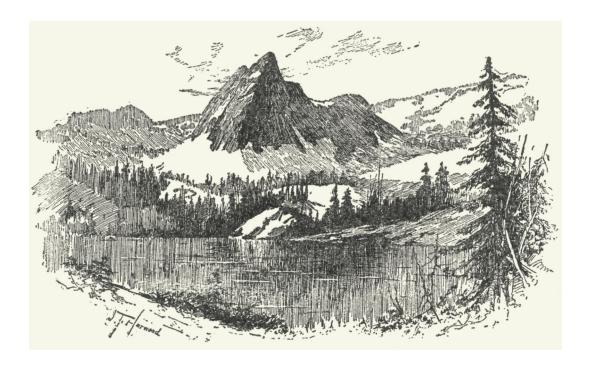
In 1956 a committee was formed by representatives of the six libraries which now compile Mormon Americana for the purpose of supervising the preparation and publication of a bibliography based on the Union Catalog of Mormon material at the Utah Historical Society Library. Chad Flake was appointed editor and given leave both to do editorial work and to bring the Catalog up to date. He personally visited several of the collections, including the Huntington, Bancroft, Berrian, and Coe, and commissioned others to survey the collections he was unable to visit. The first unit of this bibliography, covering the years 1830-1929 and containing more than 10,000 items, is scheduled for publication by the University of Utah Press sometime during 1970-71. The second unit, covering the years 1930-1959, is still in the planning stages.

The bibliography will list all works by and about the Church from 1830 to 1928, including pamphlets, journal articles and other types of printed material. Excluded are tourist literature and all fiction which does not have as its central theme Mormons or Mormonism. Many items will be listed with all of their editions, but such popular works as Mark Twain's Roughing It will be listed only once, since they are adequately covered in other bibliographies. It will be a union list, giving library locations for all items.

Some of the collections indexed are the Coe Collection at Yale, the Pierce Collection at Harvard, the Schroeder Collection at the Wisconsin State Historical Library, the Library of Congress, the Reorganized Church Historical Library, the Berrian Collection at the New York Public Library, the Huntington Library, the Newberry Library, and the Utah libraries mentioned earlier.

112/DIALOGUE: A Journal of Mormon Thought

The work being done in Utah is important. The collections are gaining in stature and accessibility. Much of the material being put on sale at Parke-Bernet and elsewhere is gravitating towards the Salt Lake Valley because of the availability of funds and the aggressive acquisitions policies of some of the Utah libraries. The serious historian would do well to investigate these libraries thoroughly before beginning any work on Mormon history.



Notes and Comments

PSYCHOTHERAPY WITH MORMON PATIENTS IN UTAH AND SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA — IMPRESSIONISTIC OBSERVATIONS

Robert J. Howell

Robert Howell teaches in the Psychology Department at B.Y.U. and is a practicing clinical psychologist.

Since 1952 I have conducted a part-time private practice along with university teaching. On leaves from the university and during summer months I have worked as a clinical psychologist at the Utah State Hospital in Provo, Utah, and at Patton State Hospital near San Bernardino, California. During these periods I have treated both Mormon and non-Mormon hospitalized patients and out-patients. Most of the Utah out-patients resided in Juab, Utah, and Wasatch Counties, with a sprinkling from Salt Lake County. The majority of the California patients, both hospitalized and out-patients, were residents of San Diego and Los Angeles Counties. The age of the patients referred to in this paper ranged from 16 to 60 years. The impressions that I have gained from these clienteles are subjective and yet have maintained a fairly consistent pattern.

EXPERIENCES WITH HOSPITALIZED PATIENTS

Whereas the majority of my patients at Utah State Hospital were L.D.S. (reflecting the large portion of Mormons in Utah), only ten of my patients at Patton State Hospital were.

At Utah State Hospital the pathology of patients who were either members of various pentecostal faiths, Roman Catholics, or, to a lesser extent, Mormons, was manifested more frequently and with greater intensity in religious terms than was the pathology of the Protestant patients and those who professed no religion. This "religious pathology," particularly apparent during the acute phases of illness, was expressed in forms of delusions and hallucinations in which the patients felt themselves to be agents of God, experiencing revelations from God, or possessed with evil spirits. As the more acute phases of the illness subsided, these delusions and hallucina-

tions usually subsided also, and the patients focused more on their feelings of worthlessness, interpersonal problems, and intra-psychic conflicts.

By way of contrast, the hospitalized Mormons at Patton seldom reflected their pathology in religious themes, although the Catholic and pentecostal patients did. This may be accounted for by the fact that most of the ten Mormons at Patton were older than the average patient and had illnesses which usually do not involve grandiose or persecutory hallucinations and delusions.

