



# DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



## BOARD OF ADVISORS

MICHEL M. GRILIKHES, *Beverly Hills, California, Chairman*  
RICHARD C. STRATFORD, *Los Angeles, California, Vice-Chairman*  
KENT LLOYD, *Los Angeles, California, Vice-Chairman*  
JOSEPH BLACK, *New York City, New York*  
GENE DALTON, *Cambridge, Massachusetts*  
GARY DRIGGS, *Phoenix, Arizona*  
GARY GRANT, *Palo Alto, California*  
GLENDON JOHNSON, *Galveston, Texas*  
GARTH L. MANGUM, *Salt Lake City, Utah*  
RONALD POELMAN, *Los Altos, California*

## BOARD OF EDITORS

MARY ALLEN, *Literature, West Hyattsville, Maryland*  
SHERRY BENNION, *Journalism, Sacramento, California*  
MARY L. BRADFORD, *Literature, Arlington, Virginia*  
RICHARD L. BUSHMAN, *History, Boston University*  
JAMES CLAYTON, *History, University of Utah*  
GARY B. HANSEN, *Economics, Utah State University*  
MICHAEL R. HARRIS, *History, Pomona College*  
KARL KELLER, *Literature, San Diego State College*  
LEEMAN PERKINS, *Musicology, Yale University*  
KENT O. ROBSON, *Philosophy, Utah State University*  
KARL C. SANDBERG, *Literature, Macalester College*  
STEPHEN TANNER, *Literature, University of Idaho*

## EDITORIAL STAFF

### EDITOR

ROBERT A. REES, *University of California, Los Angeles*

### ASSOCIATE EDITORS

EDWARD GEARY, *(Head, Salt Lake—Provo Editorial Group), Brigham Young University*  
RICHARD CRACROFT, *Brigham Young University*  
KENDALL O. PRICE, *Los Angeles, California*  
BRENT N. RUSHFORTH, *Los Angeles, California*  
GORDON THOMASSON, *University of California, Santa Barbara*  
FREDERICK G. WILLIAMS, III, *University of California, Los Angeles*

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR: Davis Bitton, *University of Utah*

NOTES AND COMMENTS EDITOR: Louis Midgley, *Brigham Young University*

AMONG THE MORMONS EDITOR: Ralph Hansen, *Stanford University*

PERSONAL VOICES EDITOR: Eugene England, *St. Olaf College*

PUBLICATIONS EDITOR: Gary Collins, *Salt Lake City, Utah*

ASSISTANT EDITORS: Samellyn Wood, Mary Ellen MacArthur

BUSINESS MANAGER: C. Burton Stohl

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT: Linda Lane

### ADVISORY EDITORS

G. WESLEY JOHNSON, *Stanford University*

PAUL G. SALISBURY, *Utah State University*

EUGENE ENGLAND, *St. Olaf College*



*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

A CONTINUING DIALOGUE	<i>Robert A. Rees</i>	4
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR		7
ARTICLES AND ESSAYS		
TOLSTOY AND MORMONISM	<i>Leland A. Fetzer</i>	13
A UNIVERSITY'S DILEMMA: B.Y.U. AND BLACKS	<i>Brian Walton</i>	31
THE MANIFESTO WAS A VICTORY!	<i>Gordon C. Thomasson</i>	37
JOSEPH SMITH, AN AMERICAN MUHAMMAD? AN ESSAY ON THE PERILS OF HISTORICAL ANALOGY	<i>Arnold H. Green and Lawrence P. Goldrup</i>	46
BECOME AS A LITTLE CHILD A Photographic Essay On Junior Sunday School	<i>Harold Wood</i>	59
POETRY		
ON SECOND WEST IN CEDAR CITY, UTAH: CANTICLE FOR THE VIRGIN	<i>Bruce W. Jorgenson</i>	65
A COMFORTER	<i>C. Thomas Asplund</i>	66
THE COMFORTER	<i>Karl Keller</i>	67
WINTER SOLSTICE	<i>Arthur Henry King</i>	68
REVIEWS		
IN GOOD CONSCIENCE: MORMONISM AND CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION	<i>Orlando E. Delogu</i>	69
COURAGE	<i>James L. Clayton</i>	71
JAMES J. STRANG AND THE AMATEUR HISTORIAN	<i>Klaus J. Hansen</i>	73
FREE MASONRY AT NAUVOO	<i>T. Edgar Lyon</i>	76
JOSEPH FISH: MORMON PIONEER	<i>P. T. Reilly</i>	78

*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* is published by the Dialogue Foundation. Editorial Office and Subscription Department, 900 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90024. Dialogue has no official connection with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or with any college or university. Second class postage paid at Salt Lake City, Utah. Printed by The Quality Press, Salt Lake City. Contents copyright © 1971 by the Dialogue Foundation.



REVIEWS (Cont.)

THE LOSS OF TRANSCENDENCE: REFLECTIONS ON THE CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS CRISIS	<i>M. Gerald Bradford</i>	81
HOW LOVELY WAS THE MORNING	<i>Dean C. Jessee</i>	85

AMONG THE MORMONS

A SURVEY OF CURRENT LITERATURE	<i>Edited by Ralph W. Hansen</i>	89
--------------------------------	----------------------------------	----

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A REPLY TO CRITICS OF THE MORMON NEO-ORTHOXY HYPOTHESIS	<i>O. Kendall White, Jr.</i>	97
DALE L. MORGAN (1914-1971)	<i>Everett L. Cooley</i>	101
ANOTHER VIEW OF THE NEW ENGLISH BIBLE	<i>Robert Smith</i>	101
ZION BUILDING: SOME FURTHER SUGGESTIONS	<i>Charles L. Sellers</i>	103
A COMMENT ON JOSEPH SMITH'S ACCOUNT OF HIS FIRST VISION AND THE 1820 REVIVAL	<i>Peter Crawley</i>	106

PERSONAL VOICES

MATURITY FOR A NEW ERA	<i>Eugene England</i>	108
CARRYING WATER ON BOTH SHOULDERS	<i>Lowell L. Bennion</i>	110
MORMONS AND INFIDELITY	<i>Victor B. Cline</i>	112
THE ULTIMATE DISGRACE	<i>Samuel W. Taylor</i>	114
YESTERDAY THE WARDHOUSE	<i>Mary L. Bradford</i>	116
FAR BEYOND THE HALF-WAY COVENANT	<i>Karl Keller</i>	118

ART CREDITS

*Cover:* GARY COLLINS  
*The Sketches in this issue are by:* GARY COLLINS  
*Photographs by:* MARK JESPERSON AND HAROLD WOOD

*Dialogue* is published quarterly in Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter issues. Subscription rate in the United States is \$9 per year; single copies, \$2.50. Subscription Department, 900 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90024. *Dialogue* welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, notes and comments, and art work. Manuscripts should be sent in duplicate to the Editor, accompanied by return postage.

# A Continuing Dialogue

*Robert A. Rees*

You young people live in an age when freedom of the mind is suppressed over much of the world. We must preserve it in the Church and in America and resist all efforts of earnest men to suppress it. . . . Preserve, then, the freedom of your mind in education and in religion, and be unafraid to express your thoughts and to insist upon your right to examine every proposition. We are not so much concerned with whether your thoughts are orthodox or heterodox as we are that you shall have thoughts.

President Hugh B. Brown  
(B.Y.U., 13 May 1969)

Although it has been over five years since I received the first issue of *Dialogue*, I vividly remember the excitement with which I opened it and devoured it in one sitting. I suddenly felt a renewal of faith in myself and in my fellow saints. I discovered that there were Mormons who shared not only my concern for the life of the mind in the Church, but who also shared some of my deepest feelings about the life of the spirit in the world, who seemed unafraid to think, to explore, to question — and unembarrassed to fast, to pray, and to testify.

It can probably be said that *Dialogue* was an inevitable result of a generation of young Mormons who came of age in the 50s and 60s, whose faith was tested in the colleges and universities, in the cities, and in a world of dramatic social change. It was a generation who felt a tension between a cultural provincialism and an inherited racial prejudice on the one hand and a gospel of openness and brotherly love on the other. It was a generation who were not willing to sacrifice their Mormon heritage in order to take their place in the world — a world they did not feel completely prepared to encounter. Out of this experience came a new concern by young Mormons to make the Church more relevant to their lives and at the same time to make their lives more useful to the world through the gospel.

*Dialogue* is perhaps the most conspicuous manifestation of that concern as well as an affirmative answer to a question raised by Thomas F. O'Dea in his book *The Mormons*: "Can the church make the accommodation to modern thought necessary to satisfy the concern with truth that its own teachings have created in its more intellectual members and, at the same time, maintain the basic articles of faith without which it will certainly cease to survive in its present form?"



It has been *Dialogue's* hope to improve the quality of life in the Church through increased tolerance and understanding by fostering a climate in which members of the Church could express their deepest feelings and thoughts about their religion and their lives; it has encouraged an exchange of ideas, opinions, and testimonies and has attempted to get Mormons (as well as non-Mormons) to talk to one another and, especially, to listen to one another. It has sought frankness and honesty in its attempt to define and explore ways in which we as a people can come closer to fulfilling our promise.

And *Dialogue* will continue to do this, by seeking responsible expressions — personal, artistic, academic. It will continue to speak to those who have left the Church and challenge them to re-examine their faith, to give the Church a new chance; and it will continue to speak to those in the Church who are closed and complacent and challenge them to a greater love and patience with their brothers, in and out of the Church.

If *Dialogue* has not been entirely successful in fulfilling the hopes of its founders (see Eugene England's essay later in this issue), it is due in part to the fact that some have been unwilling to join in conversations about our origins, our problems, our hopes and our beliefs. At times these same people have been critical of what they see as a liberal bias in *Dialogue*, but if such a bias exists they must concede that it does so by their default, for the editors have continually sought to establish a forum in which various points of view could be expressed.

*Dialogue* will continue to reaffirm that aspect of our tradition in which we have been willing to examine all things and to hold fast to that which is good, in which we have been unafraid to let others examine and explore those things we hold as truth, in which we have been willing to consider alternatives and to change. From the beginning there have been those in the Church who were unafraid to live the Gospel in the world, whose conviction of the truth and its ability to make men free caused them to defend it against all foes, who were open to the experience and revelation of truth, not only from above, but from wherever it might come.

A recent confirmation of this tradition was the talk entitled "Freedom of the Mind" given to the student body of Brigham Young University in May 1969 by President Hugh B. Brown. President Brown said some remarkable things that day, including the following:

One of the most important things in the world is freedom of the mind; from this all other freedoms spring. Such freedom is necessarily dangerous, for one cannot think right without running the risk of thinking wrong, but generally more thinking is the antidote for the evils that spring from wrong thinking. More thinking is required, and we call upon you students to exercise your God-given right to think through on every proposition that is submitted to you and be unafraid to express your opinions, with proper respect for those to whom you talk and proper acknowledgement of your own shortcomings.

*Dialogue* feels that it is important for us to cultivate a climate of exploration and discussion so that we will be more willing to have communion (both in the modern sense of "an interchange of thoughts and interests")

and in the original sense of “fellowship”) with another, so that we will be more willing to consider, to understand, to forgive, and to accept.

It was in part a willingness to enter into a dialogue (that is, to open oneself to be taught and inspired) that led Moses upon the mountain, and Lehi into the desert, that led Paul to Athens and Corinth. It is the same spirit that led Joseph into the light of the Restoration on that spring day in 1821. And it is that same spirit that we must open ourselves to if we wish to sustain a continuing dialogue.





# Letters to the Editors

Dear Friends of and at *Dialogue*:

It strikes me as monumental poor taste to put *Dialogue* or *Dialogue* readers in a clan with *Playboy* or readers of same.\* And if this is an example of humor or someone's attempt to jar lazy *Dialogue* subscribers into putting their reading preferences in order, it comes off badly. Shades of Rustin Kaufman. *Playboy* has fine articles. But its sexual philosophy is destructive and crass. *Dialogue* should be constructive and spiritual. Warm regards in any case,

Chas N. Peterson  
Dean of Admissions and  
Financial Aids,  
Harvard College

*\*The author refers to the subscription renewal form which read: "Too bad you missed the special issue on Nauvoo, the section on repentance, the article on the Manifesto and the poetry of David Wright." "I didn't miss them. I just borrow a friend's. It's too expensive. I can't afford Dialogue and Playboy too!"—Ed.*  
*nostra culpa! —Ed.*

Dear Sirs:

I enjoyed the article by William Mulder in the Autumn 1970 issue very much, as it described the problem of the intellectual in the Mormon Church extremely well. Unfortunately, it also described the attitude of many natural scientists in the Church very accurately, and Professor Mulder is probably justified in separating them from the intellectual community on that basis.

It should not be so. The natural scientist as well as the humanist should not compartmentalize his thinking so as to avoid confrontation between observed fact,

human decency and received dogma. The scientist, too, has a responsibility to deny contrary-to-fact notions, whether they are only slightly nonsensical, such as anti-evolutionism or beliefs that American Indians are descendant from a couple of families who were cursed with a dark skin, or whether they are pernicious and immoral, such as the belief that a non-white skin constitutes a curse.

The scientist's livelihood is allegedly based on a search for truth, founded on observed fact. Where observed fact contradicts dogma, the scientist as well as the humanist knows and should state plainly that it is the dogma which should show cause why it should not be discarded. Scientists, of all people, should know that the truth, not dogma, shall make men free.

I have, in the past, enjoyed the lively and controversial articles which have appeared in *Dialogue*, and which have contributed to the liberation of fact from dogma. It is with deep regret that I have observed a change in the tone and type of article in the later issues, to something more bland, less critical, and less searching. I hope that this condition is only temporary.

J.F.T. Spencer  
Saskatoon, Canada

Dear Sirs:

I have often enjoyed interesting dialogue with advocates of liberalism in government, but the article by David S. King did not do justice to the liberal position. I feel that the true intellectual liberal should be the one most offended by the article, and therefore leave a complete rebuttal to one of them, but feel moved to make a few comments about the scholarship exhibited.

After protesting at length that good Mor-

mons ought to “check their politics at the door” before they enter a church to worship, Mr. King proceeds to attempt support for liberalism in government by, among other things, quoting scriptures and leaning on “good Christian principles.” He never addresses himself at all to the fundamental question of where the liberals presume to have the right (perhaps from God?) to expropriate the earnings of anyone other than themselves for any cause whatever beyond protection of an individual’s freedom and property. To teach me to be a better Christian toward my brethren in need is one ideal (the one chosen by Christ), but to simply steal the fruits of my labor for purposes which someone else holds to be virtuous is quite another concept — though Mr. King apparently makes no differentiation. Robin Hood’s use of the plunder he stole did not reduce his crime. I could just as well suggest that we ought to take Mr. King’s income for my personal needs, since he lives better than I, and even if I should have a majority vote in my favor to do just that, it would still not be morally right (though it would perhaps be “twentieth century” liberal morality).

Mr. King’s writing techniques are certainly not in keeping with the usual quality of *Dialogue*, for they include such things as irresponsible anti-logic (“It seems to me that the only persons entitled to protest these [liberal] governmental programs would be those pitifully few who receive no benefits from them at all.”), name calling (“Many ultraconservatives appear to have finally reached a compromise with the twentieth century . . .”), fear of popular disfavor (“This entirely false image [of Congressmen toward the Church] was bound to impede the progress of the Church . . .” [!]), and quoting out of context (see his use of D&C 134:9).

In short, I was exceedingly disappointed that *Dialogue* would print such a poor rendition of the liberal political position. Is it because of Mr. King’s name only? It is obviously not because he has the scholarly qualities of sound reasoning and intellect one ought to be able to expect in a magazine of this calibre. In the future I would suggest articles of this scholarship and ability be relegated to *Ladies Home Journal*, and that the editors of *Dialogue* concentrate on articles by perhaps lesser-known authors, but ones whose scholarship is equal to the ideals of the magazine.

Or do we have to look forward to future articles like “Ecology and Environment” by Ladybird Johnson, and “The Political Foundations of Democracy” by Benjamin Spock?

E. Ray Martin  
Los Alamos, New Mexico

David S. King replies:

Mr. Martin’s contribution highlights my previous conclusion that trying to reach a consensus on how to use political agencies for humane purposes is an exercise in total futility.

Of his several statements, largely *ad hominem*, only one, in my opinion, deserves comment. Mr. Martin finds it singular that,



having first requested Latter-day Saints to check their politics at the meeting house door, I should then attempt to give doctrinal support to my own political views.

I am surprised that Mr. Martin failed to grasp the distinction between personal opinion and official attribution. The citations in the original article from the Prophet Joseph Smith and from the First Presidency show an unmistakable awareness of this distinction. It is because of it, and only because of it, that the doctrine of the separation of Church and State can accommodate itself to the demands of individual freedom of speech.

For a Latter-day Saint, acting in his individual capacity, to invoke Mormon doctrine to support his own political views, is one thing; but for him to falsely ascribe to his personal political views the official sanction of the Church, is quite another. It is the latter, and only the latter, to which I took exception.



Consistent with the above, a member would have the theoretical right to express controversial political views, even within the chapel precincts, if the circumstances made it clear that he was speaking unofficially, and without attribution. However, in my opinion even this practice would be censurable for reasons of poor taste. Latter-day Saints attend church to worship, and the spirit of worship is the spirit of unity. There are many satisfactory media, including *Dialogue*, through which Latter-day Saints can more properly express their personal political differences.

Dear Sirs:

I find it remarkable that Stephen Taggart's essay *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins* (U. of Utah Press, 1969), should have called forth such a verbal flood as Lester Bush's "Commentary" (*Dialogue*, Vol. IV, No. 4). "Remarkable" it is, to me at least, that the thesis of historical-circumstantial origin of the Negro policy would inspire such a monumental research effort as Mr. Bush has put forth. Many, if not most, of us who have concerned ourselves with this policy over the past two decades, and openly voiced our dissent with it, have simply assumed this thesis without any serious attempt to document it. It seemed self-evident. But the late lamented Stephen Taggart made the effort, and in my view, the effort is quite adequate.

One may ask, "What other explanations are there?" The scriptural evidence does not exist. Bush himself notes that "A careful reading of the Mormon Scriptures reveals a most confused picture . . ." Also, in what may be called a considerable understatement, he further notes, "The question of the historicity of the Books of Abraham and Moses needs further analysis especially as it concerns the Negro and the priesthood." Of course where the Scripture is inadequate to validate the policy, mythology can be supplied as a substitute. So, the Negro "sat on the fence," etc. The Biblical accounts of sundry "curses" say nothing of black skin.

Moreover, the policy is morally incongruous with basic Mormon as well as Christian ethics. How, in the light of the accepted principle of the Fatherhood of God of all men, can one justify singling out a specific race as under a "divine curse?" I venture to say that had the Church orig-

inated in Scandinavia or some other country devoid of Negroes — even other countries of Europe — no such policy would have been thought of. But the Church originated in America; slavery was here; the slaves were black. The policy of priesthood denial is based on racism which assigns to another race a position of inferiority. It is this presumed inferiority which inspired the prejudices among Mormons as well as other "white and delightful" people. It is these prejudices in which the policy is imbedded. How can it be denied?

I am not sure just what purpose Mr. Bush had in mind in his "Commentary." It seems to accept the general thesis, but feels Taggart didn't do as good a job as he could have done. The young scholar is not here to defend his work, but I am sure that, like any scholar, he would be glad for the relevant references supplied in various places by Mr. Bush. But these seem to supplement and certainly, in my view, do not vitiate the basic argument.

Mr. Bush doubts that the policy originated with Joseph Smith; rather that it came with successors, especially Brigham Young. This is a minor point since these men had their prejudices formed, not in Utah, but in New England, Ohio, Illinois, and especially Missouri. They were not socio-psychological creatures of the Great Salt Lake Valley.

Of course, nothing is going to be settled on the issue. The "will to believe" is a bulwark against attitudinal change. The tendency is to defend what is. The Thomists will prevail until someone in authority with sufficient moral courage will correct the evil.

Lowry Nelson  
Coral Gables, Florida

Dear Sirs:

I just received the Summer 1970 issue of *Dialogue*. I found the articles by Marden Clark and Edward Hart most interesting, but wish most of all to thank you for publishing David Wright's "The Conscience of the Village." Have plans been made to publish *River Saints* in full — assuming the remainder is as good as this sampling?

Thanks for your efforts towards helping make our secular life relevant to our religion — and not the reverse.

Robert J. Christensen  
Taipei, Taiwan

Dear Sirs:

I am gratified to learn that my friend Dr. Carl J. Christensen (*Dialogue*, [Winter 1970] 9) agrees completely with my view (*Dialogue*, [Spring 1967], 5) of the eternal individuality of the essence or will of man, though he does err in stating that my quotation, indicating some possible official Church sanction of the opposite view, was not in the Teachers Supplement to the Gospel Doctrine Course, *The Gospel in the Service of Man*.

The complete objective statement from p. 6 reads as follows (italics mine):

The elements are eternal. (D&C 93:33). "All spirit is matter." (D&C 131:7). Spirit element, called also "intelligence," has always existed, indeed it "was not created or made, neither indeed can be." (D&C 93:29). However, spirit children whose bodies were made of spirit element were born in pre-existence as the offspring of God, which is the same as saying that the eternal intelligence was organized into "intelligences," into "souls" as "spirits" (Abraham 3:22, 23). God's plan is to enable His spirit children to become like Him.

Dr. Christensen's "thought" (about a similar statement elsewhere in the supplement) that his "original statement was adversely edited by one of the echelon of editors who scrutinized the manuscript before it went to press," leads me to fear that the view expressed in the above excerpt may have fairly wide currency in the Church.

The only scripture we have that explicitly affirms the eternal individuality of man and his eternal likeness to or "coequality" (Joseph Smith's term) with God is Abraham 3:18-19. If we add to this remarkable scripture verses 21 and 22, in which the Lord is speaking of the works of His hands, we see that these individual "spirits" have been "organized" into intelligences, man's "first estate" (verses 26 and 28) and subsequently into men, his "second estate" (Abraham was one of them — verse 23). This can be understood only if the organizing of "spirits" into "intelligences" is interpreted as the bringing of the individual "spirits" into a relationship with matter and with each other in the same sense that God created man by bringing his spirit (what was referred to as "intelligence" in Abraham 3:21) into a relationship with the physical matter of this earth — "the dust of the ground" — as described in Moses 3:7.

These scriptures do not lend themselves to the interpretation quoted above from the Teachers Supplement.

Abraham 3:18-28 was likely the basis for Joseph Smith's earth-shaking King Follet sermon. Here the view of the eternal individuality of man, together with his god-like nature, is further developed and this view has been widely affirmed by presidents of the Church since Joseph Smith's time. This concept gives Mormonism much of its distinctive character. It is the basis for the concept of eternal progression, and without it the idea that man is a child of God with god-like potential would be nonsense.

The Mormon concept of the eternal individuality of man makes man a free moral agent by necessity and not by choice, either God's or his own. This provides a philosophically satisfactory solution to man's most troubling problem — that of the agony of suffering and pain in the earth. The only other adequate solution to this problem that I know of is Darwin's theory of evolution in which God is remote or non-existent. Though this theory is profoundly effective in ordering and explaining much of what we observe, it is inadequate to my inmost needs and convictions because it is incomplete. On the other hand, the Mormon explanation is deeply satisfying.

I am thoroughly convinced that those who subscribe to the view that intelligences were formed by God from eternal intelligence or spirit element stray far from the truth.

John H. Gardner  
Provo, Utah

#### AS MAN IS

Mormon sermons din  
On the Sabbath shopping sin,  
But a Sunday store  
With an open door  
The Saints go marching in.

Gwen A. Sandberg  
Cedar City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

Help!

I would like to establish a dialogue with members of the Church who have had experience with the problems of the emotionally ill. Specifically the neurotic who is active in the Church.

In my case after three years of group therapy and a year of individual analysis with a psychiatrist, the symptoms generally

are latent but still the neurosis is there. The unhappiness arises due to the fact that the neurosis manifests itself as behaviour that is antisocial, hostile, and antagonistic. Such behaviour is totally unacceptable in a closely-knit social group such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints where earthly happiness and ultimately eternal progression is dependent upon harmonious interpersonal relationships.

To complicate the matter, having Church leaders who for the most part are untrained in working with individuals who are emotionally unstable it seems that a member of the Church who is neurotic finds that there are very few with his religious background to whom he can go for help. Furthermore, fasting and prayer to overcome a personal problem can be a rewarding experience for some but also can be an outlandish nightmare fraught with despair, frustration, and unfathomable guilt for others.

What is the hope for the neurotic both now and in the hereafter? How can the hostile neurotic be active in the Church



without alienating the members whose love and friendship he needs so desperately? How can the neurotic work out the problems of life and still function in the Church, having the confidence of the leaders who can call him to organizational positions in order that he can magnify his priesthood and gain for himself and his family its blessings?

I feel that these questions are not unique to me but must have been encountered by many Latter-day Saints both knowing and unknowing. *Dialogue* presents a forum place from which experiences can be gathered on

a Church-wide basis which otherwise would be unavailable. I am hoping that there will be response to this inquiry and that possibly I can help as well as be helped.

Name withheld

Dear Sirs:

Recognizing a need for dialogue among L.D.S. visual artists living in California, a group of artists in the Los Angeles area is sponsoring a fine arts exhibit of Mormon artists to be held in April 1972.

Entries are not restricted to Mormon themes.

Those wishing to contribute their works, ideas and/or suggestions can contact the planning committee at the following address:

Sally Rogers  
2477 Sawtelle  
Los Angeles, Calif. 90064

Dear Editors:

One of the articles in the Roundtable on the Coalville Tabernacle predicted that the Ogden Pioneer Tabernacle would be the next historic Mormon building to fall before the wrecker's ball. This prediction has proven true; the Ogden building has been demolished.

The old Ogden Tabernacle was of less intrinsic value than the Coalville Tabernacle, but it was a highly distinctive example of pioneer architecture, and as the oldest public building in Ogden it had great historic value. Even more distressing than the fact that a valuable and irreplaceable building was destroyed, however, is the disingenuous way the matter was handled by Church officials. The leadership at Coalville did at least conform to the procedural requirements we have come to expect in Church government. The same cannot be said of Ogden. Local Church members were given no opportunity whatsoever to vote or otherwise express their will in the matter. The decision was made by the stake presidents of the region at a closed meeting. After the meeting, Church officials persistently refused to deal candidly with inquiries as to their plans for the building, and public announcement of the decision was made only after demolition was under way. Apparently, the principle of common consent is no longer operative in Church government. The era of the bulldozer has arrived in more ways than one.

The official reason given for tearing down the Ogden Tabernacle was that its design did not harmonize with that of the new temple under construction on the same block. There is no denying the truth of that statement. The old tabernacle was a building of character and dignity. It looked like a house of worship, whereas the new temple resembles nothing so much as a giant Hot Shoppes restaurant or a casino transplanted from the Las Vegas strip. With the Church building program in the hands of people so imperceptive as to admire the casino-modern style and to reject as of no value the Coalville and Ogden Tabernacles, the future of historic Mormon buildings looks very bleak indeed.

Sincerely,  
Robert B. Angell

Dear Sirs:

Brother Kenneth K. Godfrey's essay, "The Coming of the Manifesto" (Autumn 1970), was most interesting. Concerning the alleged revelation given to John Taylor on 27 September 1886 and the comment made in footnote 10, page 15, that "Dean Jesse concluded in his study ["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] that it is highly probable that such a revelation does exist," the following should be noted.

On 17 June 1933, the First Presidency made the following statement in a letter to the "Presidents of Stakes and Counselors":

It is alleged that on September 26-27, 1886, President John Taylor received a revelation from the Lord . . . As to this pretended revelation it should be said that the archives of the Church contain no such revelation; the archives contain no record of any such revelation, nor any evidence justifying a belief that any such revelation was ever given. From the personal knowledge of some of us, from the uniform and common recollection of the presiding quorums of the Church, from the absence in the Church archives of any evidence whatsoever justifying any belief that such a revelation was given, we are justified in affirming that no such revelation exists.

Furthermore, so far as the authorities of the Church are concerned and so far as the members of the Church are con-

cerned, since this pretended revelation, if ever given, was never presented to and adopted by the Church or by any council of the Church, and since to the contrary, and inspired rule of action, the Manifesto, was (subsequently to the pretended revelation) presented to and adopted by the Church, which inspired rule in its terms, purport, and effect was directly opposite to the interpretation given to the pretended revelation, the said pretended revelation could have no validity and no binding effect and force upon Church members, and action under it would be unauthorized, illegal, and void.

Heber J. Grant,  
Anthony W. Ivins,  
J. Reuben Clark, Jr.,  
First Presidency.

(*Messages of the First Presidency*, compiled by Jesse R. Clark, Bookcraft Inc., vol. V, p. 327)

Talking of the supposed two-day committee meeting of President John Taylor, George Q. Cannon, L. John Nuttal, Samuel Bateman, Charles W. Wilkins, Charles Birrell, Daniel R. Bateman, Bishop Samuel Sedden, George Earl, Lorin Woolley, his father, John W. Woolley, his mother, Julia E. Woolley, and his sister, Amy Woolley, in which the alleged revelation was presented, President Joseph Fielding Smith, in a letter to Walter L. Whipple on 24 April 1956 said:

. . . No such meeting ever took place.  
. . . I knew President George Q. Cannon, Samuel Bateman, and Charles W. Wilkins, and they were true men and they were true to President Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo Snow and to President Joseph F. Smith. Lorin Woolley's stories are afterthoughts uttered when all these men are dead and cannot speak for themselves.

In the diary of Samuel Bateman it states that he was at the Woolley's home at this time. But was he in council with a prophet of God? No, he says that he was playing quoits all day on at least one of these two days.

I will let the reader draw his own conclusions whether or not this meeting ever took place or if the revelation referred to was ever given; personally, from the prayerful study I've done, I don't believe they did.

E. Jay Bell  
Ridgecrest, California





## Tolstoy and Mormonism

*Leland A. Fetzer*

*Leland Fetzer is Associate Professor of Russian at San Diego State College. He has recently translated THE RUSSIAN AIR FORCE IN WORLD WAR II (Doubleday, 1971) and is currently doing research on Bernard DeVoto.*

Although Tolstoy is remembered today as a great novelist, short story writer and dramatist — the Russians consider him to be nearly as significant as Shakespeare in world literature — he would no doubt prefer to be remembered as a thinker, social reformer, and preceptor of morality. After an excruciating crisis in his middle years he became preoccupied with religious and moral questions at the expense of literature, much to the regret of his fellow authors, his readers, and most of his family, devoting his astonishing energy (how was it possible for one man to write 7000 letters in his lifetime?) to reading, thought, and writing on the burning ethical, social, and particularly religious issues of his day.

One of the characteristics of Tolstoy's thought in his later years, when he was convinced that his mission lay in the moral conversion of mankind, was a profound commitment to religious belief. Tolstoy was convinced, quite simply, that to live was to believe. He accepted the existence of God, and, indeed, without the surety of God's presence, he says, he would have shot himself in the birch woods on his estate or hanged himself in his study; the existence of God justified his own existence. What is more, he believed that God is accessible to all men of all social classes and all races and the celebration of His presence might take many forms. Although Tolstoy was officially a member of the Russian Orthodox Church (his status after his so-called excommunication was ambiguous) he had a consuming curiosity about religious practices in India, China, Europe, and the New World. The inquiring reader will find discussions on the beliefs of Jains, Quakers, Russian Old Believers, Buddhists, and American Protestants in many different shapes and forms in his later works, as well as on many doctrinal matters. He brought to the study of comparative religion his indefatigable energy, clarity of vision, and tolerance, which is reflected in the thousands of pages he wrote on various religious questions in the latter years of his life, defending always the right of free religious inquiry. An example of his toleration and courage was his concern for the Jews in Russia. He defended the persecuted Jewish minority in Russia with compassion and he was without a shred of the bigotry which

mar the works of many Russian writers, such as Dostoyevsky. For his tolerance Count Tolstoy was idolized by the young Jews of Russia before the revolution.

But at the same time that Tolstoy was consumed by an intense curiosity about different religious beliefs around the world and genuinely sympathetic to religious commitment, his concern above all was for personal, individual belief. What he sought was religious belief which was obtained in anguish and expressed in the life of the believer as altruism, hope, resignation to pain and suffering, and the courage to face death. Religion was an intensely personal experience. He himself had undergone a wrenching conversion after an ordeal of study and introspection and it had changed his life. He hoped as much for others and he used all his powers of persuasion to help his fellow men to find a path to a true, living, personal religion. But such a goal could be reached by many different routes, and certainly such a religious commitment need not be made within the framework of any organized church; just as he had found his way alone, so could others. Indeed, a real religious life could better be found outside an organized religion with its cathedrals, ritual, dogma, and above all, subordination to authority. In the later years of his life, Tolstoy was to the soles of the peasant boots he wore opposed to institutionalized religion. He wrote at length in his books *My Religion* and *My Confession* of his aversion to official churches. He could never, for example, accept the idea of the sacrament — this was an affront to his intelligence — nor the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church, nor the whole system of authority upon which an organized church rests.

How was it possible for a man to be deeply committed to the existence of God and at the same time be opposed to a church? Tolstoy saw no paradox here, for his rejection of an organized church was consistent with his idea that the justification of religious belief lay in its efficacy at a personal level. The trappings of a church, the whole system which grows up as an excrescence on personal belief, are not necessary, he believed, and in some cases, as in Russia where the church was an arm of the state, the church may become despotic, vindictive, and opposed to those principles of personal belief which Tolstoy held to be the essence of religion, because they are a threat to the structure and tradition of the official church. The measure of the religious belief is the individual. Tolstoy was accused by his enemies of being an anarchist, and after the revolution it became a commonplace among Russian emigré circles to say that Tolstoy's refusal to accept institutional authority — whether it was the state or organized religion — was one of the forces which undermined Czarist Russia. Perhaps this is so. To this charge Tolstoy would have answered, like Luther before him, that he could do no other. For him, the ultimate confrontation was the individual, naked before his God, confident of His benign love.

In his long quest for religious truth wherever he might find it, Tolstoy became acquainted with Mormonism. In fact he first mentions the subject in his diary when he was still a young writer unknown outside Russia, traveling in Western Europe in 1857. After this brief encounter his interest in the Church was renewed by a correspondence which his daughter at his instigation maintained in 1888-1889 with Susa Young Gates, which also found reflection in his diary. He wrote briefly again on the subject of Mormonism

in an essay published towards the end of his life in 1901. In addition to these sources we also have recorded interviews with Tolstoy made by two prominent American reporters; in these cases the opinions of Tolstoy are filtered through their minds and lips. All of these materials are, unfortunately, fragmentary and the correspondence between Tolstoy's daughter and Mrs. Gates has been preserved only on one side (the Russian archivists were more conscientious in preserving the Tolstoy correspondence than was the daughter of Brigham Young), but nonetheless there is sufficient material available to reconstruct with some certainty Tolstoy's attitude towards Mormonism, an attitude which is, I believe, consistent with his general attitude towards religion.

In the second part of this essay I would like to examine briefly the sequel to this story which developed in Utah for the most part after the death of Tolstoy. But this sequel, as interesting as it is, is subordinate to my central concern: to explore the effect Mormonism had on one of the great and original thinkers of our time.<sup>1</sup>

## I

Tolstoy was 28 years of age, a bachelor, a Count, a retired army officer, a veteran of skirmishes in the Caucasus and a real war in the Crimea, and the absolute owner of an estate and hundreds of serfs, when he made his first trip to Western Europe in 1857. He was also somewhat more than famous in his native Russia because of the stories he had written, stories in which he drew from his childhood, his skeptical observations of men at war, and his baffling experiences with his serfs, who persisted in regarding him as a master and despot, and not as the good-hearted patron he knew himself to be. But he was unknown outside of Russia — his world-wide fame was to come in the next decades with the publication of his two great novels — and he was merely another Russian land-owner traveling through France, Germany, and Switzerland, visiting the great cities and historical monuments which he already knew well from his reading. He was comparatively at ease as he made his

---

<sup>1</sup>To the best of my knowledge this subject has never been investigated adequately. The cryptic notes on the missionary whom Tolstoy met in Switzerland in 1857 are mentioned in Franz-Heinrich Philipp, *Tolstoi und der Protestantismus* (Giessen, 1959) p. 24; Aylmer Maude, the devoted English disciple of Tolstoy, describes Tolstoy's famous interview with Andrew D. White in his *Life of Tolstoy* (New York, 1911), II, p. 586; and Ernest J. Simmons in his biography, *Leo Tolstoy*, ([New York, 1960], II, p. 124), mentions the passage in Tolstoy's diary in which he describes his reaction to reading a biography of Joseph Smith; but none of these authors had any concern for the general question of Tolstoy and Mormonism. Research on the problem is needlessly complicated by the inadequate index which accompanies the great Jubilee Edition of Tolstoy's works in 94 volumes (cited henceforth as *Collected Works*) which is fundamental to any study of Tolstoy. And in addition, some of the materials central to the problem have never before appeared in print. These will be identified below at the appropriate places.

My search for materials which began in the Summer of 1969 took me to the University of California at Los Angeles, and to the very helpful staffs at the Utah History Room of the Salt Lake City Public Library, the Church Historian's office, Salt Lake City, and the Library of the Utah Historical Society. Finally, I wish to thank the staff of the Tolstoy Museum, Moscow, who kindly sent copies of the correspondence of Susa Young Gates to me.

All translations from the Russian are my own and all dates are given in New Style. Spellings and punctuation in quoted sources have been preserved as they appear in the original; emphases (*italics*) are those of the originals also.

I would also like to thank Karl Keller for his encouragement and assistance.

journey; at least his journals show little of that uneasy preoccupation with the question of Russia's relationship with the rest of Europe which has fascinated and repelled Russians for the last four hundred years. The languages of Western Europe presented no difficulties for him; like all upper-class Russians his education had been European and many of his tutors were Frenchmen or Germans who taught in their native language, and therefore he could give a good account of himself in French, German, and with somewhat more difficulty, English as well.

