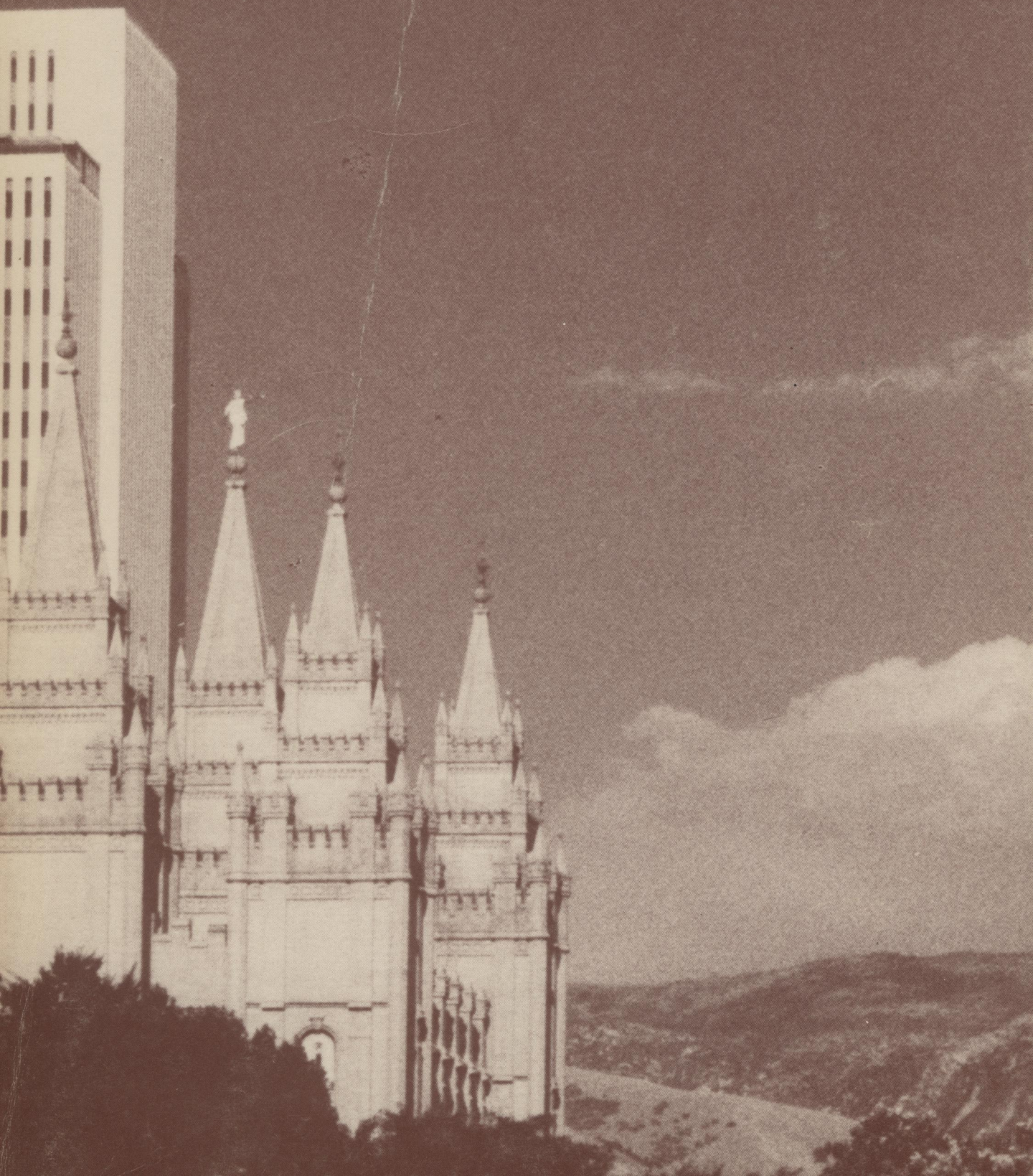
DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



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

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Letters to the Editor

Dear Sirs:

What ever shadow of doubt may have been cast on one's loyalty to the Mormon Church through association with *Dialogue* (especially during the early years) has certainly been dispelled by some recent events. Some readers and supporters of *Dialogue* may be happy to know that the new president of Brigham Young University, the new Church Historian, and the latter's two new assistants have all been identified to a greater or lesser extent with *Dialogue* for years.

I am only sorry this spirit of toleration and understanding did not come earlier. A good friend of mine turned down an offer to serve on *Dialogue's* Board of Editors, because a mutual friend at B.Y.U. warned him it would hurt his chances in the Church.

Sincerely,

Stanley B. Kimball
Professor of History
Southern Illinois University

Dear, Are you asleep?

Not quite.

Did you read the Round Table Review in this last *Dialogue?*

No.

They're reviewing Cleon Skousen's book, *The Naked Capitalist.*

You mean *The Naked Communist.*

No, *The Naked Capitalist.*
C-A-P-I-T-A-L-I-S-T.

It's Communist, C-O-M-M-U-N-I-S-T, he wrote that book a long time ago.

No, it's a new book called *The Naked Capitalist.* He says there's a conspiracy by the rich banker types to control the world.

You must have things mixed up. Our Cleon Skousen wouldn't write a book with that thesis or title. That's like Lowell Bennion suggesting that sweet reasonableness is a vice. It just wouldn't happen.

Well, Skousen wrote it and Midgley's reviewing it.

I suppose you'll tell me that Midgley came out for the rich guys.

Yes, that's exactly what he did. How did you guess? He supported the rich people and the status quo.

Look dear, it's getting late. Perhaps we can talk about this in the morning. Midgley is an old U. of U. debator, a confirmed liberal. Liberals want to wrench the power from the rich and give it to the poor and powerless.

That's Skousen's program. According to Midgley, Skousen wants to: (1) angrily arouse people to the point where they will seize control of a political party, (2) take over the government, (3) use its power to eliminate the wealthy, (4) dismantle credit and money power, and (5) disperse POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

That's Skousen's program? Our Skousen, the arch crime fighter, super American, darling of the John Birch Society, former FBI agent? That's the program of a radical populist left winger type, but not Cleon Skousen. There aren't twenty-five active LDSers in the whole church, who are that radical.

Well, there are now. According to Midgley there's a flock of true believers following Skousen at the B.Y.U. and Midgley calls them right wingers not left wingers.

Let me get this straight. Skousen's a populist, his followers are right wing conservatives who are pursuing a radical left program and Midgley, the liberal, is defending the capitalist system and the rich guys.

Yes, that's pretty close.

The end must be near, do we have our two-year supply of food?

You're avoiding the issue. Whom do you choose?

What are my choices?

Skousen and the poor people or Midgley and the rich guys.

I'll take Midgley and the poor people.

Chicken.

R. Garry Shirts
Del Mar, California

PLEASE BRING SOME BOXES HOME

Repeated moving's sad enough
Yet why I really cry
Is thought of having, once again,
To pack my year's supply.