Utah State Hospital was much more oriented to and interested in church activities than was Patton State Hospital. A number of my colleagues there observed that among the patients there were far more non-active church members who became active than active church members who became inactive during hospitalization. Both Catholic and Protestant, but not Mormon, services were held weekly at Patton, and the patients were allowed to go, but neither the staff nor the patients seemed as interested in the hospital church services as they did at Utah State Hospital.

EXPERIENCES WITH OUT-PATIENTS

It is my impression that there were some distinct differences between my clienteles in Utah (numbering over 200) and in Southern California (approximately 75). In Utah the Mormon and non-Mormon patients were generally more alike than were the Utah Mormons and the California Mormons. Patients in Utah were initially more hesitant in seeking professional services than those in California. Themes of self-responsibility, or the lack of it, were more common in Utah than in California. The Utah patient was more reserved and less willing to talk about intimate details of his personal life. He more frequently focused on troublesome work situations, difficulties with employers, and low motivation and morale in school and work, as contrasted to the California patient who expressed more direct concern with his spouse, children, or parents, and intra-psychic disturbances. The patients in California talked more about pre-marital and extra-marital sex experiences than did patients in Utah. In contrast, however, questions of sex identity and fears of homosexual impulses were voiced more frequently in Utah than in California patients. Problems related to drug abuse were found in both areas, but much more so in Southern California.

EXPERIENCES WITH CHURCH LEADERS

In my experience Utah church leaders are less sensitive to mental health problems than are California church leaders. The Utah church leader seems less inclined to refer his ward members for help than does his Southern California counterpart. For a period of several years I had more referrals from two Protestant ministers in Utah County than I did from all of the Mormon bishops and stake presidents combined. Many more of the California Mormon church leaders have sought me out for consultation and advice than have those in Utah.

Utah patients seemed to have more conflict centering around the advice

given by the bishop or stake president than did those from California. For example, a friend of mine whose parents were in their seventies, called me to complain about their bishop, who had asked this elderly couple, when they sought a temple recommend, if they practiced birth control. Another Utah bishop counselled some of his ward members that any person who was leading a life which would prepare him for the Celestial Kingdom would never need the services of a psychiatrist or psychologist. In contrast to this, I have never had a California patient complain that his bishop tried to dissuade him from seeking professional mental health services.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that some of my patients have been helped by their bishops when I have been unable to help them. However, most help was achieved when I have been able to effect a working relationship with the person's bishop so that the therapist and the bishop were in concert with one another.



DISCUSSION

Comparisons between the hospitalized Utah and California Mormons is difficult because of the small number of Mormons at Patton State Hospital and because the majority of these were older and had illnesses which usually do not give rise to persecutory or grandiose delusions and hallucinations. However, the age difference did not apply to out-patients. The following discussion may account for the differences between both the in-patient and out-patient Utah and California Mormons.

It seems likely that Mormonism is more influential in shaping a person's life and his way of thinking and feeling in Utah (particularly in the rural areas) than in California. If so, this influence could operate in both a health-facilitating and health-inhibiting manner. Thus, the pathology for those people whose mode of living has become dysfunctional would be ex-

pressed in the important shaping forces of their lives. This would account for the observation that the Utah Mormon patients more often expressed their pathology in religious terms.

While the use of religious themes in expressing pathology may reflect the influence of religious beliefs, it may also be that the use of religious themes is a defense against facing more troublesome inter-personal and intrapsychic conflict. If this is the case then it would follow that the Utah Mormons had stronger defense systems than the California Mormons. This suggests that the Utah Mormons are reared in a stricter, more authoritarian environment, with a greater stress on right and wrong, and a greater demand to adhere to the "right."

Finally, it seems certain that California citizens are more acceptant of the need for mental health services than are Utah citizens. Perhaps this is the result of the greater availability of mental health services in California. For example, Beverly Hills has one of the highest concentration of psychiatrists in private practice in the country, and mental health clinics are proportionately more numerous in California than in Utah, as are clinical and school psychologists and other mental health professionals.

NOTES FROM A MORMON MOVIE-GOER

Linda Lambert

Linda Lambert is a professional editor and writer who makes her home in Los Angeles.

I'm more than a movie-goer, I'm a critic. That means the question, "What did you think of (any movie)?" requires more than "It was great" or "It was lousy." It means I'm hardly ever paid and often suffer a loss of ego: I've just put my soul into a review of Women in Love and the day after it's printed somebody says, "Hey, have you seen Women in Love?" It means I scribble frantically during the few times the screen is white with light — difficult in any Bergman film, easy during the explosions in Zabriskie Point.

But I'm more than a critic, I'm a Mormon critic. That means as a Mormon I'm reluctant to see Myra Breckinridge, though as a critic I feel some responsibility to see such a talked-about picture. It means church members chide me ("Seen any skin flicks lately?"), use me ("What's a good film where there isn't a line around the block?") and worry about my testimony ("How can you even go to films when they're all so bad?"). My purpose here, as a Mormon who makes it to the movies more often than might be considered good for her, is to reflect on my experiences during my first year as a Mormon critic.