Therefore, no doubt, he had little difficulty conversing in one of these languages with a young man of about his own age whom he met in June or the end of May on a train in Switzerland and who probably communicated to him the first detailed information he had ever obtained about Mormonism. In his notebooks the fruits of that conversation were three English phrases, with three of the four words misspelled:

Utha.  
Joss Smith  
Linchlaw<sup>2</sup>

A few days later these brief notes were expanded in his native Russian with a curious admixture of French and English in the entry he made in his diary as he left Bern on the train for Freiburg:

Left Bern. Flat country with fields of rye and woods as far as Freiburg. An American thirty years of age who has been in Russia. Marmons in Utha [in English], Joss Smith [in English] their founder, killed by Glinchlaw [in English] Hunting for Buffaloes [in French] and deer [in French].<sup>3</sup>

Who was this thirty-year-old American who had been in Russia and who was so knowledgeable about Mormonism? Probably a Mormon missionary, but Tolstoy never mentioned him by name, nor does he identify his profession. Did this young man have any idea that he was addressing a man who was to become probably the world's most famous novelist and a great moral force not only in Russia but everywhere that the printed word could reach?

From a few brief statements in his notebooks written four weeks later it appears that Tolstoy had an opportunity to hear something of Mormonism in Geneva, also from an unnamed individual:

Joseph Smith. Missionary in Geneva.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>*Collected Works*, XLVII, p. 210

<sup>3</sup>*Collected Works*, XLVII, p. 132. At this point the modern editors of Tolstoy's *Collected Works* provide an explanatory note which, while it is not immediately relevant, may be of interest to the American reader to indicate what some well educated Russians believe to be characteristic of Mormonism: "Mormons: An American religious sect, founded about 1830 by Joseph Smith, which is a colorful mixture of Biblical beliefs and fantastic inventions of the founder himself. One of the characteristic features of Mormonism was polygamy based on the example of the Biblical patriarchs. As a result a conflict arose between the local population and the leaders of the sect during which Joseph Smith was killed in June, 1844, by an enraged mob, without a trial according to Lynch law. Subsequently, the Mormons, under the leadership of Smith's successor, Brigham Young, emigrated to Indian territory, Utah, where on the shores of Great Salt Lake they founded a theocratic community "the Latter-day Saints" with an original internal organization; the community within a short time attained significant success, thanks to the industry, solidarity, and discipline of its members. When the Mormons settled in Utah, the territory was still wild, with herds of buffalo and deer, which the Indians and newly arrived settlers hunted." *Collected Works*, XLVII, p. 463.

<sup>4</sup>*Collected Works* XLVII, p. 212



But unfortunately Tolstoy never expanded on this incident, so that we know nothing of his reaction to the words he heard, and indeed this is true of all of these initial comments on Mormonism which date from these early years. His comments remain cryptic, without color or emotion, and tantalizing in their brevity.

The next recorded evidence we have of Tolstoy's interest in Mormonism is dated 1887, after a thirty-year interval. Those thirty years saw the writing of his novels, the begetting of a large family, the intense emotional crisis which led to Tolstoy's religious awakening, and the establishment of Tolstoy's fame.

It was to visit the famous author that George Kennan, the American journalist and student of Russian affairs, and father of the American diplomat, George F. Kennan, went to Yasnaya Polyana, Tolstoy's estate. Kennan spoke Russian well, had an extraordinary memory, knew many important people in Russia, including revolutionaries exiled to Siberia, and Tolstoy granted him a lengthy interview. During the course of this interview Tolstoy touched briefly on Mormonism, and his remarks are important not so much for what he said about Mormonism as for the sympathy which he expressed for Mormons as an oppressed and persecuted minority, for at the time Mormonism was suffering from majority displeasure more severely than at any time since Nauvoo; these were the years of the great anti-polygamy campaigns.

In the course of further conversation he [Tolstoy] said he thought it deeply to be regretted that America had in two particulars proved false to her traditions.

"In what particulars?" I inquired.

"In the persecution of the Chinese and the Mormons," he replied. "You are crushing the Mormons by oppressive legislation, and you have forbidden Chinese immigration."

"But," I said "have you ever heard what we have to say for ourselves upon these questions?"

"Perhaps not," he answered, "tell me."

I then proceeded to give him the most extreme anti-Chinese views that have ever prevailed upon the Pacific coast . . .<sup>5</sup>

But then, after this promising introduction, Kennan declined to pursue the Mormon question and apparently Tolstoy was given no more opportunity to clarify his views on the subject of Mormonism.

But this truncated interview was to have an unexpected effect, because a young wife living at the time in Honolulu read Kennan's article and initiated the most interesting episode in the entire question of Tolstoy's relationship to Mormonism. She was Susa Young Gates, wife of Elder Jacob F. Gates, and now remembered as the most talented child of Brigham Young.<sup>6</sup>

This is what she wrote:

---

<sup>5</sup>George Kennan "A Visit to Count Tolstoi." *Century Magazine*, 34 (June 1887), 263.

<sup>6</sup>Susa Young Gates was a remarkably energetic writer, editor, publicist, and mother of 13 children. Those interested in following her career should read Paul Cracroft's unpublished Master's thesis: "Susa Young Gates: Her Life and Literary Career" (University of Utah, 1951). Mrs. Gates' personal papers are located for the most part at the Utah State Historical Society, with some valuable materials also available at the Church Historian's Office.

Honolulu. July 30th, '88

Count — Leo Tolstoi: —  
Moscow: —

Dear Sir.

For many months I have wished to write to you, and yet have hesitated and allowed my fear to overcome my desire.

Very likely this may never reach you. In that case, you will neither be bothered by this letter nor be aware of the existence of one who has read much of, and admired more, the character of Russia's Man.

Alas for me, I have never been able to obtain any of your translated works, although I have seen numerous criticisms and comments thereon.

One year ago, in June '87, an article in the "Century," a leading American Magazine, gave an account of a visit to yourself and reports of the interview that followed.

It is needless to say that I was deeply interested in the same. Especially so when I read your remarks in relation to the present efforts of the U.S. Gov. to crush out polygamy among the peculiar sect called Mormons. My surprise was unbounded that extensive as your reading and knowledge is, it should still reach so far, and compass so *seemingly* small a factor in the world's present history.

I should like if I were only able, to give you a "mormon's" view of the Mormon question. But naturally, I shrink from intruding that upon you which might be entirely unwelcome.

You have doubtless heard "our story" all from the one side. Would you care for the "other side" to speak also?

It would please me to forward to your address a copy of that Book, so much maligned and abused, but withal so simple and sweet, called by our enemies "The Golden Bible" by ourselves "The Book of Mormon."

I would wish for one like yourself, standing on a far eminence, above men's passions and men's ambitions, to read this record of a people who once flourished and prospered in the new yet ancient land of America.

My own home is in Utah. I am here with my husband on what people term, "a mission." But, I love my home, my people, and my people's religion. And to the few abroad in the earth whose souls reach out for eternal love, eternal justice, and eternal truth, my heart turns with reverence and yearning.

It is with love and pride that I allude to the life and labors of my father, whose whole life was one solemn yet happy devotion to the uplifting and purifying of men and women, and whose name was Brigham Young.

If you shall feel interest enough in the matter to address me, you will gratify

A most Ardent Admirer

Address:

Susa Young Gates  
Honolulu  
Box 410  
Oahu  
Sandwich Islands<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>The original copies of the three letters which Susa Young Gates wrote to Tolstoy are in the State Tolstoy Museum, Moscow. They have never before appeared in print. Photocopies of the letters are in the author's possession. The letters are printed verbatim, including misspellings and faulty punctuation.

Scrawled across the last page of the letter in Russian is the single word "Answer."

This letter was obviously carefully composed; the tone is one of respectful adulation, hopefully, no doubt, to ensure a favorable response. The style is measured and wrought, and the choice of words is sensitive and effective. It bears the mark of literary talent, and with a born writer's understanding of artful effect, Mrs. Gates saves her most telling point to the last — that she is the daughter of probably the best known Mormon of his century, leader of the Westward trek, and great American, Brigham Young.

Tolstoy never personally wrote an answer to Mrs. Gates, but, as was often his procedure, he instructed his daughter, Tatyana, to write to her. None of the letters (if indeed there was more than one) sent to Mrs. Gates have been preserved, nor, apparently, did the Tolstoy's retain copies.

In response to what must have been a favorable letter from Tatyana Tolstoy, Susa Young Gates wrote a second letter a few months later. Note that the letter is addressed to Tatyana Tolstoy, which confirms the theory that Tolstoy did not respond personally to Mrs. Gates:

Honolulu. Oct 18th, 1888

Dear Madam —

Your letter came to me in this month's mail, and I hasten to reply by the returning steamer.

I have written by this mail to the publishers in Salt Lake City to forward to your father's address two books, one, the Book of Mormon, and the other "The Life of Joseph Smith." The latter is written by Hon. Geo. Q. Cannon one of our Twelve Apostles, and a man beloved by all our people. It will be found to contain an account of the manner in which the Book of Mormon was translated and obtained. I asked the publisher (who is an old friend,) to insert your father's name on the fly-leaf with an added signature of my name. I should like to have done this myself, but it was of course impossible. I trust they will reach you about the time this letter does.

And now let me thank your father for this privilege he has granted me. I feel honored in presenting such books to such a man.

I scarcely know what information would best please your father. Historical, he will find much of our early history in the second book I have sent. It has occurred to me that some data as to the present strained situation of affairs in Utah might be acceptable to him. I only fear to over-burden him; if I can avoid that, then I shall be quite satisfied. We have many publications in our midst, the chief organ of our people being the Deseret News a daily and weekly paper. Would copies of this be of any interest? There is among us a paper published and edited by women, The Woman's Exponent. For you must know we are very progressive in our views on the Women Question, having advocated Woman Suffrage for years. I shall take liberty of enclosing to your address a copy of the News and Exponent, and if you care to have more of them or indeed of any other publications you need only say so, and I will order them sent.

I might say much myself, but I do not wish to weary you.

And now, being a young woman as I infer you are, it occurs to me that I live in the land of ferns rare and beautiful, mosses, and shells. Dear lady would you care to receive a few specimens such as can be sent in the mails, and what are your particular tastes? My own love for these things is inordinate, so I am always fancying perhaps my

sister-women albeit in far-away climes may enjoy and appreciate such things as well as I do.

Please forgive me if I have been too free being so complete a stranger, but indeed I cannot tell you how deep is my admiration and reverence for your father's noble life and its exalted principles. This it is which has made me so bold.

My home is in Utah, but have been sojourning here on these "Jewel Isles of the Pacific" for the last three years. Doubtless in the course of the next six or eight months we shall return to our home.

Of late I have had the pleasure of reading some of your father's sketches "The Seige of Sebastopol" and two or three more, among them that most touching story of an Old Horse.<sup>8</sup> How different a shade does his vivid pen throw over the lurid picture of war. There indeed are all the old well-known features, the clanking swords, proud men, martial music, and the gay uniforms with reckless hearts beating underneath. But oh, the truthfulness of it! The coward whose pride makes him brave, the brave man whose experience makes him cautious, how the men seem to walk about beneath that keen pen, the same heroes as appear in other glowing annals of war, yet over each heart is inserted a tiny glass, and we sit and gaze upon the intricate unrecognized forces of life as they beat and throb throughout all humanity. After we are through with the book, we say — is that war? Glorious, mighty, heroic, *war*?

I saw the vivid touches of art, sensed the chaste and beautiful sentiments and brilliant descriptive power; but deeper and broader than all, swept over me the intense Truth to every detail, to every written thing, from the impulse of divine love to the tint of the wayside flower, this it was that enthralled and uplifted me with a desire to make my own life more in accord with its pure loveliness.

But there; perhaps it is needless and even annoying for me to offer remarks on what to you must have been a life-long knowledge, and so not bettered in the words of a stranger.

If you will permit me, I will now close with an earnest desire to hear from you again.

Susa Young Gates

Address:

Honolulu  
Box 410  
Oahu  
Sandwich Islands.

P. S. Have I written your address right on the wrappers? I am so totally unacquainted with your national names and places that perhaps I have blundered in my addresses to you. Pardon me if it is so.<sup>9</sup>

Respectfully,

S. Y. Gates

Tolstoy also read Susa Young Gates' second letter and he was impressed by it. He wrote in his diary under the date of January 1, 1889:

I got up, cut wood, it was warm, and I went to breakfast. My thoughts were brighter. A beautiful letter from an American woman.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup>This is the story "Kholstomer" (1861), translated into English as "Yardstick," the name of the horse in the story.

<sup>9</sup>The address on the envelope is given in both Roman and crude Cyrillic letters.

<sup>10</sup>*Collected Works*, L. p. 16.



During the course of the next few weeks he also found time to read in part at least the two books which Susa Young Gates had sent to him, the Book of Mormon, and George Q. Cannon's *Life of Joseph Smith*, and in the privacy of his diary describe his reaction to them under the date of January 23, 1889:

I wrote down a few things. I read both the Mormon Bible and the life of Smith and I was horrified. Yes, religion, religion proper, is the product of deception, lies for a good purpose. An illustration of this is obvious, extreme in the deception: The Life of Smith; but also other *religions*, religions proper, only in differing degrees.<sup>11</sup>

This passage is written in rather hasty and awkward Russian, but Tolstoy's highly negative reaction to the reading of these Mormon classics is undeniable. It is not completely clear what he meant by "religion proper,"<sup>12</sup> which is repeated twice in this short passage, but it appears that what he wishes to express in this case is the concept of institutionalized, organized religion, rather than that of personal faith or belief.<sup>13</sup> He sees in Mormonism an element which is common to other churches: deception. What is more, he suggests, and this is to be reflected in an interview given a few years later which will be discussed below, religion contains elements which are not capable of close inspection, but nonetheless, Tolstoy is willing to accept those elements for the sake of the greater good. Thus Tolstoy's attitude appears to be an uneasy combination of intellectual rejection and emotional acceptance. He cannot accept what he read in the *Life of Joseph Smith* and the Book of Mormon — and unfortunately he did not tell his diary precisely what "horrified" him — but neither does he reject religion out of hand; he remains to the end sympathetic to the principle of religious belief. It should also be noted that this passage was never printed during Tolstoy's lifetime, and it remains doubtful if he would have ever given his permission for the publication of such a brutally frank statement, although its authenticity is undeniable.

Susa Young Gates wrote one more brief letter to Tatyana Tolstoy, dated August 13, 1889, from Provo on the stationery of *The Young Woman's Journal*.

Provo City, Aug 13th, 1889

Dear Madam:—

I take the liberty of again addressing you. I returned to America last April from my visit to the Sandwich Islands.

May I ask if your father received the two books "The Book of Mormon" and the "Life of Joseph Smith" which I sent to his address several months ago, nearly a year ago in fact.

I fear that I did not get the address right, and would be pleased to know if *this* reaches you.

I enclose a Circular which will explain itself.<sup>14</sup> If I receive word from you that this reaches you, I shall take pleasure in forward-

---

<sup>11</sup>*Collected Works*, L, p. 22.

<sup>12</sup>In Russian "sobstvenno religiya."

<sup>13</sup>In Russian "vera" or "verovaniye."

<sup>14</sup>This printed circular describes the new *Young Woman's Journal*; Mrs. Gates was its first editor.

ing to your father's address one of our papers, the recognized organ in fact of the Church.

Hoping you will forgive the liberty I thus take in addressing you

I remain

Yours very truly

Susa Young Gates

Thus the entire correspondence consisted of one letter from Susa Young Gates to Tolstoy and two addressed to his daughter, and in return she received one letter from Tatyana Tolstoy which has been lost. There may in addition have been one or two notes of acknowledgement from Tatyana Tolstoy to Susa Young Gates which have also been lost. The correspondence also found reflection in two entries in Tolstoy's diary, which was not published until long after the death of both Tolstoy and Mrs. Gates. So far as I know, Susa Young Gates never referred to this correspondence in any of the numerous publications with which she was associated; a search of her papers, with one notable exception which will be quoted at length in Section II below, was also fruitless.

The next episode in the story of Tolstoy's relationship to Mormonism centers about a passage written by Andrew D. White, an American statesman who interviewed Tolstoy in March, 1894, five years after the Susa Young Gates correspondence; the interview clearly shows the influence of the correspondence firstly in Tolstoy's high opinion of Mormon women and secondly in his statement concerning the element of deception in Mormonism derived from the books she sent him to read.

Andrew D. White (1832-1918) was a man of importance; he was a University President (Cornell, 1867-1885), twice a minister (Germany, 1879-1881, and Russia, 1892-1894), an Ambassador (Germany, 1897-1899), American Delegate to the Hague Conference of 1899, and was independently wealthy. Confident of his powers and position he made no concessions to Tolstoy. Defending stoutly the status quo, he interpreted Tolstoy's highly original thought as the product of a closed society; he suggested that had Tolstoy lived in the West the sharp corners of some of his theories might have been knocked off in public debate, but free discussion of political, social, and religious ideas was impossible under the Czars. But in spite of his emotional opposition to Tolstoy's ideas, he appears to have been an attentive listener, observant, and a useful foil for Tolstoy's intellectual attacks. White interviewed Tolstoy in Moscow over a period of several days when he was Minister to Russia in 1894 and here is what he reports that Tolstoy said about Mormonism during the course of their talks. He began with general remarks on religion:

The next day he [Tolstoy] came again to my rooms and at once began speaking upon religion. He said that every man is religious and has in him a religion of his own; that religion results from the conception which a man forms of his relations to his fellow-men, and to the principle which in his opinion controls the universe; that there are three stages in religious development: first, the childhood of nations, when man thinks of the whole universe as created for him and centering in him; secondly, the maturity of nations, the time of national religions, when each nation believes that all true religion centers in it, — the Jews and the English, he said, being striking ex-

amples; and, finally, the perfected conception of nations, when man has the idea of fulfilling the will of the Supreme Power and considers himself an instrument for that purpose.

Then he turned to specific remarks on the subject of Mormonism:

He went on to say that in every religion there are two main elements, one of deception and one of devotion, and he asked me about the Mormons, some of whose books had interested him. He thought two thirds of their religion deception, but said that on the whole he preferred a religion which professed to have dug its sacred books out of the earth to one which pretended that they were let down from heaven. On learning that I had visited Salt Lake City two years before, he spoke of the good reputation of the Mormons for chastity, and asked me to explain the hold of their religion upon women.

This was White's answer to that request:

I answered that Mormonism could hardly be judged by its results at present; that, as a whole, the Mormons are, no doubt, the most laborious and decent people in the State of Utah; but that this is their heroic period, when outside pressure keeps them firmly together and arouses their devotion; that the true test will come later, when there is less pressure and more knowledge, and when the young men who are now arising begin to ask questions, quarrel with each other, and split the whole body into sects and parties.<sup>15</sup>

We shall return later to White's response to Tolstoy's question about Mormonism.

This passage expresses in more restrained tones the idea which Tolstoy entrusted to his diary in 1889 aroused by his reading in Mormonism. He states his conviction that any religion contains both deception and good, but as White records it, Tolstoy now says that the two elements stand in a relationship of two to one. He is not displeased by the earthly origins of the Gold Plates, preferring a secular to a divine origin for holy documents, and he speaks well of Mormonism's women, no doubt recalling the "beautiful letter of the American woman."

Shortly after the turn of the century Tolstoy was to write briefly once more of Mormonism. This was in an essay which he wrote in 1901 with the title "Concerning Religious Toleration," and the passage in which Mormonism was touched upon was devoted to the question of churches and wealth. He argued that state churches are incompatible with personal freedom because they are dependent on the wealth which is collected by force by the government. He goes on to say:

But people will say: Churches like the Quakers, Methodists, Shakers, Mormons, and in particular now, the Catholic Congregations, collect money from their members without employing the power of the state and therefore support their churches without the use of force. But this is not right: the money which has been acquired by rich individuals, and in particular, by Catholic congregations, during the course of centuries of hypnosis by money, is not a

---

<sup>15</sup>White published this account in two different locations, a periodical article, "Walks and Talks with Tolstoy" in *McClure's Magazine*, 16 (April 1901), 511 and in his *Autobiography* (New York, 1906), Vol. II, pp. 86-87. The large public was probably reached by the account in *McClure's*.

free offering made by the members of the church, but is rather the product of the crudest kind of force. Money is acquired by means of force and always is an implement of force. If a church wishes to consider itself tolerant it must be free from all monetary influences. "Freely I have received, freely give."<sup>16</sup>

It is clear that Tolstoy is not concerned here with the distinctive characteristics of Mormonism, but with a feature which identifies it with other faiths, namely its status as a non-state church without state aid which is dependent on the faithful for the voluntary giving of funds to support the church; thus Mormonism is no different in this respect from Quakers, Methodists, Shakers, and Catholic Congregations, and Tolstoy could have added, hundreds of other churches in the West; and he condemns them all for their dependence on monetary support, money which he considers contaminated by its connection with the use of force.

This was the last word which Tolstoy wrote on Mormonism, but it did not end the story of Tolstoy and Mormonism.

## II

The first Mormon reaction to Tolstoy and the first steps towards the building of a tradition that Tolstoy had a special and exceptional attitude towards Mormonism can be seen in an article written by Alice Louise Reynolds which appeared in a Church publication in December, 1901.<sup>17</sup> Under the title "Tolstoy" this brief article gives an outline of Tolstoy's life clearly derived from popular sources and includes numerous quotations from Andrew D. White's article in *McClure's*, which had appeared only a few months earlier. The article by White was very probably the stimulus for the Reynolds sketch, but oddly enough she never mentions or quotes from that passage in the article in which White quotes Tolstoy on the subject of Mormonism. Perhaps the editors felt that which the readers wanted was additional information on Tolstoy rather than any discussion of the rather sensitive issues raised by Tolstoy concerning Mormonism. *McClure's* was a well-known magazine with a large national circulation and White's article must have been widely discussed within Church circles. Oddly enough, there is also no mention of the Tolstoy-Gates correspondence, although Mrs. Gates was one of the founders of the *Young Woman's Journal*, and even wrote to Tolstoy on the stationery of the magazine in 1899. On the whole the Reynolds article is laudatory, noting Tolstoy's moral rectitude and concern for ethical principles with approval, but it contains nothing which is original nor particularly illuminating on the subject of Tolstoy's reputation within Mormonism.

Twenty years later, the relationship between Tolstoy and Mormonism was discussed, if briefly, in an article written by Junius F. Wells for the *Improvement Era*. When writing about his acquaintance with William Dean Howells (the subject of the article), Wells said in passing:

I corresponded occasionally with Mr. Howells for several years; sent him the "Mormon" literature, and had the pleasure of meeting

---

<sup>16</sup>"Concerning Religious Toleration" *Collected Works*, XXXIV, p. 297.

<sup>17</sup>Alice Louise Reynolds, "Tolstoy," *Young Woman's Journal*, 12 (Dec. 1901), 400-403.



him a number of times in New York and Boston. He always treated me with respectful courtesy and kindness. He recommended me to read Tolstoy, whose "American apostle" he was sometimes called. I have wondered if it might not be that the great Russian author came by his knowledge of the "Mormons" through the matter sent first to Mr. Howells, and which, in the discussion of social themes between them could very well have served its purpose. Tolstoy knew enough of "Mormonism" to say to the American minister, Andrew D. White, that so far as he had investigated the system, one third was Scriptural, one third was superstition, and the other third he could not decide: "Perhaps it is the truth!" Did he get that view through Mr. Howells? I have often wondered.<sup>18</sup>

In this passage Wells surmises that he was the source of Tolstoy's information about Mormonism; we know that Susa Young Gates was that intermediary. Mrs. Gates, as we shall shortly see, was quick to point this out to him. Further, he quotes, apparently from memory, from the interview which Tolstoy granted to Andrew D. White, which was published both in White's *Autobiography* and *McClure's*, significantly altering Tolstoy's statement about Mormonism. Tolstoy did not qualify his remarks by stating that "so far as he had investigated the system"; this statement is not in the original interview. White also reported that Tolstoy said that Mormonism was "two-thirds deception," and this became in Wells' article "one third was Scriptural, one third was superstition, and the other third he could not decide," a very serious distortion of Tolstoy's idea. Furthermore, he adds in quotation marks<sup>19</sup> "Perhaps it is the truth!" White never reported that Tolstoy said these words.

Susa Young Gates responded promptly to this passage in Wells' article in a letter which she addressed to Wells, then in England. In it she recalled the events of her correspondence with Tolstoy and, although an interval of 32 years had passed, her memory did not fail her; she could still recall substantially the events as they occurred in 1888-1889. In her letter she correctly takes credit for sending Mormon literature to Tolstoy:

Brighton, Silver Lake, Utah  
August 6, 1920

Junius F. Wells  
395 Edge Lane  
Liverpool, England.

My dear June:

I have just read your article on William Dean Howell in the last Era. In your last paragraph you speak of Tolstoy and wonder if Mr. Howell furnished the great Russian with his knowledge of Mormonism. Of this, of course, I know nothing; but I do know that I had a correspondence with Tolstoy myself in 1886 and I sent him, by his solicitation, (although the correspondence was carried on through his daughter) The Book of Mormon, Penrose's Mormon Doctrine, President Cannon's Life of the Prophet Joseph Smith and Helen Mar Whitney's Plural Marriage with several other pamphlets. I wrote several long letters about our women and Tolstoy replied

---

<sup>18</sup>Junius F. Wells, "William Dean Howells," *Improvement Era*, 23 (August 1920), 902.

<sup>19</sup>The reader will note that the speaker of this phrase is not specifically identified — but it appears to be Tolstoy.

that, while he was familiar with my father's name, he had never known anything about his religion or anything connected with us. Have you read the article by Andrew D. White which occurred a few years subsequent to this correspondence? You will notice that Tolstoy asks White how it is that Mormon women are so intensely loyal to their religion. Naturally I fancied that my correspondence had impressed him, together with the books which I sent him.

You are like myself, always glad to know about these little sidelights on historical matters and so I write you this letter.

How is everything in England? Prospering I hope.

Your old time friend and Sister  
(Signed) Susa Young Gates<sup>20</sup>

Mrs. Gates was clearly in the wrong when she said that she wrote to Tolstoy in 1886; the correct date is 1888-1889. There is also a question concerning the four books<sup>21</sup> with "several pamphlets" which she claims to have sent to Tolstoy; several times in the correspondence she refers to two books. Thus, she either sent the additional books by Whitney and Penrose and the pamphlets at some later day, or her memory betrayed her and she in fact only sent two books on Mormonism. All of the materials available record the arrival in Russia of only The Book of Mormon and Cannon's *Life of Joseph Smith*. The "several other pamphlets" she mentions have never been identified.

Apparently Mrs. Gates had not read Wells' article carefully or she would have noticed that he expressly states that he had read the White interview, quoting it, apparently from memory, at some length. Perhaps in the form in which he cites it she did not recognize the original on which it was based.

But Tolstoy's interview with White had not been forgotten by others, and twenty years later, in 1939, another version of the meeting appeared, also in the *Improvement Era*. This account, with the title "Count Tolstoi and the 'American Religion'" was written by Thomas J. Yates, a member of the Church and a graduate of Cornell, class of 1902. In the year 1900 he had had a conversation with Andrew D. White and at that time White recounted something of his meeting with Tolstoy which had taken place six years previously in 1894. Here is Yates' version of the encounter between the two men:

On one occasion when Dr. White called on Count Tolstoi he was informed that the Count, who among other things taught that every man should wrest from the earth enough food to keep himself and family, was out in the fields plowing, for he practised what he preached. When Tolstoi saw him, he stopped long enough for a greeting, and then stated with characteristic frankness: "I am very busy today, but if you wish to walk beside me while I am plowing, I shall be pleased to talk with you."

As the two men walked up and down the field, they discussed many subjects, and among these, religion.

---

<sup>20</sup>The original carbon copy of this letter is in the Church Historian's Office.

<sup>21</sup>In addition to the well-known *Life of Joseph Smith* by George Q. Cannon, and *The Book of Mormon*, these were Helen Mar Whitney, *Plural Marriage as Taught by the Prophet Joseph Smith; A Reply to Joseph Smith, Editor of the Lamoni (Iowa) "Herald"* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1882), and Charles William Penrose, *"Mormon" Doctrine, Plain and Simple; or Leaves from the Tree of Life*, (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1882; Second Edition, 1888).

Yates' memory was playing him false in this passage. According to White's written account, the lengthy interview which went on over several days took place on the street, in a museum, and in Tolstoy's Moscow home. So far as I know White never visited the estate of Tolstoy and never walked alongside of Tolstoy's plough.

"Dr. White" said Count Tolstoi, "I wish you would tell me about your American religion."

"We have no state church in America," replied Dr. White.

"I know that, but what about your American religion?"

Patiently then Dr. White explained to the Count that in America there are many religions, and that each person is free to belong to the particular church in which he is interested.

To this Tolstoi impatiently replied: "I know all of this, but I want to know about the *American religion*. Catholicism originated in Rome; the Episcopal Church originated in England; the Lutheran Church in Germany, but the Church to which I refer originated in America, and is commonly known as the Mormon Church. What can you tell me of the teachings of the Mormons?"

"Well," said Dr. White, "I know very little concerning them. They have an unsavory reputation, they practice polygamy, and are very superstitious."

Whatever may be said of this version of the interview, this attribution is grossly unfair to White, whose attitude towards Mormons and Mormonism was enlightened, if not partisan. Moreover, it seems improbable that White would express such crude opinions to Yates whom he knew to be a Mormon. To go on:

Then Count Leo Tolstoi, in his honest and stern, but lovable manner, rebuked the ambassador. "Dr. White, I am greatly surprised and disappointed that a man of your great learning and position should be so ignorant on this important subject. The Mormon people teach the American religion; their principles teach the people not only of Heaven and its attendant glories, but how to live so that their social and economic relations with each other are placed on a sound basis. If the people follow the teachings of this Church, nothing can stop their progress — it will be limitless. There have been great movements started in the past but they have died or been modified before they reached maturity. If Mormonism is able to endure, unmodified, until it reaches the third and fourth generation, it is destined to become the greatest power the world has ever known."<sup>22</sup>

Before discussing the significance of these statements in the light of what has been recorded elsewhere about Tolstoy's attitude toward Mormonism, it should be noted that Yates wrote down the account of his interview with White thirty-nine years after it took place, and the Tolstoy interview was six years before this. Thus, the Yates account of Tolstoy's words had been through a double filter over a forty-five year period: his own recollection eroded by the passage of thirty-nine years and that of White six years after the fact. Moreover, Yates in his article of 1939 does not mention any written account of his interview with White, nor does he mention the possibility that White referred to notes during their conversations at Cornell; both were apparently relying on their powers of recollection.

---

<sup>22</sup>Thomas J. Yates, "Count Tolstoi and the 'American Religion,'" *Improvement Era*, 43 (Feb. 1939), 94.

On the other hand, so far as the version recounted by Yates differs from White's *Autobiography* and the *McClure's* article, it appears that the earlier version by White is to be preferred. It was written at a much earlier date and records Tolstoy's words at first, not second hand, and it seems reasonable to assume that White was relying on notes for his version, since it contains a great wealth of detail — White's account of his talks with Tolstoy in Moscow occupies thirty pages of text in his *Autobiography*. Yates made one serious error in fact which also casts a doubt on the reliability of his account, as I have already noted: he sets the controversial conversation in a field with Tolstoy behind the plough when in fact it took place in Moscow; this would also seem to indicate that Yates did not read White's version before he wrote his article or he would surely have caught this glaring error.

What is new in Yates' account? The answer is that it is basically different from all other evidence for the study of Tolstoy's relationship to Mormonism. Three extravagant assertions are made, which are ascribed to Tolstoy and which are recorded in no other source: that Tolstoy believed that Mormonism was the typically American religion, that Mormonism provided a method for placing social and economic relations on a sound basis, and that Mormonism has a noble future if it resists change.

Tolstoy was a great student of comparative religions and he had an inexhaustible curiosity about religious matters, but, as should be apparent from the earlier passages of this study, he apparently did not devote much time and attention to Mormonism. At no time in his printed works or in recorded interviews did he express any ideas that Mormonism had any special qualification to be the most outstanding native American Church. There is no indication at any time that he held it in any higher esteem than any other American faith. Similarly, Tolstoy never expressed to anyone the view that Mormonism had any great claims as a solution to the world's economic and political problems. Given his egalitarian and anti-capitalist views it seems highly improbable that he could hold such views. For example, while he admired the Quakers for their pacifist views he criticised them strongly for their belief in private property; he may have made the same criticism of Mormonism as he knew it. It is also very hard to conceive that Tolstoy could approve of the authoritarianism of Mormonism, since one of the most pervasive aspects of his social thought is the rejection of institutionalized authority at all levels, whether by the state, the army or a church. Moreover, the statement attributed to him that the hope of the Church lay in resistance to change is also completely unexpected and is not in accord with anything else ever recorded. However, this claim is strangely reminiscent of White's response to Tolstoy's question as White recorded it:

I answered that Mormonism could hardly be judged by its results at present; that, as a whole, the Mormons are, no doubt, the most laborious and decent people in the State of Utah; but that this is their heroic period, when outside pressure keeps them firmly together and arouses their devotion; that the true test will come later, when there is less pressure and more knowledge, and when the young men who are now arising begin to ask questions, quarrel with each other, and split the whole body into sects and parties.<sup>23</sup>

---

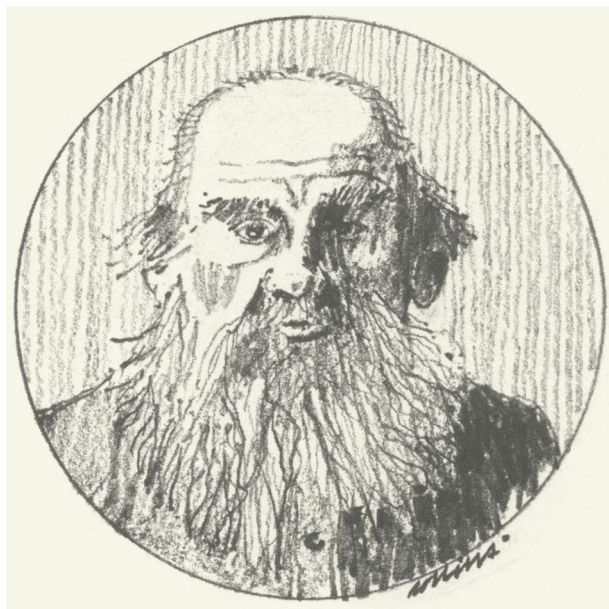
<sup>23</sup>See above.

Could it be that Yates remembered this opinion of White's and over the years attributed it not to White but to Tolstoy, simplifying it and altering its thrust?

It appears in retrospect that there will never be a solution to the question of the reliability of Yates' version of his conversation with White in Ithaca in 1900.<sup>24</sup> It is my opinion, however, that the great interval of time separating the sequence of events, the apparent reliance upon memory rather than written records on the part of both White and Yates, and the extravagance of the claims for Mormonism attributed to Tolstoy which completely lack confirmation from any other printed sources from the literature on Tolstoy, cast very serious doubts on the reliability of Yates' account.

---

<sup>24</sup>Apparently it is Yates' article which is the source of the pervasive oral tradition within Mormonism that Tolstoy had an especially favorable attitude towards Mormonism. Yates' articles also served as the major source of a recent article by Truman Madsen ("What Did Tolstoy see in Mormonism?" *The New Era*, 1 [March 1971], 46-49). I regret that limitations in space make it impossible to discuss this article at length here. Madsen's article is based upon the Yates article, the Wells article, and the letter which Susa Young Gates wrote to Wells; the major source of ideas on Tolstoy's thought appears to be White's *Autobiography*. Madsen heavily emphasizes Tolstoy's purported predictions for Mormonism's future as reported by Yates. In addition to containing a number of factual errors, the article is characterized by an unwarranted interpretation of Tolstoy's attitude towards Mormonism which makes him out to be a far warmer advocate of Mormonism than the facts justify, I believe.



*"The function of art is to make that understood which in the form of argument would be incomprehensible."*

—Tolstoy



# **A University's Dilemma: B.Y.U. and Blacks**

*Brian Walton*

*This article is an attempt to describe, with only limited analysis, the current situation at Brigham Young University with regard to recent allegations of its being a racist institution. Brian Walton, former B.Y.U. Student body President, is currently working on a master's degree in Political Science at B.Y.U.*

The practice of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints which currently causes the priesthood to be withheld from blacks of African lineage has been the major source of controversy for Brigham Young University in the past two years. The Provo campus, one of the largest private institutions in the nation, is now the home of 25,000 students, 97% of whom are Latter-day Saints. Further, it should be noted that over 99% of the faculty are Latter-day Saints. The perception by some that the University's affiliation with the Mormon Church rendered it a "racist institution" has resulted in demonstrations at nearly every major athletic event to which B.Y.U. teams have travelled in the past years.

It goes without saying that for those in the University community, particularly those who plan on being there only temporarily, the experience of being labelled racist is hardly a comfortable one. For the students it is especially frustrating. Many, if not all, have grown to young adulthood in a time when the Civil Rights Movement in America captured the imagination of many of their generation. Many young Mormons, many of them now B.Y.U. students, were not immune to the feelings of concern and empathy raised by that movement.

The University was at first very slow to react. At the beginning of the 1969-1970 academic year very little was said or done. However, as demonstrations became more frequent, answers to the charges started to be formulated. By December 1969, when President Pitzer of Stanford University announced that his institution was severing relations with B.Y.U., it took only hours for the B.Y.U. Administration to formulate a reply. Dr. Heber Wolsey, Assistant to the President for Communications, emerged as the spokesman in the situation as the University attempted to address itself to this complex question.