Gwen A. Sandberg

Dear Sirs:

In these days of predictable decisions being handed down by that institution known as the "Nixon Court," the Honorable Justice Mr. William O. Douglas has been increasingly burdened with the task of writing dissenting opinions which decry the erosion of our constitutional freedoms. At times he has also utilized concurring opinions to inveigh against past and present injustices. Mr. Justice Douglas' commitment to the freedoms our founding fathers sought to protect, and to the preservation of true liberty is well evidenced in this extract of his "dissenting in part" while concurring on the recent Supreme Court case *Wisconsin v. Yoder*. This case dealt with the right of Amish farmers to educate their children according to the dictates of their religious belief (affirmed), rather than according to educational practices determined by the secular state. Latter-day Saints will be gratified to see that Mr. Justice Douglas looks toward an after-the-fact vindication of our ancestors and their attempts at preserving a vital constitutional freedom. It is interesting to compare this decision in its entirety with Sam Taylor's essay "The Little Man Who Isn't There" in *Dialogue*, 6 (Autumn-Winter, 1971). Here is but an excerpt from the decision.

> The Court rightly rejects the notion that actions, even though religiously grounded, are outside the protection of the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment. In so ruling, the Court departs from the teaching of *Reynolds v. United States*, 98 U.S. 145, 164, where it was said concerning the reach of the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment, "Congress was deprived of all legislative power over mere opinion, but was left free to reach actions which were in violation of social duties or subversive of good order." In that case it was conceded that polygamy was a part of the religion of the Mormons. Yet the Court said, "It matters not that his belief (in polygamy) was a part of his professed religion; it was still belief and only belief." Id., at 167.
>
> Action, which the Court deemed to be antisocial, could be punished even though it was grounded on deeply held and sincere religious convictions. What we do today, at least in this respect, opens the way to give organized religion a broader base than it has ever enjoyed; and it even promises that in time *Reynolds* will be overruled.

Respectfully submitted,
George Reynolds, Esq.

Dear Sirs:

In my article "The Coming of the Manifesto," page 15, I state, "By July 26, 1887 President John Taylor was dead. In the last year of his life, while still on the 'underground,' he married at least six additional wives in a further attempt to keep the law of God." This statement is not true. I find that in the last year he married only one additional wife, Josephine Elizabeth Rouech. He was sealed to her December 19, 1886. The research of Reymond Taylor discloses that President Taylor had at least fifteen wives (usually he is credited with only seven), yet he married only Sister Rouech the last year of his life. Will you please publish this correction.

Sincerely,

Kenneth W. Godfrey
L.D.S. Institute of Religion
Ogden, Utah

Dear Sirs:

Congratulations for publishing Leland Fetzer's article on DeVoto and the three DeVoto letters edited by Wallace Stegner. As a long-time DeVoto fan and as one who feels he has been unjustly maligned by Mormons, I was pleased to see this new look at him. DeVoto was obviously a complex person, and this complexity was certainly reflected in his attitude toward the Mormons. If he had strong feelings against the Mormons it is also true that he had deep feelings for them. Hopefully these articles will cause Mormons to return to his writings with more objectivity. As Fetzer points out, it is difficult to imagine a more moving portrait of Mormon pioneer life than DeVoto's "The Life of Jonathan Dyer."

Sincerely,

Elfrida Ferkalec
El Cajon, California

Does Marriage Make a Psychotherapist?

In spite of all my respect for Dr. Cline I could hardly agree with his opinions published in the Spring 1971 issue of *Dialogue*. I agree that marriage is very important and may help us to overcome many problems, but the profession of a psychotherapist and a counselor cannot be restricted just to married people. Regardless of whether Dr. Cline believes that psychotherapists of today are priests of the future, psychology and psychotherapy are still professions and have to be based much more upon technical knowledge and trained insight than upon subjective experiences with marriage. Dr. Cline's opinion would exclude all single people, divorced and widowed experts as "maladapted ones" from the area of psychology, and furthermore, his "common-sense psychology" may lead to another extreme: what about reversing his idea and saying that a happy marriage and a well-settled personality are more important than technical preparation and study? How much time back in history would this push us? Such restrictions and questionable proposals would be hardly acceptable to any State Legislature.

I think that Dr. Cline's opinion about psychotherapists, counselors, or even bishops, has been motivated or at least influenced by the idea that only those who are optimistic, happily married, and well-adjusted can help people with emotional problems. I do not think there is any research which might support such a hypothesis. On the other side, it was the famous Alfred Adler who said that only those people who know the problems of being in mud can help others who still are stuck in it. People who have overcome their depression or anxiety know probably better how to handle these problems in others than happy, easy-going optimists.

In my own experience, a stubborn, self-satisfied local authority in the Church who has no patience for suffering people with emotional problems and who believes that emotional problems and a weak testimony are synonymous, is usually a well-adjusted optimist with a happy marriage. The experts leave much place in their books for psychotherapists who occasionally may need the help from other psychotherapists and still are not maladjusted and need not be ashamed of it (Wallen, Schafer). This was so well indicated by R. D. Hunt and K. H. Blacker in *Dialogue* (Winter 1968). I believe that technical knowledge, capacity, and human feelings in a psychotherapist are more important for his patient than his marriage. I would not like to have any hard feelings with Dr. Cline, but I can assure him that today's authors who proclaim a development "toward the sex without love" may be more dangerous to Christianity than the poor single psychotherapists — and many of these bold authors are well-settled in marriage, have children, and may be supposed as very well adapted people.

Dr. George E. Vesely
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear sirs:

I would like to discuss three implications of Victor Cline's note (Spring, 1971) on infidelity as an occupational hazard of the counseling professions. His introductory comments suggest that sexual relations with a psychotherapist are both commonplace and professionally acceptable. Sexual union does happen, but it is not all that common. Many experienced therapists have anecdotal information of seductions, but the incidence of such affairs is difficult to determine. Masters and Johnson do not specify the "sizeable number" of patients seduced by prior therapists. And their patients come from a select population that is not demonstratively representative of patients in psychotherapy. Recent news (usually ill-informed) about nude therapy groups and publicity of the Southern Californian fringe do suggest that sex is now the predominant activity as well as the topic of all forms of therapy. Notwithstanding such press, the prospect of a sexual relationship with a psychotherapist is a fantasy that remains — in the overwhelming number of cases — a fantasy. Responsible psychotherapists view sexual activity with a patient as a breach of an implicit contract and decidedly untherapeutic. Persons considering psychotherapy already have more than their share of confusion and trouble. I hope that the prospect of seduction would not dissuade anyone from utilizing professional help he would otherwise seek out.

Cline implies that his awareness of romantic feelings arising in therapy was a surprising discovery for which his training gave him no preparation. Unfamiliarity with "transference" and "counter-transference" is the exception in any recognized training program based upon a psycho-dynamic understanding of personality. More than a half-century ago Sigmund Freud, a stern moralist in his own right, was advising his colleagues that the romantic attraction of female patients was to be interpreted and not reciprocated. He wrote: "The experiment of letting oneself go a little way in tender feelings for the patient is not altogether without danger. Our control over ourselves is not so complete that we may not suddenly one day go further than we had

intended. . . . Analytic technique requires of the physician that he should deny to the patient who is craving for love the satisfaction she demands. The treatment must be carried out in abstinence."