Crossroads, the publication I write for, is not for Mormons. Its circulation is among English-speaking Japanese, and despite increased conversions

among Oriental people, I have no indication that my readers are anything but, as the editor likes to say, "Buddaheads." Religion, therefore, plays no explicit part in my reviews (though once in a review of *Paint Your Wagon* I did mention the Mormons), but my religion is an implicit factor in my approach to criticism: it affects the films I choose to see and what I write about them.

When I began reviewing in July 1969, I had a great love of the movies. I soon found out that one of the occupational hazards of the critic is the number of films he sees — whether he is obligated by his publication or his conscience or is simply lured by free screenings for the press. William Zinser reviewed more than 600 movies in 31/2 years for the New York Herald Tribune, which he said nearly killed his interest in movies. As a lower-echelon critic, my tally is significantly smaller: I saw slightly over 50 movies during the last year. Though my interest at the end of that time was nowhere near moribund, there were a lot of movies I thought ought to have been killed before they were canned for distribution.

By the end of a year I was hearing the little voice (the one I rely on to tip me off) say "I dislike" more than "I like," and my reviews were sounding about as cheerful as obituaries. It was fun, on occasion, to imaginatively lambast a detestable picture. I once devoted a whole column to De Sade. A mistake. Why write about a movie I'd advise nobody to see? Besides, I would rather write about good pictures — pictures like Personna, Five Easy Pieces, Oliver, and Z. Too, I suspected that my readers might get weary, as well as wary, of a critic who was always shaking his head and panning films in print — even if he was just reflecting a real slump on the film front. My solution was to cut back my reviews from one a week to one every other week, and to think about the kind of pictures I was seeing.

After several of the reviews I wrote for Crossroads appeared in a church newsletter, a lady came up to me after Sunday school one morning and despaired aloud: "Don't you ever see anything but "R" and "X" movies?" "Well, yes," I said. "There was Ring of Bright Water and Goodbye, Mr. Chips, and . . ." It did seem that if I wasn't spending sentences on De Sade I was dispensing mixed blessings about Sister George. Was the chink in my critical armor a disregard for the family picture?

Up until that time (January 1970) I had paid little attention to the ratings. Like any other movie-goer, I was affected by word of mouth, advertising, and the advice of critics I respected. But more than any of those, I relied on past movie-going experience. I began to notice the ratings of pictures and I began to use them, along with the above-mentioned criteria, as an aid in deciding whether or not I would initially attend a picture. I did not, however, avoid an "X" movie just because it was an "X."

Several more months passed and then one of the brethren asked me if I were seeing any films which might be injurious to my spiritual health. If my job required me to see such movies, he thought it might be well for me to consider another profession. I hesitated, and then articulated the basic position I still hold. "Yes," I said, "if you put 'X' movies in that category."

While I had little appetite for and would not expose myself to any film I anticipated as pointlessly dirty, steeped in sex or detrimental to my testimony, I would usually attend an "X" movie which I thought would be exceptional. Medium Cool and Midnight Cowboy, for example. I might add that I was hard put to name an "X" movie besides those two which I considered good. In fact I couldn't think of one. I don't think he knew what an "X" rating was anyway, for he ignored my qualification. Then I explained that I was not bound by the newspaper I write for to see or review any film I didn't want to, and that since "movie critic" is only one of the journalistic hats I wear, compared to other critics I spend relatively few hours at the cinema.

Our conversation, now that he knew my job did not require my attendance at films which might debase me, continued with the subject of movies in general. He had seen few movies of late, but didn't think there were many, if any, worth seeing. I could imagine his saying in 20 years what one elderly relative proudly told me: "Why, I haven't seen a movie since 1937."

I understand the desire to reject films as a whole when the marquees are cluttered with titles like The Babymaker, Dansk Sexualitet, and The Marriage Manual. And yet, I feel there are too many persons within the Church who categorically reject movies as if they were a single, universally vile commodity, like napalm. Somehow they have escaped the sometimes soft, sometimes strident voices of those who believe in the movies. ("Look here, film can entertain, elevate and educate — it's an art!") In 1914 people were astonished that a poet like Vachel Lindsay would write a whole book on cinema, a vulgar medium produced for the masses and machine-made. I'm afraid that there are still those who summarily dismiss film as an art form, and I'm not sure they can be persuaded to the contrary, even though a Song of Norway or Sound of Music may temporarily put a crack in their wall of certainty.