Many of the charges were ill-founded. B.Y.U., for example, has no admission policies which preclude people from entering the University because they are black. The Church's doctrine was often distorted in various ways. Outrageous misrepresentations were made by some. It was possible, there-



fore, to win many debates for the University by pointing out the discrepancies in the charges being made. Dr. Wolsey was an able advocate for the University in many questions and situationally his appearances and writings proved helpful. But the protests, in various forms, continued. At Bear Down Gym on the University of Arizona campus nine people were arrested in January 1970 at a basketball game. In February on the Fort Collins campus of Colorado State University violence flared again as demonstrators clashed with police on the playing floor at half-time. One reporter was seriously injured when a piece of angle iron struck his head. A "Molotov Cocktail" was thrown on to the playing floor at the half-time but fortunately did not ignite and explode. At the conclusion of the basketball season, the demonstrations became fewer in number. Most people at the University were relieved but felt that the question would rise again in the fall. For the first time the issue figured in a student body election in April-May of 1970. Although they had similar proposals and presented them in various ways, all candidates for student body president raised the issue. It was generally felt that the story should be told as it "really was" and that the lines of communication should be kept open with students at other schools. After a somewhat stormy election I was elected student body president by 38% of those voting in the final election. Throughout the election, attempts had been made to convince people that communication from student body to student body was possible. The contention was that we were not, as a student body, racist and that this could be communicated.

In June 1970 a meeting of all student body presidents of the Western Athletic Conference (W.A.C.), of which B.Y.U. is a founding member, was held in Salt Lake City. W.A.C. events, of course, were where many of the protests had taken place and continued disruption was feared. The meeting helped in making me aware that other student bodies were likely to suffer much more from the demonstrations, at least in the immediate future, than was my own. The way state legislatures see demonstrations, for example, can in no way be favorable for student bodies. The polarization on campus or where demonstrations had taken place was a real problem for administrations as well as students. For B.Y.U. the original incident might be over when the team left for Provo; however, the effects often lingered for months at the site of the demonstration as courts, disciplinary committee, investigating committees and news media mulled over various facets of what had occurred.

The conference showed how the future course of events might move. It became clear that any charges of B.Y.U. being a racist institution were not going to be made very vigorously. The problem was the doctrine regarding blacks and the priesthood and how that was being perceived. The argument was that the doctrine asserts, or at the very least implies, that the black man is inferior. Black men, therefore, wanted to oppose that doctrine, as did many whites. One effective mode of opposition was to refuse to have anything to do with the Church, or its largest educational institution, B.Y.U.

B.Y.U.'s argument was that the doctrine was not meant to imply inferiority and that the main thrust of the teachings of our Church were concerned with the brotherhood of men and the fatherhood of a God who, as the Book of Mormon points out, "inviteth them all to come unto him and par-

take of his goodness; and he denieth none that come unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female" (II Nephi 26:33). That same God has also made it known that ". . . ye shall not esteem one flesh above another, or one man shall not think himself above another" (Mosiah 23:7).

While it was possible, we argued, to understand how non-Mormons, and especially black people, could think that the doctrine was asserting inferiority, that was not the case. We thought that if this could be communicated we might together move forward to attack real problems. I argued that the black man in America did have fundamental problems to face and that we were not convinced that the Mormon church was one of them. I could see that the emotional issues raised by the perceptions of the doctrine were real, but that if the perceptions could be put more into focus we might find that the issue was not so essential after all.

This was accepted quite well at the academic level. However, it could not help alleviate any of the problems. As long as people perceived the Church as racist, regardless of what any "real" situation might be, they would demonstrate. It was that simple.

In my report to Ernest L. Wilkinson, president of B.Y.U., I wrote, among other things, the following:

I am writing this letter in the plane back to New York and I am getting, over and over, the impression that the problem will only be remedied by direct communication to the students of other campuses and the public at large. Some of the presidents, I felt, really wanted to help. They could not because their hands were metaphorically tied by views of large numbers of their constituents. To be able to change the possibilities we must, if possible, change the opinions of the students of the other campuses. Some would argue that this is not possible. If it is not we had better put on our hard hats and pick up our sticks. I don't want to do that. We must try, and a large portion of my energies will be so directed in the coming year.

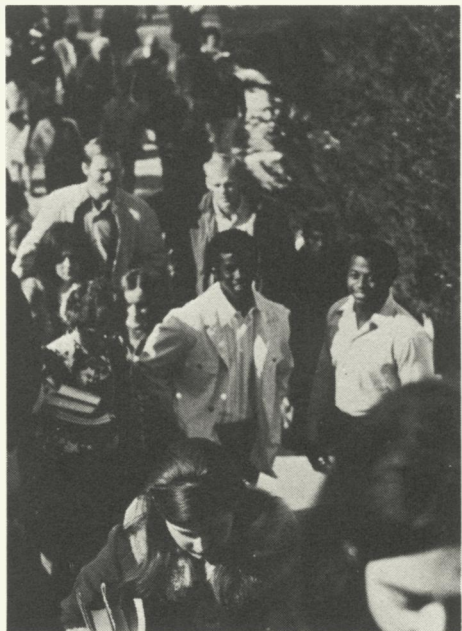
The W.A.C. adopted a unanimous resolution which contained a preamble and three major points. The preamble recognized "individual perception" of the doctrine as the "source of frustration, particularly in so far [sic] as intercollegiate activities are concerned." The three recommendations of the resolution were (1) that a "conscience clause" be provided for athletes so that blacks who did not feel they could compete with B.Y.U. could abstain from so doing, (2) that B.Y.U. and all other W.A.C. schools work toward programs intended to provide greater racial association, and (3) "That the anticipated efforts of B.Y.U. to establish programs (e.g. student exchanges) to facilitate greater communication to be met with whatever assistance possible by the W.A.C. member schools."

During the summer a plan to invite all W.A.C. student body presidents, student newspaper editors and a representative from the Black Student Union or Black Student Alliance on each campus was formulated. Early in the fall semester a letter of invitation was sent. It indicated that a four-day seminar was planned which would allow our visitors to ". . . see us at home acting in the way we usually act in our everyday affairs." By October 10th, the final date for reply, I had received only two informal replies. The conference was regrettably cancelled. The reasons for the lack of response are still not clear.

At the time we announced the W.A.C. seminar, Bruce Eggers, student body president of the University of Arizona, announced that he would lead a fact-finding mission to B.Y.U. Consisting of three black students, one black administrator, the President of the U. of A. Latter-day Saint Student Association and Eggers himself, the team was on campus for approximately two days. They talked with the Athletic Director, Dr. Wolsey, B.Y.U.'s black athletes and literally hundreds of students in public and private sessions.

The public session was held in the student union. It lasted for two hours and was covered by local and national news media. The microphone was open to anyone from the student body or university community. An estimated 800 people were in attendance, with hundreds more unable to get in. In the two-hour session approximately forty students and three faculty members spoke.

I began the meeting by indicating that B.Y.U. was a part of white America and had all the benefits and disadvantages of the same. If we had racists at the university, and we do, it was a function of those people being from white America, not a function of their being Mormon.



Mr. Eggers said that his reason for being there was to find the facts and he urged students to be honest and open. They were. One young man from Michigan said that B.Y.U. was the most racist place he had ever seen. Another person spoke out against miscegenation. But most of those who spoke evidenced confusion and concern as to why they were being labelled racist. It was evident that most had no intention of taking issue with the doctrine. However, and this was what was very encouraging, student after student expressed feelings of brotherhood and love for the black members of the visiting mission. They indicated very strongly, if not articulately, that their church left them in no doubt as to the fraternity of mankind, and that the priesthood doctrine was one thing, but they regarded all men as brothers in a literal sense.

In private sessions in the afternoon, the visitors apparently had similar experiences. The student body showed a real concern, and although they did not always relate to one another well, it was becoming increasingly apparent that that was a function of social distance rather than racist attitudes.

When the visitors departed they left a copy of the report that they intended to take back to the University of Arizona. Many considered it a breakthrough. It indicated that

The fact-finding committee could find nothing to indicate that Brigham Young University is a racist institution or that there may be any more or less racism present than at any other school. We would conclude, however, that B.Y.U. is an "isolated" institution, whose members simply do not relate to or understand black people. A desire to relate to black members of the fact-finding team was awkwardly expressed in almost over-compensatory fashion. Other testimony also indicated that, having been branded racists, many B.Y.U. students were almost "racist-in-reverse" through the holding of paternalistic, though sincere, attitudes towards blacks.

In some ways the University had, of course, no reason to feel good about being "no more or less" racist than any other school. That is hardly a compliment. It might, however, be true, and that, in paradoxical fashion, was a minor temporary relief.

The week following the visit of the fact-finding team I visited the Tucson campus and spoke with all the major newspapers, television and radio stations in the city. More importantly, I took the opportunity to speak to hundreds of students, the Student Senate, and the Black Student Union about the situation. Dr. Wolsey also spent time on the campus and met with the Black Student Union and the media. On Saturday night B.Y.U. played Arizona in a football game. The United Front Organization (U.F.O.), a group of white radicals, had a small demonstration with about seventy-five people, some of whom were not students at the University. Of approximately fifty signs carried by the demonstrators, only eight mentioned B.Y.U. or the Church specifically. Most were against racism in general, repression, and forced activity fees at the University of Arizona. One Lutheran minister told B.Y.U. observers that without the fact-finding team's report and the visits to the U. of A. campus by Dr. Wolsey and myself the demonstration would have been larger and "very anti-Mormon." The issues at long last seemed to be coming into focus.

It is foolish to think that the problem can be "solved" to the extent that demonstrations will cease. However, it does appear that true representation of the totality of Mormon doctrine can mitigate the severity with which we are judged because of one particular doctrine.

The university community is still analyzing its relationship to black people. The University of Arizona report indicated that, although we were no more or less racist than other institutions, we had seriously erred in not doing more to expose B.Y.U. students to blacks. The report urged a black recruitment program (there are approximately 15 blacks on campus), a black speakers program, and exchange programs with other schools to allow blacks to be on campus for a semester. Several proposals have been made and are being made as to courses of action open to the University to implement the feelings of brotherly love which the University of Arizona team experienced.

There is also a great deal of opposition. At this time there are still a great many things to be ascertained about the practicality of the possibilities. For example, where would the money for the programs come — tithing? voluntary contributions? Would black people want to come to an isolated Mormon community? What would the reactions of L.D.S. parents be? How would L.D.S. students react when 100 places in the University went to non-members while they were excluded? Would the University have the facilities — counseling services for example — to deal with the influx of black people? Would this appear as tokenism and make our problems worse? What would the General Authorities have to say?

Since the visit of the University of Arizona team much has occurred. I have visited several campuses, as has Dr. Wolsey. In spite of much thinking and discussion, there seems to be a lapse on campus in the attention given to this problem. While that may be understandable, it is not at all acceptable. Many have seen the year as successful, in terms of this problem. Certainly the U. of A. experience helped considerably. The report was widely circulated throughout the W.A.C. Strategically the experience was a victory, but I am afraid, only a temporary one.

An "Interaction Team" from the Association of College Unions International came to B.Y.U. to investigate racism charges and produced a report which indicated, among other things that ". . . it was felt that the concept of the brotherhood of man was both felt and manifested." They recommended no adverse action.

However, I am of the opinion that the most difficult problem will be recurring. It is not a simple matter of the dislike of a doctrine, although that may be the immediate problem. The feelings and attitudes of blacks are, as we all know, the result of an inherited frustration born of hundreds of years of cultural, political, and human subordination. White society is reaping what its ancestors sowed. Mormons, because of the priesthood doctrine, will have to go many extra miles to overcome the heritage of bigotry, which is the lot of most white people, if they are to be spared the problems we have seen in the last few years. There is no indication that the B.Y.U. community really understands that. The level of consciousness is still very low.

*"We have a duty to the things . . . we are close to . . . a discipline . . . an art . . . a community. . . . We have another duty . . . to be open and welcoming to all . . . And this double sense of faithfulness to that which is our own, and openness to all that is human, is perhaps one of the attitudes, which more even than reform in education, more than any political gimmickry, will help to see us through one of the most peculiar episodes in man's history."*

—Robert Oppenheimer

# The Manifesto was a Victory!

Gordon C. Thomason

*The following article suggests a new perspective on the significance of the cessation of plural marriage by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the year 1890. Gordon C. Thomasson, a member of DIALOGUE's Board of Editors, is a graduate student in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara.*

Last fall (1970) I received a mid-day phone call from Provo. The caller had just attended an open discussion with a young black leader from the University of Arizona. This campus visitor had, in discussing racial problems, advanced the idea that since the Church had abandoned polygamy in response to political pressure, there was no reason why a similar solution could not be found to the Negro/Priesthood problem. My friend was disturbed that no one in the group disagreed, in fact they seemed to accept this conclusion. He made an appointment to talk later with the visiting black and then called me to discuss the subject, knowing that I had done research on the Manifesto.

My friend's need to contact me and the embarrassed silence of so many B.Y.U. students bespeak not so much an ignorance of L.D.S. history at B.Y.U., as it does a widespread misinterpretation of our past, both in the Church and out. The misunderstanding of the Manifesto began in the years following 1890, and with the rapid growth of the Church it is almost universal today. With the issuance of the Manifesto many Mormons, tired after the long struggle, began a process of accommodation to prevailing American values and mores. Our nineteenth-century history was quietly and quickly swept under carpets, locked in closets, or left to members of the family who maintained some strange fascination with genealogy. This period of Church history was neglected until it became the province of professional historians whose writing was often too technical to be interesting. A new "Mormon" culture developed, and today few converts are aware of anything that occurred from the time of the arrival of the last handcart companies until the turn of the century.

The Saints were not always ignorant of this chapter in church history. As late as the 1930s, a steadily diminishing number of old men dressed up in their aged black and white striped prison suits and marched in Pioneer Day parades. In some sense they were not ashamed of their past — they were martyrs and heroes. But what was heroic about their imprisonment, and

what had been gained by it to be proud of and to commemorate? Did those somehow defiant “ex-convicts” have an inkling of something that today we ignore? Many went to their graves secure only in the fact that they had been faithful and true to their covenants. Perhaps a few knew that their suffering counted for a great deal more; one or two may even have realized that in spite of all appearances they were the victors and not the vanquished.

Our understanding of history seems to increase as each generation adds the insights of contemporary experience to its view of the past. Our age is highly sensitized to the sufferings of minorities in conflict, and with such a perspective even a rereading of standard histories can reveal things that the very makers of history ignored or were blind to.

It is my contention that while the government appeared to have “won a battle” on 6 October 1890 with the issuance of the Manifesto, it “lost the war” that had extended some forty years, cost a number of Saints their lives, put some 1,300 in prison and forced hundreds to live on the “underground” and many others to flee to Canada and Mexico. The conflict brought Federal troops to occupy Utah in 1857 and thereby created Camp Floyd, the largest military post in the pre-Civil War United States. Congress, the Presidency, and the Supreme Court combined to generate repressive legislation and distortions of Constitutional jurisprudence which to this day are unequalled in the degree to which they destroyed individual and institutional rights, freedoms, and privileges. Politicians so successfully exploited the situation that at times the nation was prepared to accept the destruction of the Church and its members. What was the fight really about, and how is it that we won?

Perhaps the easiest way to garble history is to oversimplify it. Today most people assume that the “Mormon problem” was just a disagreement as to how many women a man could marry. If this had been the case, then the Manifesto would have been a total surrender. On the other hand, if polygamy was simply the most visible symptom of more deep-seated conflicts with America, then we must examine all the issues at stake. In such a situation, victory would consist in preserving or destroying that which was most basic to the combatants. In the words of one historian, Mormonism seemed to the average American “to embody those traits that were [the] precise antitheses of American ideals.”<sup>1</sup> What then were the Saints seeking to assert and protect? What was the government trying to accomplish, and how did each fare in its objectives?

### *THE RIGHT TO CONTRACT FURTHER PLURAL MARRIAGES*

Recent research indicates that plural marriage was probably a part of the Restoration as early as 1831, and was becoming a general practice among the leaders of the Church several years before the Prophet’s death. A brief glance at the *Nauvoo Expositor* confirms the fact that it was becoming a matter of public knowledge in 1844, and numerous plural marriages were performed in the Nauvoo Temple prior to the exodus. Polygamy became the subject of public discourse in 1852 when Orson Pratt preached on the

---

<sup>1</sup>David Brion Davis, “Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 47 (Sept. 1960), 208.



topic under the direction of Brigham Young. The practice had achieved such notoriety by 1856 that the Republican Party at its founding was pledged to eliminate the “twin relics of barbarism” — slavery and polygamy. In 1862, Congress passed the Morrill Act which outlawed “bigamy” in Utah and other territories of the U.S. Little attempt was made to enforce this law during either the Civil War or Reconstruction. When anti-Southern feeling waned in the 70s, Washington politicians turned to Utah as a source of career-building “reform” causes, and anti-Mormon persecutions resumed the proportions of the 1840s and 50s. By 1886 the U.S. Assistant Attorney General, William A. Maury, in pleading against an appeal of the Lorenzo Snow Case before the U.S. Supreme Court, remarked, “It would have been infinitely better if these people, years ago, had been put to the sword.”<sup>2</sup> Such a “final solution” to the “Mormon problem” had its echo in the rhetoric which justified the Federal invasion of Utah in 1857, and in Missouri Governor Boggs’ issuance of the infamous “Extermination Order” of 1838 which precipitated the Haun’s Mill massacre with the words, “The Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the state, if necessary, for the public good.”<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing serves simply to illustrate that this was no small skirmish, but a protracted conflict. In the recent words of the First Presidency:

... may we say that we know something of the sufferings of those who are discriminated against in a denial of their civil rights and Constitutional privileges. Our early history as a church is a tragic story of persecution and oppression. Our people repeatedly were denied the protection of the law. They were driven and plundered, robbed and murdered by mobs, who in many instances were aided and abetted by those sworn to uphold the law. We as a people have experienced the bitter fruits of civil discrimination and mob violence.<sup>4</sup>

#### *THE RIGHT TO MAINTAIN EXISTING FAMILIES AND KEEP OLD COVENANTS*

The question remains whether the right to contract plural marriage was really the genesis of such conflicts. In 1879, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of legislation which forbade plural marriage.<sup>5</sup> The grounds were that the First Amendment granted protection to freedom of religious belief whereas no such freedom was guaranteed for practices based on religious beliefs. A person could *believe* what he wanted, but could not *act* on that belief. If the prevention of further plural marriages had been the intent of the government, it is possible that the Church would have

---

<sup>2</sup>Orson F. Whitney, *Popular History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1916), p. 439.

<sup>3</sup>Joseph Smith, *History of the Church* (hereafter cited as *DHC*), Vol. III (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, reprint 1967), p. 175.

<sup>4</sup>Letter to Bishops, etc. of 15 December 1969. Reprinted as a “Policy Statement of the First Presidency” in the *Church News* (California edition), Vol. 40, No. 2, for the week ending 10 January 1970 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News), p. 12.

<sup>5</sup>*Reynolds v. United States* in *U.S. Reports* Vol. 98, October Term 1878 (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1879), pp. 145ff. For additional discussion of this decision in another context see my article, “In Good Conscience,” which appears in *War, Conscription, Conscience and Mormonism*, edited by Gordon C. Thomasson (Santa Barbara, California: Mormon Heritage, 1971), pp. 76-96.

accepted this ruling. In 1886, Governor West (a new carpetbag appointee) held an interview with Lorenzo Snow who was then imprisoned for unlawful cohabitation. The governor tried to get Snow to change his views on polygamy, but Snow replied, "Well, now, governor, of course, there is no use wasting time on this. If you ask me if I will renounce the principle of plural marriage, I will answer you at once." But the governor sought no such commitment. He responded, "No; that is not the question. The question I ask is will you agree, in good faith, sincerely, in the future to respect and obey the laws as interpreted by the courts, which I and every other good citizen ought to do and must do, and failing to do, will incur punishment."<sup>6</sup> Snow's response was negative. Governor West then made the same proposal to forty-eight of Snow's fellow inmates. Their published response was directed to the government's intent:

We were united to our wives for time and eternity by the most sacred covenants, and in many instances numerous children have been born as a result of our union, who are endeared to us by the strongest paternal ties. . . . So far as compliance with your proposition requires the sacrifice of honor and manhood, the repudiation of our wives and children, the violation of sacred covenants, heaven forbid that we should be guilty of such perfidy. Perpetual imprisonment, with which we are threatened, or even death itself, would be preferable. (*CHC*, VI, 182.)

The destruction of existing families which had been sealed in covenant by the Priesthood, rather than just the prevention of further plural marriages, was a major intention in the government "crusade." This was evidenced many years before when Governor Shaffer interviewed Eli B. Kelsey, an excommunicated polygamist, in an attempt to align the apostate group of which Kelsey was a member with the government. Shaffer outlined the government's plan to destroy the Church. Kelsey, in rejecting the plan, replied, "Before I will forsake my wives and bastardize my children, I will fight the United States down to my boots. What would you do, if you were in my place?"<sup>7</sup>

#### *THE RIGHT TO GUIDE BEHAVIOR BY REVELATION FROM GOD*

Making men violate their covenants was not the biggest issue, however. Mormonism stood for something even more intolerable to the government. Rudger Clawson's words epitomize the conflict. Prior to his being sentenced for unlawful cohabitation, he told the judge, "I very much regret that the laws of my country should come in conflict with the laws of God; but when-

---

<sup>6</sup>B.H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Hereafter cited as *CHC*), Vol. VI (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), p. 182. I should here mention that I could multiply footnotes almost endlessly, but since my main purpose is to offer a reinterpretation of data which should be common knowledge among Mormons, it is sufficient for my purposes to mainly rely on commonly available sources such as Roberts wherever possible. The "atrocities" which are alluded to throughout the article are all described in the *CHC*, but since almost no one bothers to read such readily available material, and fewer seem to have thought about what such sources imply, the footnotes provided are considered ample.

<sup>7</sup>Whitney, *op. cit.* p. 248.

ever they do, I shall invariably choose the latter. If I did not so express myself, I should feel unworthy of the cause I represent.”<sup>8</sup>

As has been the case in every dispensation, the root of the conflict was in the right of the Saints to live according to individual inspiration by the Spirit, and to collective guidance (both temporal and spiritual) revealed from God through the Prophet to the Church. The issue was stated clearly by Mr. Varian, the U.S. District Attorney for the Utah territory. He interrupted a hearing before the Masters in Chancery (court of equity) for the escheated (government confiscated) Church properties. They had been listening to testimony from General Authorities regarding the scope of the Manifesto. Mr. Varian angrily interjected:

They [the L.D.S.] are not obeying the law of the land at all, but the counsel of the head of the Church. The law of the land, with all its mighty power, and all the terrible pressure it was enabled to bring with its iron heel upon this people crushing them to powder, was unable to bring about what this man did in an hour in the assembled conference of this people. They were willing to go to prison; I doubt not some of them were willing to go to the gallows, to the tomb of the martyr, before they would have yielded one single iota. (CHC, VI, 229.)

In May of 1891, the old Republican Committee of the territory filed a protest with the Utah Commission (a governing and investigative body of Federal carpetbaggers) against Utah being granted statehood on the grounds that: “Utah is not yet prepared to accept the trust of statehood, because a majority of her people still maintain a higher allegiance to the theocracy under which they have all their lives served than to the government of the United States” (CHC, VI, 299).

When a state sets itself above God, revealed truth or conscience, it will inevitably persecute the Saints. From the time of Kirtland the most consistent charge against the Saints was that they “followed the Prophet” whether in matters of economics, voting, or marriage. When law and power override justice in any nation, be it ancient Egypt, third century Rome, or nineteenth Century America, it will exert terrible pressures bringing its iron heel upon a dissident minority, and will endeavor to bring them to conformity or to destroy them. Revealed truth always stands in opposition to such machinations.

### *THE RIGHT TO KEEP COVENANTS SACRED AND SECRET*

While the right to revelation was the most basic issue, there were other conflicts that played a part in the drama that led to the Manifesto. The government sought to challenge not only the right of Latter-day Saints to keep covenants they had made regarding their behavior, but also their right to keep sacred and secret the various ordinances and covenants of the Temple. The Saints hold that while some information has been published and even though, under the inspiration of the Spirit, public discourses might be given on the nature and importance of keeping certain covenants, they are in no way bound to discuss these same covenants before a Prosecuting Attorney

---

<sup>8</sup>Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1922), p. 599.

or Judge in a civil court. The first person to go to jail for refusing to violate the sanctity of his covenants was Daniel H. Wells of the First Presidency. Other members of the Church were given and served contempt sentences for likewise refusing to testify on such matters. Since the Saints refused to speak, the courts sought the testimony of apostates and non-Mormons who readily invented and swore to the idea that the endowment was by nature a subversive ceremony of a most un-American nature. As a result of this, for a number of years convert-immigrants were denied naturalization as U.S. citizens, many individuals were denied homestead patents, and other civil liberties were abridged. Only infrequently have there been demands by the courts that religious covenants or secular secret oaths (e.g., those of the Masons) be broken or revealed, and perhaps never have those demands been as intense as they were with the Mormons.

*THE RIGHT TO BELIEVE, TEACH, PUBLISH AND FREELY  
ASSOCIATE AS BROTHERS*

Finally, the government sought to destroy the right of the Saints to believe all God has revealed, all that He does reveal, and all that He may yet reveal, and the right to publish and teach such gospel concepts. In 1879 the Supreme Court at least held that Mormons were protected in their right to *believe* and *belong* to the Church by the guarantee that: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble. . . ."

Later, on 3 February 1890, the Supreme Court not only struck down these protections but also ruled that Article VI, Section 3 of the Constitution, which holds that "no religious test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or Public Trust under the United States" did not apply to Latter-day Saints. In their decision regarding *Davis v. Beason*, the Court upheld an Idaho law which provided that:

no person who is a bigamist or polygamist, or who teaches, advises, counsels or encourages any person or persons to become bigamists or polygamists, or to commit any other crime defined by law, or to enter into what is known as plural or celestial marriage, *or who is a member of any order, organization or association which teaches, advises, counsels or encourages its members or devotees or any other persons to commit the crime of bigamy or polygamy, or any other crime defined by law, either as a rite or ceremony of such order, organization or association, or otherwise, is permitted to vote at any election, or to hold any position or office of honor, trust or profit within this Territory.*<sup>9</sup>

When the Court sustained this law, it denied Davis, who had never practiced polygamy, his normal civil rights on the basis of his belief and membership in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. After the Court upheld the Idaho statute which disenfranchised Davis, the Congress began consideration of the "Cullom-Struble" bill which would have applied the same law on a Federal level throughout the territories. Here we find another difference which could allow no compromise. Theoretically the

---

<sup>9</sup>*U.S. Reports* Vol. 133, October Term 1889 (New York & Albany: Banks & Brothers, 1890), pp. 333ff. Italics added.

Church would never allow someone other than God to dictate what it should believe or teach. The government asserted that it held even this power.

In review, some main areas of controversy were: 1) the right to contract further plural marriages; 2) the right to maintain existing families and keep old covenants; 3) the right to guide behavior by revelation from God; 4) the right to keep covenants sacred and secret; 5) the right to believe, teach, publish and freely associate as brothers.

### *AMERICANIZATION*

As we have seen, the government sought to deny all these rights. The government committed itself to "Americanizing" the Mormon Church by whatever means necessary. This is reflected in the laws passed, enforced and upheld by the courts. It is evidenced by the speeches of countless self-seeking congressmen and politicians. It was echoed in almost every newspaper and propaganda organ in the country. Unfortunately for the government, the Saints would not capitulate to such demands. As Mormon resistance persisted, the government escalated its tactics in more and more frantic attempts to accomplish its well-publicized purpose. As the conflict stretched out, the government began to lose face. As Mr. Varian hinted, it was embarrassing that so great a power could not make so small a group conform to its will. In time public sentiment began to wane and the political mileage gained by crusading politicians through persecuting Mormons began to decline. Indeed, by 1890 the government had painted itself into a corner. Among the other means it had already employed to impose its will, it had expropriated the properties of the Church, leaving it without funds to defend itself or to sustain its members. It dissolved the Corporation of the Church and set about distributing its assets just as it would those of a person who died without leaving either heirs or a will. It denied the right to vote to countless citizens for committing a misdemeanor (plural marriage was never classed as a felony). In one case the court upheld the right of a U.S. Marshal to shoot and kill rather than arrest a misdemeanor offender who was in no way resisting arrest. It stood by while the civil rights of a number of Mormons were violated in the American South where mobs were murdering Mormon missionaries and local juries were acquitting the murderers. It held that women (even a first wife) could be forced to testify against their husbands, and jailed for contempt those who refused. It passed laws that no Mormon could expect a trial by a jury of his peers (that is, Mormons could not serve on juries in polygamy trials). It developed a judicial technique known as "segregation" in which sentences could be "stacked" by making each month, week or day a person maintained more than one wife a separate offense, thus making possible "life" sentences for polygamy (This was one of the few abuses struck down by the Supreme Court through the long series of court battles). This list could be extended, but the important fact is that by 1890 the government had only two methods of punishment and repression left in its arsenal. The first was extermination, which had been suggested more than once before. The second was total political disenfranchisement of all Mormons. These were unhappy alternatives to the politicians who led the nation, not for any idealistic reason, but rather because they

would be eliminating a population which might otherwise, someday, vote for their party. Washington was looking for a way out.

In the words of George Q. Cannon, the Church had “waited for the Lord to move in this matter” (*CHC*, VI, 223). The Church’s resistance through the 1880s is ample evidence that it was looking for an easy way out. It would definitely not surrender its right to revelation nor allow the destruction of eternal family ties. Indeed, as a response to persecution the rate of plural marriages climbed from 1882 to 1886 — precisely when the sentences given were the heaviest and the enforcement most severe. Some evidence suggests that men were called to practice polygamy (that is enter into new and plural marriages) as an act of civil disobedience. Such actions served to divert public attention *towards* the contracting of marriages, and *away* from existing families. Though there is an admitted lack of evidence, it is probable that the Lord would not release the Saints from the obligation to practice polygamy (compare D. & C. 124:49) until more basic and important aspects of the gospel were protected. Only then, I suspect, did He reveal to the Prophet that the practice might be discontinued.

### *THE GOVERNMENT GIVES IN*

When the Democratic Party, after decades out of power, succeeded in electing Grover Cleveland as President, they set about consolidating their position by a number of maneuvers planned to gain them popularity among the voting public. One of Cleveland’s actions was to appoint judges for the Utah territory whose behavior, in contrast to the appointees of previous administrations, might best be described as generous. In fact, many men who had lived successfully on the underground in previous years turned themselves in for trial and sentencing, willing to serve reasonable sentences and counting on laws of double jeopardy for future protection. The Democrats were openly courting votes. Not to be outdone, the Republican Party set about creating a new image for itself in Utah. Late in 1888, the Church quietly ceased performing new plural marriages. In September of 1890, President Woodruff met in San Francisco with the National Chairman of the Republican Party (which had regained the Presidency from the Democrats) and an understanding was probably reached, because five days after this visit the Manifesto was given (*CHC*, VI, 220). The gist of that meeting apparently was that the Church *could* publicly cease to institute new plural marriages and/or to encourage its members to do so *only* if the government would surrender its other goals. No small result of this meeting was the fact that the same federal official, Mr. Varian, who objected so strenuously to the Saints following the Prophet, himself proposed, just a few years later, that Federal and Territorial Statutes against polygamy should not be adopted in their entirety as part of the new Utah constitution. Instead, he suggested that only those sections dealing with the contracting of new plural marriages be retained, while those dealing with the destruction of existing families be deleted (*CHC*, VI, 324-26). While anti-Mormons in Utah and throughout the nation were largely unaware of these facts, major national party leaders were most certainly involved in approving them, as the Congress accepted Utah’s proposed constitution and, after almost fifty years of trying, Utah obtained statehood.

The guarantee that existing families would be protected was so explicit that President Joseph F. Smith, in his testimony at the Smoot investigation in Washington, D. C. in 1904, “freely admitted continued cohabitation with his plural wives, of whom he had five. He stated that since 1890, the date of the Woodruff Manifesto outlawing polygamy, he had been the father of eleven children, and that each of his wives had been the mother of at least one of them.”<sup>10</sup> While this admission generated some anti-Mormon sentiment through the country, the fact of statehood and relative autonomy was sufficient to protect such families, and in a few short years the issue was forgotten.

There is little question that if the Church had bowed to the Reynolds decision in 1879, the government would have proceeded to destroy all existing plural families and violate eternal covenants. By continuing to violate the law, the Church forced the government to concentrate its power on what amounted to lower priority issues. When a balance is struck between the Government’s objectives and what it actually accomplished, as contrasted to those principles which the Church maintained, there is little question as to the nature of the Government’s surrender or the Church’s victory. As Mr. Varian so painfully observed, the Manifesto was precisely an assertion of our right to be guided by Revelation, and not a surrender in any sense of the word. It was the Government that was forced to back down. The Manifesto of 1890 simply provided politicians a graceful way to abandon their oft-publicized goals. This entire historical picture serves to emphasize the fact that the Church, when faced with a “little” external pressure, does not quickly come up with a “revelation of convenience” as an easy way out. Indeed, there are no “revelations of convenience” in Mormonism, and those who expect such solutions will likely have a very long wait. Persons who think the Lord’s Church operates that way ignore both its authenticity and its history. Finally, then, viewed in perspective, the Manifesto was a victory.

---

<sup>10</sup>R.J. Snow, “The American Party in Utah: A Study of Political Party Struggles During the Early Years of Statehood,” an unpublished M.A. thesis, Dept. of History, University of Utah, 1964, p. 60. The apostate Frank J. Cannon, in his book *Under the Prophet in Utah*, F. J. Cannon and Harvey J. O’Higgins (Boston: 1911), asserts that the brethren’s intent in giving the Manifesto was to include the dissolution of existing families. With nothing better than Cannon’s rather biased reporting of the matter, one would better rely on the wording of the Manifesto itself. The Prophet’s “advice to the Latter-day Saints is to refrain from *contracting* any marriage forbidden by the laws of the land.” Italics added.



# Joseph Smith, an American Muhammad? An Essay on the Perils of Historical Analogy

*Arnold H. Green and Lawrence P. Goldrup*

*Arnold Green, a graduate of B.Y.U., is currently in Tunisia completing research for his Ph.D. dissertation in Near Eastern History from U.C.L.A. Lawrence Goldrup, also a graduate of B.Y.U., taught for two years in Saudi Arabia, and has recently completed a Ph.D. at U.C.L.A. in Islamic Studies.*

Analogy is a fashionable device which many authors employ to embellish otherwise bland expositions, and few writers can resist the urge to compare certain individuals with what they regard as legitimate historic parallels. The role of the first president of the United States has become so proverbial that the initial leader of many a modern republic has been labeled the "George Washington" of his country. An even more intriguing example of this practice is the attempt to picture Joseph Smith as an American Muhammad. Although Joseph Smith had been associated with many historical and literary figures, including so unlikely a character as Don Juan,<sup>1</sup> he has been most seriously depicted as a backwoods American version of the seventh-century prophet from Mecca. H. A. R. Gibb, an eminent authority on Islam, recently observed that Muhammad has traditionally been "portrayed as an epileptic, as a socialist agitator, [or] as a proto-Mormon."<sup>2</sup> What follows is a brief review of the development of this analogy, an exposition of its major points, and an attempt to determine its validity.

## GROWTH OF THE ANALOGY

The major source of the comparison is almost certainly to be found in the works of pious writers who felt the need to expose Joseph Smith and Mormonism, the exposés usually contending that both Joseph Smith and Muhammad differed little from preceding "impostors" and "deluders."<sup>3</sup> A review of prominent heretics would then usually follow the explanation that the Yankee Seer was simply the most recent in a long procession. From the beginning, these lists of infamous frauds often included the name of Muhammad. Joseph Smith's "extreme ignorance and apparent stupidity"

---

<sup>1</sup>A chapter of Wilhelm Wyl's *Joseph Smith the Prophet, His Family and His Friends* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Pub. Co., 1886) is entitled "The Don Juan of Nauvoo." Hereafter cited as Wyl.

<sup>2</sup>*Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, second ed., 1962), p. 23.

<sup>3</sup>Alexander Campbell, "Delusions," *Millennial Harbinger* (Bethany, Va.), 2 (1831), 85. Cf. also Campbell's *Delusions, an Analysis of the Book of Mormon* (Boston: Benjamin H. Greene, 1832), p. 5.

were identified by E. D. Howe in 1834 as well-worn cloaks in the “wardrobe of impostors. They were thrown upon the shoulders of the great prince of deceivers, Mohammed, in order to carry in his train the host of ignorant and superstitious of his time.”<sup>4</sup> Curiously, a minor source of the comparison may be an utterance attributed to Joseph Smith himself. In 1838, dissident Mormon apostle Thomas B. Marsh formally testified to having heard the Prophet boast that

he would yet tread down his enemies, and walk over their dead bodies; and if he was not let alone, he would be a second Mohammed to this generation, and that it would be one gore of blood from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean; that like Mohammed, whose motto in treating for peace was, ‘the Alcoran or the Sword,’ so should it be eventually with us, ‘Joseph Smith or the Sword.’<sup>5</sup>

Although this threat was quite probably a mere fabrication by the disgruntled Marsh,<sup>6</sup> biographers often considered it authentic. Henry Caswall in 1842, James H. Hunt in 1844, and W. S. Simpson in 1853 all quoted Joseph Smith as comparing himself to Muhammad.<sup>7</sup>

Soon the latter-day vilifiers tired of their more narrow Muhammad-Joseph Smith comparison and broadened their attack to include a comparison of Mormonism with Islam. C. Snouck Hurgronje has called his tactic “cryptomohammedanism.” “The Roman Catholics,” he explained, “often vilified Protestantism by comparing the Reformed doctrine to that of Mohammedanism.”<sup>8</sup> Writing at the request of the Anglican Church’s Young Men’s Society, W. S. Simpson concluded that Mormonism “bears in many respects a striking resemblance to Mahometanism, especially as to its sensual character, its founder, and its pretended revelations.”<sup>9</sup> Although intended on at least one occasion as a tribute,<sup>10</sup> the analogy was soon escalated by sub-

---

<sup>4</sup>*History of Mormonism* (Painesville, New York: pub. by author, c. 1834), p. 12. In 1831, Alexander Campbell (“Delusions,” p. 85) likened Joseph Smith to Sabati Levi, a “false messiah” of the seventeenth century who eventually accepted Islam. Campbell wrote, “We have been thus particular in giving a few of the incidents of the life of this imposter . . . because of some remarkable analogies between him and the present New York imposter.” Howe, however, seems to have been the first to compare Joseph Smith directly with Muhammad.