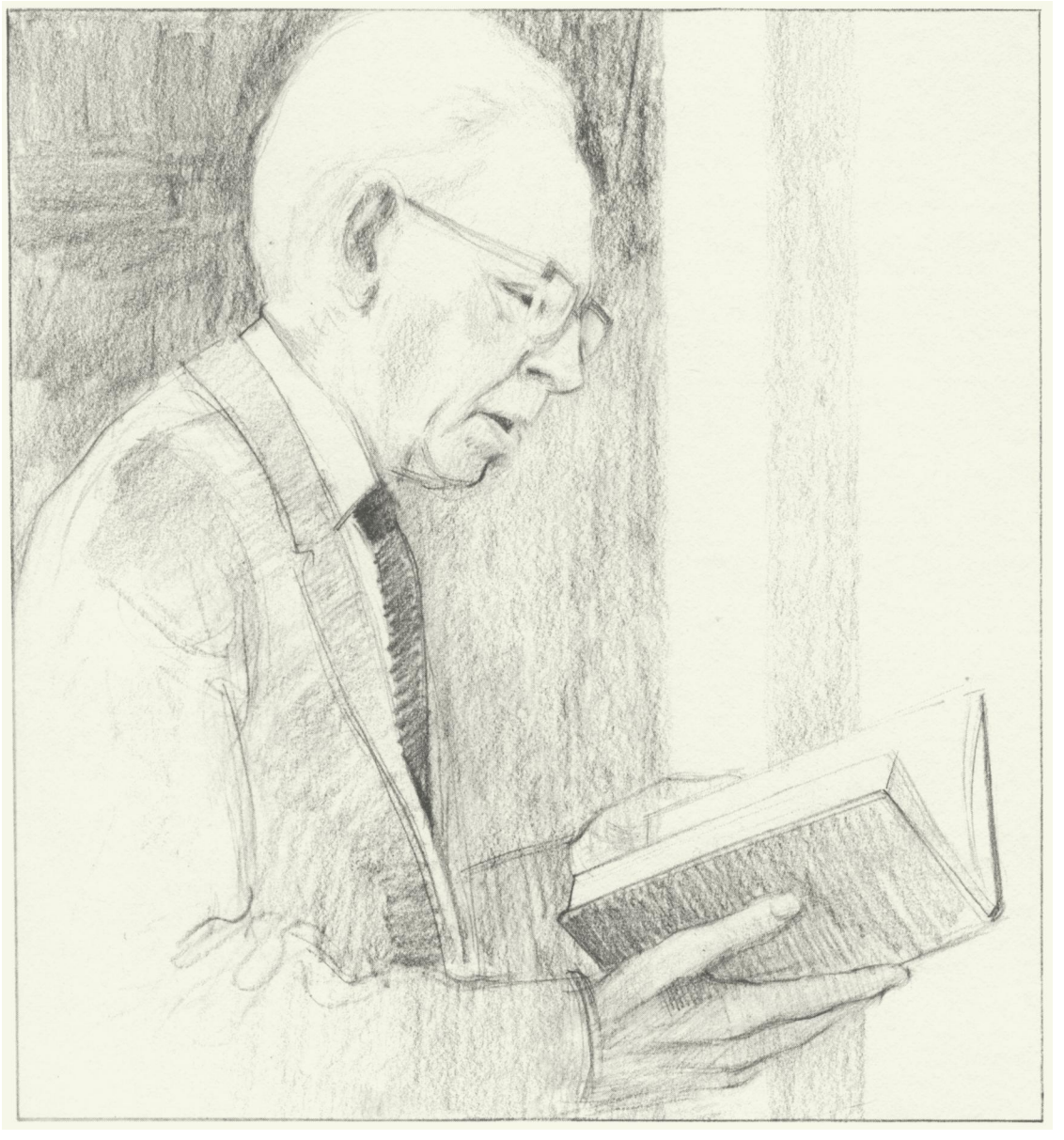
Cline's concept of "vulnerability" suggests that otherwise moral and knowledgeable individuals may be irresistibly drawn into sexual union when involved in a close relationship. I would hope that such a notion would not keep Bishops and other Church counselors from allowing close relationships and the tender feelings that can arise from emotional closeness. Strong positive feelings often accompany the revelation of religious convictions and doubts, marital hopes and difficulties, and personal aspirations and failings. Such personal revelations allow development of intimacy which is *not* equivalent to the erotic sensations of sexuality. Sexuality may arise from intimacy, as in courting, and ideally fuses with intimacy in marriage. But feelings of intimacy need not lead to sexual expression, and can be differentiated from eroticism by individuals who have allowed themselves to experience both feelings. Indeed, awareness of such feelings allows more conscious control of them. The repression of such feelings (an intrapsychic process not to be confused with suppression of action on such feelings) may ironically make one more "susceptible" to being "trapped by an intense passion." Church counselors may be better advised to acknowledge their feelings and to learn to differentiate them rather than to attempt to deny them. This suggestion might appear dangerous to persons who equate the idle thought with the damning deed and who wish to avoid even the thought of evil. However to discourage the Church counselor from emotional involvement with those who seek his advice and spiritual help would be to rob his flock of his expression of concern. A mother does not withhold maternal love from her baby because of the spector of incest.

Owen E. Clark
Madigan General Hospital
Tacoma, Washington

Professor Cline responds

I agree in principle with nearly all of Dr. Vesely's comments and appreciate his stating the issues more succinctly than I did in my reflections in "Mormons and Infidelity." However, a satisfying marriage in which the therapist's human needs for love and affection are met and reciprocated do, I still believe, give him greater emotional and human resources to meet the needs of his patients. A disasterous or destructive marriage can make the therapist, bishop, or anyone else more vulnerable and susceptible to an involvement with a third party. A single person as therapist, divorced mother, or spinster, etc. can certainly make a healthy, pathological or almost any other kind of adjustment according to his/her particular life style and personal situation.

With regards to Owen Clark's comments I would in general say, "right on," though I would hasten to reassure him that I would also agree that a therapist's romantic and/or sexual involvement with a patient would indeed be contrary to the professional ethics of all of the helping professions. I have yet to hear of any of these professions in recent years disciplining their members for engaging in such activities or practices. I would hope that my cautionary remarks to therapists as well as bishops, counselors, attorneys, physicians, and Mormons generally, who are involved in helping others, will not dampen or lessen their commitment and concern in being Good Samaritans, giving a helping hand or counseling their fellow man. However, the general gist of my commentary — that too many Mormons including skilled professionals, do get involved in illicit and adulterous relations which had their origins in an attempt to help, counsel, console and comfort a member of the opposite sex — still stands. The point being that under certain conditions most of us are vulnerable and susceptible to the transference and countertransference phenomona. Having a healthy marriage and/or other satisfying human relationships helps protect us from these types of vulnerabilities.