A slightly more descriminating variation of the movies-are-all-bad attitude is the one reflected by this comment: "Oh, I never go to anything but G-rated movies." I have no quarrel with persons who feel that only "G" movies are appropriate for them and are, indeed, the ones they most enjoy. I think, however, that too many readers use the rating system not as a way of discerning the film's suitability or unsuitability for children — which was the original purpose of the Motion Picture Producers Association - but as a way of determining its quality. To them, "X" is synonymous with bad ("X it off your list") and "G" stands for good ("Go see it"). Just as misguided are those who consider themselves more enlightened, for whom "X" portends sophisticated, nitty-gritty cinema while "G" promises pallid, innocuous entertainment. The MPPA code is not a star system, although some people may think that "G" means a 4-star movie. The ratings mean what they say. A "G" film is for the general public. "GP" is for the general public with parental guidance suggested. "R" is restricted to persons under 17 unless accompanied by parents, and "X" specifies that no one under 17 can attend.

The biggest problem, as the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography recently discovered, has been to get theater owners to enforce the code. Exhibitors are notoriously lax in their admission policies. One way to circumvent the problem is to keep youngsters uninformed as to what's playing where, and to prevent their exposure to tantalizing advertisements. In that respect the *Church News*' decision to refuse advertisements for "X" and "R" rated films was a very positive move. The *News* referred to the "moral deterioration of films" since the establishment of the code in November 1968. They expressed their objections to scenes of permissive sex, nudity, and violence in current films; they hoped that their refusal to advertise "X" and "R" rated films, as well as the public's refusal to attend them, would prompt a return to higher standards in motion pictures.

The fact that The Love Bug was the highest grossing picture last year and the fact that filmmakers have, on occasion, deleted segments of a film in order to obtain a "GP" instead of an "R" rating is cheerful news. But by and large there's enough sex, nudity, and violence in American films to satisfy the dirtiest old man and disgust most everybody else at one time or another. I object to the surfeit of sex, violence, etc., so I like to have information available to help me decide which movies I will or will not attend. Advertisements are a means of obtaining that basic, though decidedly slanted, information. If I were a newspaper publisher who could afford to exclude all or part of my movie advertising, I would serve my readers' needs in another way: I would carry a list of current films which would include credits and a plot capsulization, and I would have as many reviews as possible by a reviewer who had my audience's principles and standards in mind. I would pay particular attention to "R" movies, because the "R" rating with its allowance of greater frankness and candor, has included some serious attempts at art as well as the more numerous sensational films by filmmakers who misuse their freedom to make a buck. A critic sensitive to his reader's standards might be able to steer him clear of questionable films.

Of course, as I learned some time ago, it is almost impossible to predict a film's effect on any two people. Two of my friends went to see *Women in Love*. One came out soured and depressed by what she had seen on the screen; the other felt edified by what D. H. Lawrence had to say about love and human relationships.

Everytime I sit down to write my movie B, I try to remember that I am an individual who can only label my reactions. When I dub a movie good I try to make my reasons explicit, for when it comes to opinions on films, one person's "great" is another person's "garbage." I do not want to be one of the quacks of film criticism who thinks he can alway prescribe what's good or what's not good for his readers.

I used to think it was okay to see any film I wanted to. But as a Mormon seeking whatever is virtuous, lovely, of good report, or praiseworthy, and as a critic hoping to lead other people to the same, I decided that exposure to some films, like sampling heroin, is unnecessary and contrary to my well being. While I think my testimony is strong enough to endure ex-

posure to most excesses on the screen, I will leave it to other critics to discover those "sleepers" among X-rated films. If one turns out to be a marvelous work of art, great. I'll see it. Then I'll jump on the bandwagon, if indeed I think the film is worth trumpeting about.

I didn't like parts of such films as Bloody Mama, The Killing of Sister George, and A Man Called Horse. But until my list of scenes-I-would-like-to-un-see grows longer than my list of films to re-see, I will still anticipate putting movies under my magnifying glass and be one of many super-sleuths of the movies — a critic, a Mormon critic.

EDITORIAL DECISIONS

Dialogue receives hundreds of manuscripts each year. We thought our readers might like to know something about the way we handle these manuscripts, and why it sometimes takes a good deal of time to make a decision on a manuscript.

We feel that part of *Dialogue's* success is due to the fact that each manuscript is given at least five different readings. Normally, each manuscript is sent to three members of the Board of Editors, who are requested to submit a written evaluation and a recommendation either to accept, accept with revisions, or reject the manuscript.

After a manuscript comes back from the Board it is read by at least two (and sometimes by as many as five) members of the editorial staff. This happens even with rejected manuscripts. This is our way of assuring that every manuscript gets a fair hearing. If authors sometimes wonder why it takes so long to get a decision on a manuscript, perhaps they will appreciate our conscientious efforts — and the fact that all the editorial work is done by professional people who donate their time to *Dialogue*.

Usually the decision as to whether to publish an article, essay, review, note, poem or story is a fairly easy one. Generally there is a consensus among the Board Members. Sometimes, however, members of the Board differ in their estimates of a manuscript's worth, and when this is the case the decision is more difficult. To illustrate this difficulty, we thought it would be interesting to publish a poem which was submitted to us along with the three evaluations by the Board. (By the way, can you guess which response was written by a female editor?)