<sup>5</sup>Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1948), III, p. 167n; hereafter cited as DHC.

<sup>6</sup>Orson Hyde, who seconded Marsh’s allegations in 1838, had a change of heart the following year and confessed that unspecified portions of the affidavit had been invented by Marsh. (DHC, III, pp. 167-68n; see also Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1950), pp. 225-27.

<sup>7</sup>Rev. Henry Caswall, *The City of the Mormons: Or, Three Days at Nauvoo in 1842* (London: Rivington, 1842), p. 77; hereafter cited as Caswall; James H. Hunt, *Mormonism: Embracing the Origin, Rise and Progress of the Sect* (St. Louis: Ustick and Davies, 1844), p. v; William Sparrow Simpson, *Mormonism: Its History, Doctrines and Practices* (London: A. M. Pigott, 1853), p. 33; hereafter cited as Simpson.

<sup>8</sup>*Mohammedanism: Lectures on Its Origin, Its Religious and Political Growth, and Its Present State* (New York: Putnam’s, 1916), p. 18.

<sup>9</sup>Simpson, p. 57.

<sup>10</sup>James G. Bennett, editor of the *New York Herald*, wrote on Nov. 7, 1842, that the Mormon Prophet “indicates as much talent, originality, and moral courage as Mahomet, Odin, or any of the great spirits that have hitherto produced the revolutions of the past ages.” In this case, Joseph himself seems not to have resented the reference, for soon after he proposed to the Nauvoo City Council “that we recommend our fellow citizens to subscribe for the *New York Weekly Herald*” (DHC, IV, pp. 477-78).

sequent writers so that by 1851 it had received top billing in two anonymous publications: "The Yankee Mahomet" and *The Mormons: The "American Mahomet"*.<sup>11</sup> In the same tradition, there appeared after the turn of the century Jennie Fowler Willing's *On American Soil; or Mormonism: The Mohammedanism of the West* and Bruce Kinney's *Mormonism: the Islam of America*.<sup>12</sup>

The more encompassing comparisons between Mormonism and Islam continued to emphasize the similarity between Muhammad and Joseph Smith: virtually every commentator acknowledged the perfect match, some commentators spoke of a "backwoods" Muhammad and others of a "bourgeois" Muhammad. "The student of Mormonism," wrote ex-Mormon T. B. H. Stenhouse in 1873, "will be struck with the similarity of experience and claims of Joseph Smith and Mohammed."<sup>13</sup> Among the first to be so impressed were such flamboyant globetrotters as Jules Remy, Sir Richard F. Burton, and Wilhelm Wyl, all of whose travelogues became standard sources for subsequent works on Mormonism. Except for Sir Richard Burton, none of these nineteenth-century writers possessed sufficient knowledge of Islam to draw more than a superficial parallel.

After 1900 the comparison attracted the attention of writers who were not only more familiar with Muhammad but who approached the issue with a much more soundly prepared background and thus advanced some hypotheses which deserve careful analysis.

In 1906 D. S. Margoliouth, a pioneering orientalist, was intrigued with the analogy. His important biography, *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*, contains frequent references to Joseph Smith.<sup>14</sup> Six years later, Eduard Meyer, one of the most respected scholars of his day, published his *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen*.<sup>15</sup> Though primarily an authority on ancient religions, Meyer was equally fascinated by modern religions. "Of the many new religious movements originating in our time," he wrote, "Mormonism very early awakened my interest, especially because of its surprising and close resemblance to the historical development of Islam" (*OHM*, i). In 1932 George Arbaugh, despite an introductory acknowledgment that "similarities between Islam and Mormonism have been misunderstood and exaggerated," equated the two religions in his *Revelation in Mormonism*.<sup>16</sup> Soon after, the comparison received its most exclusive attention in an article by Hans

---

<sup>11</sup>The first appeared in the *American Whig Review*, n.s. 13 (June 1851), 554-64. The second was published by the Office of the National Illustrated Library (London, 1851). The author of this volume has been identified as Charles Mackay by Leonard J. Arrington in "Charles Mackay and his 'True and Impartial History' of the Mormons," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 36 (Winter, 1968), 24-40. In a later work Mackay suggested "God is great, and Joe Smith is his prophet" as a formula for Mormon worship in *Life and Liberty in America* (London; Smith, Elder, 1859), I, 223.

<sup>12</sup>Louisville: Pickett Pub. Co., 1906 (hereafter cited as Willing); New York, Revell, 1912.

<sup>13</sup>*The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: Appleton, 1873), pp. 2-3.

<sup>14</sup>London: Putnam's, 1906; third ed., 1923; hereafter cited as Margoliouth.

<sup>15</sup>Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1912; English edition, *The Origin and History of the Mormons, with Reflections on the Beginnings of Islam and Christianity*, translated by Heinz F. Rahde and Eugene Seach (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah, 1961); hereafter cited as *OHM*.

<sup>16</sup>*Revelation in Mormonism: Its Character and Changing Forms* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1932; reprinted 1950), p. vii; hereafter cited as *RM*.

Thimme, a Protestant clergyman and Islamicist.<sup>17</sup> Finally, Georges Henri Bousquet added a better-than-average understanding of Mormonism to his intimate acquaintance with Islam in order to compare the two faiths in several publications.<sup>18</sup>

Certainly, not all of the above examples reveal a similarity in purpose and design in either the Joseph Smith-Muhammad or Mormonism-Islam comparison and therefore do not all qualify as legitimate analogies. Many early authors such as E. D. Howe and Alexander Campbell were more interested in using the comparison to call Joseph Smith an impostor and Mormonism a deception. Nevertheless, such serious students as Burton and Arbaugh, and particularly, Margoliouth, Meyer, Thimme, and Bousquet have dealt with specific examples of similarity. It is primarily in the works of these writers that the analogy receives its most complete development.

Since no one author has touched on all aspects of the analogy, we will present a composite comparison of similarities of personal experience, historical development, and religious dogma between the two religious leaders and religions. The significant points of comparison can be listed as follows:

*Prophetic Powers.* Hippolyte Taine noted the anxiety which in each case preceded the initial revelation,<sup>19</sup> and Margoliouth likened the effect of Muhammad's conversations with Jews and Christians to Joseph Smith receiving "an early impulse from his observations of the differences between rival sects."<sup>20</sup> Commenting on Muhammad's vision of Gabriel, Eduard Meyer observed that the manifestation was "similar to the first vision of Joseph Smith, when God the Father and his son appeared" (*OHM*, 48). Hans Thimme saw a parallel between Gabriel's visit to Muhammad and Joseph's vision of the angel Moroni. With regard to the sincerity of the revelation, Thimme concluded that "Mohammed and Joseph Smith both felt themselves to be real prophets" ("MI," 158, 159). John Hyde, however, felt that Joseph "imitated Mohammed in his pretended mission and revelations"<sup>21</sup> and suggested that each seer willfully concocted his tales of vision. Pierre Vinçard advanced a bolder and more questionable thesis when he asserted that the revelations of both were caused by epileptic fits.<sup>22</sup> Meyer observed that the "illiterate" Mormon seer exercised the same domination over his assistants, including the much better educated Rigdon, which Mohammed exercised over Abu Bekr and Omar (*OHM*, vii), and Margoliouth speculated that Joseph Smith convinced the witnesses that they had seen the

---

<sup>17</sup>"Mormonism and Islam," *The Moslem World*, 24 (April, 1934), 155-67; hereafter cited as "MI."

<sup>18</sup>In 1934-35, Bousquet devoted three articles to Mormonism: "Le Mormonisme contemporain," *Outre-mer*, 7 (1935), 150-71; "Une theocratic economique," *Revue d'économie Politique*, 50 (1936), 166-45; and "L'église mormonne et ses livres sacrés," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 130 (1936), 219-55. He later consolidated these into *Les Mormons* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1949). More recently, he discussed the analogy in "Observations sociologiques sur les origines de l'Islam," *Studia Islandica*, 2 (1945), 61-88.

<sup>19</sup>"Taine's Essay on the Mormons," translated by Austin E. Fife, *Pacific Historical Review*, 31 (Feb. 1962), 51-52.

<sup>20</sup>Margoliouth, p. 76.

<sup>21</sup>*Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs* (New York: Fettridge, second ed., 1857), p. 308; hereafter cited as Hyde.

<sup>22</sup>Pierre Vinçard in the introduction to M. Etourneau's *Les Mormons* (Paris: Bestel, 1856), p. v.

gold plates in much the same manner as Muhammad convinced his uncle Hamzah that he had seen Gabriel. Margoliouth also claimed that both men made only safe prophecies, Muhammad in predicting a Byzantine victory over Persia and Joseph Smith in forecasting the Civil War.<sup>23</sup>

*Restored Religion.* Richard Burton in *City of the Saints* said that “Mormonism claims at once to be like Christianity[,] a progressive faith, . . . and like El Islam, . . . a restoration by revelation of the pure and primaeval religion of the world” (p. 383). Meyer observed that “both Mohammed and Joseph Smith considered their revelations to be in perfect agreement with the older ones, which they were only continuing and supplementing — all being the ‘word of God’ ” (p. 58). Thimme accepted this observation but qualified it by asserting “that both acknowledged the Old Testament and the New Testament as divine revelation, but that they both, on account of their imperfect knowledge, alter the teachings of the Bible by subject additions and arbitrary changes” (p. 159). Finally, Thimme amplified Meyer’s observation by pointing out that

the idea of Joseph Smith is that the Old Testament and the New Testament are given to the Old World. But God did not neglect the people of the western hemisphere. . . . Joseph Smith believes, therefore, that he received the divine teaching for the Indians and the white colonists in the states . . . just as Mohammed understood the Koran as the revelation of the divine will for the Arabs. (p. 163)

*Sacred Book.* After reviewing the historical development of each seer, Thimme concludes that “we can understand also that the products of their prophetic work, the Koran and the Book of Mormon, are very similar indeed” (p. 162). Meyer observed that “Joseph Smith brought forth a Bible for America” while Muhammed received “a Bible for the Arabs,” although he judged that “the creation of Joseph Smith stands far beneath the Koran which is bad enough” (p. 52). An alternate view is offered by an anonymous reviewer for *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* in 1851. The writer felt that Smith had produced “a book superior to that of the Arab Prophet; deeper in its philosophy, purer in its morality, and far more original.”<sup>24</sup> Ruth and Reginald Kauffman compared the Book of Mormon’s “epic force” to the Koran’s “lyric quality.”<sup>25</sup> Arbaugh debated which volume of Latter-day Saint scripture ought to be labeled the “Mormon Koran,” contending that “the Doctrine and Covenants more than the Book of Mormon approximates the Koran’s place of influence” (*RM*, 98n). Bousquet agreed, calling the Doctrine and Covenants “le Qoran du Prophète Joseph Smith.”<sup>26</sup>

*Material Religion.* “While their [Joseph Smith and Muhammad’s] first revelations were more or less thoroughly devoted to matters of religious concern,” observed Thimme, “their later products are more and more devoted to matters of this world” (“MI,” 162). Meyer also noted “that one may follow in the case of both Prophets a progressive degeneration, a tran-

---

<sup>23</sup>Margoliouth, p. 134.

<sup>24</sup>3 (October 1951), 701.

<sup>25</sup>*The Latter-day Saints: A Study in the Light of Economic Conditions* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1912), p. 332; hereafter cited as Kauffman.

<sup>26</sup>*L’église mormonne et ses livres sacrés*, p. 232.

sition from a stage of genuine vision to a later stage of purely fictional inspiration (*OHM*, 56). Both seers defended themselves against these charges of prophetic fictionalism, and herein writers found additional points of similarity. Margoliouth compared Muhammad's boast to a skeptic "that no one without divine aid could compose so well" with Joseph Smith's challenge to William E. McClellin who "endeavored to write a commandment like unto one of the least of the Lord's, but failed,"<sup>27</sup> and Arbaugh repeated the story, identifying an-Nadr b. al-Harith as "the McClellin of Islam" (*RM*, 87n). Like Meyer, the Kauffmans charged that "each [seer] received revelations when revelation was convenient to his material comfort,"<sup>28</sup> although Richard Burton, reacting somewhat protectively to these attacks on the two prophets' so-called material revelations, observed that though "their exceeding opportuneness excites suspicion . . . of what use are such messages from heaven unless they arrive *à propos*?"<sup>29</sup>

*Sensual Religion.* Meyer claimed that "both Joseph Smith and Mohammed used a word of God to settle their private needs and most intimate love affairs," often finding it necessary to "set aside older revelations when circumstances were altered" (*OHM*, 120). This was later echoed by Bousquet.<sup>30</sup> In interpreting Joseph Smith's revelation on polygamy, Wilhelm Wyl explained that "the prophet needed a religious mantle to cover his sins and quiet Emma." He then compared the incident with a timely revelation permitting Muhammad to marry the wife of his adopted son.<sup>31</sup> "In the case of both Mohammed and Joseph Smith," said Meyer, "the sensuality of their lives grew continually stronger, and . . . the means for satisfying it actually appeared as divine commands" (*OHM*, 37). Indeed, Charles Mackay remarked that "Joseph appears . . . to have had as great a *penchant* for a plurality of wives as Mahomet himself,"<sup>32</sup> and Ray B. West wrote that "Joseph saw heaven as a place of genuine reward. Like the prophet of Islam, Mohammed, . . . he saw paradise very much as the Moslem conceived it."<sup>33</sup> Finally, Jennie F. Willing observed that "both systems are polygamous; and promise their votaries a sensual, material heaven."<sup>34</sup>

*De-emphasis of Christ.* Arbaugh thought that "the hopes of the 'one mighty and strong' [Cf. D&C 85:7] shows how Mormonism can approximate Islam's doctrine of the hidden Imam," thus failing to emphasize Christ (*RM*, 157). Caswell concluded that, "like Mahometanism, Mormonism possesses many features in common with the religion of Christ. . . . But it has cast away that Church which Christ erected . . . and has substituted a false church in its stead."<sup>35</sup> Mrs. Willing charged that "both give our Lord Jesus Christ a place in the divine galaxy, though in each system the special

---

<sup>27</sup>Margoliouth, p. 134.

<sup>28</sup>Kauffman, p. 331.

<sup>29</sup>*The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York: Harper, 1862), p. 405.

<sup>30</sup>"Observations sociologiques sur les origines de l'Islam," p. 78.

<sup>31</sup>Wyl, p. 83.

<sup>32</sup>*The Mormons*, (London, 1851), p. 125.

<sup>33</sup>*Kingdom of the Saints* (New York: Viking Press, 1957), p. 113.

<sup>34</sup>Willing, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup>Caswell, p. 2.

prophet goes far beyond Him in authority.”<sup>36</sup> Finally, Thimme accused both religions of rejecting what he considered Christianity’s most important concept:

that human nature is thoroughly corrupted by sin and that it carries out the will of God, not on account of its power, but on account and in spite of its helplessness through God’s enabling grace . . . . Mormonism and Islam both lack this message of the cross. (“MI,” 167)

*Social, Political, and Economic Community.* Both movements, observed Thimme, “claim for their revelation and their books universality. Both, therefore, teach the contents of their message . . . not only in their own country but throughout the entire world” (“MI,” 163). Meyer wrote that “Mormonism was to be a new religion for the entire world,” and that “other churches were to make way for [it] . . . just as other sects were set aside by Mohammed and Islam” (*OHM*, 64). John Hyde remarked that Joseph Smith, having become “the chief of a second Medina . . . wished to extend the resemblance still further, and aspired to rule the continent,”<sup>37</sup> or as Meyer put it “as Arabia was to be the inheritance of the Muslims, so was America to become the inheritance of the Mormons” (*OHM*, 57). This implies a religious community with socio-religious as well as political and economic dictums, an idea first articulated by Bousquet<sup>38</sup> and recently amplified by the French Marxist, Maxime Rodinson:

In both cases we are dealing with a theocracy prescribed by the originator of the religion: God, through his Prophet, legislates all areas of life for a community of faithful which is called upon to become a political and economic entity.<sup>39</sup>

“Mormonism is one of the most boldly innovating developments in the history of religions,” added Arbaugh. “Its aggressive theocratic claims, political aspirations, and use of force, make it akin to Islam.”<sup>40</sup> Parenthetically, Thimme charged that each faith “uses not only peaceful means of missionary preaching but also holy war” (“MI,” 164).

*Prophetic Succession.* Meyer, mentioning the rival claims put forth at the time of Joseph’s death, remarked that “the family was actually pushed aside just as was Ali, the heir of Mohammed, through the first caliph” (*OHM*, 134). Bousquet hinted at the similarity between the outcome of the respective succession controversies. In each case, the larger, so-called orthodox group (“Utah Mormons” and “Sunni Muslims”) retained the elective principle, whereas the subsequently-formed splinter group (“Reorganites”

---

<sup>36</sup>Willing, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup>Hyde, p. 308.

<sup>38</sup>In 1936, Bousquet wrote, “Au point de vue sociologique, nous trouvons un parallélisme frappant dans l’emploi de la révélation comme moyen de mener une communauté religieuse primitive” (“L’église mormonne et ses livres sacrés,” p. 233).

<sup>39</sup>“The Life of Muhammad and the Sociological Problem of the Beginnings of Islam,” *Diogenes*, 20 (Winter, 1957), 48.

<sup>40</sup>Arbaugh, p. vii.



and "Shi'i Muslims") insisted on hereditary succession in the family of the prophet.<sup>41</sup> Then "after some warfare and struggle," added Thimme,

the Mormons gave up their old political ideas and accommodated their customs and habits to the general rules of the continental state . . . just as also the Mohammedans in the course of their development were forced to separate their political and religious universalism . . . and to give up the old ideal of a united Mohammedan world government. ("MI," 165-66)

Jennie Willing foresaw this loss of secular power as the beginning of total disappearance. "Mohammedanism is doomed," she prophesied. "It is losing its African and European possessions. . . . Mormonism has also had its death-stab . . . [due to] the incoming of loyal American citizens."<sup>42</sup>

### THE ANALOGY CONSIDERED

An analysis of the various points of the analogy reveals two types of flaws: outright errors and gross oversimplifications. In the former category, the allegations that Mormonism is unChristian, that Joseph Smith occupies a more exalted position than Jesus in Mormon theology, that Mormon proselyting employs the idea of holy war,<sup>43</sup> and that either Islam or Mormonism is likely soon to disappear are obviously the result of wishful and inaccurate thinking and may be summarily dismissed. Some other points are worthy of comment.

While it is true that the revelations or the Koranic suras which Muhammad received while at Medina are markedly less theological than the earlier Meccan suras, it is not correct that the later revelations of Joseph Smith are "more and more devoted to matters of this world." The later portion of the Doctrine and Covenants, notably sections 76, 88, 93, 101, 107, 110, 120, 121, 131, and 132, contain some of the most important contributions to Mormon theology. Indeed these later writings when contrasted with the earlier revelations appear to be much less devoted to temporal matters. It is equally erroneous to state that Joseph Smith and Muhammad had the same view of Paradise. As Bousquet correctly noted,<sup>44</sup> Mormonism tends to anticipate eternity as an extension of mortality, where family ties continue; but for Mormons, that anticipation harmonizes with their goal of attaining godhood through eternal progression. A concept such as the Celestial Kingdom as set forth in D&C 76:50-70 although admittedly materialistic in one sense is rather far removed from the sensual Muslim ideal of the righteous reclining upon couches in the shade of trees bent low with ripened fruit while drinking from goblets of silver and crystal (Koran 76:12-22). In all fairness, one must add that this passage is often taken symbolically, although such a reading does not negate the sensual overtones. Further, there is no basis for equating the "Hidden Imam" with the "one mighty and strong." The Shi'i "Imam" or the Sunni "Mahdi" is a messianic figure, prominent

---

<sup>41</sup>"L'église mormonne et ses livres sacrés," p. 238.

<sup>42</sup>Willing, p. 5.

<sup>43</sup>In making this accusation, Thimme ("MI," p. 164) possibly had reference to the Danites, but this is not clear.

<sup>44</sup>Une théocratique économique," p. 109.

throughout Muslim literature, who will at his coming revolutionize the world as well as Islam. On the other hand (except for those in apostate groups), Mormon theologians have rarely concerned themselves with the "one mighty and strong." The few who have, have interpreted the scripture as referring to a future presiding bishop who will "set the Church in order" under the direction of the First Presidency and the Twelve Apostles.<sup>45</sup> Finally, while some may argue that Christ is de-emphasized in Mormonism, to argue that the de-emphasis approximates that found in Islam where Christ becomes just another prophet is to betray one's ignorance of both Islam and Mormonism.

Oversimplifications<sup>46</sup> constitute a second kind of error. It is perhaps justified, for example, to compare the respective visions of Muhammad and Joseph Smith since each prophet claimed to behold a heavenly personage or personages; but with that, the comparison ends. The forty-year old Muhammad thought he saw the angel Gabriel although he was deeply confused and disturbed until his wife, Khadija, convinced him that it was of God. The Mormon seer spoke of several manifestations, each of which according to him brought clear answers to specific questions. It is also significant that Joseph experienced his first vision at age fourteen, seven years before he married Emma Hale who therefore could have had no influence on his early prophetic career as did Khadija on Muhammad.

It is likewise true that each prophet gave his followers a book. Beyond that, however, it is difficult to draw a precise comparison between the one sacred volume of Muhammad and the three canons of scripture compiled or translated by Joseph Smith. While comparisons between the Koran and the Book of Mormon are especially strained, a comparison of the Doctrine and Covenants with the Koran has some validity.

Polygamy would seem to be a key aspect of the analogy, but here in particular the comparison involves an oversimplification. As noted by Bousquet,<sup>47</sup> Muhammad simply retained (and even curtailed somewhat) a marriage custom familiar to the Arabs, whereas Joseph Smith introduced a new and alien institution into his monogamous culture.

Finally, it would be misleading to suppose that Joseph Smith's political role closely paralleled that of Muhammad. The latter began an empire that eventually supplanted the existing states of the Middle East. Accordingly, some Islamic legists held that Muslims dwelling in areas ruled by infidels

---

<sup>45</sup>Cf. Hyrum M. Smith and Janne M. Sjodahl, *The Doctrine and Covenants Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., revised ed., 1954), pp. 528-30. The emphasis which the "Church of the Firstborn" and the "Church of the Firstborn of the Fullness of Times" put on this scripture may also be mentioned. In this sense and in the spirit of analogy, one might refer to Joel Lebaron as the "Mahdi of Mormonism."

<sup>46</sup>In this regard, we would agree with the conclusion reached by Wilfred Cantwell Smith after comparing Islam with Christianity: "On careful inquiry matters that seemed at first glance to correspond turn out in fact to diverge in subtle and unexpected ways: the more thoroughly one investigates two systems the more apparent it becomes that parallels are only approximate." "Some Similarities and Differences between Christianity and Islam: An Essay in Comparative Religion," in Kritzeck and Winder, eds., *The World of Islam* (London: Macmillan, 1959), p. 47.

<sup>47</sup>Cf. Winifred Graham, *The Mormons: A Popular History from Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1913), pp. 299-300; and Edward P. Hingston, ed., *Artemus Ward's Lecture on the Mormons* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1882), p. 20.

(*dar al-harb*) must emigrate to the pale of Islam (*dar al-Islam*). Joseph Smith served as major of Nauvoo and aspired to the Presidency of the United States, but in practice if not in theory he cautiously remained within American political traditions. The Doctrine and Covenants (101:77), moreover, all but canonizes the Constitution of the United States and admonishes Mormons to respect the laws of any land in which they may reside.

Several comparisons remain which appear to be both legitimate and significant: a period of anxiety; a revealed, ethnically-oriented yet potentially universal religion represented as being consistent with preceding scriptures; an economically cohesive theocracy guided by inspiration through the prophet; and schism over the question of succession and relinquishment of direct political authority. These comparisons, though, are also very general, so much so that they could apply to many religious figures or movements, but when these are coupled with the oversimplifications (visions of angels, sacred books, polygamy, and political power), they constitute in the minds of many a rather well-founded parallel. In order to complete our assessment of the analogy, it is thus necessary to turn from an analysis of content to an analysis of method.

In referring to Joseph Smith as an "American Muhammad," many writers, wanting only to flavor their narratives with a literary metaphor, probably mean no more than that each prophet fulfilled approximately similar historical roles. The only difficulty with such a use of analogy is that biases toward Muhammad seem to crop up whenever praise or blame is imputed. Before acknowledging that Joseph Smith possessed as much "moral courage" as Muhammad, for example, one must first agree that the Arab Prophet was unusually courageous. Likewise, in order to concur that Joseph's actions were "equally as devious" as those of Muhammad, one would have to assume that the Messenger of Allah was a sneaky fellow. Since historical writing is a form of literature, historians are allowed a degree of poetic license. It is only when used for purposes beyond this metaphorical level that analogies begin to be misleading.

One is, for example, a bit skeptical of those who have interpreted parallels between the teachings of Islam and Mormonism as evidence that Joseph Smith borrowed certain dogmas from Muhammad.<sup>48</sup> Richard Burton pursued this theme at considerable length in his *City of the Saints*. Mormonism, he said, "is imitative to an extent that not a vestige of originality appears" (p. 410). He even retraced the origin of various dogmas, mentioning such sources as the Illuminati and the Druses. From Islam, according to Burton, Joseph obtained the ideas for polygamy and a physical resurrection. The apostolic title, "Lion of the Lord," he added, was "literally borrowed from El Islam" (p. 410). The ways in which these ideas were "literally borrowed," however, were not specified, and it would be difficult to document the notion that Joseph Smith knew much about Islam beyond Muhammad's name. Bousquet and Thimme investigated this possibility, but the latter confessed that "we do not see any traces of mutual influence and formal connection" ("MI," 155).

---

<sup>48</sup>*Debates with Historians* (Cleveland: World, 1958), p. 154.

Hans Thimme, the chief advocate for another variation of the basic analogy, was particularly guilty of faulty methodology. In the words of Peter Geyl, he treated "a mental convenience as if it were an objective thing."<sup>49</sup> He proposed an investigation of "the question of the system or type of religion; whether perhaps Mormonism and Islam belong together as one peculiar type," and he concluded in his summary that as "representatives of the same principle, Mormonism and Islam belong together" ("MI," 166-67). It is for this reason that Thimme insisted on the exclusion of Mormonism from Christianity because of its tendency to undervalue human sinfulness. He thus created for the two faiths a special category based on the idea that neither recognizes original sin — surely an arbitrary reason for divorcing a denomination from its Christian heritage and pairing it with Islam. Thimme appears to have employed what he called comparative religion primarily for the purpose of sectarian polemics. Reminiscent of early anti-Mormon writers, his special category was simply a device for equating the two religions in order to discredit the one by associating it with the other. Individual dogmas of the two faiths might constructively be contrasted to delineate the similarities and the differences, but no classification of Mormonism can be meaningful which denies its essential Christianity.

In putting the analogy to still another use, Eduard Meyer showed the strong influence of Hegel's idea of the *Zeitgeist* or time spirit, a dialectical force moving through history and determining the course of events. Although the trend of development is upward and linear rather than cyclical, its rate may vary considerably from region to region. It is therefore possible for similar conditions, persons, and events to evolve in historical circumstances widely separated by time and space. In his introduction, Meyer cautioned that his explanation "will be comprehensive only if the reader keeps in mind the picture of very primitive ways of thinking in the midst of a culture which is highly developed in many of its other forms" (*OHM*, v). In other words, seventh-century Arabia and nineteenth-century frontier America were on the same "primitive" level, and so the *Zeigeist* produced nearly identical movements in Islam and Mormonism. This helps explain why Meyer insisted that "neither Joseph Smith nor Mohammed were towering personalities" (*OHM*, ii). In such a *Weltanschauung* as Meyer's there are few heroes; there are mainly lumps of human clay molded by the forces of history. In fact Meyer did not undertake the study of Mormonism for its own sake, but rather for what it could teach him about Islam, whose origins were much more obscure. "This new religion grew up during the nineteenth century," he observed, "so that we can pursue its origin and history by means of rich, contemporary sources. . . . The forms under which it appeared gave reason to hope for important conclusions regarding the understanding of Mohammed and his religion" (*OHM*, 1). He added that "there is hardly a historical parallel which is so instructive as this one; and through comparative analysis both [Islam and Mormonism] receive so much

---

<sup>49</sup>"In that identification," Geyl explained (*Debates with Historians*, p. 152 ), "the human factor is overlooked, and it is with the human factor that history is, above all, concerned." In this regard, Samuel Eliot Morison accused Marxist historians of the "mass murder of historical characters" by treating them as "puppets of social and economic forces." "Faith of a Historian," *American Historical Review*, 56 (January, 1951), 270.

light that a scientific study of the one through the other is indispensable" (*OHM*, 44).

Meyer's use of the analogy risks violating the traditions of historical methodology in two important ways. First, it ignores the widely divergent circumstances which separated nineteenth-century America from seventh-century Arabia. Secondly, it shears both Muhammad and Joseph Smith of their individuality by suggesting, as Peter Geyl put it, "that an identity exists between the processes of history and those of organic nature."<sup>50</sup> Certainly neither Islam nor Mormonism can exempt itself from academic scrutiny, but by intimating that two weak-willed prophets were produced by identical, primitive historical situations and that conclusions about the one can be attributed almost unconditionally to the other, Eduard Meyer was clearly in error. A balanced study should neither ignore the historical context nor compromise individuality for the sake of a facile generalization. For all our emphasis on similarities, we must not fail to recognize important differences.

### *MORMONISM AND ISLAM CONTRASTED*

The final portion of this essay will consider dissimilarities which our writers, so anxious for their analogy to be accepted, have either minimized or ignored. Meyer spoke of "numerous small differences," such as the idea of continuous revelation in Mormonism as against the Islamic belief that revelation ended with Muhammad (*OHM*, 54). The differences are nevertheless profound. We suggest the following three areas of contrast.

The core of religion is the concept of God, and on this issue the two prophets moved in opposite directions. Islam's most significant contribution was the convincing of a people who worshipped many gods that there was only one God. Although there is some evidence that it initially pictured Allah only as the chief diety (summotheism), Muhammad's faith soon emerged as one of the most uncompromising monotheisms the world has ever known. The gravest sin a Muslim can commit is *shirk* (ascribing partners to Allah). Muslim writers frequently level this charge against Christians for their belief in the Trinity, although Ibn Taymiya and his spiritual descendants, the Unitarians of Saudi Arabia, severely condemned the popular Muslim concept of *tawassul* or entreaty through a *wali* or saint as *shirk*. Latter-day Saints, on the other hand, not only insist that the Godhead is composed of three distinct personages but hold as well that by adhering to divine principles men can attain godhood (D&C 132:20, 37). This concept led Sterling McMurrin to call Mormonism "a thoroughgoing pluralism."<sup>51</sup> Also, Muslim orthodoxy gradually explained away hints of anthropomorphism in the Koran, insisting that God is outside of time and above human attributes. Conversely, Mormonism teaches that God is eternally progressing but materially embodied. Moreover, Islam views the universe without equivocation as the creation of God, having its origin and its only claim to existence in the divine mind; yet Mormonism holds that matter *per se* is coeternal with God, who "organized" the universe rather than created it.

---

<sup>50</sup>*The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1960), p. 8.

The germane concept of man's relationship to God demonstrates a second point of divergence. Religions vary in the extent to which their deity is approachable, and in Islam the gulf between God and man is wide indeed. Allah is unknowable (at least in the pre-sufi period), and even though Sufis can achieve a kind of mystical union with God, no Muslim can ever hope to behold Him. This popular conception of *wasila* or a special relationship with God was also condemned by Ibn Taymiya as it has been by the Unitarians in their attempt to reestablish the spiritual values and practical ideals of pristine Islam. In Mormonism the gap narrows considerably as it does, of course, in all Christian groups. Men are literally considered in Mormonism to be spiritual offspring of God; and although the Father is presently exalted far above His children, they have not only the power to know Him but the possibility to become like Him. Further, predestination triumphed over free will in Muslim theology so that orthodox Islam views human actions as being determined by the will of God. Yet Mormonism has remained an uncompromising advocate of free agency and of the necessity for works in addition to grace and faith.

Finally, Islam has no clergy, and its theology provides no role for ordained clerics. Despite the development of the '*ulama*' or theological and legal expert, there is no central hierarchy which can speak for Islam as a whole. On the other hand, virtually all male Latter-day Saints are ordained to the lay clergy, for the institution of the priesthood is the core of Mormonism and the rite of ordination is considered necessary for individual salvation. Furthermore, the Mormon Church is administered by a highly organized, rigidly centralized ecclesiastical government which can and does speak for all Mormons. It is remarkable that two religions reputed to be so similar should be structured so differently. It is even more remarkable that almost none of those who have compared the two faiths admitted the existence of such obvious differences.

### CONCLUSIONS

In summary, to call Joseph Smith an American Muhammad or Mormonism the Islam of America is to draw an analogy that obscures and minimizes the very important differences that exist. While two out of every three points of comparison are either untrue or oversimplified, the very analogy itself is an oversimplification. Islam is an umbrella for numerous sects and legal rites that are set apart one from the other as radically as Mormonism is set apart from other Christian sects. Thus in even considering the analogy one must isolate those features that are common to all these divergent sects, and as one will have observed this has not been in all cases possible. Rather than having employed constructively the tool of historical analogy, those writers utilizing this analogy have all too often merely revealed their own preconceptions, born of dogmatic or philosophic bias. However poetic it may be to designate Mormonism as the "Islam of America," the analogy has in the final analysis contributed little to an understanding of either religion.

# Become as a Little Child

## *A PHOTOGRAPHIC ESSAY ON JUNIOR SUNDAY SCHOOL*

*by Harold Wood*



*And they shall also teach their children to pray, and to  
walk uprightly before the Lord. (D & C 68:28)*

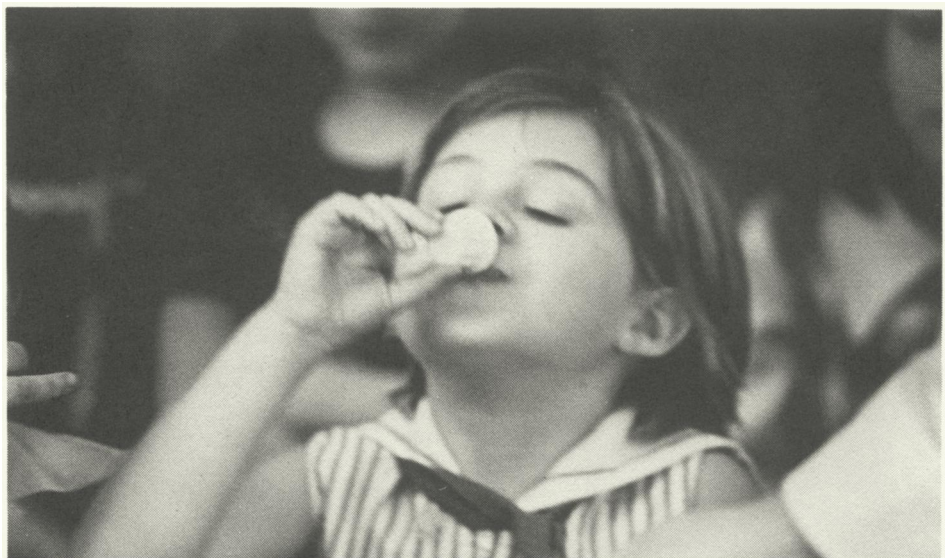




*I love little children with a perfect love. (Moroni 8:17)*



*And again I say unto you, ye must repent, and become as a little child. (III Nephi 11:37)*







*Why, mother says, "This is a very mischievous little boy or girl." What do you see? That amount of vitality in those little children so that they cannot be still. If they cannot do anything else they will tip over the chairs, cut up and pull away at anything to raise a row. They are so full of life that they cannot contain themselves; and they are something like ourselves — boys. They have so much vitality in them that their bones fairly ache with strength. They have such an amount of vitality — life, strength and activity, that they must dispose of them. . . . Do not be out of temper yourselves. Always sympathize with them and soothe them. Be mild and pleasant.*

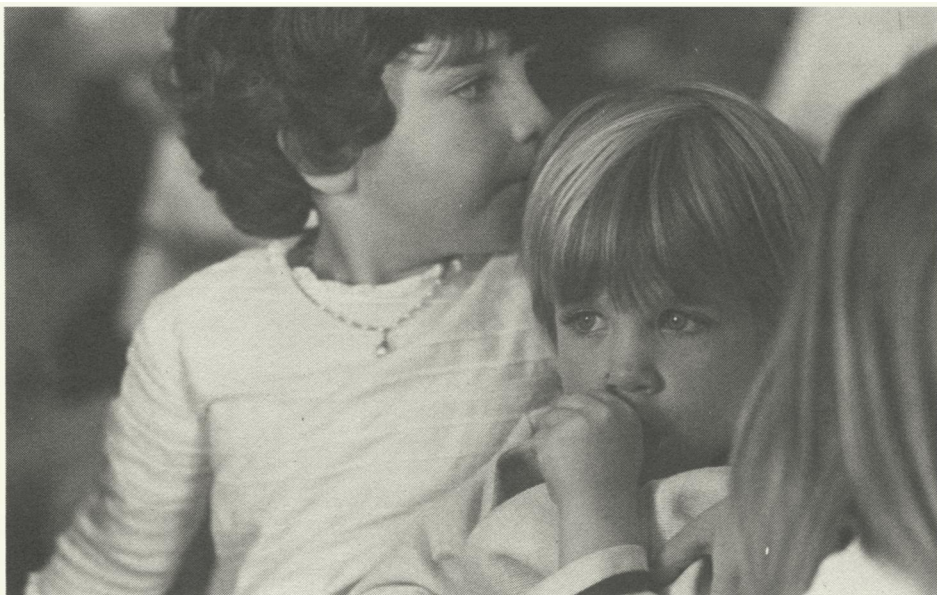
*(Brigham Young, Discourses of Brigham Young 19:69)*





*But Jesus said, suffer little children, and forbid them not,  
to come unto me: for of such is the kingdom of heaven.  
(Matt. 19:14)*





*Little children are holy, being sanctified through the atonement of Jesus Christ. (D & C 74:7)*



*Little children are alive in Christ, even from the foundation of the world. (Moroni 8:12)*





*At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, who is the greatest in the kingdom of Heaven? And Jesus called a little child unto him, and set him in the midst of them, and said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. (Matt. 18:1-3)*

*Harold Wood is a free-lance photographer who resides in Los Angeles. He is a graduate of B.Y.U. and the Los Angeles Art Center.*



Bruce W. Jorgenson

**On Second West in Cedar City, Utah:  
Canticle for the Virgin**

*Ave Maria, plena gratia!*

One street west, in the ward chapel,  
I reinforce with paper thimble  
of water and shard of bread  
my bond to God:  
precarious grace, when  
thewed will stranded on bones  
must vault the horns  
of His justice and mercy  
to turn redemption's temporal trick.