JOSEPH FIELDING SMITH
1876-1972

With respect, Dialogue *presents the following collection of tributes and recollections of President Joseph Fielding Smith. The span of President Smith's life dramatizes the growth and development of the Church during the past one hundred years. When he was born the Church was still a Great Basin Kingdom presided over by Brigham Young; when he died it had become in the full sense of the word an international Church. From the time he became an Apostle at the turn of the century to his death, Church membership increased more than tenfold.*

When Joseph Fielding Smith became President of the Church, some may have felt that a man of his age and orientation might be incapable of the vision and guidance which the Church needed in these times. What has happened under his brief administration is dramatic evidence of his inspired leadership. As Eugene England remarked in the Spring, 1971 issue of Dialogue, *"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 venturesomeness in actions of the Church: appointment of young men of spiritual and intellectual power and cultural breadth . . . to head the Church schools; new professionalism and courage in the reorganized Church publications . . . ; new confidence and sophistication in our mission as a universal Church . . . ; bold moves in development of the Church's social services. . . ." Time may well show that in his short tenure as President and Prophet, Joseph Fielding Smith initiated one of the most progressive periods in Church history.*

As a public man, Joseph Fielding Smith often was seen as stern and austere. That he was also kind and gentle is less well known. In the following pages Hoyt Brewster, Jr., a grandson of the Prophet, points out in a touching reminiscence, that those who knew Joseph Fielding Smith well knew that he was a man of love; two associates, G. Homer Durham and Henry Eyring, attest to his kindness and tolerance; Denise St. Sauveur, a recent convert to the Church, tells of her experience in discovering the Prophet; and Mary Bradford and Richard Cracroft write personal impressions of their brief encounters with him. Finally, Leonard Arrington, newly-appointed Church Historian, gives an estimate of President Smith's fifty-year tenure as Historian of the Church.

THE LOVE OF A PROPHET

HOYT W. BREWSTER, JR.

Joseph Fielding Smith is a name that has been known to the Latter-day Saints for well over sixty years. His leadership and counsel have been manifest in the leading councils of the Church since his early youth. His powerful testimony of the gospel, borne with certain conviction, has reached all corners of the earth, affecting Saint and Gentile alike. He has been admired, respected, and even feared. He was no stranger. Yet, so often one has asked, "What was Joseph Fielding Smith really like?"

It seems that so many good men of public exposure either fail to communicate the personal side of their lives, or the public is not perceptive enough to catch the vision of human tenderness and warmth that is so often couched within the nature of a man of God. For over thirty-four years I had the privilege of knowing this personal side of President Joseph Fielding Smith, not only as a Church leader, but as a grandfather. Although I have been very much aware of the strict, self-controlled style of life which he lived, I also experienced the tenderness and compassion which he has shown to countless individuals during the course of his life. Perhaps his love and concern for others can be epitomized in an experience I had with him during the London Temple dedication.

When I left the Salt Lake train terminal, early one Sunday morning in the summer of 1958, I kissed my grandfather goodbye for what I feared might be the last time in this mortal life. I knew that he would reach his eighty-second birthday within the next few weeks, and that I would be in far-away Holland for the next two and one-half years serving a mission for the Lord. I suppose some of the pangs of loneliness which trembled through my body, leaving a slight lump as they passed through my throat, were in part due to a genuine touch of homesickness. Yet, the thought never quite escaped me that this beloved man of God, whose physical image rapidly disappeared from my view as the train rolled down the tracks, might not be there to greet me upon my arrival home.

I was overjoyed, therefore, when the missionaries of the Netherlands Mission were invited to attend the London Temple dedication in September, 1958, and to learn that my grandfather would be one of the General Authorities in attendance. Perhaps only one who has experienced a separation from a loved one can know the true happiness, or realize the great excitement with which I looked forward to our visit to England.

Upon arriving at the Temple site, and after spending about an hour visiting with many friends who were then serving in the British Mission, we were lined up into groups and ushered into the temple. It just so happened that the group I was with passed within about fifteen or twenty feet of the stand where President McKay and the other Brethren were seated. As I hastily scanned the row of men seated in the presiding chairs, anxiously looking for that familiar face, my heart gave a joyful leap as my gaze fell upon the then President of the Twelve, Joseph Fielding Smith. I halted my forward motion momentarily and briefly entertained the impulse to either call to my grandfather or quickly run over and speak to him. However, I felt that the solemnity of the occasion required that I go directly to my seat and endeavor to speak with him following

the services. Just as I was about to resume my pace, his eyes happened to focus upon me, whereupon he threw open his arms and motioned me toward him. I suppose that words are inadequate to express the feeling of love which I felt as he reached out and embraced me, kissing me as was his custom with his children and grandchildren.

There, in the sanctity of a house of God, Joseph Fielding Smith — the grandfather — was not concerned with whether or not it was proper protocol to greet me in such a fashion, especially in front of that room full of people. At that moment he was displaying the love and concern which he had for a grandson. I believe our Father in Heaven looked down with pleasure upon that moment, which to me, was as sacred as any moment I have spent on earth.

What kind of a man was Joseph Fielding Smith? A man of great compassion and warmth, and filled with a love for all of mankind. Just ask those who knew him best.

A CONVERT DISCOVERS A PROPHET

DENISE ST. SAUVEUR

When I encountered missionaries from the Church two years ago, they questioned me as to the need for prophets, both ancient and modern. At that time I was a student in a Catholic College preparing for the future. I was not quite ready to revert to the past and "Bible tales" whose validity I doubted. Believing in a modern prophet seemed an absurdity after studying a wide range of contemporary theologians and philosophers. To me there was no need for a prophet. Yet, three months later I bore testimony that Joseph Smith and his grand-nephew Joseph Fielding Smith were called to be prophets in our time.

Soon after I became a member, however, I discovered it was easy to take the Prophet for granted. I had never seen President Smith in person, and I came to wonder how a man of 94 years could understand me and my problems. As time passed the academic world came to encompass reality for me. Struggling to live the Gospel became as everyday as my class assignments. That President Smith had grown through some seventy-five more years of experience than I had did not relieve the apprehensions resulting from my new life in the Church. I did not know Elder Smith as a man, or as a man of God.

Two weeks before President Smith passed away, however, I met him. It was not the usual introduction; I sat far from him, but the spirit of that man filled the room and greeted me warmly. While attending June M.I.A. Conference I experienced an alteration of my feelings toward Brother Smith. He became a real person.

During that weekend I witnessed things that I have since tried to fashion into an image. Simply said, I beheld a living testimony of Jesus Christ. Before me sat a father with two righteous sons supporting him on either side. The filial devotion of the two younger men reflected the love, patience, and faith of a generous father. A father for the Church as well as his own family. As he presided over our first general meeting, it was as if I too became an adopted member of President Smith's family. My spirit witnessed glimpses of godliness

in that man, and his love for me impressed itself as forcefully as the love I have received from our God and Father in Heaven.