PRAYER FROM A SECOND HUSBAND Mary L. Bradford

She always came to the door as if expecting someone else. But she devoted her day to the hogs, the horses and me. She kept the butter whirling, poured honey in the milk, and never once complained of snow or alkali. A mere handclasp joined us. But, to him, she was sealed, soldered, far past time, any children his.

Now, as house and barn grow dim, I give thanks to Thee, and to him.

Evaluation No. 1:

Professionally written, "Prayer from a Second Husband" depicts Mormon matrimonial complexities in matter-of-fact, homely country vernacular. Its strengths lie in pictorial accuracy and in the denouement which certifies the husband's curious acceptance of his wife's loyalty to a first husband. This poem is a minor accomplishment on a significant subject.

Accept.

Evaluation No. 2:

This poem is not bad — it may be what we need to increase our appeal to the Relief Society faction. But I am troubled by a self-conscious "folksiness" ("the hogs, the horses and me") and the ending which offers sentiment instead of any real resolution. There is some real tension here, though, and I think it might be all right if something could be done about the last two lines.

Accept with revisions (possibly).

Evaluation No. 3:

I'm puzzled by the last two lines. Why would he thank God? (for having taken the first husband?) and why would he thank the first husband? (for having died?) For me the rest of the poem doesn't justify this ending. The speaker seems to regret that she expects the first husband when he comes home, and clearly he sees their "mere handclasp" as inferior to the sealing and soldering. Am I missing something?

Reject.

the manuscript. -Ed.]

Evaluation No. I was by a female editor; appropriately, only she accepted

PROBLEMS OF THE MORMON INTELLECTUAL

 $William\ Mulder$

Mr. Mulder is a professor of English at the University of Utah who has published several books on Mormon topics, including Among the Mormons.

A continuing problem of the Mormon intellectual is to remain both Mormon and intellectual. His is the problem of religious intellectuals gen-

erally — to dare to follow where the mind leads, to prevent the indecision that comes when intellectually they are persuaded in one direction but drawn emotionally in another. If one is robust, he may, like William James, will to believe and find pragmatic reasons for the utility of faith even when the premises are uncomfortable.

The Mormon intellectual, like intellectuals everywhere, wants to know the truth and shares the faith that the mind can lead the way to it. But the mind is only a tiny light in the great surrounding dark of the universe. Sometimes the seeker has to grope his way by other sensibilities, and senses other than sight, in order to move to an elevation where the little light he does have throws a farther illumination. Because he believes that faith is as much a dimension of total experience as is reason, the Mormon intellectual may tolerate premises, doctrines, attitudes, and practices in his church which, when rationally examined, seem archaic, untenable, even at times repugnant, on the chance these contain values he cannot now but some day will appreciate or on the chance that he himself may be instrumental in changing them. When faith itself becomes unreasonable, however, putting too great a strain on his credulity, he has to make the hard choice of silence or separation.

The Mormon intellectual as scientist has a higher threshold of tolerance than the Mormon intellectual as humanist because, more familiar with natural fact than with social value, he is more willing to assign matters of value to the area of faith, an area where religious authorities can resolve doubts and make decisions. His religion is not in conflict with science because they don't really meet. On the other hand, the Mormon intellectual as humanist finds himself deeply entangled in relative kinds of truth which are not as readily verifiable as in chemistry or mathematics. In the humanities and social sciences, truth is not so much discovered as created. Social, moral and religious "truths" leave more room for argument and require greater latitude of interpretation and application in any effort to institutionalize them.

Abstract Mormonism, to the loyal intellectual, provides such latitude. Unfortunately, the concrete Church, or its officialdom, does not. Officially, spiritual truths are revealed truths, absolutes, and there can be no conflict between revealed truth and the discoveries about the natural universe, including human nature. In any apparent conflict, man-made truth must yield. Such a priori commitment makes an apologist of the Mormon intellectual, not a seeker. The early Church was full of vigorous thinkers whose main task in proving a doctrine true was to prove it scriptural. They were "intellectuals," scholars and theologians, working, like the Puritans before them, with the Bible as the primary text and skilled in accommodating advancing knowledge to Biblical explanations, or vice versa. Mormonism, in the words of a twentieth-century apologist, a university man, prided itself on having a "rational theology."

Just as Thomas Aquinas made reason and faith compatible within the framework of Catholic Christianity, gifted Mormon minds today are at-

tempting to cast the theological and philosophical foundations of Mormonism into sophisticated terms and to redefine Mormonism in an appealing manner in the light of history and the humanities, the arts and the social sciences. These efforts go a long way toward making the Mormon intellectual feel at ease in his beliefs, if not in his church membership. A genetic history of the rise of Mormonism can be exciting and immensely satisfying to himself, but unsettling to the authorities. There cannot, in fact, be official dialogue about origins and ends, only about means.