I would not go this street to prayer,  
yet passing in a cold morning  
I make prayer here:  
praise for plastic flowers  
writhen beneath your feet  
and fading in suppliant hands  
under your alabastrine gaze,  
for which also praise  
and praise for this small lapse  
in the disquietude of God.

C. Thomas Asplund

## **A Comforter**

Still you come to me in the night  
Walking with bare feet whispering  
And still you force me to come round corners that could wait,  
To face a minor premise I am avoiding.

Still you draw me from the logic of time,  
Reasoning with knots and pieces  
Now that I have turned round corners that should wait,  
To leave a minor premise I am enjoying.

Still you push me down a busy street,  
Whispering of dead men talking,  
Until we come to corners that should meet  
Upon a minor premise I am trusting.

Still I come to you in the night  
Wakened to a silken apron's rustling,  
And still I end in corners that must wait  
To trap a minor premise I am hiding.

Karl Keller

## **The Comforter**

The argument holds:  
the love of God is lonely as time  
and the lines of the world are drawn precise and clean:  
nothing transcends the dark but the dark.

A bastard spirit in a time of flux  
creates what he seeks singing,  
a fascist under the sudden skin,  
making all he meets mine and more,  
possessing obsession and no more.

Hands every man a bold word  
shocking dirty and a little poisoned  
so to get the gift of distance  
and make in the void a voice bent  
asking who am I knowing.

Wanders out of the skin's tight room  
a child beginning the world again  
with eyes that mold hands into eyes  
and allowed like Jove to lust the paradox  
of appleseeds in all grave skulls.

Sings, scars, divines, and is  
to be integral with the irony  
of a black chapel in a clean wind,  
and everything in the night  
the spark of an alien in inalienable delight.

Arthur Henry King

## Winter Solstice

The messages come early in the morning,  
by means of a dream  
(but young men have their visions),  
or struggle towards decision through a stream  
of indecisions,  
or real — or imagined — pain  
(the shadow of age),  
or thought of someone dying: they contain  
a warning  
insisted upon again and again  
in varying images lost on waking,  
though by retrospective strain  
in sum they seem  
a bone-shaking  
*Totentanz* of puppets on a stage —  
skeletons dressed out with ragged infelicities  
rattling the highways in frustrated rage,  
or groping about warrens of ruined cliff cities  
more fearful if buried under a forgotten dream  
than when I remember their articulate story:  
*memento mori*.

Christ rose before the light  
and with His glory  
harrowed, scarified,  
cleansed and clarified  
even these last obscenities of the night  
into the relaxation of release  
from anxiety, and the acceptance of His peace.



# REVIEWS

*Edited by Davis Bitton*

## **In Good Conscience: Mormonism and Conscientious Objection**

*Orlando E. Delogu*

*War, Conscription, Conscience and Mormonism:* "A collection of diverse materials . . . that seeks to remind its readers that a diversity of opinion [on these subjects] can and does exist among members in good standing of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. . . ." edited by Gordon C. Thomasson. Santa Barbara, California: Mormon Heritage, 1971; 125 pp., softbound. Available from Mormon Heritage, P.O. Box 15230, Santa Barbara, California 93107, at cost (\$1.25). Orlando Delogu, Professor of Law at the University of Maine, is a member of the national board of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Maine Environmental Improvement Commission.

It is not without some irony that one considers both the format and source of this collection of materials — the almost apologetic tone in which both the collection and so many of its individual pieces present their views and the smallness and certainly unofficial character of the institution (Mormon Heritage) whose voice is raised. One is led to ask in a church of millions which has experienced the persecutions of the past, which knows first-hand the evils of war, which holds forth all of the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants as scripture (not just those portions that advocate support for constituted government) and which claims modern revelation, why so few perceive the moral rightness of the positions urged in this volume? Why isn't the substance of this volume found in the proceedings of a recent general conference? Why isn't it the subject of a recent issue of the *Ensign* or the *New Era*? Why aren't those within the Church who are conscientious objectors accorded a full measure of the love of their brethren and the outspoken approval of the general authorities for so courageous an action? Surely these and not those who march off to war are among the "meek" who shall "inherit the earth."

One may even ask, why is there an official church silence with respect to participation in this war which today is so unnecessary, so terrible in its conduct and character, whose enormities and excesses are so great as to be incalculable in terms of human misery — why is there silence? Silence has been interpreted by church member and non-member alike as approval of the national policy and position. It has led to harassment and disapproval (from persons both inside and outside the church) of those comparatively few church members who seek conscientious objector status. More important, at a time when our own young people, indeed when a broad cross-section of the youth of the entire nation, cry out for moral leadership, an end to war, an addressing of national energies to long unmet domestic needs, we seem-

ingly favor and support a militarist national policy which continues both to prepare for and to wage war. Where is our moral leadership?

And we are so caught up in our view that these are the last days, that shortly the Constitution must hang by a thread and we must play our fore-ordained role, and that communism is the bear that must be slain, that many of us fail as individual church members today to live our own doctrines. Isn't it a gospel of love, of mercy, of forgiveness, of peace? And shouldn't we recall that "no man knoweth the hour?" I fear that many within the Church from the highest to the least have aligned themselves too closely with a political ideology and not closely enough with the teachings of Christ, Helaman, Ammon, Nephi, Moroni, Joseph Smith. This not only dims one's perception of the gospel but it dims one's tolerance of viewpoints other than his own. I find this plea for tolerance to be one of the major theses of the authors. And how can it be denied in a church which has experienced so much intolerance and in which free agency is so important a doctrine? But for Mormon conscientious objectors there is today precious little tolerance. If this volume succeeds modestly in even this one regard it will have repaid its sponsors and authors many fold.

As to the volume itself — it is short and comparatively easy and interesting reading. There is some repetition and there are some typographical errors that distract the reader. The scriptural and bibliographical references are ample and useful. It is unfortunate that finances dictated not only the smallness of the print (it is hard on the eyes) but an initial printing of only 500 copies. The materials merit much wider circulation.

As in any collection of materials, some pieces are more forceful and better written than others. Keeler's "A Plea for Tolerance" though short is certainly one of the better articles. Nibley's "Renounce War" is important not so much for what it says (though the arguments made are certainly compelling) but for who is saying it and for the context in which the remarks were originally made. "An Important Message to the Men of B.Y.U." is interesting not only because of the strength of the message but because it apparently took some courage to state anti-war and conscientious-objector views and to adhere to them in the aftermath of events on that campus. The point previously made with respect to intolerance for other's views is certainly and tragically brought home here. The two sections, "Mormons and the Selective Service" and "Two Men's Experiences" will, I'm afraid, be viewed as cookbook pieces showing the do's and don't's of official letter-writing and filing for conscientious-objector status. Because of their brevity and incompleteness I'm certain they were not intended to serve this purpose, but individuals dealing with selective service boards are likely to seize upon the language and approaches presented that worked and avoid approaches that failed without analyzing the reasons for success or failure in the particular case. Thomasson's "In Good Conscience" is the most thorough, particularly in terms of the footnotes, which not only support the main arguments but also direct the reader to a much wider range of related materials. One or two of the selected pieces are either maudlin in tone or not well written, but on balance they do not detract significantly from the volume as a whole.

There does, however, seem to be a fallacy in the few materials which compare the conscientious objector to the person who disobeys what he deems

to be an unjust or an unconstitutional law. (An example of the latter would be those in the church who continued to practice plural marriage after the *Reynolds* decision.) Each may be highly motivated. Each may in fact place higher value on God's law (moral law) than on the laws of men, but the position of the conscientious objector is much stronger than that of the civil disobedient. The objector's position is both doctrinally strong and at present quite legal. The objector is not a law breaker. There is not in his case an irreconcilable conflict between God's law as perceived by the individual and the law of the land. He seeks merely to avail himself of a legal status long recognized in free societies, by the founding fathers of this country, and by the present draft laws. Confusing conscientious objection and civil disobedience is therefore not only misleading but incorrect. What Mr. Thomasson probably intended to point out is that individuals who are wrongfully denied conscientious objector status must become lawbreakers by refusing induction before their legal rights can be vindicated in a court of law. Though this is certainly one of the most onerous provisions of the present draft law it is really an aside to the main theme of this collection — an aside not very fully or accurately developed.

At some point in reading these materials a somewhat larger issue occurred to me. Perhaps the editor and individual authors by virtue of the spirit which is in them and the truths which they perceive have a duty to do more than merely articulate and justify their position to seek a greater degree of accommodation and tolerance from their brethren. Perhaps the editor and authors should summon up a greater boldness. Perhaps less an exposition of a position and more of a call to repentance is in order. After all, where much is given much is expected.

## Courage

*James L. Clayton*

*Courage: A Journal of History, Thought and Action.* Venture Foundation, 106 East South, Lamoni, Iowa 50140. Vol. 1, Nos. 1 and 2 (September and December, 1970), \$6.00 per year. James Clayton teaches history at the University of Utah.

Robert Flanders, an exceptionally articulate and perceptive insider in RLDS matters, introduced readers of the Autumn, 1970, issue of this journal to the pilot issue of *Dialogue's* RLDS cousin, *Courage*. What follows is an analysis of the first two regular issues of *Courage* by a sympathetic outsider.

The September, 1970, issue of *Courage* contains articles on the personality of Joseph Smith, problems in interpreting the Book of Mormon historically, the need for greater missionary activity, the desirability of intensive involvement in the practical problems of the day, and a discussion by six observers of the RLDS 1970 World Conference. The December issue focuses on Vietnam, women's liberation, whether to baptize polygamous converts in India, sources for studying the life of Joseph Smith III, and the need for divine help in understanding the Book of Mormon.

Each issue of *Courage* has several short signed editorials. Among other things the authors oppose student strikes, the Vietnam conflict, keeping historical sources locked up, the second-class status of women within both LDS churches, and the natural American tendency to assume our culture is superior to others. These editorials favor an open research policy, including women in top leadership positions, the possibility of ordination of women to the priesthood, the eradication of all forms of racism within the Church and the nation, and frank and open discussion of all problems relating to Mormonism. In addition to articles and editorials, there are documents (relating to the Nauvoo Temple and Nauvoo House Association), reviews of recent books, and letters to the editors.

The most provocative article is, in this reviewer's judgment, Wayne Ham's espousal in the September issue of a nonhistorical view of the Book of Mormon. Mr. Ham writes that "perhaps the time has come in the Church to recognize that some members want to openly espouse a nonliteral view of the Book of Mormon, treating it as a nonhistorical treatise in much the same manner as modern critics view the books of Jonah, Ruth, Job, and Daniel in the Old Testament. . . . These members could then read the book as a product of the American frontier and honor it as an interesting artifact of the Restoration movement in the nineteenth century, perhaps thus 'enjoying' this fascinating piece of literature for the very first time." Mr. Ham is led to this view because he finds a number of "problems" in accepting the traditional Mormon interpretation. Among these problems are the contradictions in the accounts of how the book came forth; the lack of any non-LDS archeological support for Book of Mormon claims; the book's emphasis on contemporary frontier concerns; moral teachings difficult to accept (e.g. the slaying of Laban by divine decree, the notion that certain dark skinned people were cursed, and that God commands wars and destruction); extensive parallels between the Book of Mormon and the King James version of the Bible; and words and concepts used in the book which are believed to have been used or developed later in time.

Most of these problems have been extensively debated before. Several long letters to the editor in the December issue opposing Mr. Ham's position continue that debate. One questions his sanity; another calls him a rabble rouser; a third wants him fired from his job. What is new and more interesting is Mr. Ham's reply to his detractors. Mr. Ham does not attempt to defend his original article, but alleges that a member who cannot affirm the historicity of the Book of Mormon is just as acceptable to Christ as one who thinks the book is perfect in every respect. He asserts, and there is a good deal of hard evidence elsewhere to support him, that Mormons already exhibit a certain pluralism in their theological beliefs, that we might as well recognize this openly, and that witch hunts and heresy trials should be a thing of the past.

This exchange between Mr. Ham and his opponents is part of a larger liberal-orthodox split in the RLDS faith. This split is openly discussed by six observers of the 1970 RLDS World Conference in the September issue. What is striking to the outsider is the non-authoritarian frankness and open-mindedness of the RLDS General Authorities who comment. (The mere fact that a General Authority would write for *Courage* will come as a

pleasant surprise to most *Dialogue* readers.) Russell F. Ralston, an apostle, believes for example that his church is too provincial. Maurice L. Draper, a member of the First Presidency, in defending his church's position on monogamy, never implies that he is speaking for the Lord or that any disagreement with him is tantamount to heresy. In the long run this attitude will serve the RLDS organization well. So, one hopes, will *Courage*.

## James J. Strang and the Amateur Historian

Klaus J. Hansen

*The King Strang Story: A Vindication of James J. Strang, the Beaver Island King.* By Doyle C. Fitzpatrick. Lansing, Michigan: National Heritage, 1970. xxviii + 289 pp. \$7.95. Klaus J. Hansen, who teaches social and intellectual history at Queen's University at Kingston, Ontario, is the author of *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1967).

In the field of Mormon history, perhaps more so than in other areas of historical inquiry, some excellent contributions have been made by "amateurs," as the holders of the Ph.D. are inclined to call those who encroach upon the preserves of the possessors of that sometimes overrated union card. Among the most prominent names that come to mind are Fawn Brodie, Juanita Brooks, Dale Morgan, and Wallace Stegner. But lack of "the degree" is of course no guarantee against the writing of poor history. Doyle Fitzpatrick's *The King Strang Story* is a case in point.

In fact, the book is so bad that my first reaction was that any kind of review, even a critical one, would give it a dignity that it didn't deserve. Yet a *caveat emptor* is clearly indicated. The author has obviously spent a great deal of money on this handsomely produced, extensively illustrated volume. In all fairness, if I am telling prospective buyers not to throw good money after bad, I should give my reasons.

The volume consists of three parts. The first 132 pages are an attempt to narrate briefly the history of James Strang. The second part, titled "Miscellany," consists of "a sampling of Strangite Impostures," [sic] George J. Adams and John C. Bennett, and "a sampling of Strangite defenders," George Miller and Wingfield Watson, plus a list of Beaver Island residents. The third part consists of the author's reviews of Strang's diary, works about Strang and Beaver Island, and Richard Burton's *The City of the Saints*.

The author has announced the purpose of his work in the subtitle, *A Vindication . . .*, and in the preface, where he states that "prior to 'The King Strang Story,' no individual outside the church itself, has deliberately and publicly championed Strang as a man of good quality. . . . The primary purpose of this narrative is to set the record straight."

Mr. Fitzpatrick has gratefully acknowledged the assistance of numerous individuals in his project, among them Governor William G. Milliken of Michigan — who assures us on the dust jacket that the book "is well documented and well written" — though the author hastens to add that if the

book "is a reservoir of worthy information," this is not "the responsibility of those listed in the Acknowledgment." Since the book contains so many errors of fact and interpretation, of grammar and logic, that to discuss them fully would require a book as long as Fitzpatrick's, one hopes that the author is willing to absolve those who assisted him of these as well — which raises the question precisely what it is he is thanking them for.

In an introduction to the first part, the author attempts a brief synopsis of the birth of Mormonism: "On the 'Hill of Cumorah' near Palmyra, New York, began the most controversial period in American religious communal living, now commonly called Mormonism." "The origin of the Mormon Church appears to have been little more than a semi-religious group of six men, the minimum number to obtain a New York charter, described more accurately, a secret society." The author believes that "many who felt Mormonism born of incredulity [*sic*] also felt it developed into fiction from the visionary parents of Joseph Smith." Consistent with the theme of "incredulity," the author asserts that the witnesses of the Book of Mormon "repudiated their testimonial."

These lapses help explain Fitzpatrick's failure to relate the Strangite movement effectively to Mormonism as a whole. Yet a perusal of the Strang Papers at the Beinecke Library of rare books and manuscripts at Yale University suggests that it is as impossible to understand Strang without the larger Mormon context as it is to understand Mormonism as a whole without Strang. Since the author has benefited so little from these indispensable sources, with their informed and sophisticated introduction by Dale Morgan, one wonders why he went to the expense of having them microfilmed.

But judging from the use the author makes of the sources that he does cite, quote, and discuss, it is doubtful that this omission is of great moment. Though he repeatedly insists on the need for a sympathetic re-evaluation of Strang, we learn, in fact, less from him than from those older, essentially sympathetic studies by Milo Quaife (*The Kingdom of Saint James*, New Haven, 1930), and O. W. Riegel (*Crown of Glory*, New Haven, 1935). In fact, Fitzpatrick uncritically cites and quotes these works to such an extent that he undermines his own revisionist intentions.

The most glaring example of the author's inability to use sources critically is the manner in which he handles one of the most important documents that would justify, in fact require, a reinterpretation of Strang. This, of course, is *The Diary of James J. Strang* (East Lansing, Michigan, 1961), as deciphered and edited by Mark A. Strang, a grandson of the Beaver Island prophet. Milo Quaife had published Strang's diary in *The Kingdom of Saint James*, but had been unable to crack the cipher in which Strang had recorded certain passages. Mark Strang was able to provide a key to his grandfather's code, thus giving historians important clues to young James' secret dreams and ambitions. These, however, contradict the image of Strang that Fitzpatrick wants to present to his readers. Like Mark Strang before him, he makes a great deal of a mistranslation in Quaife's edition: "In the last year I have learned all I profess to know. That is, that I am *eager* [my italics] and mankind are frail, and I do not half know that: — nevertheless I shall act upon it for time to come for my own benefit." Mark Strang believed that this error led "later writers to arrive at distorted opinions

of Strang's character." Fitzpatrick agrees: "The correct word '*ignorant*' [my italics] changes the meaning completely and enhances a truer image of Strang. Perhaps this knowledge will alter the thinking of many historians who have failed to research Strang thoroughly."

If the fate of Strang's image hinged on this word alone, then Fitzpatrick would indeed have a case. The irony, of course, is that as a result of the labors of Mark Strang precisely the reverse is true. Lacking access to the coded versions of Strang's diary, Quaipe and Riegel made the Beaver Island prophet far less ambitious than he really was. A few quotations from the decoded version, omitted by Fitzpatrick for obvious reasons, will speak for themselves:

"... I have not made more improvement in preparing for my great designs (of revolutionizing governments and countrie[s]) than I have but yet I feel as if I had gained some." "... but the dreams of empire are so thoroughly imprinted on my mind as not to be easily erased." "I ought to have been a member of Assembly or a Brigadier General before this time if I am ever to rival Caesar or Napoleon which I have sworn to."

Ironically, Mr. Fitzpatrick failed to see that an honest acknowledgment of these dreams need not necessarily stand in the way of a "rehabilitation" of Strang. Surely, these were the same kind of dreams that motivated, to some degree, the prophet Joseph Smith. But historians who take Smith seriously need not feel compelled to hide his ambition and his dreams of power. Neither need they hide his bent for the theatrical, which he shared with Strang. Who is to say that a prophet, in nineteenth-century America, didn't need a flair for histrionics? If Joseph had only been the kind of man acceptable to polite society! The wish became the father of the thought, and apologists created an emasculated prophet who never could have accomplished what he did. Fitzpatrick's Strang fits into that same mold.

I have reason to believe that the Strangites (yes, they're still hanging on!) would not be entirely satisfied with Fitzpatrick's image of their prophet, even if the book were professionally more competent. They seem to understand that a "rehabilitation" will have to take into account the existence of the political kingdom of God, which appears to have been another source of embarrassment to Fitzpatrick. Let the reader smile at the desperate vanities of this reviewer. But a few years ago I believe I contributed, if modestly, to helping revive the Strangites. After the publication of a little piece of mine in *Michigan History* in the fall of 1962, under the title "The Making of King Strang: A Re-examination," the editor informed me that the Strangites had inquired into the cost of reprinting a thousand copies. The reason for their interest was that I had dignified King Strang's theatrics — he had himself literally crowned king, with a retinue of nobles, to rule over a political kingdom of God — by pointing out that the man whose successor he claimed to be, Joseph Smith, had done precisely the same thing, though with more secrecy, in Nauvoo. Clearly, Strang's kingdom was far less of an aberration and followed Joseph's much more closely than Utah Mormons had been willing to believe, a fact which gave the small band of Strangite hangers-on a great deal of comfort. Obviously, by hiding or ignoring these crucial facts, Fitzpatrick is working against his own avowed intentions, much like his Mormon apologist counterparts.

Therefore, if most orthodox Mormons may well be disposed to applaud my slaughter of poor Mr. Fitzpatrick, they should pause and reflect on the implication of their assent. Do we not feel inclined to treat Joseph Smith as gingerly as Fitzpatrick treated Strang — even granted a more “scholarly” approach? Haven’t many of us been outraged about Mrs. Brodie for the wrong reasons?

Whether we like it or not, it seems to me that Strang and Smith were very much alike. Certainly, the King of Beaver Island resembled Joseph more than any other contender for the mantle of the Prophet. I believe a strong case can be made that the two were the most creative individuals in Mormon history. Surely, Strang was Young’s greatest danger for a good reason. We cannot afford a double standard in the treatment of these men. On the one hand, Mormon historians must learn to view the golden plates of Cumorah with the same detachment and skepticism with which they are inclined to view the plates of Voree. On the other hand, though they cannot be expected to view the Book of the Law of the Lord with the eyes of faith, the way they view the Book of Mormon, they should at least attempt to read the former with a willing suspension of disbelief. Mr. Fitzpatrick has attempted at least that much. Perhaps we can learn something even from seemingly incompetent amateurs.

## **Free Masonry at Nauvoo**

*T. Edgar Lyon*

*Founding Minutes of the Nauvoo Lodge, U.D.* By Mervin B. Hogan, Ph.D., 33°. Des Moines, Iowa: Research Lodge Number 2, 1971. 36 pp. \$2.00, softbound. T. Edgar Lyon, historian of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., was formerly instructor at the Institute of Religion at the University of Utah. He is the author of several books and articles on Church history.

This small publication makes available in useable form the printing of two documents which deal with the first Masonic Lodge organized at Nauvoo and the rapidity with which it grew.

At Nauvoo in 1841 there resided a number of men who had joined the Masonic Fraternity in various states before they accepted the message of the restored gospel as revealed to Joseph Smith. They petitioned the Grand Lodge of Illinois to establish a lodge at Nauvoo. Abraham Jonas, the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Illinois, who resided about forty miles from Nauvoo, had political ambitions and calculated that a lodge at Nauvoo could give him solid political support among the Mormon leaders. On 15 October 1841 he granted a dispensation for the organization of a lodge of Ancient York Masons.

On 29 December, eighteen masons met and organized in the office of Patriarch Hyrum Smith. George Miller was appointed Worshipful Master; Hyrum Smith, Senior Warden, *pro tempore*; L. N. Scovil, Junior Warden; Dr. John C. Bennett, Secretary; and Newel K. Whitney, Treasurer.



On 15 March, 1842, when Grand Master Jonas visited Nauvoo for the installation of the lodge, 55 men had made application to join. This number grew so rapidly that the minutes up to the last entry date, 6 May 1842, indicate there were apparently 105 members, of whom 73 had joined for the first time at Nauvoo. In addition there were quite a number who had been passed but not yet given the first degree, and 52 additional candidates who had applied and had been accepted for membership in the lodge, pending initiation.

When Wilford Wood purchased the Nauvoo Masonic Hall in 1954 he had the cornerstone chiseled from the place it had rested for 111 years and the contents photocopied. Shortly thereafter Wood invited local civic and political leaders and high-ranking masonic officials to Nauvoo to attend a ceremony in which the items from the cornerstone were to be sealed in a new metallic box and replaced in the original position.

On that occasion a limited number of duplicate copies of the contents of the cornerstone were presented to Masonic and civic leaders. One of these was made available to Dr. Hogan. He has now prepared the two hand-written documents from the cornerstone for publication with an introduction and an epilogue.

When the Mormons settled in Nauvoo in 1839 the infamous Dr. John Cook Bennett soon affiliated himself with this body and rapidly rose to be mayor of the city, major general of the Nauvoo Legion, Master in Chancery for Hancock County, and Assistant President of the L.D.S. Church. He was at that time under a sentence of expulsion from a lodge in Ohio but had kept the fact concealed. As one of the organizing leaders of the Masonic Lodge at Nauvoo, he was installed as secretary.

The first of these published documents consists of forty loose pages which report the lodge functions at Nauvoo from 30 December 1841 to 6 May 1842. Missing are the records of the thirteen and a half months between the last meeting recorded in this document and the laying of the cornerstone on 24 June 1843. A cursory investigation suggests that Bennett may have recorded the meetings then copied the material into the official bound minute book, which would have been preserved in the lodge room. The present publication might be his first draft from which he made the transcription into the permanent record. On the other hand, it may be a copy he made from the official record in anticipation of placing the duplicate in the cornerstone. A rather hurried investigation of a few samples of Bennett's writing indicates this manuscript could have been his work, although a positive verification was not made. It is an interesting fact that eleven days after the last entry in this manuscript Bennett was found guilty of adultery, commenced resigning his positions of trust, was excommunicated and soon left Nauvoo. This could account for the ending of this venture, since the succeeding secretary did not continue the duplicate record.

A study of the two-page name list indicates it also was not removed from the official lodge minute book. One hundred fifty-five names are listed, although some are not the signatures of the person listed. Apparently someone signed in their behalf. At the end Parley P. Pratt, aware that many members had not signed, indicated there were "about 250 others." This figure, no doubt exaggerated, probably was intended to include all those who had been

initiated up to the date of the laying of the cornerstone. This apparently is not the official membership list, since it does not agree with the order in which the organizing group affiliated, nor the order of induction of the subsequent candidates. One might speculate that as the date for the laying of the cornerstone approached, the officers of the lodge placed two sheets of paper in the Masonic lodge room or some public place and asked those who had been initiated into the lodge to sign their names for inclusion in the cornerstone. This incomplete list and the incomplete minutes of the lodge meetings were then sealed in the metallic box and inserted in the cornerstone.

Among interesting items explained by this publication is the statement that Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were made "Masons on sight" on 15 March 1842. This was a formality of allowing them to participate in the installation of the lodge before they were members and allowed their advancement to be accelerated. These two prominent men were made Entered Apprentice Masons on the evening of 15 March and Fellow Craft Masons during the forenoon of the following day. Joseph Smith was raised to the degree of Master Mason the same afternoon and Sidney Rigdon to the same degree the evening of that day.

The publication provides those interested in the rapid growth of Masonic activity at Nauvoo with a tool for interpreting some phases of the social and fraternal life at Nauvoo. It is regrettable that the continuing minutes of the three Nauvoo lodges are not available. They could enlighten the hazy understanding we have of the rise of anti-Mormon sentiment among the Masons which led to their involvement in the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith at Carthage in 1844.

## **Joseph Fish: Mormon Pioneer**

*P. T. Reilly*

*The Life and Times of Joseph Fish, Mormon Pioneer*, edited by John H. Krenkel. Published by the Interstate Printers & Publishers, Inc., Danville, Illinois, 1970. 518 pp, index, photo, three maps. Plez Talmage Reilly has written on various aspects of the pioneer experience. He is currently at work on the second volume of a history of Lee's Ferry.

A review of this book is naturally divided into two phases: Joseph Fish as an observer and recorder of his times, and John H. Krenkel as editor of Mr. Fish's voluminous writings. Since the latter has not maintained the distinctions between himself and the journalist, judgment of his part of the enterprise would appear to be limited to his technique, preface, and footnotes. His job was difficult, as any scholar who is familiar with the Fish manuscripts can attest.

Joseph Fish was born in Illinois in 1840 and his life ran the gamut of the Mormon experience to 1926, the year of his death. He was a keen observer, sensitive to his environment, and the events of his boyhood provided a reliable feedback in later years which enabled him to write exceptional

descriptions of Nauvoo and the long trek west. As one of "the movingest people," he recorded life from various places in Utah, Arizona, and Chihuahua over a period of seven decades.

Apparently he started writing during the last half of the 1850s, beginning in flashback with his ancestry, birth, and early years. Thorough in all things, he acquired the habit of consulting the best available references for events which he had not personally observed and he wove this detail smoothly into his own entries. In this book the blend-point between recollection and daily entry cannot always be detected, the result being an unusual mixture of diary and memoria.

It was about 1885 that Joseph Fish completed the first volume of his record and he immediately went to work on a second. But instead of continuing from the last entry, he rewrote his entire first book, amplifying some passages and omitting others. The second version was also written longhand. By 1901 he had begun to type and to compose other manuscripts in this manner. Once more Fish rewrote his journal, augmenting the typed version with many incidents not found in the two handwritten editions. And again he deleted material contained in the early books. Although Krenkel does not tell us so, it is this third version which comprises his edition.

Thus Joseph Fish wrote three variations of his record, each a melange of recollections, daily entries, augmented passages, edited items, and extraneous data indirectly obtained. While subsequent editing of any entry ordinarily impairs the value of a journal, Fish's exceptional honesty and ability tend to minimize this failing in his manuscript. He wrote mostly about others and was motivated more to be inclusive than to make himself appear to better advantage.

Walter Prescott Webb has said, "The function of history . . . is to describe and make understandable the forces which have shaped the destiny of man and brought him to the present time equipped as he now is with his ideas and institutions." By this definition Joseph Fish recorded the Mormon departure from the mainstream of American society and the painful process of re-entry. He saw the multi-faceted aspects of the mundane and recorded them along with the abstractions of the complex and the unusual. He wrote about nearly everything that made up the world in which he lived, but primarily he wrote about other people and their attitudes toward the pragmatisms of everyday life — politics, religion, morals, and social practice. Basically, the texture of his writings is derived from the essence of human experience.

Many of Fish's observations regarding his contemporaries will interest today's historians. Whether he comments on the generous hospitality of John D. Lee (p. 65) or the relations between Ammon Tenney and John W. Young (pp. 218 and 222), we know his words are the considered opinions of a perceptive individual, well worth consideration by scholars. He maintains his objectivity when he comments on the Spanish mission at Zuni (pp. 210-11), Judge Jacob Boreman (pp. 152-53), the excitable nature of William H. Dame (pp. 69 and 115), the tribulations of Thompsonian doctors (pp. 76-77), or the numerous machinations of the Liberals. What other Mormon of his day would have had the courage to record the words of U.S. Marshal William Nelson regarding Brigham Young in the Lee case (pp. 59-60 and

165-66), to repeat the opinion of his father-in-law Jesse N. Smith that the Woodruff Manifesto was a political decision (p. 423), or to record the resentment of the local Saints on being advised in 1892 to vote the Republican ticket, writing that some people thought the apostles had no business to meddle in politics (pp. 361-62)?

John H. Krenkel is to be congratulated for making this Fish manuscript easily available to students of Western history. Unfortunately, Krenkel the editor falls short of Fish the recorder. After an adequate preface, the editor inexplicably uses inferior secondary sources in his footnotes — some of which are in error — when primary sources are readily available in university libraries. For instance, Krenkel uses the Granger edition of *Arizona Place Names* instead of the more accurate 1935 paperback by Will C. Barnes. An example is footnote 17 on page 198. Had he referred to the Barnes edition, page 282, Krenkel would have found a better, although not error-free, reference. But had he consulted the journal of James S. Brown under the date of December 3, 1875, he would have used the primary reference. Another example is footnote 3 on page 347. Barnes, page 453, is much better, but again, Krenkel should have used the primary source — L. John Nuttall's letter of September 24, 1878 (printed in the *Deseret News*, Vol. 27, p. 591), in which the writer recorded the layout of the Tuba City townsite on September 17, 1878. Footnotes 3 on page 84 and 2 on page 208 are Mr. Krenkel's own errors.

The *Utah Guide* is another reference which must be used with care. Citing it (footnote 3 on page 182), Krenkel states that Orderville was settled in 1864. Actually, the Berry brothers settled in Long Valley in 1864. Berryville became known as Glendale when elements of the Muddy Mission moved there in 1871. Orderville was not established until 1874 when some of the people moved three miles up the valley from Mt. Carmel as a result of a dispute motivated by the advent of the United Order.

Mr. Krenkel will find better references than the ones he quotes in footnotes 4 and 5 on page 183 in the journals of Andrew S. Gibbons (Brigham Young University) and Thales H. Haskell (*Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 13). The first mention of Buckskin Mountain is found in the Gibbons entry of December 18, 1858, and Haskell repeats the callout on October 21, 1859. The Paiute waterhole which came to be known as Jacob's Pools was shown to Jacob Hamblin by his Indian guide Naraguts in November 1858. Another small party under Hamblin arrived at this spring on October 24, 1859. Two days later Thales Haskell and Taylor Crosby named the spring after his party leader. (*UHQ*, 12, p. 75)

It would appear that since Silas L. Fish has copies of the three versions written by his father, Mr. Krenkel would have served scholarship better had he compared each edition with the others, preserved detail not repeated elsewhere, eliminated all repetition, and used the diarist's own words, imperfect though they might be in the first and second books. Brackets and omission-marks should have been used to designate editorial insertions and deletions. Mr. Krenkel utilized only the third version of Fish's writings, and this reviewer knows that passages important to his own needs have been eliminated.

# **The Loss of Transcendence: Reflections on the Contemporary Religious Crisis**

*M. Gerald Bradford*

*Alienation, Atheism, and The Religious Crisis.* By Thomas F. O'Dea. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1969. 189 pp. \$4.95. *The Catholic Crisis.* By Thomas F. O'Dea. Boston: Beacon Paperback, 1969, xix, 267 pp. \$2.95. M. Gerald Bradford is a faculty associate in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of California at Santa Barbara, where he is also Assistant to the Director of the Institute of Religious Studies. He is currently writing a Ph.D. dissertation on William James' concept of God.

The word "crisis" usually signifies a crucial point or situation in the course or history of something. It implies an unstable condition in a certain state of affairs in which an abrupt and decisive change is imminent or impending. More and more nowadays it seems our attention is being drawn to what certain social critics refer to as the "crisis of Western civilization" or the "crisis of contemporary man." No one has taken this situation more seriously nor attempted to understand its depth and scope more thoroughly than the sociologist Thomas F. O'Dea.<sup>1</sup> But unlike others who are concerned about the present crisis in order to accommodate themselves to it or in order to forestall any threatening confrontation with it, O'Dea seems to feel that we ought to confront it head-on, that we ought to understand it at its root level, i.e., at the level of the dilemmas of direction, of meaning, and of values haunting Western man. And we ought to label the present crisis for what it really is — a religion crisis. Only by such an approach can we really understand what is going on and hope to catch the vision of what is required in order radically to correct the situation.

In *Alienation, Atheism, and the Religious Crisis*, Professor O'Dea spells out, in detail, what he means by this assessment. He does so in a series of essays covering such topics as "Politics and the Religious Crisis," "Christianity, Humanism, and Science," "Christianity and the Atheism of Contemporary Youth," and "The Real Challenge of Secularism."

O'Dea suggests that every society is seen as an acted-out answer to the question, "What ought man to be doing here on earth being the kind of being that he is?" Different answers to this question are proffered and then pass away. And the changes in belief in this century clearly reveal a great deal of passing away. The two basic elements of any socio-cultural phenomenon, i.e., the beliefs and values by which man is defined and by which goals are established to elicit meaningful activity, and the realm of man's acted-out relationships with his environment, combine to identify and give meaning to any given culture and society. Yet when people experience a loss of direction, when they come to doubt the meaningfulness of what they are doing, when they reveal what O'Dea calls a sense of "false consciousness" about man's ideas of himself and what he ought to be doing, such is evidence of the failure of a culture to adequately face the above question by employing the older traditional answers.

---

<sup>1</sup>Thomas F. O'Dea is professor of sociology and religious studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. His book *The Mormons* was published by the University of Chicago Press in 1957.

At present, it appears, much of our cultural heritage reflects contradictions and conflicts, inadequacies and obsolescence, and there is increasing uncertainty as to the meaning and value of the impact of science and technology upon our society. "Indeed," writes O'Dea, "it can be said that the present society which embodies the acted-out answer of the past to our fundamental question is rapidly becoming obsolete and begins to appear absurd." He concludes, "If the condition of our ideas and values challenges us to critical and creative rethinking, the prevailing relationship between advanced technology and society demands a radical and total change in priorities and an intelligent and rational development of social order. We are challenged to understand our history, our heritage and our present circumstances and to distill from that understanding a more adequate view of man and his possibilities for good and evil. We are challenged to . . . [suspend our] narrowly conceived vested interests and particularistically conceived securities, whether religious, ethnic, occupational or class."<sup>2</sup>

O'Dea sees this crisis as basically "religious" in character, first of all, because cultural values have always been influenced and even grounded in religious beliefs and orientations. When such beliefs are challenged, a traditional way of setting value priorities collapses. Second, the present crisis is religious in the sense that today "existence tends to be exercised in terms of its manifold contradictions" which is characteristic of religious crises. In such times as the present, "people have neither the noetic capacity to integrate an organized outlook nor the psychological ability to achieve a sense of meaningful participation in their society." But what is unique about this religious crisis is that it takes on a wholly different tone and importance when viewed from the condition of contemporary man, i.e., from the perspective of a secularized society embodying a scientific world-view.