On Sunday, in an extraordinary and intimate Sunrise Service, President Tanner shared stories with a few of us about the Prophet. He told how his wisdom did not dampen his wit, how he made quips about his age and his declining agility. It seems Brother Smith used laughter constructively, and that he was the prime subject for his own ribbing. I had not seen this gift of humor in his Conference talks, and hearing about it made him a more comfortable, endearing person to me, one I'm glad I came to know.

At this moment the memory of Joseph Fielding Smith dwells with me. His death does not erase the testimony I gained at the final session of the M.I.A. Conference. In his last general public address it was obvious that his strength came from the Lord. The Prophet's physical body did not possess the ability to walk alone. When he rose to speak he had to receive assistance from his two counselors. Yet, as he stood at the pulpit I could see the strength of the Lord supporting him, and his clear unbroken voice delivered a message of hope and assurance to me — a message that although we will encounter enormous difficulty in the world we need not be overcome with the spirit of despair. Indeed he left us with a testimony that we have every reason to rejoice in the Lord. As he spoke I came to understand him as the faithful servant — the Prophet — I once only thought I knew. After ten minutes he was again assisted to his seat by President Tanner.

Through coming to know President Smith I began to understand that we are indeed to be as God once was — the kind of man President Smith was — and I am keeping President Smith's memory with me as a reflection of the total being I should become.

JOSEPH FIELDING SMITH— THE KINDLY, HELPFUL SCHOLAR

G. Homer Durham

Many published works of Church history and doctrine testify to the scholarship and direct literary style of the late, tenth President of the Church, President Joseph Fielding Smith. Those who were privileged to use the archives during his tenure as Church Historian can recount many examples of the openness and helpfulness extended to visiting scholars during his term. The following incident reports and shares a different but related experience. It illustrates his warm, friendly character which was not always appreciated by those not having benefit of personal association.

My first serious use of the Historian's Office began about 1940. I suffered from the usual American-Mormon ambition to produce *opus magnum seriatim ad infinitum.* After writing several articles on Mormonism, I found myself examining the output since 1882 of the then President of the Church, Heber J. Grant. The results, thanks to Dr. John A. Widtsoe and Richard L. Evans, then editors of the *Improvement Era,* appeared in 1941 as *Gospel Standards:*

Selections from the Sermons and Writings of Heber J. Grant, Seventh President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (1941). The volume was most graciously received by President Grant as a tribute for his 85th birthday. It was published and distributed as "An Improvement Era Book." Harvardman Widtsoe, long familiar with Ellery Sedgwick, the *Atlantic* Monthly, and *Atlantic* books, visualized a future, selective series of "Improvement Era Books," a project not fully realized.

After completing the work on President Grant, my energies turned toward the third and relatively unstudied (so far as his discourses and writings were concerned) President of the Church, John Taylor. The manuscript, entitled *The Gospel Kingdom,* was virtually completed in October, 1942. At that time, before entraining with my family for a new faculty appointment at Swarthmore College, I left a copy of the manuscript with Richard L. Evans, an editor of the *Era,* for possible consideration as another *Era* book. Work continued during the year at Swarthmore. Paper for publishing "non-essential" books was available only through the War Production Board. It was not until summer, 1943, and a return to Utah, that channels began to clear for publication. Meanwhile, the First Presidency, through President David O. McKay, Second Counselor, had been drawn into the question of book publishing by Church agencies other than Deseret Book Company. I was informed by Elder Evans that the *Era* was not in a position to publish the John Taylor manuscript. However, John K. Orton, immediate past business manager of the *Era,* was interested in and was willing to publish the manuscript as a private venture. So it was done. Orton had published *Courting America,* and Bookcraft was launched with *The Gospel Kingdom* as its first major venture.

A few gift copies were proudly distributed, including one to President McKay. Having sat under his tutelage in the Mission Home in 1933, and having enjoyed close association with his children, I eagerly awaited his response to the book. The mail of Monday, January 24, 1944, brought his letter. The former head of Weber College and lifelong student of English literature was commendatory. But he raised the point, not explained, that the volume might have benefited from "more careful editing." I was deeply troubled. Richard L. Evans, trained by James E. Talmage on the *Millennial Star,* had been kind enough to go through the manuscript, and I considered him the most careful editor that ever edited!

Three days after receiving President McKay's letter, John K. Orton telephoned me in Logan asking clearance for another printing. I immediately called President McKay for an appointment in order to ascertain his specific concerns before proceeding with the second edition. During our meeting, in a helpful and understanding way, he pointed to a paragraph which he feared might be distorted and misapplied by the then-current "Fundamentalists" with respect to the long-since abandoned practice of plural marriage. He also expressed concern for including a piece written in archaic English style by President Taylor in an 1855 New York newspaper. Also, he observed one or two typographical errors. Although he did not express it, I felt he also may have objected to the book being published by someone other than Deseret Book Co. I thanked him for this careful concern and personal help to me in improving a second edition.

Nevertheless, I was somewhat crestfallen as I left his office. I went up to the fourth floor, to Elder Evans' office. He suggested I go down to the third floor Historian's Office and see President Smith. I expressed my concern to President Smith about the book being published by someone other than an "official" publisher and about the typographical errors which President McKay had caught.

Kindly, gently, the great Church Historian and leader assured me that his own book, the compilation of the Prophet Joseph's teachings, had *not* been published by Deseret (although they distributed it), that there had to be enterprise in publication, with similar freedom on the part of the Church to favor or not favor the fruits of such free enterprise. As to typographical errors, he opened his triple combination, to 2 Nephi, Chapter 12. He asked me to read verse I, and see if I found any fault with it. I picked up the volume of scripture and read:

> "The word that Isaiah, the son of Amos, saw
> concerning Judah and Jerusalem:"

I read the passage. I read it again. Then, raising my eyes to his said, with a quizzical look, "It looks all right to me, Brother Smith."

"Look again, Brother Durham."

I looked and still could find no fault. Then the kindly scholar, who had read most carefully the book first given him by his father, said something to this effect:

"Who was the father of Isaiah?"

I looked at the passage and quickly said, "Amos."

"Wrong, Brother Durham. Brother Talmage made a mistake when he edited the proofs for that page. Amoz and not Amos was the name of Isaiah's father. You see, we can all make mistakes."

My Ph.D. had not extended to the distinction between Amoz and Amos. The doctrinal leader, who was to become the tenth President of the Church, sent me on my way. I was comforted and uplifted. Two valuable lessons had been received on the same morning from the men who respectively were to become the ninth and tenth Presidents. President McKay taught me the great care with which one should handle the words, phrases, and paragraphs taken from another's writings. From President Joseph Fielding Smith I learned that errors may not always be apparent, that it is human to err, that even the great James E. Talmage, editor of the *Book of Mormon, Pearl of Great Price,* and *Doctrine and Covenants,* mistook "Amoz" for "Amos." I should take comfort, and do better next time.

The example of the kindly scholar, Joseph Fielding Smith, in the above context, has served me well ever since.

A TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT JOSEPH FIELDING SMITH

HENRY EYRING

As many people have remarked, President Joseph Fielding Smith was a man without guile. He presented every question exactly as he saw it and accepted the consequences of his position whether they were pleasant or unpleasant. Every one who knew him even remotely knew that he was against sin, but it is only less generally known that he loved the sinner. It is also true that he could love those who disagreed with him. This can be illustrated by a personal experience I had with President Smith a number of years ago. I was trained as a mineral engineer so that it is natural for me to interpret the seven periods of creation as long geological ages. Radioactive dating and other methods of arriving at the antiquity of the earth incline many professionals to this position.

Some years ago President Smith invited Dr. Melvin Cook and me to his office to discuss this and related questions. A lively hour-long discussion ensued. As so often happens each person brought up the argument which supported his position and when the discussion was over each parted each with much the same position he held when the discussion began. But what was much

more important, the discussion proceeded on a completely friendly basis without recrimination and each matter was weighed on its merits. So far as I am aware the matter ended there. No one was asked to conform to some preconceived position. The Church is committed to the truth whatever its source and each man is expected to seek it out honestly and prayerfully. It is, of course, another matter to teach as a doctrine of the Church something which is manifestly contradictory and to urge it in and out of season. I have never felt the least constraint in investigating any matter strictly on its merits, and this close contact with President Smith bore out this happy conclusion.

Wholesome is another word strikingly exemplified by President Smith. Riding in military jets, early when they didn't always land appropriately, being an honorary officer in the National Guard, playing hand ball well at sixty, and yet being outstanding as Church Historian and the leading authority of the Church on doctrine bespeak the whole man. Even more important, President Smith exemplified devotion to duty and other gospel principles in his own life as few others have done. It is curious that this kindest of men should sometimes have been thought of as austere and as living in a world apart. Unfortunately the frequent price that must be paid for excellence is to be misunderstood. To me and to a host of others, President Smith's kindness, his devotion to duty and to gospel principles will remain a beacon for all shining across the years.

THE DISCOMFORTER: SOME PERSONAL MEMORIES OF JOSEPH FIELDING SMITH

RICHARD H. CRACROFT

I was about twelve when I first met President and Sister Smith. They had come to visit the Thirty-Third Ward, Bonneville Stake, *and* the family of my pal, Doug Myers, my bishop's son and President Smith's grandson. I had been impressed with Doug's overwhelming respect for his grandfather, a respect which often arose in our tentative youthful probings of the mystical and mysterious in gospel doctrine. I recall how impressed Doug had been by his parent's admonition that his behavior would reflect, for good or evil, upon the name of his great-great-grandfather, Hyrum, and his grandfather, then the President of the Council of the Twelve, and I had observed at several points how this filial piety made Doug hesitate in engaging in some of the marginal activities of Scout-aged boys.

My own awe for President Smith increased as I studied the gospel, and I grudgingly concluded, time and again, that the President seemed to know what he was writing or speaking about, despite the fact that he had the audacity to make me very uncomfortable in the conclusions he reached. Somehow it is much easier to read of Alma's ripping from his contemporaries the guises and shams which prevented them from achieving harmony with their God than it is to have men of President Smith's stature doing the same thing to us — and

I have occasionally caught myself making reactionary statements which, when deliberated on in private, sound shockingly like the self-justifications of the men of Ammonihah — and I am again made uncomfortable. President Smith was, I have concluded, a great Discomforter.

The President continued to make me uncomfortable throughout my young life, but I recognized even then that it was a kind of divinely appointed discomfort, a rather unwelcome stirring to righteousness. After our first meeting I became much aware of his ministry. I recall hearing him in various conferences of the Stake and Church; I recall watching him skip vigorously up and down the steps of the Church Office Building, where my mother was employed; I recall looking up suddenly in Deseret Book Co. and seeing him standing across from me, thumbing a book — an electric experience heightened by his nod and soft smile, a smile which seemed at odds with the firmness and sternness which I had come to associate with this Discomforter.

The stern image I originally had of him was finally shattered for me one morning in Luzerne, Switzerland, in 1958. A number of us Elders in the Zürich District had gathered in the L.D.S. chapel that spring morning at a missionary conference. Exhilarated by the beauty of the city, by the spirit of the conference, and by the bouyant assurance that we were engaged in a good work, we sat, self-satisfied, in the conference that freshly green spring morning. Suddenly the rear door of the chapel swung open and the President and Sister Jesse Evans, his delightful wife, entered and began shaking hands with each of us. None of us had been aware of President Smith's presence in Europe, and it seemed to us that morning, isolated as we were in a small branch house in Europe, and steeped as we were in awe for the General Authorities, as if a messenger of God had suddenly dropped in from the realms of glory.

As the President began to speak to us that day, I, and I'm certain the rest shared my feelings, came to realize what it really meant to be a Special Witness for Jesus Christ. I felt my earlier judgments shaken as, quietly and fervently, the President began to recount the events leading to the crucificxtion of Jesus — certainly not a new story to any of us. Yet this time there was something different — a current of electricity vibrated in the air, a feeling so intense that I began to think that this time the story would end differently — that Jesus would miraculously free himself and call down the wrath of heaven upon the insolent mortals.

The story did not change, and President Smith, as he led us breathlessly through the streets of Jerusalem, became visibly moved, his voice growing less and less controlled. Suddenly he was describing brilliantly yet softly the love which God has for His Only Begotten, and the immense woe which must have swept His Being when He saw His Only Begotten slain by other, weaker, yet still beloved creations. "It makes me wonder," he whispered. Then President Smith paused; he wept.

My eyes blurred, but I sensed the emotion ripple across the soul of every person in that room. It was a solemn and sweet moment. A powerful witness came to me that this gray-haired, dignified old man with clear eye and firm voice was in fact an apostle of that Man-God who died on Calvary. It was a sobering realization, and I am refreshed, even now, by the sensation of peace which its recollection brings to my soul. For the first time President Smith became a Comforter to me.

Not long after this experience, I concluded my mission and returned to the world — to materialistic, comfortable Salt Lake City — there to confront, among other experiences, my destiny with the Utah National Guard. While serving in the Guard, I was assigned to escort President and Sister Smith to Camp Williams, where the President was to address the 142nd Military Intelligence Company, a unit comprised almost wholly of returned missionaries who had learned a foreign tongue. There were some exceptions; that is, two of the few non-Mormons in the unit were a Major and a Lieutenant, both members of the Greek Orthodox faith, fine men and true. It was, ironically, these two who were assigned the responsibility of arranging the church program for the L.D.S. group. So the two gentile officers, wary of confronting the President without a saintly buffer, asked me, a very non-commissioned officer, to accompany them in escorting President and Sister Smith to the camp. From the moment we picked the couple up at their home on South Temple Street until we were far out Redwood Road, Sister Smith, with great charm and humor amused us with tales of the couple's narrow scrape with fate in 1939, when President and Sister Smith were sent to conduct the recall from the European missions of all the missionaries imperiled by Hitler's *Wehrmacht*. After chatting for some time, I realized that the two officers, seated in front, had not been sufficiently drawn into the conversation. Hoping to bridge any conversational gap, I turned to the President and informed him, in a bumbling attempt at tact, that the two officers were members of the Greek Orthodox faith.