From the point of view of the Church, the intellectual is himself a problem. The Church is fearful that his findings will loosen his loyalties and influence others to find a basis for their faith which is not simple and oldfashioned enough to be called religious. Work for the dead, the Negro question, the narrower proscriptions of the Word of Wisdom are matters where the Church would prefer not to have sophisticated answers because these might mean radical change. History is hard on Mormonism because Mormonism itself stakes so much on history, and if the evidence fails - if there really were no gold plates, if Joseph Smith really was more scoundrel than prophet - Mormonism faces a serious dilemma. Mormonism without a Book of Mormon as miracle is like Christianity without the Virgin birth. But the intellectual may, in fact, provide the mystery every religion requires and, with proper encouragement, give Mormonism its Sufis and Vedantists. When Mormonism can embrace both superstition and sophistication in the same fold, the intellectual will have found a productive place and may revitalize the professed doctrine of the glory of God as intelligence.

Meanwhile the Mormon intellectual faces a great test of humility to remain in an organization led by those who are not always in sympathy with the intellectual. If he is not to lose the name of action he must, like Hamlet, resolve his dilemma. If to remain within the Church means paralysis of will and denial of the deepest urgings of his thought, he must make a break for the open sea. In so doing, he leaves one haven, as every institution is a haven, but there waits, perhaps, the larger harbor of a more inclusive humanity.

THE CHICANO STUDENT UNION AND MIDDLE AGE

R. Stanley Shields

Royal Stanley Shields was born in Tooele, Utah, became an Eagle Scout and graduated from Seminary, worked in mines and smelters, and earned a B.S. from Utah State University in Business Administration. He and his wife Mary are parents of three boys and live now in Sunnyvale, California, where he is a senior industrial engineer.

I'm fifty. I'm not as perceptive about certain things in life as I was when I was a student; however in some ways I am more perceptive. When I was nineteen, during the depression, after pitching hay or working in the ore mill all day, I would enjoy looking at the sunset. I no longer see the black silhouetted skyline against the burnt orange of the California sunsets. At

least not like I did then. Nor do I see the light yellow of the sunrise as often as I would like to. Perhaps I don't see because I'm caught up in the swirl of the business day. In business — that's different — I'm more perceptive, more acute than at nineteen. Organization and design are not without certain rewards. I see these from a position not high in the business hierarchy. I'm a program manager for an electronics firm, middle management, middle aged, middle income, and time passing!

The business pyramid is tough climbing and it takes a lot out of a man. Although it has its rewards, I have often thought the field worker, the journeyman, and the miner might be aesthetically closer to the feel of the earth. The hoar frost of late fall, the dust kicked up by the harrow in spring, the smell of summer rain in the desert air, the thunder in the sky — all these belong first to the worker. At least that's the impression I have now from the days when I worked in the hay field, the mine, and the mill. The people, I remember, were genuine. They were lined with this simple but rugged backdrop of outdoor life. Good company. Not shrouded in company politics.

Then, during an evening in May 1969, I learned that the worker in the field, the migrant worker, is not happy. He's angry. He's striking back. This message came through during a lecture and musical program put on by the Chicano-American Student Union of San Jose State College held at De Anza Junior College. Spanish names — ironic! And ninety-five percent of what I heard came at me in Spanish, a language I neither speak nor understand.

Did I get the correct message? Were these people qualified to give me the correct message from the majority of Mexican-Americans? I only know what little I heard and what I saw. I saw and heard from an English-speaking, Anglo-Saxon, World War II veteran, bachelor of science, state university, depression of the thirties background. My Chicano-American brother (my Black-American brother) — where are you? What are you doing? How does the world look from your eyes? I'm still not sure. But something came through that night.

It came through like this: We came into the theatre early, my wife and I. We sat on the aisle. I looked around and saw Blacks, Mexican-Americans, long-haired whites. A mixture of ages, but mostly young. I recognized some of them from a class in Third World Books I had just started. I couldn't identify with the long-haired whites as easily as with the others. Just a feeling. Like they were there for different reasons than the others. But mostly I felt good, like these people were genuine. Or more explicitly, like when I was a boy back home, Mother said about our new neighbors: "The Bowens, they are common people like us." A good feeling. Like belonging. Still, I wondered as a child why the "high falutin' ones" were not so companionable. I secretly wanted to belong to all classes.

The performers were talented at singing and strumming on string instruments. Perhaps the instruments were authentic Mexican. I wouldn't know. The performers themselves were dressed in immaculate, yet faded levis, and work shirts. I got the impression these kids were well fed, washed, college drama students of second generation Mexican-Americans, dressed in the

garb of the Mexicano mixed with U. S. department store clothes, somewhat simulating the migrant worker, but too plump to be of the field. One gentleman, with a beard and long hair, seemed to be an expensive prototype of a hippie. And maybe hippies are like that, expensive I mean.