The point that O'Dea makes is that secularized man evidences a sense of alienation and meaninglessness not only because he rejects religion — that is, he no longer accepts the traditional answers and directions of institutional Christianity and Judaism — but also because his new found religious surrogates, such as political ideologies, humanism, and science, have also been found wanting in the sense that they are unable to provide sought after answers to such questions as What is man? What ought he to be doing here upon earth? and What ought he to value? "Christianity, humanism, and science . . . each in its own characteristic way, has been one-sided in its perspective upon existence." All three "have led man, but they have also misled him. Moreover, to develop personal orientations for their own lives men have individually put parts of all three together, but the results produced were never adequate and are now less adequate than ever." The suggestion here is that religion is rejected, and rightly so, because, like various religious surrogates, traditional denominational stances have, in large measure, distorted the role and meaning of the religious dimension in life and thus have lost what O'Dea calls a "sense of transcendence."

Religion has traditionally inculcated in man a sense of relation, cele-

---

<sup>2</sup>From a paper entitled, "Significant 20th Century Transformations of Thought in America," read before the American Sociological Association meeting in N.Y., September, 1970. This paper represents, in large measure, a synthesis and summation of ideas expressed in both of the books under review.

bration, and cultivation with regards to the world rather than one of manipulation and control. And in this respect a loss of the sense of the transcendence is tragic because now man lacks ascendancy and leverage, making critical and rational choice impossible with respect to the confusing array of human possibilities. This is what O'Dea means when he says that while the religious crisis of the 19th century could be seen as a confrontation between Christianity and science, liberalism, and socialism, the 20th century crisis is a confrontation between Christianity and various Christian religious surrogates on the one hand and nihilism on the other.

In one place O'Dea suggests that the solution lies in a renewed attempt to coordinate the best of Christianity, science and humanism in order to better understand our human situation. But his more radical answer is contained in the book's concluding essay. Here he suggests that it is time to see secularism for the bankrupt movement that it is. It is necessary to face the fact that "if the loss of transcendence leaves us a mundane man without the leverage for long range initiative in changing society; if the loss of celebration leaves us with one-dimensional man based upon a highly developed problem-solving mentality, then the loss of any concern with serious personal responsibility for interior personal development in terms of our greatly increased knowledge leaves the whole matter of human realization to chance or to charlatanry." If this reading of man's current status is correct then this alone is sufficient reason to argue that in order for man to rediscover the relevance of his heritage he must, in O'Dea's words, achieve authentic transcendence and genuine community.

In *The Catholic Crisis*, O'Dea concentrates his attention on the significance of the recent Vatican II Council in the Catholic church's on-going attempt to confront the current crisis. In this book, O'Dea analyses key documents of the recent Council, especially the Dogmatic Constitutions on the Church and on Divine Revelation and the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World. He approaches this study not only as a sociologist but also as a historian and attempts to put the whole topic into proper perspective within the history of Christianity and within recent attempts at Catholic reform sought for over a century and a half.

The particular approach of the Catholic church to the current religious crisis is uniquely important, O'Dea feels, because the present situation of the Catholic church is diagnostic of the position of Christianity as a whole. The Council represents more than renewal and *aggiornamento*; now that such reforms are backed by church authority, it represents the second major attempt in the history of Christianity to bring the Christian religion into a relevant relationship with the evolving world. "Liberal Protestantism" represented the first attempt. Protestantism tried to reform and renew Christianity and render it relevant to the modern world. "Its achievements were impressive, but it was not successful on the whole. Humanism, Marxism, and scientism had proposed substitutes for Christianity, but, in the form in which they have come to us . . . these are as obsolete and outmoded as the traditional forms of Christianity."

However, the Catholic endeavor is different in at least two important respects. The Catholic efforts toward renewal are taking place within a broad community of faith and tradition while earlier Protestant efforts saw

a break-up of such community. Secondly, the current effort enjoys the advantage of a changed estimate as to the value of the secularized world, i.e., as some religious thinkers come to appreciate more the positive aspects of secularization, secular thinkers are increasingly concerned about the loss of substance which that phenomenon reveals.

The documents of the council represent a compromise — “a temporary equilibrium” — between the old and the new. A brief description of what is implied in the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church best illustrates this point. The document reveals the following developments:

1. A change in emphasis from a strictly “ontological” understanding of the world toward incorporation of a “historical” notion of the world. A change which corresponds to different acceptable concepts of the church, namely, the traditional view of the church as a meditating sacramental institution, and the newly emphasized image of the church as the Pilgrim People of God — the Wayfaring Church.

2. Changes from a rigid hierarchical leadership structure toward increased emphasis on lay leadership. That is, an attempt toward further reconciliation between the position of the priest in the vertically conceived Church and the recognition of the priesthood of all believers in the Church of the Pilgrim People of God.

3. Changes in favor of scriptural concepts as well as scholastic categories in formation of doctrinal and religious positions. This is evident in the example that the scholastic notions of “nature” and “supernature” are never explicitly used in this document nor in other conciliar documents.

The document itself reflects a considerable conceptual change. That which underlies the changes mentioned is an attempt to reconcile two contrasting theoretical positions. On the one hand, that of traditional scholastic theology (with its corresponding stress on substance, permanence, and transcendence) and on the other hand, process theology (with an emphasis on change and immanence.) And this brings us back to the point where O'Dea again introduces the question of the role and importance of a sense of the transcendence. “A recognition of man's historicity — of the horizontal dimension in human life and what it implies for the meaning of religion — is certainly required. Catholicism can no longer close itself to these new forms of experience and thought, i.e., to the presuppositions and implications of ‘process’ thought. But there is a serious danger of losing the sense of transcendence, of reducing God to the interpretation of a “natural experience” or to a psychological projection. Real possibilities of the loss of the traditional bases of faith lurk in this pathway though the pathway must be taken.” O'Dea feels that Catholicism has recognized the great insights of modern natural and social sciences — that process is in some way fundamental. What he worries about, like before, is that if this view is not qualified by the older insight into structure, this will undermine not only an ethic based on natural law but also an ethic based on personalism. In other words, O'Dea cautions the Catholic to avoid any loss of a sense of the transcendence, although it is evident that he feels the church is quite aware of the potential dangers and he seems optimistic that this will not happen. According to O'Dea the stakes are high. The success or failure in this crisis may well prove the strategic element in determining whether Western Civilization will



continue its remarkable career of developing man's potential or whether it and many of its most precious human values will vanish from the scene.

These books ought to be read in conjunction with one another. Both are must reading for those who desire a better understanding of the situations surrounding man's religious efforts at dealing with this crisis. Both books are well written, employing a clear and lucid style, remarkably free from technical jargon given the fact that they were written from a sociological vantage point and that the author says he has employed the conceptual tools of the social scientist.

## How Lovely was the Morning

*Dean C. Jessee*

*Joseph Smith's First Vision: The First Vision in its Historical Context.* By Milton V. Backman, Jr. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1971. 209 pp. \$3.50. Dean C. Jessee is on the staff of the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.

Intensive research in the area of Mormon origins in New York in recent years has resulted in a significant addition to the source material available to scholars. One who has contributed significantly to this effort — having done much field work in the area — is Dr. Milton Backman, Jr. of Brigham Young University. In six chapters and an extensive appendix, his latest book, *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, presents valuable information on the historical setting of Mormonism and a synthesis of much that has been written about Joseph Smith's First Vision.

Two chapters trace the expansion of American settlement into western New York from the time of its habitation by the Iroquois Indians to the arrival of the Smith family in the Palmyra area in 1816. One of the main contributions of the book is the detailed picture of the Genesee frontier civilization that became the birthplace of Mormonism.

In "Awakenings in the Burned-Over District," the author considers the religious revivalism that began with the Methodists and spread "among all the sects in that region of country." He observes that "it is difficult to determine precisely what Joseph Smith meant when he said that there was unusual religious excitement in the place where he lived," but he presents evidence to show that there were "substantial increases in church membership in many sections of western New York at the time of the First Vision."

In analyzing the theological arguments that divided Christian churches and precipitated the "war of words and tumult of opinions," as described by Joseph Smith, Dr. Backman identifies the main issues contributing to the conflict under the headings of Baptism, Calvinism vs. Arminianism, The Bible vs. Modern Revelation, Trinitarianism vs. Arianism, and Divine Authority.

Chapter five, entitled "Recitals of the First Vision," contains a brief consideration of the Hurlbut-Howe-Turner charges against the integrity and character of Joseph Smith and his family. The author points to the incon-

sistencies of their sworn statements. "In nearly every instance the accusations were vague and were not documented with essential details or specific examples" (p. 117). An example is the black sheep story allegedly related by William Stafford to D. P. Hurlbut, who claimed that Joseph Smith had discovered a treasure that could only be obtained by leading the sheep with its throat cut around the area to appease an evil spirit. On the occasion described, according to Hurlbut, the sheep did not have "the desired effect" (p. 119). Backman cites the 1880 Kelley interview with William Stafford's son, Dr. John Stafford, who testified that he didn't think the story was true. Backman could also have quoted Joseph Smith's version of the Stafford story in which Joseph stated that in his youth "his father had a fine large watch dog, which bit off an ear from David Stafford's hog, which Stafford had turned into the Smith corn field. Stafford shot the dog, and with six other fellows pitched upon him unawares. And Joseph whipped the whole of them and escaped unhurt." (Joseph Smith, Diary, 1 Jan. 1843, as recorded by Willard Richards.)

Dr. Backman concludes that if charges made against the Smith integrity were correct, Lucy, Hyrum, and Samuel "would have been unable to retain their membership in the Western Presbyterian Church until 1830" as they did (p. 120).

In a final chapter the author treats "external evidences" that Joseph Smith was a Prophet and received a visitation from the Father and the Son. He quotes from an "imposing group of witnesses [who] verified the reality of many visions received by the Mormon leader." Leading the list are Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, Martin Harris, and Sidney Rigdon, followed by other contemporaries of Joseph Smith.

Ten of the fifteen documents reproduced in the Appendix are accounts of the First Vision as recorded by Joseph Smith or those who heard him relate it. These are the 1832, 1835, 1838, and Wentworth accounts, the first publication of the event by Orson Pratt in England in 1840, a translation from a pamphlet published by Orson Hyde in Germany in 1842, a non-Mormon account based upon an interview with Joseph Smith and published in the New York *Spectator* in 1843, Alexander Neibaur's diary notation of his hearing Joseph relate the incident on 24 May 1844, a discourse of John Taylor on 7 December 1879, and two 1890 reminiscences by Edward Stevenson. The five remaining documents in the Appendix consist of the March 1830 Presbyterian Church record suspending members of the Smith family from their communion, and four early 19th century descriptions of Palmyra, Manchester, and Farmington, New York.

In considering these different accounts of the First Vision three points deserve consideration:

1. In the analysis of Joseph Smith's earliest account of his Vision written in 1832, Frederick G. Williams is listed as the scribe. (p. 155) A closer look at the original document has shown that while Williams wrote the beginning and end of the narrative, Joseph Smith wrote the remainder, including the portion containing the details of his First Vision. This is the only known account of the Vision in his own hand. Most of his writings were dictated, which is not to say that other accounts are less authentic.

2. There are two versions of the 1835 recital of the First Vision. That

reproduced by Dr. Backman in Appendix B is recorded in Joseph Smith's 1835-36 effort to write a history which is found in the back of Volume A-1 of the 1838-39 Manuscript of Joseph's official History. The second version was recorded in the Prophet's 1835-36 Diary by his scribe, Warren Parrish. The existence of these two accounts are reflective of Joseph's effort to keep a personal record at that time. The Diary account is given here for comparison:

. . . while setting in my house between the hours of ten & 11 this morning, a man came in, and introduced himself to me, calling himself by the name of Joshua the Jewish minister, his appearance was something singular, having a beard about 3 inches in length which is quite grey, also his hair is long and considerably silvered with age I should think he is about 50 or 55 years old, tall and strait slender built of thin visage blue eyes, and fair complexion, he wears a sea-green frock coat, & pantaloons of the same, black fur hat with narrow brim, and while speaking frequently shuts his eyes with a scowl on his countenance: I made some enquiry after his name but received no definite answer; we soon commenced talking upon the subject of religion and after I had made some remarks concerning the bible I commenced giving him a relation of the circumstances connected with the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, as follows — being wrought up in mind, respecting the subject of religion and looking at the different systems taught the children of men, I knew not who was right or who was wrong and I considered it of the first importance that I should be right, in matters that involve eternal consequences; being thus perplexed in mind I retired to the silent grove and bowd down before the Lord, under a realising sense that he had said (if the bible be true) ask and you shall receive knock and it shall be opened seek and you shall find and again, if any man lack wisdom let him ask of God who giveth to all men liberally and upbradeth not; information was what I most desired at this time, in the place above stated or in other words I made a fruitless attempt to pray, my tounge seemed to be swollen in my mouth, so that I could not utter, I heard a noise behind me like some person walking towards me, I strove again to pray, but could not the noise of walking seemed to draw nearer, I sprung upon my feet, and looked around, but saw no person or thing that was calculated to produce the noise of walking, I kneeled again my mouth was opened and my tounge liberated, and I called on the Lord in mighty prayer, a pillar of fire appeared above my head, it presently rested down upon me ~~head,~~ and filled me with joy unspeakable, a personage appeard in the midst of this pillar of flame which was spread all around, and yet nothing consumed, another personage soon appeard like unto the first, he said unto me thy sins are forgiven thee, he testified unto me that Jesus Christ is the Son of God; and I saw many angels in this vision I was about 14 years old when I received this first communication. . . .

3. The "ABC Notes" following the 1838 account of the First Vision in Appendix C may require a word of identification. Since they did not appear in the first printing of the History in the *Times and Seasons* in 1842, critics have regarded them as textual emendations by later historians. However, their location on pages 131-134 of Volume A-1 of Joseph's History manuscript, in the handwriting of Willard Richards, and a note of reference to them in Richards' Diary, clearly date them as having been written in Decem-

ber 1842. The introductory paragraph to Appendix C does not identify these Notes as being different from the narrative of the History, which was written by James Mulholland in 1839. Furthermore, footnote references citing the ABC Notes on pages 20 and 21 of *Joseph Smith's First Vision* make no reference to the volume or page number of these Notes in the manuscript of the History.

Over the years three theories have been raised in an effort to question Joseph Smith's credibility on the subject of his First Vision:

1. *The unprincipled character theory* — that Joseph did not sustain a character worthy of such a magnificent event, as evidenced by the Hurlbut affidavits.

2. *The evolution theory* — that the time-lag between the Vision and its official recording, plus the discrepancies between various accounts of the event, indicate that the story was born late and gradually evolved in complexity.

3. *The misplaced revival theory* — that there was no “unusual excitement” on the subject of religion “in the place” where Joseph lived in 1819-20, but that the revival occurred three years later, which upsets Joseph's recital of facts.

Although not intending a foray into the world of polemics, Dr. Backman presents much evidence that bears upon items one and three, for those who are acquainted with the issues. However, little is written concerning item two, even though “a discussion of the recitals of the First Vision” is promised in the preface. The only consideration of this point is a footnote reference in Appendix A to Joseph's statement in his 1832 narrative that the Vision occurred in the “16th year” of his age. The author suggests that this could as well read “15th year,” a point that is somewhat weakened upon close inspection of the original document and Joseph's style of writing a “5” and a “6.”

An adequate consideration of the issue of the time-lag and the discrepancies in the accounts would require a careful look at Joseph Smith's effort to write his history and a parallel analysis of what he actually said in the accounts of his First Vision.

# AMONG THE MORMONS

## A Survey of Current Literature

*Edited by Ralph W. Hansen*

As man is now constituted, to  
be brief is almost a condition  
of being inspired.

George Santayana, *Little Essays*

The reason why so few good books  
are written, is that so few people  
who can write know anything.

Bagehot, *Literary Studies: Shakespeare.*

The bibliographical listing which follows includes books, pamphlets and reprints on Mormon topics, most of which were published in 1970. Because of the time lag between the last book bibliography printed in Volume 5, No. 1 and this issue the following bibliographical listing is longer than usual. We could have eliminated some of the ephemera but decided that this would detract from the value of our service. Rather than resort to paring the bibliography, the superfluous introduction has been minimized and concludes here.

### SELECTED WORKS OF MORMON INTEREST

- Aamodt, Wayne G. *Responsible Enterprise, Stewardism: The United Order in a Complex and Mobile Society.* Fallston, Maryland: The Susquehanna Association, 1970. \$15.\*
- Adams, William L. *A Melodrama Entitled 'Treason, Strategems, and Spoils.'* Edited by George N. Belknap. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1968. "A biting satire on the Democratic Party leadership in Oregon." Considerable allusion to Mormons.
- Alter, J. Cecil. *Early Utah Journalism.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970. \$14.00. Reprint of volume first published in 1938 by Utah State Historical Society.
- An Introduction to the Law of Consecration and Stewardship.* Fallston, Maryland: The Susquehanna Association, Inc., 1970? \$10. Available from: Susquehanna Association Inc., 326 Old Joppa Road, Fallston, Maryland 21047.
- Andrus, Hyrum L. *Principles of Perfection, Vol. II.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1970. \$5.95.
- Archambault, H. J. *Discourses.* Rock Island, Illinois: Author, 1970. Series VI: *The Book of Mormon and the Bible.* Author's address: 1301 4th Avenue, Rock Island, Illinois 61201.
- Ashton, Wendell J. *Theirs is the Kingdom.* Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1970. \$3.95. A collection of short biographies of Latter-day Saints.

---

\*Signifies here and throughout this bibliography that this book is available at Zion Book Store, 254 South Main, Salt Lake City, Utah.

- Ashton, William F. *Survival in the American Desert: The Mormons' Contribution to Western History*. Privately printed by the author, 2836 Shakespeare Drive, San Marino, Calif. 1970. \$4.75.
- Backman, Milton V., Jr. *Joseph Smith's First Vision*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971. \$3.50.
- Baird, Thomas. *People Who Pull You Down*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970. \$6.95. The plot involves Mormons and shrines, such as Carthage jail, on the Mormon trail.
- Ballard, Elizabeth H., comp. and ed. *Pioneer Destiny*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Harold C. Ballard, 1967.
- Bankhead, Reid E., and Pearson, Glenn L. *The Word and the Witness; the Unique Mission of the Book of Mormon*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970. \$3.50.
- Barrett, Ivan J. *Joseph Smith and the Restoration*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1968. \$7.25.
- Billings, Peter W. *Higher Education in Utah*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1970. Annual Milton Bennion Foundation Lecture.
- Bishop, Lynn L. *Our Founding Prophets and the Church*. Draper, Utah: Review and Preview Publishers, 1970? \$1.00.\*
- Black, Robert R. *Bibliography on Jerald and Sandra Tanner and the Modern Microfilm Co*. Provo, Utah: Author, 1970. \$3.00. Report for Library Science 614, Literature of Mormonism. Instructor: Victor Purdy at Brigham Young University.
- Bogue, Allan G., Phillips, Thomas D., and Wright, James E., eds. *The West of the American People*. Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1970. \$9.45. William Mulder, "The Mormons in American History," p. 505-511.
- Bowles, Carey C. *Experiences of A Negro Convert*. Newark, New Jersey: Author, 1970. \$1.00. Available from author: c/o 41 Kendall Avenue, Maplewood, New Jersey 07040.
- Brodie, Fawn M. *Can We Manipulate the Past?* Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, et al., 1970. \$1.00. Available at USHS, 603 East South Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah 84102.
- Brodie, Fawn M. *No Man Knows My History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971. \$10.00. Second edition, revised.
- Brooks, Juanita. *Dudley Leavitt, Pioneer to Southern Utah*. N.p. Reprint of 1943 edition. \$2.00.\*
- Brooks, Juanita. *Uncle Will Tells His Own Story*. Salt Lake City: Taggart and Co., 1970. \$12.50.
- Brown, Benjamin. *Testimonies for the Truth*. London (originally): S. W. Richards, 1853. Mrs. Mary Quist Mays retyped this book by her great-grandfather, and it is available from her: 1903 N. 16th W., Logan, Utah.
- Brown, Hugh B. *Vision and Valor*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971. \$3.95.
- Brown, Victor L., Jr. and Chadwick, Regina M. *On Being Human*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1971. \$3.95.
- Bullock, Wayne K. *Peace My Brother*. New York: Carlton Press, 1970. \$2.50. Mormon poetry.
- Burt, Olive W. *Negroes in the Early West*. New York: Messner, 1969. \$3.95.
- Bushman, Virginia W., comp. *Sketch of the Life of Eliza Wollerton Dilworth, a Utah Pioneer of 1847*. N.p., n.d.
- Cannon, Abraham. *The Journal of Abraham Cannon*. N.p.: n.p., 1970? \$1.00.\*
- Cannon, D. James. *Mormon Essays*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970. \$3.95.
- Cantwell, Lawrence S. *A Brief History of Three Canyons*. N.p., 1969. History of Smithfield, Utah, and nearby mountains.
- Cherry, Alan Gerald. *It's You and Me, Lord!* Provo, Utah: Trilogy Arts, 1970. \$2.95. Autobiography of a Negro convert.
- Cheville, Roy Arthur. *They Made a Difference*. [Independence, Mo., Herald Pub. House, 1970] \$6.75. "A roster of thirty persons whose participation made significant impact upon the Latter Day Saint Movement: The Early Church, 1820-1844; the Reorganized Church, 1853-1970."
- Christensen, Merlin G. *A Driven People Settle the Far West*. Salt Lake City: Author, 1970.
- Clark, James R. *Messages of the First Presidency, Vol. V*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971. \$5.50.

- Cook, Melvin A. *Creation and Eternalism*. Salt Lake City: Author, 1970.
- Covey, Stephen R. *How to Succeed with People*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1971. \$3.95.
- Covey, Stephen R. *Spiritual Roots of Human Relations*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970. \$4.95.
- Crossfield, R. C. *Book of Onias*. New York, Philosophical Library. 1969. Listed under Mormons and Mormonism — Doctrinal and Controversial Works in the LC Catalog — Books: Subjects.
- Crouch, William Brodie. *The Myth of Mormon Inspiration*. Shreveport, La.: Lambert's Book House, 1968. \$4.95. Available from Lambert's Book House, Box 4007, Shreveport, La.
- Cutler, Ann. *No Ordinary Mother*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971.
- Daughters of Utah Pioneers. *Denominations That Base Their Beliefs on the Teachings of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*. Salt Lake City: Author, 1969. \$1.25. Second edition.
- Daughters of Utah Pioneers. *The Mormons, Their Westward Trek*. Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Co., 1968.
- Davidson, Levette Jay. *The Literature of the Rocky Mountain West, 1803-1903*. Fort Washington, New York: Kennikat, 1970, c1966. \$15.00.
- Downs, Robert B. *Books That Changed America*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1970. \$6.95. Chapter 3: Latter-day Saint: Joseph Smith's *The Book of Mormon*.
- Doxey, Roy W. *The Doctrine and Covenants Speaks, Vol. 2*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970. \$5.95.
- Drake, Dennis. *What You Feel, I Share*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971. \$2.95. Poetry.
- Driggs, B. W. *History of Teton Valley, Idaho*. Rexburg, Idaho: Eastern Idaho Publishing Co., 1970. \$6.25. Publisher's address: P.O. Box 11, Rexburg. Revised and enlarged edition.
- Durham, Reed C. and Heath, Steven H. *Succession in the Church*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1970. \$3.25.
- Dyer, Alvin R. *The Meaning of Truth*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970. \$4.95.
- Edlefsen, Niels E. *Essence of Desire: A Novel with a Mormon Backdrop*. N.p.: Specific House, 1970. \$5.45.
- Edwards, F. Henry. *History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Vol. 6, 1903-1914*. Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1970. \$10.95.
- Evans, Arza C. *Mormonism, Capitalism, Communism*. Salt Lake City: Author, 1970. \$2.50. Available from: Arza C. Evans, P.O. Box 641, St. George, Utah 84770.
- Evans, Richard L. *Thoughts for 100 Days*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970. \$3.00.
- Farr, Annette W. *The Story of Edwin Marion Whiting and Anna Maria Isaacson*. Provo, Utah: J. Grant Stevenson, 1969. The Edwin Marion Whiting Family Organization, 124 La Jolla, Holbrook, Arizona 86025.
- Faull, George L. *Inside Mormonism*. Joplin, Mo.: College Press, 1968. \$3.95. Available from College Press, Box 1132, Joplin, Mo., 64801.
- Faux, Ferry J. *What Does the Bible Say about the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints? Spanish Fork, Utah: n.p., 1970? \$1.00.\**
- "First Light of the Morning" (English translation of Hawaiian name). *Four Horses of Revelation*. Dugway, Utah?: Pioneer Press? 1970. \$3.00.\*
- Fitzpatrick, Doyle C. *The King Strang Story*. Lansing, Michigan: National Heritage, 1970. \$7.95. Box 1184, Lansing, Michigan 48904.
- Flemming, Hermanus C.J. *Twee Ander Dwalings*. [Bloemfontein die Outeur, Hertzogstraat 15, 1969] 25p. From the LC Catalog — Books: Subjects.
- Fletcher, Daisy Whiting. *Alpheus Cutler and the Church of Jesus Christ*. Independence, Mo.: Author, February 23, 1970. \$1.25. Available from Mrs. Rupert J. Fletcher, 819 S. Cottage Street, Independence, Mo. 64050.
- Fraser, Gordon B. *Is Mormonism Christian?* Chicago: Moody Press, copyright 1957, revised 1965. \$50.
- Fuller, Barney R. *Stick of Joseph*. Pasadena, California: Author, 1969. Write to Author at 2640 Rainier Way, La Habra, Calif. 90631.

- Gilberts, Helen. *Sariah*. Independence, Mo.: Herald House, July, 1970. *Book of Mormon* novel.
- Golightly, Max. *A Morning of Taurus*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Poetry Society, 1970. \$3.00.
- Gruber, Frank. *Zane Grey, A Biography*. New York: World Publishing Co., 1970. \$6.95. Includes Utah and Mormon Material.
- Hall, Eleanor M. *Samuel Lorenzo Adams; Stories of His Life and of His Ancestry*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Author, 1970 \$7.00. Family history and genealogy. Available from the author at 157 N. State Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Hall, Henry Vernon, comp. *John C. Hall Ancestry*. Salt Lake City, Utah: John Charles Hall Family Organization, 1970. \$20.00. Available from Henry Vernon Hall, 157 N. State Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Ham, Wayne. *Publish Glad Tidings; Readings in Early Latter-day Saint Sources*. Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1970. \$8.95.
- Hansen, Andrew Janus. *Autobiography of Andrew Janus Hansen 1852-1932*. Provo, Utah: J. Grant Stevenson, 1969. With brief biographical sketches of his wives.
- Hartshorn, Leon R. *Classic Stories from the Lives of Our Prophets*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1971. \$4.95.
- Hartshorn, Leon R. *Joseph Smith: Prophet of the Restoration*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970. \$3.95.
- Harvey, Franklin S. *The Money Diggers; The True Story of Buried Treasure in Bristol, Vermont*. Brattleboro, Vermont: The Stephen Greene Press, 1970. No apparent relationship to the life of Joseph Smith but of interest because of the subject's appearance in the early life of Smith.
- History of Dr. W. H. Grove's L.D.S. Hospital School of Nursing, 1905-1955*. Salt Lake City?: Groves L.D.S. Hospital School of Nursing Alumnae, 1970.
- Hogan, Mervin B. *Founding Minutes of Nauvoo Lodge, U.D.* Des Moines, Iowa?: Author?, 1971? \$2.00. Nauvoo Masonic Lodge, Joseph, Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young, etc.\*
- Holm, Francis. *The Mormon Churches, A Comparison From Within*. Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1970. \$4.95.
- Horowitz, Jerome. *The Elders of Israel and the Constitution*. Salt Lake City: Parliament Publishers, 1970. \$3.75.
- Hougey, Hal. *Review of Mormon Missionary Handbook — A Refutation of the Arguments Used by Mormon Missionaries*. Concord, California: Pacific Publishing Co., 1969. (Reprint of 1961 ed.) \$2.00.\*
- Howick, E. Keith. *Index volume to the Documentary History of the Church*. Salt Lake City, Utah, 1970. \$5.50.
- Hugel, Avvon. *The Chew Bunch in Browns Park*. San Francisco: Scrimshaw Press, 1970. \$12.50.
- Hunter, Milton R. *Great Civilization and the Book of Mormon*. (Archaeology and the Book of Mormon, Vol. III) Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970. \$5.95.
- Hunter, William E. *Edward Hunter Faithful Steward*. Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1970.
- Jennings, James R. *Arizona Was the West*. San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1970. \$4.95. Quite a bit about Mormons in Arizona.
- Jonas, Frank H. ed. *Political Dynamiting*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970. \$8.00. Includes discussions of Mormons.
- King, David S. *Mountain Meadows Massacre*. Arlington, Virginia: Potomac Corral, The Westerners, 1970. \$3.60 (\$6.00 for non-members). Available from Potomac Corral, The Westerners, P.O. Box 6006, Arlington, Virginia 22206.
- Koerner, William E. *Is All Well in Zion?* N.p.: n.p., May, 1970. \$1.50. On Neighborhood Emergency Teams.\*
- Kraut, Ogden. *Christ and the Crucifixion*. N.p.: n.p., 1971? \$2.60.\*
- Kraut, Ogden, comp. *The Coming American Revolution*. Dugway, Utah: Pioneer Press, 1970. \$2.00.
- Kraut, Ogden. *The Gift of Tongues*. Dugway, Utah? Pioneer Press? 1970? \$2.50.\*
- Kraut, Ogden. *Revelations 1889-1890*. Dugway, Utah?: Pioneer Press?, 1970. \$1.50.\*



- Krenkel, John H. ed. *The Life and Times of Joseph Fish, Mormon Pioneer*. Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1970. "A most significant diary left by versatile Joseph Fish (1840-1926) concerning life in Mormon settlements and non-Mormon relations in Southern Utah, Arizona, and Mexico" (The Western Historical Quarterly).
- Larson, Clinton F. *The Prophet*. Provo: Eugene F. Chapman, 1971.
- Lloyd, Clyde D. *A Mormon Walks in a Persian Garden*. Salt Lake City: Author, 1971. \$3.00. Author's address: 157 Coatsville Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Longstreet, Stephen. *Die Heiligen und ihr Traum*. Zurich: Buchclub ex libris, 1967. Mormon novel in German.
- McAdow, Beryl. *Land of Adoption*. Boulder, Colorado: Johnson Publishing Co., 1970. \$3.95. Includes section on Frederick T. Christensen and Mormon settlement in San Luis Valley.
- McConkie, Bruce R. *Doctrinal New Testament Commentary, Vol. II*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishers, 1970. \$6.95. Acts — Philippians.
- MacDonald, Eleanor Davenport, and Arrington, John Brown. *The San Juan Basin: My Kingdom Was a County*. Denver, Colorado: Green Mountain Press, 1970. Life in the Four Corners area as seen by Arrington.
- Mace, Wandle. *Excerpts from the Life Story of Wandle Mace*. Dugway, Utah?: Pioneer Press? 1970. \$.35.\*
- McGregor, Alma Gertrude Watson. *Lorenzo Dow Watson*. Provo: J. Grant Stevensen, 1970. \$7.66.
- McKay, David O. *Stepping Stones to an Abundant Life*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1971. \$5.95.
- Macrae, Norman. *The Neurotic Trillionaire: A Survey of Mr. Nixon's America*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1970. Chapter one is titled "The Mormons Oust the Puglists." In the five pages devoted to chapter one the author superficially deals with Mormon influence in the cabinet. For example on page 3 we read, "If there were a sudden economic crisis tomorrow, requiring resolute American action before the weekend, at least two of the five men whose decisions would be most important would retire into a backroom to pray for guidance from God."
- Marshall, Bonnie. *Beauty is . . . A Girl's Guide to Charm*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1970. \$3.25.
- Martin, Dennis M. *An Essay Questioning the Mormon Church's Views on Population*. Ogden, Utah: n.p., 1970. \$.15. Available from Nancy Martin, 821 N. Jefferson, Ogden, Utah 84404.
- Matthews, Robert J. *Index & Concordance to Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1969? \$1.00.
- Matthews, Robert J. *Joseph Smith's Revision of the Bible*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1969? \$1.50.
- Matthews, Robert J. *The Miracles of Jesus*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1969? \$1.50.
- Matthews, Robert J. *The Parables of Jesus*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1969? \$1.50.
- Matthews, Robert J. *Who's Who in the Book of Mormon*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1969? \$1.50.
- Maxwell, Neal A. *"For the power is in them" . . . Mormon Musings*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970. \$2.95.
- Merrill, Yvonne. *Cache Valley: A Guide to Northeastern Utah*. Logan, Utah: State University Faculty Women's League, 1970. \$2.00.
- Milner, Winifred M. *Light from the Dust*. Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1971. \$8.95. Historical novel of the Smith Family by an RLDS author.
- Milton, John R. *Three West*. University of South Dakota: Vermillion, Dakota Press, 1970. \$3.00. Conversations with Vardis Fisher, Max Evans and Michael Straight.
- Mormon Fundamentalism and the L.D.S. Church*. Salt Lake City: "The Watchmen on the Towers of Israel," 1970. \$2.00.\*
- Mortensen, A. Russell. *Early Utah Sketches*. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1970. \$7.00.
- The Most Holy Principle*. Murray, Utah: Gems, 1970. Mormons and Polygamy. The law and the testimony, 5 Dec. 1805-3 Mar. 1887.

- Mulholland, John F. *Hawaii's Religions*. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1970. \$5.00. Chapters 5 and 6 on the Mormons.
- Musser, Joseph W. *Celestial or Plural Marriage*. [2nd ed.] Salt Lake City: Truth Publishing Co., 1970. \$2.00.
- Nagata, Shuichi. *Modern Transformations of Moenkopi Pueblo*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1970. \$10.95. The Hopis and the Mormons in Moenkopi and Tuba City.
- Nelson, Mansel Hyrum, comp. *Edmund Nelson - Jane Taylor Family History*. Provo: J. Grant Stevenson, 1970. \$7.50.
- Nibley, Hugh. *When the Lights Went Out*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1970. \$1.50. Three Studies on the Ancient Apostasy.
- Nichols, Elizabeth L. *The Genesis of Your Genealogy*. Providence, Utah. Printed by Keith W. Watkins & Sons, Inc., 1969. A simplified "step-by-step" instruction book for the beginner in genealogy.
- Nieminen, Susan A. *An Inventory of the Papers of Frank Jenne Cannon, 1859-1933*. Denver, Colorado: State Historical Society of Colorado, 1969.
- Njeim, George A. *Insights Into The Book of Revelation: As Illuminated by The Book of Mormon*. Lawrence, Kansas: Privately printed, 1970.
- Palmer, Spencer J. *The Church Encounters Asia*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970. \$5.95.
- Pearson, Carol Lynn. *The Search*. Salt Lake City, 1970. \$2.95. Poetry.
- Poulsen, Ezra J. *Happy Day—The Life and Times of Edward I. Rich, M.D.* Salt Lake City: Granite Publishing Co., 587 First Avenue. \$4.95.
- Price, Raye Carleson. *Barrier of Salt: The Story of Great Salt Lake*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970. \$2.95.
- Price, Raye Carleson. *Diggings and Doings in Park City*. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1970. \$3.95.
- A Priesthood Issue*. Bound with: *The Law of Plural Marriage*. Salt Lake City: Truth Publishing Co., 1970? \$50.\*
- Putscher, Paul O. *I Have Found the True Church*. Salt Lake City: n.p., 1970. \$1.25.\*
- Rasmussen, Dean L. *How to Live through a Famine*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Author, 1970. \$1.95.\*
- Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. *Church Member's Manual; Duties and Privileges of Members*. Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1969.
- Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. *Doctrine and Covenants — 1970 Authorized Edition*. Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1970. \$4.00.
- Rich, Pilar. *The Saints of Snowville; Story of a Mormon Bishop*. New York: Exposition Press, 1970. A novel.
- Ridge, Martin and Billington, Ray Allen, ed. *America's Frontier Story; a Documentary History of Westward Expansion*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970. \$9.95. Mormons p. 509-529.
- Robinson, Christine H. *Inspirational Truths from the Doctrine and Covenants*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970. \$3.95.
- Roper, Margaret W. *Echoes of the Sage and Cedars; A Centennial History of Oak City, Utah, 1868-1969*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Publishers Press, 1970. Available from Mrs. Roper, Oak City, Utah 84649.
- Roper, William L. and Arrington, Leonard J. *William Spry; Man of Firmness, Governor of Utah*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971.
- Roth, A. Walton. *A Century of Service in Utah 1869-1969*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Presbyterian Church in Utah.
- Roundy, Milan Emil. *We are Blind to Our Constitution . . . Let's Start Following It!!!* n.p., 1970. Polygamy.
- Scharffs, Gilbert W. *Mormonism in Germany*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970. \$5.50.
- Simmonds, A. Jeff. *Index to Names in the Library of Congress Collection of Mormon Diaries*. Logan, Utah (Utah State University): Western Text Society, 1971. \$25.00. Lists all the names mentioned in the microfilm collection available from the Library of Congress.
- Simmonds, A. Jeff. *On the Big Range: A Centennial of Cornish and Trenton, Cache County, Utah, 1870-1970*. Trenton, Utah: Author, 1970. \$5.00. Can be obtained from A. Jeff Simmonds, Trenton, Utah 84338.