They were fateful words. President Smith's body immediately tensed; he sat forward, a gleam in his eye and a new vigor in his face; he saw his calling vividly. Clearing his throat, he said, "I'm sorry to hear that, for they worship a false God!" In the midst of our stunned silence, he took charge, complimented the officers on being believers and evidently fine men, but he reiterated that the God which they worshipped in the Greek Orthodox faith was not, unfortunately, the true and living God, and he bore witness to the truths embodied in Mormonism concerning the nature of the Father. He carefully explained to them, between Bennion and Camp Williams, the difference between the true God and the teachings of the apostate churches concerning God.

I was bemused; I was uncomfortable. On the one hand, I was amazed and full of admiration at President Smith's firm stand and eagerness to be a missionary; on the other hand the worldly man in me fretted about the reaction of the two officers, for President Smith was explaining, clearly and fervently, with no apologies, the very lesson on the Godhead which I had given so many times in Austria and Switzerland. Still, despite my concern for the officers' sensitivities, I found myself fascinated by the simplicity and the depth of the truth he was expounding, and by his wholehearted devotion to his missionary calling.

After we had escorted the President and his wife to the meeting place in the Officer's Club at Camp Williams, I cornered the two officers and asked them what they had thought of their first meeting with President Smith. Unlike President Smith, *I* half-apologized to them for his proselytizing. I was relieved and chagrined at their answer: Relieved because they spoke of him with greatest affection and admiration. "He did his duty," smiled one of them, and the other added lightly that both of them were married to Mormon women and had thus been thoroughly exposed to Mormonism, stake missionaries, and the intensity of our missionary commitment, and they would therefore have been

surprised had President Smith not taken the opportunity to preach Mormon doctrine. I was then chagrined that *I* had been so hesitant to give my entire support to President Smith as he undertook to do in Utah what I had just spent nearly three years trying to do for the people of Austria and Switzerland. He had again aroused in me that familiar old feeling of divine discomfort.

Now the great Discomforter has gone, and we who are made of less celestial stuff are left to reflect on the rich gifts which President Joseph Fielding Smith brought to the Church and the world. I am amazed at the variety of those gifts; but his greatest single gift may well be his Alma-like example of perfect integrity and steadfastness in bearing fearless witness to the power of Jesus in changing lives — in being a kind of divinely appointed Discomforter to all of us, gentile and saint alike. I'll miss him.

FROM SOMEONE WHO DID NOT KNOW HIM WELL...

MARY L. BRADFORD

Throughout my life images of Joseph Fielding Smith come and go, connected somehow with that of my grandfather who, stern before I was born, gradually mellowed until he ended up raising a grandchild with a permissiveness his own children never knew. I see President Smith at the pulpit in our ward, stern, humorless, as near to fire and brimstone as my pleasant childhood could show. I used to search my soul, fancying that he could see into it. Were there cobwebs in there — or worse — grimy spiders? I heard that President Smith never read the funnies on Sunday, and although avid about flying, had predicted man would never make it to the moon. For women he was in favor of skirts "that brush the ground" and was adamantly opposed to bathing suits in (on?) any form. It seemed to me that no one had ever seen him smile.

In college President Smith was a frequent visitor to the Institute of Religion, and when his wife, Jesse Evans, sang at our proceedings, she usually asked him to join her at the piano. I noted that his voice wasn't bad, and that SHE could make him smile, even laugh.

His "Answers to Gospel Questions" never admitted of doubts or rumblings, and there had been some in my adolescent heart. So it was with fear and trembling that after finally graduating and applying for work at B.Y.U., I was interviewed by President Smith.

He didn't smile; he wasn't friendly. Fixing me with a gimlet eye, he said, "Have you ever doubted?"

I wanted to say, "What? Ever doubted what?" but I was frightened. I finally said, "Yes, I have. It's hard to think and not to doubt once in a while." I held my breath, but he only nodded and went on.

After that I began to hear about his sense of humor. A relative who had traveled with him reported his fondness for certain earthy jokes; someone else said he had been overheard to say he "didn't care a snap about Missouri." I met

him one day in the Church archives where he presented me with some valuable old pamplets, and was warm and lighthearted about it. Someone else said he thought it too bad that we of the general membership cannot know our leaders better instead of projecting our own fears and fantasies upon them. I suppose that in a way we do create the personalities of leaders, refusing to allow laughter or banter. I think of Jesse Evans, full of songs and jokes, but steely just the same, surely a liberated personality. President Smith's choosing her and loving her (with great grief at her departure) must reveal something of the security of his own inner spaces.

As for laughter, Mormons seem ready to laugh at themselves in small groups, but seem terribly afraid of letting the vulnerability of laughter provoke the public or the press. Perhaps our leaders could be more open with us if we could become more comfortable with ourselves.

On the other hand, forty years in the world show me that smiles are cheap enough (have they not been painted on every souvenir in the world?). Do we not have need of the fortitude, even the stern survival techniques of the pioneers? On balance, I am glad that President Smith not only represented those virtues, but was there in my childhood to cause me to look inward.

When President Smith finally ascended to the Presidency, I was struck with pictures of his early manhood, with the resemblance to our first prophet, especially in the sensitive mouth, the beautiful eyes. And listening to his first conference address, I found him kindly, gracious, and speaking eloquently of brotherhood as if he knew the whole world was listening and would heed.

He was extreme, I used to say. Now I say, I think he was extreme in his devotion to his faith, extreme in his love of the scriptures, never in sympathy with splinter groups that sought to splinter the Church, never taken in by periphery interests, never taken with wild surmise.

His was a private personality that came gradually to stand for the retreat of fear and the embrace of love.

JOSEPH FIELDING SMITH: FAITHFUL HISTORIAN

LEONARD J. ARRINGTON

> *To record as truth that which is false, and to palm off as facts that which is fiction degrades [the writer], insults his readers, and outrages his profession.*
>
> — JOSEPH FIELDING SMITH

Joseph Fielding Smith began his service in the interest of Church history just ten days before the death of President Lorenzo Snow. The year was 1902, and though his arrival in the old Historian's Office at 60 East South Temple went unnoted in the official record, Andrew Jenson, a co-worker, recorded privately his arrival upon the scene of Church history: "Bro. Jos. F. Smith jun. commenced to work at the H.O., occupying the desk which Parley [Jenson's son] vacated yesterday."[1] During the seventy-one years that elapsed from that day until his death on July 2, 1972, Joseph Fielding Smith was singularly involved in the history-keeping activities of the Church, of "writing, copying, selecting, and obtaining all things which shall be for the good of the church, and for the rising generations that shall grow up on the land of Zion." (D&C 69:8)

Joseph Fielding's preparation, the reading and writing he did as a young man, seem to prefigure his later role in Church history. His missionary letters to his Prophet-father, Joseph F. Smith, reveal unusual maturity and comprehending observation. When as part of his work in the Historian's Office he was given charge of the office journal, his observant pen turned what had for several years been a mere record of employee attendance into an invaluable chronicle of the activities and accomplishments of the personnel.