The music was moving, fast, bright and gay, and, again, I have every reason to believe, authentic. That Mexicano laughter, like the laughter in a street opera, rang out at just the right moments from the background. Happy! Enjoyable!

The music was intermittently spiced with satirical skits. It seemed that the Government of Mexico slept while a coyote beat upon hides of the community and *justicia*, personified by two actors. But Uncle Sam, who looked like Uncle Sam except for a pig mask on the back of his face, came in with troops and police and mace. He traded mace for grapes. He beat upon the hides of the community and *justicia*; he didn't seem to notice the coyote.

Then came the corker! One of the performers, a girl in blue denims and straight black hair, stepped brightly to the mike at the end of a song. She grabbed the mike and said in English, in good old understandable English, mind you: "Do you want to hear a joke?" Well, a lot of people didn't understand Spanish. And we weren't quite sure if we'd heard any jokes during the performance thus far. So naturally we'd be overjoyed to hear something in English. And everybody likes a joke. So she said, "Here's a joke: I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands. One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

It had an effect! I looked at my wife. She was angry. Tears welled up in her eyes. She got up and started to leave. I didn't, so she sat back down. Well, they had reached us with shock! Imagine my reaction! Me, an Eagle Scout, ex-naval officer, and World War II veteran.

Were they saying that all these years I had been laboring under the illusion that we in the States were working toward all those things mentioned in the Pledge of Allegiance? What were they saying? Just shock? Or were they telling us we hadn't reached them? Them includes the well-fed San Jose students who link themselves with their kin the migrant workers.

The migrant farm workers, mostly Mexicano, work for less than minimum wages and have no protection under the National Labor Relations Act nor under the Taft-Hartley law. Well, that's not right. I'll stick with them in the boycott of grapes. But how many others will? Will the shock of seeing the American Flag mocked keep people from looking any further? It's hard to get past that barrier!

Can I ever understand the plight of the minority? I'm not a member of a minority race in this country, but I've seen enough of prejudice to believe that what those students portrayed that night might be true.

There are various kinds of prejudice, and one is the prejudice we have against ourselves. My early environment kept me from expecting much of myself. To rise from a mucker in the mines or from a janitor to a payroll

clerk was thought of as the highest of achievements. I didn't even entertain the possibility of being chief clerk or superintendent; such positions did not occur to me as even remotely attainable. So a good deal of what holds a person back (and I do not mean spiritually) is himself, as he has been put to bed by his parents and their environment.

Lack of opportunity caused me to leave that small town in the Rockies. However, I don't think I have been as happy since, even though I have held positions in the engineering and management hierarchy. But even with such success and even though I am white, I have been held back by certain institutional prejudices and practices.

I recall applying for a position for which I was rather admirably suited. It was with a sugar company with headquarters in the Rockies, and a position with them would have meant going home. But the flesh peddler whom this corporation had hired and imbued with various parameters for screening aspirants turned me down. Why? Not because I wasn't qualified. That was never a consideration. It was because I wasn't making enough money. Another time I was interviewed by the manager of a grocery market who wanted to hire me, but the division manager would not let him because he felt I was too old. I was forty-five.

If these things rile me, how must all the institutions and prejudice of the white power structure rile the Chicano or the Black American?

Judging from what I saw at the Student Union that night, I guess I'm one of the enemy from the standpoint of the Chicano and Black American. The enemy are the sleeping masses of middle-class, white, middle-income U. S. Citizens. We pledge liberty and justice for all but cannot seem to translate that pledge satisfactorily into practice. That's the message I got that night from the satirical skits at De Anza Junior College.

I shook hands wih my Black Brother the other day. You know, he had five fingers on his hand just like me. Who is he? Who am I? He's like me. I'm like him. We're brothers. We're brothers. This I know, we're brothers!

MY FATHER'S SIX WIDOWS

Samuel W. Taylor

In view of the fact that my father had sacrificed both worldly goods and his chances in heaven for the dream of the great patriarchal family, it is ironical that the only time all six of his wives met face-to-face was upon the occasion of his funeral. Unrelenting Gentile opposition to the Principle had made his dream of the great family clan impossible, while the spirited independence of the wives kept them at arm's length. These were not submissive harem women; they had been the most venturesome and courageous lovelies of their day, embarking on a way of life in full awareness of the sacrifices and hardships required. Yet this very independence of spirit had prevented the final requirement of the Principle, that they should come together in harmony as sisters.