- Skarin, Annalee. *Beyond Mortal Boundaries*. Los Angeles, Calif.: Devorss & Co., 1969. \$4.95.
- Skjerpe, Olav. *Mormonisme. Sannhet Eller Lgn?* Oslo, Land og Kirke, 1969. From the LC Catalog — Books: Subjects.
- Skousen, W. Cleon. *The Naked Capitalist: A review and commentary on Carroll Quigley's book Tragedy and Hope*. Salt Lake City: The Reviewer, 1970. \$2.00.
- Sloan, Irving. *Our Violent Past*. New York: Random House, June, 1970. \$6.95. Mentions persecutions of the Mormons along with other groups in the 19th century.
- Smith, Dennis. *Star-counter*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1970. \$2.95. Poems and sculpture.
- Smith, Joseph Fielding. *Seek Ye Earnestly*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970. \$5.95.
- Smith, Joseph West. *Journal of Joseph West Smith*. Mesa, Arizona: Children of Joseph W. Smith, 1969. Available from Leonora S. Rogers, 231 South Udall, Mesa, Arizona 85201.
- Smith, Lucy. *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet*. New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969. \$9.50. Religion in America Series. Reprint facsimile of 1853 edition.
- Smith, Paul Thomas. *A Historical Study of Nauvoo, Illinois, Public School System, 1841-1845*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1969.
- Snyder, Laura. *A Woman's Fulfillment: A Guide to Creative Homemaking*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970. \$2.95.
- Stegner, Wallace. *The Sound of Mountain Water*. Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1969. Stegner's experiences in Salt Lake City, and a chapter on Bernard DeVoto.
- Stephenson, George M. *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*. New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969. \$16.50. Chapter 6: "The Mormons."
- Stewart, John J. *Remembering the McKays*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970. \$2.95.
- Sutton, Henry. *Vector*. New York: Bernard Geis Associates, 1970. \$5.95. A Utah novel by a well-known sexist author.
- Swenson, May. *More Poems to Solve*. New York: Scribner, 1971. \$4.50. Book of poems by a Utah author.
- Taggart, Stephen G. *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins*. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1970? \$4.00.
- Tanner, Annie Clark. *A Mormon Mother; an Autobiography*. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1969. \$4.95.
- Tanner, Jerald and Sandra. *The Case Against Mormonism, Vol. 3*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Modern Microfilm Company, 1971. \$2.95.
- Tanner, Jerald and Sandra. *Joseph Smith and Money Digging*. Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., 1970. \$2.50.
- Tanner, Jerald and Sandra. *Mormon Scriptures and the Bible*. Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., 1970. \$2.00.
- Tanner, Jerald and Sandra. *Mormons and Negroes*. Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., 1969? \$2.00.
- Taylor, Raymond W. and Taylor, Samuel W. *Uranium Fever; or, No Talk Under \$1 Million*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1970.
- Twisselmann, Hans-Jürgen. *Die Mormonen Im Schatten Ihrer Geschichte*. Witten, Bundes-Verlag. 1967. 24 pp.
- United Methodist Church. *The First Century of the Methodist Church in Utah*. Salt Lake City: Utah Methodism Centennial Committee, 1970. \$2.25. P.O. Box 6172, Salt Lake City, Utah 84106.
- Wagoner, Jay J. *Arizona Territory, 1863-1912*. Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1970. \$12.00.
- Walton, Eugene O. *God is Alive*. Independence, Mo.: Author, 1970. RLDS author.
- Washington, Mary A. *An Annotated Bibliography of Western Manuscripts in the Merrill Library*. Logan: Western Text Society, 1971. \$1.00.
- "The Watchmen of the Towers of Israel." *Mormon Fundamentalism and the L.D.S. Church*. Salt Lake City: the Author, 1970? \$2.00. A letter from "Dad and Mom" to "My dearest son" extolling the joys of Fundamentalist polygamy.
- Weber, Tena A. *Parma Ward History 1944-1969*. N.p.; n.p., 1970. Available from Bishop Louis W. Phillips, Route 1, Parma, Idaho 83660.

- Weldon, Roy A. *Book of Mormon Evidences Joseph Smith a Prophet*. Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1970. \$.75.
- Weldon, Roy E. *The Nephite Prophets Speak to Our Day*. Independence, Mo.: Author, 1970. \$1.25.
- Wellington, Paul, ed. *Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible*. Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1970. \$9.95.
- Wight, Levi Lamoni. *The Reminiscences and Civil War Letters of Levi Lamoni Wight*; edited by Davis Bitton. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970. \$7.00.
- Williams, Lucile G., researcher and compiler. *Historical Highlights of the Twenty-First and North Twenty-First Wards, Emigration Stake*. Salt Lake City: n.p., 1971. \$10.00. Available from the 21st Wards.
- Witt, Hugo W. *The Impossible Return to Zion*. Midvale, Utah: Kogon Publishers, 1970. \$1.50.\*
- Wood, Glenna. *The Jawbone of an Ass*. New York: Vantage Press, 1970. A novel depicting Mormon life in Northern Arizona.
- Young, Kimball. *Isn't One Wife Enough?* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970. Reprint.
- Yusef, Ali Ibn. *Mormonism and Islam*. N.p.; n.p. [1970]. \$2.00.

#### AMS REPRINT SERIES

- Austin, Emily M. *Mormonism; or, Life Among the Mormons, Being an Autobiographical Sketch; Including an Experience of Fourteen Years of Mormon Life*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$10.00. Reprint of the 1882, Madison, Wisconsin edition.
- Brown, James Stephens. *Life of a Pioneer; Being the Autobiography of James S. Brown*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$21.00. Reprint of the Salt Lake City, Utah, 1900 edition.
- Burton, Sir Richard Francis. *The City of the Saints; and, Across the Rocky Mountains to California*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$25.00. Reprint of the New York, 1862 edition.
- Codman, John Thomas. *The Mormon Country: A Summer with the "Latter-day Saints."* New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$9.00. Reprint of the New York, 1874 edition.
- Etzenhouser, Rudolph. *From Palmyra, New York, 1830, to Independence, Mo., 1894*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$17.50. Reprint of the Independence, 1894 edition.
- Ferris, Benjamin G. *Utah and the Mormons*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$15.00. Reprint of the New York, 1854 edition.
- Ferris, Mrs. Benjamin G. *The Mormons at Home; With Some Incidents of Travel from Missouri to California, 1852-53*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$12.00. In a series of letters. Reprint of the New York, 1856 edition.
- Ludlow, Fitz Hugh. *The Heart of the Continent: A Record of Travel . . . With an Examination of the Mormon Principle*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$23.50. Reprint of the New York, 1870 edition.
- McClintock, James Harvey. *Mormon Settlement in Arizona; A Record of Peaceful Conquest of the Desert*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$14.00. Reprint of the Phoenix, 1921 edition.
- Mayhew, Henry. *The Mormons: or, Latter-Day Saints. With Memoirs of the Life and Death of Joseph Smith, the "American Mahomet."* New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$12.50. Illustrated with forty engravings. Reprint of the London, 1852 edition.
- Remy, Jules, and Julius Brenchley. *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City; With a Sketch of the History, Religion, and Customs of the Mormons . . .* New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$42.00. With ten steel engravings and a map, in two volumes. Reprint of the London, 1861 edition.
- Robinson, Philip Stewart. *Sinners and Saints. A Tour Across the States and Round Them: With Three Months Among the Mormons*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$14.50. Reprint of the Boston, 1883 edition.
- Smith, Mary Ettie V. (Coray). *Mormonism: Its Rise, Progress, and Present Condition*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$19.50. Reprint of the Hartford, 1860 edition.
- Vanderhoof, Elisha Woodward. *Historical Sketches of Western New York . . . Joseph Smith, Jr. and Mormonism . . .* New York: AMS Press, Inc., Winter, 1970-71. \$11.50. Reprint of the Buffalo, N.Y., 1907 edition.

# NOTES AND COMMENTS

*Edited by Louis Midgley*

## **A Reply to Critics of the Mormon Neo-Orthodoxy Hypothesis**

*O. Kendall White, Jr.*

*O. Kendall White, Jr. teaches Sociology at Washington and Lee University. He is the author of MORMON NEO-ORTHOXY: A CRISIS THEOLOGY.*

When *Dialogue* editors invited me to respond to Julian Durham's and Gordon Thomasson's critiques of my article on Mormon neo-orthodoxy, they indicated that I must reply immediately. Assuming the critiques would be published in the following issue, I neglected to respond because I was in the midst of planning a marriage, preparing a syllabus for a new course, and working on final examinations. Having completed them, and then having discovered that *Dialogue* not only published the critiques of Durham and Thomasson in the "Notes and Comments" section but also two letters to the editor dealing with my essay, I decided to comment on the various points made by the four critics.

I must begin on a note of apology. Professor Carl J. Christensen, in his letter, claims John H. Gardner's letter to *Dialogue* (vol. II, no. 1, p. 5), from which I quoted, misrepresents the point Christensen was making in *The Gospel in the Service of Man*, a teacher's supplement to the Gospel Doctrine class, from which Gardner quoted.\* Not being in a position to verify Christensen's point, I do find the remainder of his letter consistent with my position concerning the meaning and use of the concepts of "intelligence," "spirit," and "soul" in traditional Mormon discourse. Moreover, I concur with his suggestion that the three concepts are probably used interchangeably in the Abraham 3:22 passage because their "distinctive meaning" in Mormon theology had not yet "crystallized." While I used the Gardner quote as an illustration of certain tendencies to debase man within contemporary Mormon theology, it was only one of several examples. The apparent inaccuracy of the quote, for which I apologize, does not negate the argument.

In another letter, Virginia Kammeyer misunderstands both my intentions and arguments. I was not, as she believes, trying to argue that Mormon theology "can't be true" or that it is "going down the drain." The problem of the truth-claims of Mormon theology was well beyond the scope of my paper. I did not assume that either traditional Mormonism or Mormon neo-orthodoxy is true or false. Since I was describing what I believe to be a new theological movement, along with a discussion of some implications

---

\*See Gardner's reply to Christensen in *Letters to the Editor* — Ed.

it may pose for Mormon theology and religion, to charge that if Mormonism never was true then I was “flapping my arms in vain” completely misses the point. That I perceive some implications of the growth of neo-orthodoxy to be unfortunate is obvious enough, but this does not mean that I believe traditional Mormonism to be true and neo-orthodoxy to be false. It merely assumes that, according to my value system, certain neo-orthodox ideas are undesirable. If I had been addressing myself to a different issue, I would have discussed what I believe to be certain unfortunate implications of traditional Mormon theology. In other words, from my perspective, both negative and positive consequences may follow from the ideas of Mormon neo-orthodoxy and traditional Mormonism.

Kammeyer also accuses me of taking statements out of context. Explaining Andrus’ emphasis on God’s greatness as a function of a different audience from earlier Mormon leaders, she dismisses all theological implications such changes in emphasis generate by claiming that basic doctrines remain intact. Were this the only departure in Andrus’ theology I might be tempted to concede her point. However, I must remind Kammeyer that Andrus clearly opts for an assessment of human nature much more consistent with the presuppositions of Protestant Reformation and neo-orthodox theologies than traditional Mormonism. No Mormon theologian sounds more like John Calvin. Andrus’ argument that the seeds of corruption are hereditarily “transmitted to each embryo at conception” is far more reminiscent of a classical Protestant doctrine of original sin than it is of Mormon repudiations of the same doctrine. This conception of man quite naturally leads Andrus and his colleagues to their inordinate reliance upon grace as they discuss salvation.

A final point with respect to Kammeyer’s letter again indicates that she does not understand my position. I certainly do not demand from religion “absolute agreement” among its devotees; nor do I believe that it “must offer instant understanding, in everything.” Nothing could be further from the truth. In fact, it is she who opts for this position. The fact that there is a contradiction between her belief in God’s omniscience and her own personal freedom does not allow her to regard this as a theological matter worthy of intellectual consideration. Rather, it leads her to assert that she is free and God is omniscient. Her solution is to take the two contradictory propositions, believe them both, and let God worry about the difficulties. The contradiction, as she says herself, “doesn’t bother me in the least.” It seems that she, rather than I, prefers simplistic answers and instant solutions.

The problem that led her to the above assertion was itself based on a misinterpretation of my argument. She was responding to a point that I made concerning the widespread lack of understanding among Mormons of concepts such as “infinite, absolute, omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent.” I had observed that this lack of understanding does not inhibit Mormons from using these concepts, but it surely leads them into serious conflicts because of the temptation to affirm two opposing metaphysical systems. To answer the problem by asserting that “it doesn’t bother me in the least” is not only a simplistic response to a serious problem but a typical reaction of Mormon neo-orthodox theologians who are unwilling to address themselves to the major conflicts in Mormon theology. In a very convenient manner,

they, like Kammeyer, absolve themselves from any intellectual effort by laying their problems in God's lap.

The critiques of Durham and Thomasson were both directed primarily to my interpretation of the role of education, particularly "secular" knowledge, in Mormon theology — both reaching essentially the same conclusion. Claiming that I have misinterpreted several Mormon passages, they argue that scriptures emphasizing the acquisition of knowledge mean only "spiritual" matters or secular knowledge to enable missionaries to preach the gospel. Quoting Joseph Fielding Smith and Hugh Nibley, Durham concludes that church approval of "secular education" is for better preparation to "carry out missionary work." Though conceding that a consensus might be on my side, that the interpretation I urged is "nearly a universally accepted philosophy" among "the membership," Durham contends that this is only because of the influence of liberal "pseudo-intellectuals."

In a more perceptive critique, Thomasson makes the same point. He argues, with respect to education, that "there is no historical basis for asserting its all-sufficiency," and that even a cursory examination of the passages I cited will show that "knowledge is valued in terms of teaching the Gospel." Raising the fundamental question of whether the Mormon value of education is as a means or an end, he asserts it is a means to enhance missionary work and to build the Kingdom of God, concluding that "this studied irrationalism causes no end of embarrassed foot-shuffling among pseudo-intellectuals within the Church who would prefer a 'religion within the limits of reason alone,' purged of 'mysticism' (read ordinances)."

I must state that I was not arguing that the Mormon value of education did not involve the use of education as a means to attaining other ends, as Durham and Thomasson appear to assume. In the original essay, I argued that man's salvation, according to Mormon theology, was assured only by: (1) the grace of God; (2) acquisition of the requisite knowledge, "secular" and religious; (3) development of the proper moral character; and (4) participation in specific sacraments and ordinances. None of these could be ignored by the individual who seeks to become like God, to be exalted. Surely this does not imply the "all-sufficiency" of education.

The basic point I was trying to make is that traditional Mormon theology locates the primary responsibility for salvation in man, not God. Man must act to work out his own salvation, and part of that act must be a process of education in order to obtain the requisite knowledge. Here I am not in disagreement with my critics, for they would certainly argue that any individual seeking exaltation must learn about the nature of God, Jesus' life and mission, the human predicament, and the need and function of salvation. In short, they would argue for knowledge to redeem man, to liberate him, and to enable him to become like God. Where we disagree is in our definition of what this knowledge is.

My essay was not an attempt to suggest that "all truths are of equal value," as Thomasson infers, nor that Mormonism valued education merely as an end in itself. What I was arguing is that early Mormonism went well beyond classical Christianity in the direction of Judaism to affirm the basic goodness of the world, the body, and the mind. Consequently it did not need the classical Christian distinction between secular and sacred, since

things previously regarded as secular were now sacred. Man himself was an uncreated being capable of becoming a God. Mormon theology denied the old discontinuities between God and his "creation." This orientation was clearly compatible with the emphasis Mormonism would eventually place on education, compatible with the belief that education may help man solve basic problems as well as the belief that education may bring him closer to godhood. Insofar as a knowledge of matter and physical properties is necessary to enable him to create and control worlds, then some body of knowledge functionally equivalent to physics and chemistry is necessary for his exaltation. Insofar as a knowledge of physiology and human behavior is necessary for an understanding of man, then some knowledge base functionally equivalent to biology and psychology is necessary for exaltation, and so on. This conception of education not only follows logically from Mormon metaphysics and theology but, I believe, also provided the basis for many of the Church leaders' and prominent theologians' belief that Mormon theology does indeed embrace all truth.

Obviously Thomasson will argue that my reply merely underscores "the fallacy in 'doing' Mormon theology." He is referring here to the notion that Mormonism is a "revealed religion" and accordingly not a justifiable subject for "interpretative theology." But, of course like the rest of us, he is hardly inhibited in interpreting what Mormon revelations say about the role of education. The dilemma, however, is not Thomasson's, but man's. For it is impossible to get away from the problem of interpretation.

Though the problems of interpretative theology may be complex, I believe that to accept Thomasson's assertion regarding "revealed religion" is even more misleading. For he implies that those to whom Mormonism has "a special relevancy" because they have "ears to hear" do not engage in an act of interpretation. But can they receive any communication without interpreting it? Coming from a revealed religion or not, the command that "thou shalt not kill," for instance, requires considerable interpretation. Not only must "killing" be defined, but some determination must be made of what can or cannot be killed and so forth. The basic point is that whenever anyone acts on an idea, no matter what its source, he necessarily interprets it. He cannot do otherwise. This sort of debate over interpretative theology in Mormonism, or anywhere else, is meaningless.

It is of interest to me that none of these critics addressed himself to my basic argument. They were all concerned with peripheral issues. Even the extensive discussion of education by Durham and Thomasson was concerned with a minor point in the original essay. I was providing additional illustration of Mormon neo-orthodoxy's pessimistic conception of man. The basic points concerning Mormon neo-orthodoxy's emphasis on the sovereignty of God, its preoccupation with a pessimistic assessment of human nature, and excessive reliance on grace were not challenged.

As a final comment, I would like to suggest that I do not regard the appearance of a neo-orthodox movement within Mormon theological circles as necessarily undesirable. Such a movement may help to correct the naive optimism of traditional Mormon thought, and it may infuse Mormonism with a new vitality. Unfortunately, Mormon neo-orthodoxy has not yet done either.



## Dale L. Morgan (1914 – 1971)

Everett L. Cooley

A descendant of Orson Pratt, Dale L. Morgan was blessed with the same keen intellect and inquisitive mind as his illustrious ancestor. And although Dale had an early and abiding interest in the church of his birth, he will be best remembered by his admirers for his numerous books and articles on the West and near definitive work on Jedediah Smith and William Henry Ashley.

This, however, in no way detracts from Dale's significant achievements in Mormon historical writing and Mormon bibliography. Being first introduced into historical writing when employed in the W.P.A. Historical Records Survey, Dale soon became aware of the great vacuum in Mormon bibliography.

For the next ten years, he directed his considerable talent in the search for all printed works on Mormons and Mormonism. This search led him to all the great libraries in the United States and resulted in the collection of approximately 15,000 titles on or about the Mormons written in the first century of their history. His first publication resulting from this research was the meticulously prepared *A Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ Organized at Green Oak, Pennsylvania, July, 1862*, a bibliography of the divergent sects. Dale's Mormon collection forms the basis of the monumental *Mormon Bibliography* completed by Chad Flake and to be published soon by the University of Utah Press.

But Dale Morgan's *magnum opus* on the Mormons, unfortunately, was never completed. For years there existed in more than outline a three volume history of the Church. In one of his last letters to me, Dale said that he expected soon to return to his abiding interest in the church of his birth and family heritage.

We are all the poorer that Dale Morgan's life was ended so soon — at only 56 years of age.

## Another View of the New English Bible

Robert Smith

*Robert Smith, a non-Mormon, has studied at Brigham Young University and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (Departments of Egyptian and Archeology). His response here is to a review of the New English Bible by Karl Keller in the Winter 1970 issue of Dialogue.*

Under an apparently cavalier assumption that form and substance do not go well together, Karl Keller has heaped undeserved praise on the New English Bible. In so doing, his mood seems similar to that of those who have insisted all along that profundity is the necessary equivalent of obscurity, that East and West are forever twain, or who have held any other of a host of demonstrably false "common sense" notions.

As one who has had decreasing use for the KJV in recent years — owing to the inevitable inaccuracies produced in a 17th century translation — I

would hardly recommend the NEB as a substitute; for to do so would be not merely to recommend a wildly dynamic version over a more literal one, but really to recommend the wool of a goat over that of a sheep! It is certainly not enough to advise everyone who might desire to know at first hand of the fine library form and concomitant (if unfamiliar) substantive qualities of ancient works to study the ancient texts, but it is entirely appropriate to note that there are several good translations available to laymen.

The lover of the Bible as literature will find great satisfaction in the available volumes of the partially completed Anchor Bible series (Doubleday, 1964- ). The series consists of translation-commentaries by the foremost Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish scholars, and is, thus far, a remarkably beautiful literary achievement — whether one examines the first volume to appear (*Genesis* by E. Speiser), or the latest (*Psalms*, 3 vols., M. Dahood). \* *Job*, treated by M. H. Pope (1965), is particularly well done and deserves far more than the selective and shoddy plagiarism of the NEB. Moreover, Pope's notes are indispensable and throw the difficult passage of 19:25 into correct perspective (pp. 134-5, 219) by defining the "vindicator" as a non-human mediator who (like a Sumerian personal god acting as an "advocate and defender in the assembly of the gods") is closely associated with the concept of "vicarious expiation" (cf. Isaiah 53). Several books of the New Testament are available in the series. However, in lieu of the rest, and perhaps as much because he achieves singly what the NEB translators could not do in committee, I would recommend use of the J. B. Phillips modern English translation. For example, I much prefer his rendition of James 2:26 to that of the prolix NEB:

Phillips	NEB
Yes, faith without action is dead as a body without a soul.	As the body is dead when there is no breath left in it, so faith divorced from deeds is lifeless as a corpse.

So too for his translation of I Corinthians 15:29 against the unclear KJV:

Phillips	KJV
... [I]f there is to be no resurrection what is the point of some of you being baptized for the dead by proxy? Why should you be baptized for <i>dead bodies</i> ?	Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why are they then baptized for the dead?

Phillips evidently found that accuracy and esthetics go well together. There are other points, however, upon which we might like to haggle with Phillips, and no translation should be accepted without reference to the latest critical literature and biblical dictionaries. Laymen must not consider themselves exempt from this requirement, and even the most poverty-stricken local libraries usually have important material available. Finally, we must observe that Mormon doctrine makes it imperative that, following careful study, we seek the true meaning of the scriptures in prayer (Mat. 16:17, I Cor. 2:11, II Pet. 1:20-1). Such an approach might be useful in evaluating the chiasmic parallel structure of the final bicolon in Isaiah 2:3 (= II Nephi 12:3): "For

---

\*At this writing (July 1971).

out of Zion shall go forth the doctrine, And the Word of Yahweh from Jerusalem.”

Keller might certainly have approached it more gingerly. The presence of parallelism (exhibited in 80% of Isaiah) most emphatically *does not* indicate synonymity. Such an assumption tells us more about the interpreter and his epistemology than about the text. Parallels may be synonymous, complementary, antithetic, heteronymous, or homonymous. I constantly find examples of each in my reading of Hebrew and Egyptian texts. Clearly, neither swords and spears, nor plowshares and pruninghooks are synonymous pairs (Isa. 2:4 = II Ne. 12:4). This applies as well to “cedars of Lebanon”//“oaks of Bashan” (Isa. 2:13 = II Ne. 12:13), and to a host of other complementary parallels, many of which are attested as standard literary form in the much earlier Ugaritic texts. Thus, in Ezekiel 27:6-7 we find the known Ugaritic pair “Cyprus” (Kittim) and “Egypt.”

It may well be that Keller is correct in seeing a synonym in “Zion”//“Jerusalem.” If so, we still have to decide whether this has to do with western Missouri (D&C 45:65-71, 85:2-3), or the Old World referent. If, on the other hand, the parallel is non-synonymous, the standard interpretation may be correct, i.e. that Zion is Mormon (Ephraimite) and that Jerusalem is Jewish (Judahite). For the two truly present the essence of a parallel familiar to Isaiah (5:7 = II Ne. 15:7): “house of Israel” (northern kingdom) // “men of Judah” (southern kingdom).

Any attempt to display biblical verse in proper form is to be applauded (the Books of Mormon, Moses, and Abraham could certainly be so rendered with great profit), but the lack of substance-accuracy (dynamic or literal) can make it empty and misleading. One wonders how Keller might feel about an NEB-type treatment of the Homeric epics. As Rasmussen and Anderson correctly point out, the NEB leaves a good deal to be desired — quite apart from its laudable intentions.

## **Zion Building: Some Further Suggestions**

*Charles L. Sellers*

*Charles L. Sellers has just moved from Syracuse, New York, to Greensboro, North Carolina, where he works for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Before leaving Syracuse, he served on the High Council of the Susquehanna Stake. Cast as a response to an earlier essay in Dialogue, this note contains some candid reflections on Mormon Life.*

I would like to respond to Gary Hansen's excellent article “Wanted: Additional Outlets for Idealism” in the Autumn 1970 *Dialogue*. First, I must say that it serves as a very useful and welcome supplement to my own article on “Mormons as City Planners” in the Autumn 1968 *Dialogue*. In my article I tried to make the point that Mormons should become increasingly involved in efforts to improve the quality of urban life. I limited the scope of my article to the domestic scene, whereas Mr. Hansen outlined the need for an outreach program to make the blessings of health, education

and prosperity more readily available to people in other lands. I couldn't agree more that, as individuals and as a corporate body, Mormons can and should play an effective role in such efforts.

However, there are several constraints. An obvious one is money; we simply cannot do everything we know is needed to rehabilitate the world's needy. On the other hand, we can and should do more than we are now doing. As Mr. Hansen suggested, a technical assistance program might well be sponsored by B.Y.U. This would provide a splendid outlet for the idealism of returned missionaries and natives of certain countries who would be enabled, after acquiring useful skills, to return to those countries and make a significant contribution to their upbuilding. Their knowledge of the language would certainly give them an advantage over most Peace Corpsmen and other technical advisors. Probably the most appropriate immediate field for such endeavors would be Latin America. I like Mr. Hansen's suggestion that Zion can be built in Brazil as well as in North America. If we are to take seriously our tenet which says that all of the Western Hemisphere is Zion, we should develop some vehicle for encouraging greater dispersal of our people. If, despite their protestations of love for their mission fields, the bulk of missionaries flee to the bosom of Zion (i.e., the West) and spend the rest of their lives there, it will take a very long time to redeem the entire hemisphere.

There is one very hopeful sign in connection with this matter of building Zion in other lands and that is the policy decision which has been reached by the General Authorities to hold off on the building of new junior colleges in the United States. According to Elder Spencer W. Kimball, a recent visitor to our stake conference, the Church is now channelling almost all available funds that can be spared for educational facilities to those areas where we have found it necessary to set up our own schools to supplement the oftentimes inadequate efforts of foreign governments. The idea is, of course, to train the natives of those countries so that they can obtain better jobs and therefore be more useful to their families, the Church and their countries. Another appropriate trend is the redirection of limited general church missionary funds to natives of countries other than the United States and the encouragement of more self-sufficiency on the part of American young men and women. In other words, there is an attempt underway to begin sharing more of our North American wealth and opportunities with members in less advantaged lands.

The second point to which I feel obliged to respond is Mr. Hansen's claim that present-day church work is somehow different in nature than that of, say the 1800s, that it has little to do with the concept of "building up Zion." This is undoubtedly true if you think primarily of a physical, geographic Zion, whether contiguous or not. San Bernardino, California, and Fort Lemhi, Idaho, were certainly not contiguous to "Zion" at the time they were settled; but those who were called there felt that they were "building up Zion." Did the fact that they were "called" make all or most of the difference? How can one feel today that he is "called" to live where he is living and to pursue the type of work he is pursuing? Perhaps it is merely that personal revelation is now more important than a call from some higher priesthood authority in determining where we live and serve.

Another rejoinder would be that "Zion is the pure in heart" and that we build Zion today by building testimonies and character in individuals. This answer is obviously true to a large degree, but it begs the question which Mr. Hansen raises, namely "How can the Church capitalize on the latent idealism of its members?" He implies, as I read him, that there is much idealism (and energy) going to waste because little is being done to harness it. I agree whole-heartedly. I have seen many highly motivated and capable returned missionaries (and converts too) vegetating in church jobs which do not begin to call forth all of the talents and enthusiasm which they possess. One hesitates to give examples of such jobs because all church jobs have their *raison d'être*; however, it must be admitted that some jobs do not require as outgoing people as do others. Waste of time and talent, by oneself or by others, is inexcusable in these Last Days.

It might even be profitable to take a hard look at our "millions of meetings" to see which of them offer the richest opportunities for the cultivation of idealism and genuine participation. My own favorites are baptismal services, fast and testimony meetings (especially those at youth conferences), priesthood advancement seminars, and good classes (whether institute or auxiliary) where there is plenty of class participation and issues pertinent to modern life are examined. As a stake high councilman I also thoroughly enjoy the opportunity that is mine to visit and speak at a different ward or branch each month. I enjoy the experience because I am participating; those on the listening end probably enjoy it much less. Other kinds of planning and leadership meetings seem to range in quality from deplorable to delightful. A lot depends on whether or not there are activities to be planned or whether the intent is motivation and "leadership training." Many of the latter type of meeting have a very low "participation quotient" and therefore fail in their intent. One wonders occasionally why it is that we Mormons are thought to need such an excruciating amount of "leadership training" when we are supposed to be guided by the Holy Ghost.

Activities, including socials and church work which involves real physical or mental exertion — home teaching, missionary, genealogy and welfare work — are better. These programs are the "standard works," the real outreach activities of the Church. As such, there is a great deal of satisfaction to be derived from doing them conscientiously. Unfortunately, there is not much time left to do them at all after we have attended all the requisite meetings in the regular schedule. There are now so many meetings and outings on Saturdays that it is next to impossible to get a group together to work on the chapel or its grounds, to put a new roof on a widow's home or help someone move, or to engage in a fund-raising project. These essentially unselfish projects are more reminiscent of old-style "Zion building" than are such staples of the modern church as report-making and leadership meetings. I guess what I'm trying to say is that we need both internal administrative *and* outreach activities, both physical and mental work, to remain balanced and relevant. Good teaching is certainly "Zion building," but should we not also play a role in upgrading housing and environmental conditions in our communities (and, as Mr. Hansen recommends, in foreign lands through some vehicle)? Building chapels and working on the welfare farm are certainly "Zion building" endeavors, but should we not also have some time

for private study and contemplation, to say nothing of genealogy? Hopefully, we will not have to do what one good brother did in order to have time to work on his genealogy — he went inactive.

## **A Comment on Joseph Smith's Account of His First Vision and the 1820 Revival**

*Peter Crawley*

*Peter Crawley, professor of Mathematics at Cal Tech, is currently visiting professor of Mathematics at B.Y.U. He is considered by many to be a professional "amateur" Mormon historian.*

Since the controversy surrounding Joseph Smith's account of his first vision and the 1820 revival apparently is still alive (e.g. the Williams-Bushman exchange in letters to *Dialogue*, Autumn 1970), perhaps one further comment is not inappropriate.

Presumably all agree that some kind of revivalistic activity occurred in western New York in 1819-20. The problem, if any, that remains is whether these occurrences were big enough and near enough to be consistent with Joseph Smith's description. In this regard it would seem instructive to consider the experiences of a western New York contemporary of Joseph Smith.

David Marks lived in Junius, fifteen miles from the Smith farm, from 1815 until he began itinerant preaching in 1821. He was born in Shendaken, Ulster Co., New York, 4 November 1805, seven weeks before Joseph Smith. And at the ripe old age of 26 he published his memoirs: *The life of David Marks . . . Written by himself* (Limerick, Me., 1831). In the intervening fifteen years before his death in 1845, Marks rose to prominence among the Free-will Baptists, serving, for example, as the first director of their publishing concern and as a founder of their Home Mission Society. (Two editions of an expanded version of Marks' memoirs, edited by his wife Marilla Marks, were published in 1846 and 1847. Both his 1831 and 1846 memoirs were taken from a journal Marks kept from the time he began preaching in 1821. The parts referred to below are the same in the three editions; references are to the 1831. For an evaluation of Marks' career see *Free Baptist Cyclopaedia* (Chicago, 1889; 383ff) and *The Centennial Record of Freewill Baptists* (Dover, 1881; 29ff, 49ff and *passim*).

During his twelfth year a religious awareness sparked in Marks that grew to a driving conviction that his life should be devoted to the Lord's work. At his thirteenth birthday, his parents, impressed with his commitment and believing him fit for the ministry, sent him to Providence, Rhode Island, a distance of 368 miles, to attend a free school there. Marks walked twelve days to reach Providence, only to discover that room and board at the school were not free; so after a two-day rest, he returned to Junius, reaching his home twenty-five days after he left it. (pp. 26-27)

Before leaving for Rhode Island, Marks had applied to the Calvinistic Baptist Church in Junius for baptism, and after his return, in the spring of

1819, he was rejected because of his reservations about certain Calvinist doctrines. That July, Zabulon Dean, a Freewill Baptist who had heard of Marks and his situation, came to Junius to meet Marks; and, satisfied that he was worthy, Dean persuaded the Junius Baptists to accept Marks, and he was baptized into that congregation 11 July 1819. Six days later Marks attended the Benton Quarterly Meeting of the Freewill Baptists in Phelps, 18 miles from his home, where he witnessed five baptisms and was received as a member (pp. 28-30).

"After this, Elder Dean and brother Wire frequently preached in Junius, and a good reformation followed their labors." In the fall Dean and his associates baptized fifteen in Junius who first united with the church in Phelps and then in January 1820 formed an independent church in Junius of which Marks became a member. For several months the little congregation thrived, then dwindled as a number of its members "turned aside after Satan" (p. 30).

On the 1st of January 1821, Marks went to Benton and Milo, about 25 miles south of Junius, "where a good revival was progressing," meeting with various congregations in that area for three weeks. He returned to his home, paused there for two days, and then set out for Ontario, 30 miles to the northwest, to attend an "extra quarterly meeting." Heavy snow made this a difficult trip; after trudging 13 miles, Marks' frozen feet forced him to stop and complete his journey the following day. From Ontario Marks traveled with Zabulon Dean to Benton, Milo and Poultney, and for several days he tarried at Dean's home in Benton. (pp. 31-32) Marks' return to Junius was greeted with his parents' objections to further travel, so for some weeks he remained at home working for the family. Eventually, however, his yearning to be out proclaiming "the glad tidings of salvation" so reached his parents that they agreed to let him go once again. "At this time," Marks relates, "a great revival was progressing in Brutus and Camillus, twenty miles from Junius. [Camillus is about 30 miles to the east.] Feeling anxious to see this work, and labor in it according to my ability, I left home, walked fifteen miles to Brutus, and tarried the night among strangers" (pp. 33-35). For a month Marks moved about the Brutus-Camillus area attending some forty-four meetings, the latter part in the village of Elbridge, "where the revival was progressing powerfully." And on the 17th of April 1821 he returned to his parents' home, determined to take up itinerant preaching full time and as far away as "God's spirit should direct, or Zion's need require" (pp. 38-39). It is interesting to note that Marks refers to his travels up to this point as "confined to a few towns in the vicinity of Junius" (p. 39).

Now, of course, one can not attribute the experiences of David Marks to Joseph Smith. But Marks' narrative demonstrates that during the two years from the spring of 1819 to the spring of 1821 at least one western New York boy the age of Joseph Smith ranged over a fair-sized area in the process of participating in certain religious revivals, and that some of these revivals were publicized widely enough for him to hear of them in his home town. And it points up the fallacy in dogmatically requiring Joseph Smith's "the place where we lived" to lie within 10 or 15 miles of the Smith farm. Marks, at least, in 1831 could refer to an area including towns 30 miles to the east and to the west of his home as "the vicinity of Junius."



# PERSONAL VOICES

*Edited by Eugene England*

## GROWING UP MORMON

### **Maturity for a New Era**

*Eugene England*

*Eugene England is Dean of Academic Affairs at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, and President of the nearby Faribault Branch of the L.D.S. Church. He grew up in Downey, Idaho, and Salt Lake City. He and his wife, Charlotte, served missions together in Samoa shortly after their marriage. He attended the University of Utah and Stanford, where he was one of the founders of DIALOGUE.*

This issue begins *Dialogue's* sixth year of publication. It was, in fact, exactly six years ago that a group of us — some close friends, some mere acquaintances — committed ourselves to each other in a common venture, the implications of which we then sensed with joy and some fear and little certainty. It was an act of faith — that much we knew: faith in the Gospel, that it would flourish in the light of reason, in the nourishing stream of ideas and questions from all sources, in the warmth of honest, loving dialogue. It was also an act of faith in the Church and in ourselves: that we and our brothers and sisters had come far enough in history to be able to speak and listen well, to hear what anyone might say about us and about things most precious to us, with openness, without rancor; and further, that the Saints could develop a sense of humor. And it was finally action begun in the faith that we editors could bear the responsibility of causing thoughts and feelings to be expressed irrevocably in print, and could fulfill the needs of our readers and authors and still stay solvent.

The Gospel has vindicated our faith marvelously, the Church and ourselves not so well. Many — most I am certain — who have contributed to *Dialogue* or read it carefully have found their understanding and conviction of the Gospel made stronger and more intelligent, more open and sen-

sitive, more humane and joyful, in a word, more mature. On the other hand, some brothers and sisters have been split “for” and “against” *Dialogue*; a few cruel rumors have been started and passed on about the Church standing, even the faith and morals of editors and writers; certain local Church leaders have used their offices to suppress the journal and probably to disenfranchise editors and supporters from normal service in the Church.

And we have not filled our own responsibilities perfectly by any means: despite our early high idealism we have made many mistakes, typographical, editorial, especially managerial and financial — many political errors and probably some religious ones. For a pioneering work we moved too rapidly in some areas, have probably not been outspoken enough in others. We have survived financially at times by *mere faith*, have essentially neglected promotion, and have let the burdens of editing pile up on a few; as a result we have fallen behind in processing manuscripts and building readership and now in meeting our publication deadlines.

We have acted over the past year to remedy these problems and I am pleased to look forward now to a great new era for *Dialogue*. With the original editors scattered from New Mexico to Africa, we have relocated our central editorial office in Los Angeles. Robert Rees,

who teaches English at UCLA, is the new chief editor; he has organized editorial associates there and has a newly appointed Board of Advisors working with him to provide financial and managerial stability. A separate group of editorial associates under the direction of Edward Geary of B.Y.U. will work in Utah, especially on the planning of special theme issues. Original editors Wesley Johnson, Paul Salisbury and I will continue to share in shaping the editorial vision of *Dialogue* through participation on the Executive Committee and through our own writing and commissioning of work. An expertly managed fund-raising and promotion campaign has begun, and Bob Rees has been provided the resources he needs to have the editorial functions caught up and running relatively smoothly and on time within six months.