The six widows, clad in black, sat in proper order on the front row. May, serene and regal, was the legal Mrs. John W. Taylor, the only one to use that name. Nellie, the Canadian wife (the one allowed there, where authorities were unconcerned with a man's marital status so long as only one wife set foot on Dominion soil), was tall and slender, vivacious and dramatic. She was John's public wife at church and social functions, the one who accompanied him on business trips. Nettie (my mother), was a small girl with great eyes, a broad forehead, and a wealth of auburn hair. She had been christened Janet Maria, but her underground name became so firmly fixed that she used it throughout life. Nettie was the homemaker; when John wanted good food and rest, a refuge from business and public affairs, he always came to her home. Roxie and Rhoda were sisters who stayed in Mexico during the underground period. Roxie was shy, very softspoken, with an elfin loveliness. In contrast, Rhoda was a robust and vital beauty, full of spirit and full of fun. These sisters by blood came nearest of the wives in being true sisters in the Principle. On moving to Provo they lived in adjoining houses, the kids running back and forth and Rhoda spanking them all impartially until to this day I have to pause and think which of my siblings are Roxie's and which Rhoda's. Ellen, the last wife, was fresh and open-faced, young enough to be the daughter of the first. My mother in particular had taken pains to make welcome the newcomer as the bride faced the difficult prospect of entering an established family.

Behind the six widows was the memory of dedication, of hardship, of cloak-and-dagger adventure on the underground, of privation and fear, and of the harrowing concern as to the effect a life of subterfuge and deceit might have upon their children. Ahead was the prospect of living on to become little old ladies in black, the object of whispers as they passed by, embarrassing anachronisms even among their own people. But each of them clung to the belief that it all was worthwhile. They had been of the chosen few, privileged to receive the special endowments no longer available. The Principle had never been for the masses, only for the select; they had been extremely fortunate for the opportunity to enter it. Each sat with her memories of romance and marriage, of being a wife to one of the great men of his generation. Certainly John W. Taylor must have been one of the great charmers, at least, for each wife held the cherished secret that she had been his favorite.

Many of the three dozen kids sat in rows behind the widows. On the stand were various Church brethren, there in an unofficial capacity inasmuch as John W. Taylor had been un-churched for taking wives after the Manifesto. Some were there as friends, others to see that the wrong things wouldn't be said. At the door my two oldest brothers, John (May's) and Joseph (Mother's), were on guard to make sure the reporter for the violently anti-Mormon Salt Lake Tribune would not get near the casket. It was none of the Tribune's business whether John W. Taylor was, or was not, buried in his temple robes.

A funeral is no place for controversy, and since Apostle John W. Taylor

had represented the greatest internal struggle in the history of the Church in his stand on the Principle, nothing was uttered at the service but platitudes. The customary eulogy to the memory of the departed could not be delivered, because the life of an excommunicant was not one to inspire others to follow. His fearlessness in fighting for what he believed was right in the face of all opposition was, of course, unmentionable on this occasion. His former Church position as an apostle could not be extolled, because he had lost it. The facts of his life were not an inspiration but an embarrassment. It was even impossible to give comfort to the mourners that things would be better on the other side, because the deceased had been cast into limbo. In short, nothing could be said about this world or the next that remotely referred to the man whose death was the reason for the ceremony. It was undoubtedly an extremely trying experience for the speakers.

The widows sat stiffly, enduring this final terrible hour of humiliation which climaxed their long dedication to a lost and discredited cause. The older children were grim and defiant, the smaller ones restless. At last, thankfully, came the closing prayer — more platitudes, more meaningless bromides. The good brother offering it was sincere enough, but laboring under the handicap of being required to utter words devoid of all spirit and meaning. Also, his dental plates were loose. Each phrase began and ended with a little whistle. To the family the whole service was a mere formality anyhow, and now the undulating whistle, punctuating a meaningless assortment of clichés, made it seem as if the entire ceremony were being burlesqued in gibberish.

A restlessness swept over the family. My mother bit her lip for self-control. The kids began to quiver, and then my brother Raymond was the first to break. Even knowing that it was the worst possible thing to do, he burst into wild laughter. Immediately, the pent-up passion of the proud family exploded. This was not a funeral service, but an elaborate farce. The mummery, the solemn façade of pretense, the observance of form devoid of all meaning, was too richly comic to endure in silence, particularly in view of the frank and iconoclastic character of John W. Taylor. The laughter ran through his smaller kids and then burst from the lips of the older ones. Even the six widows broke. They, of course, quickly controlled themselves, burying their faces in their handkerchiefs while shaken with the tearing and bitter mirth that was their only possible reaction to the travesty.

"Shh!"

The big kids shushed the little ones. My sister Juana still remembers a good, hard pinch from 1916.

I like to think that John W. Taylor, who fought all his life against sham and pretension, enjoyed the laughter at his funeral. It was the best farewell his family could give him at the time (his actual funeral sermon had to wait many years until the death of his youngest wife, Ellen, who was the first to follow). I am sure he was laughing with us.

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