This reorganization and fresh beginning fills me with new hope for the contribution *Dialogue* can make, as a journal dedicated to mature Mormon thought and faith, in what I feel is a new era of maturity for the Church. Despite some rumblings that a purge of intellectuals and liberals is afoot (almost as if there had to be one to fulfill the strong forebodings of some about what would surely come with the Presidency of Joseph Fielding Smith, the author of the uncompromisingly anti-evolutionary *Man, His Origin and Destiny*), the Prophet has brought an era marked by a marvelous new tolerance and breadth in his own sermons on one hand and on the other an exciting new spirit of confident venturesomeness in actions of the Church: appointment of young men of spiritual and intellectual power and cultural breadth from outside the Utah establishment to head the Church schools; new professionalism and courage in the reorganized Church publications (the September *New Era* has a relatively open discussion of contemporary issues — war, pollution, Women's Liberation, etc. — that the old *Era* didn't seem to know existed); new confidence and sophistication in our mission as a universal Church — building schools in Latin America and Europe, holding general conference in Britain, organizing stakes in Japan and Africa, opening up new missions in India and Thailand; bold moves in development of the Church's social services, provision of professional counseling aid to bishops, and the calling recently of

the first medical missionaries, etc. And with all this the prophetic voice calling to faith and discipline is vigorous, as for example in President Harold B. Lee, who in recent speeches and articles has on the one hand severely chastised those who began to organize vigilante groups in their gullible, racist response to a bogus prophecy circulated about Blacks invading our mountain sanctuary, and on the other hand has severely denounced those destroyers of faith who refuse to perceive and hold to the uncompromising rigor of basic Gospel principles — the iron rod — and would lead the Church in the direction of liberal Protestantism.

The great L.D.S. historian, theologian and General Authority, B. H. Roberts predicted (in the *Improvement Era*, 1906, p. 713) that "disciples of 'Mormonism' growing discontented with the necessarily primitive methods which have hitherto prevailed in sustaining the doctrine, will take profounder and broader views of the great doctrines committed to the Church; and, departing from mere repetition, will cast them in new formulas; cooperating in the works of the Spirit, until they help to give to the truths received a more forceful expression, and carry it beyond the earlier and cruder stages of its development." Contrary to the opinions of critics in and out of the Church who have insisted that in this century Mormonism would harden into a dead, bureaucratic shell of its spirited, primitive self, Elder Roberts' prophecies are being fulfilled, particularly in the sustained energy and creativity of new converts and among the young.

And just as Mormonism is maturing further under the new prophet and the new vitality brought both by the stream of new saints from many nations and the improvement of organization and teaching, we are seeking maturity in our own personal faith and living, many of us trying to come to terms with what it means and has meant to grow up Mormon. I will write about the experience in this column — the burden and blessing of my youth in Mormon country and my present struggle, along with the Church's, to mature, to grow toward the measure of fulness of the stature of Christ.

The other columns which begin this continuing section of personal voices will express a great variety of opinions and experiences of maturing Mormons — strug-

gles, successes, questions, and provocations. I will try to define maturity and to describe the process of maturing in the Kingdom,

both as I have struggled with it personally and as I see it occurring or failing to occur in other lives.

## FAITH AND REASON

# Carrying Water on Both Shoulders

Lowell L. Bennion

*Lowell Bennion was the favorite teacher, through both his Institute classes at the University of Utah and his books and essays, for thousands of young Latter-day Saint students in the 40s and 50s, he is now Associate Dean of Students and Professor of Sociology at the University of Utah and a Sunday School teacher and high Priest Group Leader in his ward. Shortly after his marriage he served a mission in Germany; his wife, Merle, then joined him at the University of Strasburg where he became a student of Max Weber and wrote one of the first treatises on his work.*

A thoughtful Latter-day Saint who grows up in his faith and takes it seriously may encounter difficulties as he immerses himself in secular education, particularly on the graduate level, and more particularly if he is studying in the humanities or social and behavioral sciences. The tension between his cherished faith and his intellectual discipline is almost inevitable for a number of reasons. He learned his religion in the uncritical years of childhood through indoctrination and on the authority of others and through personal, subjective experience, whereas science and philosophy are studied in years of greater maturity, and their findings are accepted on their own merit on the basis of empirical evidence and logic. These studies also lend themselves to rational and critical modes of analysis, whereas religion does not to the same degree. Then, too, modern industrial and post-industrial society has become increasingly pluralistic and secular in character. Religious values — whether one is in college or not — are challenged and questioned by competing, secular values, ideas and behavior patterns of society. It is becoming increasingly difficult for anyone anywhere to preserve his faith by isolation. Religion, to survive, will have to win its way in the public market place of competing ideas, interests, and satisfactions.

When faith and reason meet in the life of a college student, something must give; some type of working relationship must be established. In observing how my students, friends, and I have reacted to this situation, it seems to me that there are

three logical models people develop to reconcile their religious faith and their secular studies. These models, which I shall describe, are abstract constructs of the mind. In real life, an individual does not follow any one of them totally or consistently, but borrows elements of all. However, it is useful to have these logically possible models to help clarify people's real positions.

One position a student can take is to hold fast to his faith and let no knowledge or experience gained in study disturb it. Religion becomes his standard and only that knowledge which does not disturb his religious views is considered seriously. A second position is to give reason reign. Accordingly, religion is judged by thinking and what does not square with one's increased learning is rejected. Thus religion tends to be reduced to one object of thought and its importance diminishes as it takes second place to secular studies. A third position is to choose to live in both worlds, to keep faith, as it were, with both one's religious commitments and with the ways of learning in the academic world.

In my own life, thus far, I have chosen the third model. I have had a profound respect for both the gospel of Jesus Christ, including its antecedents in the Law and the Prophets and its interpretation through the Restoration, and also for the understanding I have — limited though it be — of philosophy, literature, world religions, and science. In this brief essay, I shall explain why I have sought the best of these two worlds.

## I.

The first model, in which one clings to faith and does not let reason disturb it, has meaning for some people. There is a simplicity about this approach. One is spared much mental effort and anguish by wearing blinders which shut out peripheral vision and even set boundaries to the view straight ahead. This kind of simple faith provides for the believer a total view of life, a fixed *Weltanschauung*. It also calls for full commitment. From it is born a sense of security as long as it proves adequate to the exigencies at hand.

I have seen this model function beautifully in the lives of humble converts in Germany. Their faith was of the heart, uncontaminated by abstract symbolic thought, which often stands between the thinker and the spiritual reality beyond his concepts. Their child-like humility brought them close to the kingdom of God. I respect and sometimes momentarily envy the quality of their faith.

But those of us who go to the University, who read books, who learn to view life from many angles of vision, thoughtfully and critically, cannot with integrity don blinders to reason in order to protect a child-like faith. To be sincere, to have integrity, faith must be examined and cherished in the context of one's total life experience. Furthermore, a faith that cannot withstand and transcend the light of reason, is not a faith worth keeping.

This is particularly true of the Latter-day Saint faith, which declares that "the glory of God is intelligence" and believes that man is a child of God, created in his image. And, if this is true, where then is the glory of man, if not in his intelligence? Religion without thought is deprived of its distinctly human attribute. I like Jesus' admonition to love God with all our mind as well as with all our heart.

## II.

The second model, which places reason above faith, has great appeal in this modern, secular age in which religion has lost considerable ground as a viable force. I can understand why some of my friends prefer this to the first model. They are independent in their thinking, self-confident, and wish to keep their integrity. And there is no way to keep one's integrity except by trusting one's own judgment in the last analysis.

Then, too, there is much in the religious tradition that is discouraging. Religion has had a long and uneven history. If one looks at the whole of it — in primitive religions, and even into our Judeo-Christian tradition, one finds a great mixture of error and truth, of that which debases as well as that which glorifies Deity and man. Religion has one source in God and another in man. The human element is quite evident in the long story of religion. When this becomes clear to a person, he quite naturally begins to exercise reason in matters religious. He finds thinking rewarding here as well as in other fields.

While I believe in using my mind, in and out of religion, I do not believe in exalting reason above faith and in making all religious experience subservient to rational thinking. "Life divided by human reason leaves a remainder," wrote Goethe. The remainder is quite large. Life's ultimate meaning and ultimate values transcend man's thinking. "All thinking," said Albert Schweitzer, "leads to mysticism" — to something beyond empirical and logical thought. Religious experience, like aesthetic experience, as Rudolf Otto persuasively argues in *The Idea of the Holy*, is *sui generis*, is unique and distinctive and is not something that must be denied nor legitimated by scientific or philosophic thought.

## III.

Because neither the first nor second model is satisfying to me, I choose the third. I am committed both to religious faith and idealism and to the best critical thinking of men. The reason for this dual commitment is that each has greatly enriched my life. I can deny neither at this point.

To live in two worlds is not easy. There is always tension, unresolved conflicts, and new problems in the offing. Some of my friends who have chosen the second model think the third one is impossible — full of compromises, dissipating of intellectual effort, and beclouding to intellectual clarity. They say, "You cannot carry water on both shoulders." In his famous lecture, "Science as a Vocation," Max Weber, Germany's greatest social thinker, said that "intellectual sacrifice is the decisive characteristic of the positively religious man."

These remarks notwithstanding, I believe one can be committed to religion and to secular thought, even though it is not an easy course to follow. Space will only per-

mit me to indicate how I live in two worlds. I hope to fill in details later in sufficient depth to clarify my position.

First of all, I look upon religion and secular thought as being complementary to each other as well as conflicting at times. I no longer seek to harmonize them with each other in the sense of expecting them to give me identical views of reality (as I once did). I let them find a harmony in my life as I draw upon each to meet my needs. I reject, for example, those well meant efforts of people whom I respect, who try to make a biology or geology text out of Genesis, Chapter One, or who read a theory of physics into Doctrine and Covenants, Section 93. For me, the scriptures declare the existence of God and his will and man's obligation to God and fellowman, and they leave me free to explore nature and human nature as I will.

Secondly, I think it is easier to appreciate both religion and secular thought if we exercise more humility in both fields. Religionists have a tendency — based on their faith in revelation — to reduce God and his ways to man's ways of doing and perceiving things. The longer I live, the more appreciation I have for the conception that man was created in the image of God and not vice versa. The Creator is the prototype, the original "picture" — the Transcendent. It is becoming to a man of faith to realize that his knowledge of God and his eternal truth is relative to the person's capacity and experience. Likewise, it is also appropriate for any scientist or philosopher or historian to remember that he is dealing with fragments of reality and that he cannot see nor know the whole. Modesty is becoming to him as well.

## **SOUNDING BRASS AND TINKLING SYMBOLS**

### **Mormons and Infidelity**

*Victor B. Cline*

*Victor B. Cline is Professor of Clinical Psychology at the University of Utah and serves on a special committee under the L.D.S. Church's Adult Correlation Committee, preparing materials for the new Priesthood Family Relations class. He did the critique of scientific data for the Hill-Link Minority Report, published with last year's report of the President's National Commission on Obscenity and Pornography and is deeply involved in research on critical factors in marital success and on the effect of TV violence on children.*

In Masters' and Johnson's recent book *Human Sexual Inadequacy*, I ran across some startling information that made a whole group of other data collected accidentally and incidentally over a period of ten years suddenly coalesce and quite jar me. They indicated that a sizable number of patients whom they had treated for sexual problems had been previously seduced by former therapists they had consulted seeking a solution to their sexual problems. Thinking back to my own clinical training I remembered that no one had ever really warned me about the problems that transference and counter-transference could get a psychotherapist into (i.e., getting emotionally or otherwise involved with the patient). And yet over a period of years I had known many colleagues and therapists (L.D.S. and non-L.D.S.) who had

become emotionally and sometimes sexually involved with people they were treating. Sometimes this led to divorce for the therapist, sometimes not. In the case of the Mormons excommunication or disfellowshipment occasionally occurred, though not always.

In sifting through cases both of clients and colleagues where this occurred it seemed that certain occupations were particularly "high risk" or vulnerable, including lawyers, salesmen, physicians, psychotherapists and counselors of all kinds, and certain businesses; the people in all these professions had frequent, close, and personal association with many members of the opposite sex other than their spouses. This tended to facilitate the formation of dependency relations between men and women not married to each other. And it has

become increasingly obvious to me that despite the high resolve, good morals, and great personal integrity which characterize many persons of the L.D.S. faith, we all have personal vulnerabilities and private neuroses which occasionally and under certain circumstances render many of us susceptible.

Since this can and does happen even to sophisticated therapists, it is not surprising that ministers, bishops and even their counselors or others in the Church can also be vulnerable and occasionally fall prey. It would seem to me a wise practice to give all newly called Bishops some practical counsel on how to effectively deal with the transference problem.

In working with L.D.S. couples where one party has become caught up in an affair, I've been impressed by how many have been "good people" who slowly, almost imperceptibly and unknowingly, have drifted into such a relationship, then suddenly have found themselves trapped by an intense passion for another person. And whether sexual activity was involved or not, the emotional commitment to that party often created static in the person's own marital relationship, making it difficult for them to see their spouse in a generous light or even to want to work out their own marital problems. All minor irritations became magnified and provided rationalizations for them to continue with their flirtation or affair.

It's like having the flu; you painfully know you have it, but seem to have little power to do much about it. The individual knows he's being irrational, wrong — "I'd die if the kids found out," but, "I can't help myself, I can't give the other person up yet." There appears to be absolutely no relationship between such things as IQ or social class level and vulnerability to this distressing disease. It can strike anyone who is susceptible.

The best defense for people in the "dangerous" occupations or Church positions is to have full awareness of the dynamics of transference and counter-transference so that they recognize the problem before they are trapped or are apparently "powerless" to effectively deal with it. Anybody who counsels others (sharing their deepest feelings and helping with their most serious problems) will frequently find himself venerated, liked, adored, and even loved by some of his patients, clients, parishoners,

secretaries, dental assistants or ward members. This is, of course, what we mean by transference and it can be an extremely heady and ego-inflating experience. During the process of counseling or therapy the counselor must be secure and stable enough not to be seduced by this type of flattering experience. But for a therapist, or Bishop, to be truly effective I'm personally convinced that he has to have a loving wife and a good marriage, otherwise in time his "well will run dry"; he will lose his effectiveness and his own needs will eventually intrude into the interview and relations with those he counsels.

The notion that a light flirtation can be harmless in such a setting can turn into a cruel hoax. It attacks the very heart of the marital relationship, involving trust between the husband and wife. That may sound like a corny platitude, but I've spent many months and years shoring up collapsed egos of women (or men) who turn their aggression inward and hate themselves, not their mate because he (or she) strayed. They frequently blame themselves, somehow, for what happened. It was almost as if they were saying, "If I were more lovable or an adequate person he would never have gotten interested in someone else . . . I must be no good. I hate myself."

With the rejected partner feeling inadequate and unlovable, both people often foul up their relationships with the children. They often find it difficult to discipline or set limits, fearing that they might also lose their children's love. The children sensing this begin to manipulate the parent in unhealthy ways for all concerned.

With the erring partner too much psychic energy is consumed dealing with guilt, covering up lies, or setting up a foolproof rendezvous — to leave an adequate amount of libido for spouse, work, and kids. Frequently and ironically this individual finds that he can't extricate himself gracefully from the illicit relationship when he is ready to return home. The other party now won't let him go and uses guilt plus many other very effective mechanisms to hold on to him (or her).

To carry off an "affair" successfully one needs to have a full blown character disorder without conscience or guilt. But most Mormons have a sufficient sense of responsibility or superego not to get off the hook that easily. So they suffer or move in the direction of apostasy.

In the long view infidelity seems to be becoming an increasing problem in the L.D.S. family, primarily because we are living in a larger culture where such activity is so frequently modeled and glamorized in our literature and entertainments as well as in the lives of many of those around us. And some of our people succumb, as they would to a flu epidemic, their own weaknesses combining with overexposure to the virus. The rationalizations for this behavior will include, "My wife has been so irritating, unloving, and nagging — I deserve something a little better," or "My husband just doesn't know how to treat me right, he exasperates me so. A little flirtation never hurt anybody," etc., etc.

What many young or even older married couples don't realize is that a good marriage, like anything else worthwhile, requires a lot of plain hard work, giving, overlooking, and forgiving. One special couple, who have one of the best marriages I've seen, explain the secret of their exhilarating relationship and great family by saying, "We worked our damn heads off."

No man ever satisfied all of his wife's needs and no woman ever understood and met all of her husbands desires. J. Golden

Kimball once expressed it this way, "Not one man in a thousand knows how to treat a woman right. And not one woman in a 100,000 knows when she's well enough off." And while all of this is certainly true there can be and is a lot of fun and good loving in a great many marriages; like a powerful cement this tides the couple over the difficult days which beset every marriage.

It has been said that there are four critical components in married love: friendship, romance, sexual fulfillment, and sacrifice. We need all, to some degree, but at least two, friendship and sexual fulfillment, are necessary for a relationship to survive. And while the mix can vary considerably from marriage to marriage, sex alone (for example) cannot by itself make a stable or enduring relationship. Friendship (with implied good communication) is very important, though even here something more is needed. I doubt that very few people have ever loved superbly, but perhaps the miracle is that so many marriages do survive, that so many husbands and wives do love each other despite their neuroses, pettiness, and shortcomings — this is still earth, not heaven.

## A PECULIAR PEOPLE

# The Ultimate Disgrace

Samuel W. Taylor

*Samuel W. Taylor is a professional writer who writes often about his Mormon background and experience. His most recent book, NAUVOO AT NIGHTFALL (1971), combines fiction and history in an attempt to make the saints and sinners of Nauvoo live again.*

After writing *Family Kingdom*, which was the story of my father and the great family of six wives and three dozen kids, I made a special effort to become acquainted with those of my brothers and sisters whom I had never met. The last one was Rhea, daughter of the first wife, May. Rhea had a small acreage east of Los Angeles where she kept a race horse and put on productions of her own composition with handicapped children.

She told me a story that certainly should have been in the book, because it pertained to the most serious aspect of my father's fall from grace.

A number of people had tried, with various degrees of tact, to dissuade me from writing the book. The biography of a former member of the Council of the Twelve who had been unchurched for taking wives after the Manifesto just wasn't, it had been suggested, inspiring subject matter. Then one man bluntly told me why I should forget it: "I simply can't understand why you persist in planning a biography of such a man," he said. "But I'll tell you this: if you write this book, it should be honest. And how would you like the world to know that your father *died in debt!*"



Now I knew the very worst thing.

He leaned forward across the desk. "After your father's death a committee of the brethren *had to compromise his debts for fifteen cents on the dollar!*" He leaned back. "How would *that* look in print?"

Perhaps only someone born in Utah can appreciate the close correlation between spirituality and worldly success. It had been perfectly proper for Apostle John W. Taylor to have plunged heavily into vast promotional projects — dams, land development, irrigation networks, mines, colonization, timber — anything big (his letterhead said, "Large Tracts Only"). During this period a number of his church associates had become financially over-extended. In fact, a favorite faith-promoting story of the very man who warned me against writing the book concerned his own predicament of being deeply in debt at the time he received a mission call, and how the Lord had shown him the way out, through stock manipulation, so that he could leave the mission solvent. I gathered that if John W. Taylor had passed away during one of his affluent periods (he made and lost several fortunes), perhaps everything else about his life would be acceptable biographical material; the disgrace was not going into debt, but dying that way.

Rhea cast light on this aspect of Father's life. She had been his secretary during the early years of the century, when he had offices at Salt Lake in the Judge building and was juggling big deals. But as Christmas approached, he was pressed for cash. He always liked to observe holidays, and how could he make this a memorable one for his family?

And then, just two days before Christmas, a deal went through. It wasn't a large one, but it meant \$5,000 in cash. This was hard money at a time when labor could be hired for a dollar and a half a day, and the income tax hadn't been thought of. Five thousand dollars was, in fact, a small fortune.

"First off," he told Rhea, "I want each of my wives to have a new dress for Christmas, and every child to be outfitted from top to toe."

As Rhea wrote checks to cover this, Brother Oldroyd arrived for an appointment. He had been a prosperous businessman who had fallen on ill health and hard times. Rhea was just closing the checkbook when Father came from the office with his visitor.

"While you're at it, Rhea, make a check for \$200 for Brother Oldroyd."

The next visitor was Sister Jones, a widow. Father had Rhea write her a check for \$85 to forestall threatened eviction by her landlord. All day long people came with hard-luck stories, and none went away empty-handed. The next day the stream of visitors continued. Late in the afternoon, Rhea and her father were getting ready to leave the office when Sister Sorenson arrived. Father talked to her briefly, then told Rhea to make a check for \$250.

"But, Father, we only have a balance of \$183.71."



Without an instant's hesitation, he said, "Well, then, make it for \$183.71."

"Yes, Father."

When Sister Sorenson had gone, Rhea and her father put on coats and hats, locked the office, and went down to the street. Darkness had fallen; the air was crisp and bitter. Iron tires of a passing carriage creaked on the dry snow.

"Perfect weather for Christmas Eve," he observed zestfully as they crossed to the tracks to wait for a street car. "We have indeed been blessed to be able to give all members of the family new outfits."

With an edge to her voice, Rhea said, "And it was a blessing to be able to help so many others."

"Yes, indeed!" he agreed heartily.

As a street car approached, he said, "This is yours, Rhea. Give my love to your mother and the family."

"Then you're not coming home with me?"

He shook his head. "No; it's Nellie's turn." He always tried to be impartial about such things.

He helped Rhea onto the step, then said, "Oh — do you have a nickel?"

She gave him car fare from her purse. The bell clanged and as the car moved away he waved farewell, a big smile on his

face and the borrowed nickel in his hand the only money possessed by a man who had just yesterday come into five thousand dollars.

## LEAVING UTAH

### Yesterday the Wardhouse

Mary L. Bradford

Mary Lythgoe Bradford lives near Washington, D. C., with her husband, Charles, and three teenage children. She is a traveling consultant in English for the U. S. General Accounting Office and teaches a creative writing class for her Stake Relief Society (they hope to publish a book from their efforts). She did a master's thesis at the University of Utah on Mormon author Virginia Sorenson and would like to write a biography of a Mormon pioneer woman.

When I was a girl our Wardhouse appeared in booklets showing architectural oddities of Salt Lake City. We were proud that it looked so little like a Church. It was squat and white with a round, tower-like appurtenance on the front. It was once mistaken for a dairy, but I think now it may have been a true community center.

There was always a wedding reception, and I was always a bridesmaid. I was always appearing in some play or other, or serving at a dinner, or waiting around hoping (or fearing) to be danced with. I recited scriptures of my own choosing, by heart, every Sunday morning for three months straight-running. Standing just in front of the choir seats, I recited "The Waltz" by Dorothy Parker. I sang *Elijah* with a crowd of other monotones at Stake Conference. I was thrilled one day when David O. McKay himself put his arm around me as he stood there in a silver tie that matched his hair. I won first place in "Untrained Scripture Readings" at the speech festival. I wore a drop-shoulder dress in the Roadshow. As Secretary of the Sunday School I sat in front of the whole congregation, taking illegible notes and caring for my little sister, who always sat beside me. Once I wound a maypole in a Queen Contest. At the end of one lucky streamer was a box holding the crown. I didn't win the crown, but I did learn to waltz.

I recall that ward carnivals, held outdoors on the parking lot, were gambling affairs. We pitched pennies and paid to vote for

royalty. In Fast Meeting I stood and thanked God for saving my mother's life in direct answer to my personal prayers. The bishops in those days were always uncles or cousins of mine and suitably benign and distant.

My fantasy life was bounded by the "Ward Show." In our neighborhood I collected for the "budget," which meant that with each contribution each family received a white card entitling it to free movies every Friday and Saturday night. I myself always arrived a half-hour early and saved the front row. If the show was especially good, I saw it both nights. High up in the back of the Amusement Hall (as it was unashamedly called in those days) were three little holes atop a painted built-in ladder. I envied the brother who climbed that ladder every weekend and disappeared through a ridiculously small trap door.

Although the Ward Shows were family outings, they were not "family" movies. They were often horrendous affairs which scared me for years. I don't recall those characters so stylish today — Laurel and Hardy, W. C. Fields, Charlie Chaplin — but if Louis Hayward, Robert Donat, and Tyrone Power ever come in again, I shall be much in demand. How I ached for Louis Hayward whose beautiful face was shut up in that terrible iron mask simply because his nefarious brother (also played by Louis Hayward) had tricked him. I cried my own canal over the sufferings of Power as he built the Suez Canal, despite the death of his faithful Annabella. My

throat choked up over Beau Geste and the Four Feathers, which somehow run together in my mind as a double bill. My loyalties seemed equally divided between the prisons of France and the sands of Arabia. And nobody ever thought to tell me that the sufferings of Monte Cristo would disturb my dreams. I remember walking home after the Ward Shows, watching the shadows, listening for stealthy footsteps, running the last cowardly steps to my door.

Primary was primarily arts and crafts and singing. After school I always stopped in at home, cut a lemon, divided with a cousin, and strolled on to Primary where we sucked the lemons and flipped the seeds under the benches. One day when our teacher, for some obscure reason, asked us to make faces, we just took an extra slurp.

We were larks and bluebirds and seagulls, which names seem to me less dated and more soaring than Top Pilots and C.T.R. Pilots. I learned to bake bread, to embroider (I put a lily on my dish-towel), and to babysit (at 25 cents for the evening). I don't recall lesson material except as it touched on the Lost Tribes. We decided they were on the North Star. Given today's urban blight, I think that a felicitous idea.

M.I.A. seemed mainly social. I'm sure we had lessons there too, but the only one I remember was given by a young woman who later had nine children. She told us it was better to be born into the world without any shoes than not be born at all.

Arriving early has always been one of my vices. Often I arrived early at M.I.A. where I would perch on a step reading a nitty-gritty tome by Joseph Fielding Smith or Oscar McConkie. One of the boys in the Ward, an older and wiser man of fifteen, grew alarmed at my fanaticism. One day he presented me with his personal copies of *Lad*, *A Dog*, and *Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo*. I read them dutifully, never thinking to ask why, if he was that concerned over my potential spinsterhood, he hadn't chosen something racier.

Some of us used to meet at M.I.A. in order to ride to the Tabernacle where we sang in the All Church Music Festival. As we waited, we danced in the streets, while some turned cartwheels and bayed at the sky. When dating days arrived, I dated boys in the Ward. I remember that when one of them left for his mission, I gave

a memorized scripture. I told the audience quite sincerely that as the spirit without the body is dead, so are works without faith.

All my cousins either married members of the Ward or brought their husbands to live there. They built houses in vacant lots retained for the purpose by their parents. My parents still have their vacant lots, for none of us settled them.

It seems to me that the Wardhouse saw me lovingly into womanhood, turning me graciously over to the Institute of Religion, which took up where the Wardhouse left off.

Our Wardhouse today is treated with more respect, beginning with its name. We usually call it The Church, and we are warned to keep our kids from tearing the phones off the walls. My children sit with folded arms learning "reverence." I don't recall hearing much about reverence in our Wardhouse, but I think I felt it, even while the little ones munched goodies in the aisles during Sacrament Meeting. Nowadays, after Sacrament meeting, we march out, row by row, with an usher to guide our steps. The foyer is always jammed with members loath to leave until the strain of being reverent has worn off.

The Amusement Hall (see Recreation) is now the Cultural Hall. We have "Programs" there, candlelight dinners, and art festivals. This year the Primary children gave the Christmas program instead of the teachers, and it showed considerable polish. We had a Ward Show once, and I sat on the front row just for old times' sake. The panavision nearly ruined my eyes, and our children found the Brothers Grimm pretty grim.

The doors to our church are usually locked against the marauding hordes, and, of course, my children can't walk there. I must deliver them and then must hover about waiting to sweep down and rescue them from the dark parking lot and swerving street. The urge to run through the Cultural Hall is as strong as ever, and sometimes spills over into the Chapel, which is separated by a folding door.

My Wardhouse was mine, as much a part of me as my home and family, and I gave it as little thought when I was young. That joy and comradeship is with us today, and yet, it seems the nuclear family must build a nuclear shelter out of home evenings and family outings. What will my

children remember with nostalgia? A day in Amish country where bearded gentlemen ride by in closed carriages, laughing, always laughing, while buses and cars snort behind them, unable to pass. A weekend in New York City where a man rushes two blocks through the Christmas rush to catch a bus because an elderly black lady left her purse. Perhaps they will remember the courage of New Yorkers, the old, the lame, the cab drivers who face those streets.

They may remember waking up in Williamsburg to find a light snow all over the Yule log and fresh greens in all the windows. A boat ride to Nantucket where seagulls greeted us from another time. And a day in Nauvoo where the children were less impressed with Joseph Smith's house than with the noble expanse of river and the real wheat growing in the fields.

A few Sundays ago our Sacrament Meeting program was presented by the Youth: youth bishopric, youth speakers, youth musicians. One of the speakers, a fluent, golden-haired lad of seventeen, described the world as, he said, Satan would have it: a world in which white and black hate each other, a world which fights senseless wars for obscure reasons, and a world which persecutes people for the length of their hair. I was struck by this thought: Those of us who grew up in my Wardhouse seldom concerned themselves with such matters. Ours was an enclosure, perhaps an incestu-

ous one. We were part of the Silent Generation. And then another thought: Though we were quite provincial, we had not been crippled by the World War nor by the Depression. We were allowed to grow in peace. Because our parents had been leveled by the Depression, we were also equally affluent. Perhaps that soil can make a bridge between the old and the new. Perhaps the lessons of the old Wardhouse may yet strengthen the young of today's church.

Meanwhile, I should like to design a building to house us all. It will be round and surrounded by trees or mountains, prairie or desert. It will be made of glass and of materials which show our love of this earth. Its doors will stand open to strangers, its windows open to light. It will begin with a round, soundproof foyer, large enough that Mormons may greet each other — as they must — but without chairs, lest they linger too long. The Recreation Hall will be suitably separate from the Chapel, and the Chapel will be semi-circular because I love to look into the faces of my brothers and sisters. Because our leaders are lay leaders and unpaid, they will not sit over us, but with us. The classrooms will be semi-circular too, and warmly painted and carpeted for comfort and communication.

Yes, joy and laughter, worship and reverence will be in the building, and in us.

## *A HANDFUL WITH QUIETNESS*

# **Far Beyond the Half-Way Covenant**

*Karl Keller*

*Karl Keller teaches polymorphous perversity at San Diego State College, is uncommitted, and loves little children.*

Puritanism began as a covenant theology. Those who held to its fundamental principles up into the seventeenth century, when it dominated men's lives in Europe and especially in New England, believed that the foremost of their religious duties was to make their invisible and spiritual covenants with God visible; that is, to demonstrate their sure conviction of the truth with holy living and convincing testimony *before* being admitted to membership in

the church. This was accomplished through means regulated by the authority of the original covenanters, who became the guardians of the church and of society, judging what persons were fit to be admitted and rejecting the spiritually unfit. To be admitted, a person had to make a confession of faith, showing that he was conscious of God's special grace in his religious experience. The church was therefore made up exclusively of well-informed, exceedingly

self-conscious, and fully convinced believers. They called themselves the elect of God.

By 1662, however, Puritan ministers decided on a change in this practice. This change, called The Half-Way Covenant, made it possible for children and grandchildren of covenant members to be admitted to membership until they came to their own full conviction of the truth. There were to be among the visible saints no uncertain members of the church. The sacraments of the church were not converting ordinances but were the exclusive right of the elect.

By the end of the seventeenth century, a further compromise was made which forever changed the character of American Protestantism. Initiated by Solomon Stoddard, Congregational minister at Northampton, Mass., and gradually adopted by all New England congregations, the change meant that admission to the church might *precede* a full testimony of the truth and that the sacraments of the church were not the exclusive right of the elect but were means of converting the weak of faith to full conviction of truth. Membership in the church was seen as a *means* to a holy life, not the reward of believing, as it had been earlier.

There were both advantages and disadvantages in the new practice. Far more people included themselves in the religious activities of the community churches; far more felt religion was made to move the common man toward a better religious life; far more saw religion as a program of self-improvement. But at the same time, the intellectual impulse and introspective fervor of early Puritanism were lost. It was no longer necessary to use the mind to work to discover one's spiritual worth. Religion was no longer a matter of God's determinations (and man's intellectual effort to discover those determinations) but instead a matter of man's religious motives and moral actions (he could save *himself* if he tried). There was gradually much less of an interest in God's role in a man's life and much more interest in religion as a self-improvement program. Piety (the pursuit of knowledge of the power of God in one's life) gradually degenerated into moralism (the pursuit of ways of living comfortably with one's conscience). Intellectualism in American religion rose and fell with the rise and fall of covenant theology. With its demise, anti-intellectuality

came to dominate American religious thinking.

I have mentioned all of this because I sense that Mormonism has been undergoing a similar change. It is valuable to be aware of the consequences. Mormonism, too, is a covenant theology in its basic teachings. From the outset of the Church, conviction was exacted *before* baptism was granted. Mormonism has also had its Half-Way Covenant in allowing half-way membership to children until they can believe for themselves. But as with the congregational churches in early America, the Church has, since the late 1950s and early



1960s, encouraged baptism and membership as a *means* of conversion and testimony. Someone interested in the Church is now encouraged by our leaders and missionaries to be baptized *before* he is completely knowledgeable and possessed of absolute conviction. One's *desire* to believe and a mere taste of the spirit now makes him eligible to become a part of the body of believers.

The result has been of great advantage to the Church: the membership has swelled by several million and millions of others are influenced by its programs and power. But at the same time there have been some unfortunate consequences, and these appear to have been overlooked even though they have seriously affected the quality of religious life in the Church.

With the influx of members who need years of instruction while learning the elementary principles of the Church, the teaching and preaching in the Church has had to adapt itself to the lower level of the convert, much more in recent years than

ever before. To be helpful, meetings and activities have had to be geared to his level. Publications and programs have had to be designed for his elementary reading and listening. Lessons, discussions, sermons, entertainments, and cultural events, even General Conference addresses, have had to become more and more elementary, rather than increasing in sophistication or refinement of ideas. ("Elementary" should not be confused here with "simple and direct" or with "fundamental.")

Moreover, year in and year out, the influx of "unconverted" but committed converts continues, and so the meetings and activities, the publications and programs seldom rise above the level of the initiate. No relief appears in sight. *The Reader's Digest* becomes our scriptures. We hear Albert Hay Malotte instead of Bach, Edgar A. Guest instead of John Milton. We quote J. Edgar Hoover instead of Joseph Smith, Jacob Hamblin instead of B. H. Roberts, Cleon Skousen instead of J. Reuben Clark. The discussions and reading material have breadth without much depth. The interpretations of world problems tends toward gross oversimplification and misunderstanding, with simple nationalism as a ready solution. Our theology becomes a handful of maxims. Our language becomes clichés. Our very personalities in the Church become a stereotype.

Thus, the needs of the seasoned, knowledgeable members become ignored. Opportunities for sophistication in the gospel for life-long, thinking members diminish. A place for the intellectual in the Church disappears.

Of course, one would not want to exclude one soul from among the converts. The problem is not at all the fault of the converts. One only wishes that church-wide and local leaders could recognize (and especially the teachers in the Church) that as soon as the program of the Church is de-

signed primarily for the new members or for the unlettered in the Church (much of the time, it seems, *solely* for them), those who hunger and thirst for further enlightenment are bound to experience alienation, and perhaps exclusion. Their activity in the Church must then become something outside and beyond *the* activity of the Church. Exclude the intellectual and a valuable source of ideas and energy is lost; yet when the Church goes as far beyond its own half-way covenant as it seems now to have gone, the intellectual may find in the activities or business of the Church little that can be of interest to him. He has been there before and is eager for new territory.

In all of this, there are implications for the converts as well. It is axiomatic that the lower the level of awareness and experience of new members, the more control there must be from the leaders of the Church. This is always one of the problems with rapid-growing populations; the uneducated masses must be brought effectively under control. The result for both the advanced member of the Church and the new member, however, is decreased opportunity of expression and severely reduced individuality. All are expected to conform to a norm that is often mediocre, simplistic, and spiritually unstimulating.

No doubt my complaint oversimplifies the problem, and may in fact seem mere snobishness. There are complex matters involved. But one wonders if leaders and teachers in the Church are always aware that a religion which addresses itself primarily to the outsider, the initiate, and the apprentice to the faith may in reality be in danger of losing the seasoned insider, the spiritually experienced, and the intellectually advanced. A program designed only for the intellect and experience of twelve-year-olds cannot expect to hold its twenty- or thirty-year-olds very long.



*DIALOGUE TAKES PLEASURE  
IN ANNOUNCING THE WINNERS OF  
THE THIRD ANNUAL  
DIALOGUE PRIZES  
AWARDED FOR THE BEST WRITING\*  
SUBMITTED IN 1970  
MADE POSSIBLE THROUGH A GRANT FROM  
THE SILVER FOUNDATION*

*Social Literature (History, Sociology, Psychology)*

FIRST PRIZE (\$150): ROBERT BRUCE FLANDERS, Southwest Missouri State College, for his essay "The Kingdom of God in Illinois: Politics in Utopia."

SECOND PRIZE (\$50): KENNETH W. GODFREY, Director of L.D.S. Institutes and Seminaries for Arizona and New Mexico, for his essay "The Coming of the Manifesto."

Honorable WESLEY W. CRAIG, JR., Brigham Young University,  
Mention: for his essay "The Church in Latin America: Progress and Challenge."

*Religious Literature (Theology, Philosophy, Sermons)*

FIRST PRIZE (\$150): LOWELL BENNION, University of Utah, for his essay "The Gift of Repentance."

SECOND PRIZE (\$50): GARY HANSEN, Utah State University, for his essay "Wanted: Additional Outlets for Idealism."

Honorable DOUGLAS ALDER, editor, "A New Look at  
Mention: Repentance."

*Imaginative Literature (Fiction, Poetry, Personal Essays, Criticism)*

FIRST PRIZE (\$150): DAVID WRIGHT, Bennington, Idaho (awarded posthumously), for his long poem "Rivers Saints — Introduction to a Mormon Chronicle."

SECOND PRIZE (\$50): BRUCE W. JORGENSEN, Cornell University, for his essay "Imperceptive Hands: Some Recent Mormon Verse."

Honorable C. THOMAS ASPLUND, Queen's University, Ontario,  
Mention: Canada, for his poem "Upon This Rock."

JUDGES: The Editorial Staff of *Dialogue*

\*Some outstanding pieces submitted by last year's winners and by *Dialogue's* Editorial Staff were not eligible for this year's prizes.

WE ARE STILL ACCEPTING MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE  
FOURTH ANNUAL *DIALOGUE* PRIZES.