During President Smith's early years in the Historian's Office he was associated with three of the Church's most talented historians: Brigham H. Roberts, who was then editing Joseph Smith's *History of the Church;* Andrew Jenson, whose world travels in the interest of Church history had assured the acquisition of vast amounts of historical information; and Orson F. Whitney, who was then writing his four volume *History of Utah.* Anthon Lund, at that time Church Historian, Andrew Jenson, and Roberts were all twenty years his senior, but it was the young Joseph Fielding who proofread and critiqued each volume of the Roberts' *History* as it was prepared.

At the April General Conference of 1906, the same conference which sustained David O. McKay as an Apostle, Joseph Fielding Smith was presented to the assembled Saints as Assistant Church Historian to succeed Orson F. Whitney, also named to the Twelve. Following this appointment he began the compilation of the twentieth century section of the Journal History of the Church, a counterpart to the earlier section being prepared by Andrew Jenson. Reflected in his choice of "significant" material is the judgment which determined to some extent the shape of the archival collection as it developed: it focuses almost completely on the thought, the events, and the people well within the ecclesiastical boundaries of the Church.

But if his focus was singular, his activities demonstrated a breadth surprising in one who had little opportunity to be schooled in any of the disciplines in which he had to act.[2] In 1909 he visited the eastern United States to examine new methods of indexing and filing, but during those same early years he was commissioned by the U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor to compile statistical data on the Church for the national census. At the same time, he was asked by the Church to prepare reports based on ward records and to collect biographical sketches of the presidents of the Church for B. H. Roberts. He was assistant editor of the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* when the first issue was published in January 1910. These varied activities helped him to gain facility in several disciplines: library science, archival science, records management, publication, and history.

He was involved in the cataloging, classifying, and indexing of the holdings of the library; a partial index to the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* was one such achievement. His writings of those years covered a wide range: ward histories; articles for publication in encyclopedias, newspapers, and periodicals; and lesson manuals for Church classes. He assisted Anthon H. Lund, Church Historian, in correcting hymns for a new edition of the hymn book, compiled a Church Chronology, answered correspondence for the Church Historian and the First Presidency, and collected and compiled data used in defense of Senator Reed Smoot, then on trial before the Committee on Privileges and Elections in Washington, D.C.

During those early days as assistant historian Joseph Fielding demonstrated his characteristic dedication to his work: After the death of his wife, and left with two small children to care for, he married Ethel Reynolds, who had been employed in the office some months. On the day of their marriage, Joseph Fielding spent part of the day working on the Journal History for 1902.

After his appointment to the Quorum of the Twelve in 1910, President Smith was forced to be more selective in his activities in the Historian's Office; most of his time at the office then was spent in compiling the Journal History. By 1918 he had completed that work to the year 1914.

In 1921, five years after Andrew Jenson had carried the first books into the expanded facilities of the Historian's Office in the new building at 47 East South Temple, President Smith became Church Historian, succeeding Anthon H. Lund, who had died on March 2. He was set apart on March 17 of that year.

It was during his fifty-year tenure as Church Historian that President Smith wrote most prolifically: Of his fifteen publications on Church history and doctrine, eleven date from this period. President Smith answered huge volumes of correspondence, particularly with respect to doctrinal questions. For thirteen

years his "Answers to Gospel Questions" was a regular feature in the *Improvement Era.* His most significant historical work was *Essentials in Church History,* published in 1922, a volume which has passed through twenty-four editions and has been translated into French, German, Norwegian, and Spanish. It has seen extensive use as a textbook for students of Church history. Although *Essentials* has been criticised for the lack of "objectivity" because of its focus on those facets of history which bring credit to the Church, President Smith was not unconcerned with fairness and objectivity. In the article from which our introductory quotation is taken, addressed to writers of scurrilous "histories" of the Mormons, the young historian stated his own credo of historical responsibility:

> In the degree that a writer of history departs from the truth, to that extent his writings become worse than fiction, and are valueless. The chronicler of important events should not be deprived of his individuality; but if he wilfully disregards the truth, no matter what his standing may be, or how greatly he may be respected, he should be avoided. No historian has the right to make his prejudices paramount to the facts he should record.
>
> For such a writer, to record as truth that which is false, and to palm off as facts that which is fiction, degrades himself, insults his readers, and outrages his profession.[3]

"Objectivity" for President Smith meant seeing that the history of the Church was presented in a positive light, rejecting the extreme and irresponsible charges of the Church's enemies. If such a conception is limited, his own position was forthright and clearly expressed. Moreover, his *Essentials* continues to serve a valuable purpose as a chronicle of our history and indispensable compilation of information.

When Wallace Stegner wrote in the preface to his *Gathering of Zion* that the materials of the Church Archives were "opened to scholars only reluctantly and with limitations," he represented probably the loudest complaint raised against the Historian in his administration of the Office. President Smith's hesitancy to make available all of the documents in his care can be best understood in the light of his awareness of the multitudes of anti-Mormon books which had appeared, and continued to appear, prior to and during his lifetime. Early in his career he had been advised by his father that "the more you say to [critics of the Church], the more opportunity is given them for criticism and faultfinding."[4] He was obviously not anxious to provide ammunition that would later be fired back at the Church. On the other hand, it is only fair to recognize that many patient scholars, both members of the Church and non-members, were allowed to see and use the rich resources of the Office pertaining to their project with virtually no restriction. The present writer was one of these. The last several years under President Smith's administration, both as Historian and as President, saw a remarkable relaxing of the old policies. Scores of scholars have acknowledged the indispensable help extended to them by the Church Historian's Office.

In his responsibility for the collecting and processing of the materials for the Church Archives, President Smith was involved in significant technological and administrative innovations that traversed the full spectrum of the Church's record-keeping responsibility. These included a comprehensive microfilming program in 1949 that has assured permanent preservation of many important

historical records; the adoption, in the early 1960's, of modernized methods of classification and processing to facilitate the filing and use of the holdings of the Historian's Office; the establishment in 1965 of a records management program to provide professional standards to govern the channeling of Church records into the archives for permanent preservation; and the present construction of a new office building which will house the Historical Department of the Church and meet the demands of the "paper explosion" of the coming decades.

As President of the Church, Joseph Fielding Smith contributed further to the advancement of Church history. A month after his call to the Presidency, Elder Howard W. Hunter was appointed Church Historian. In January of 1972 the Historical Department of the Church was reorganized, ushering in a new era for the collection, processing, researching, and dissemination of Church history. Members of the Quorum of the Twelve were named as advisors, and Elder Alvin R. Dyer, Assistant to the Council of the Twelve, was appointed Managing-Director.

As Assistant Church Historian, as Church Historian, and as President of the Church, Joseph Fielding Smith made contributions to the advancement of Church history unequalled by any of the fifteen men who preceded him in the office.

[1]Andrew Jenson, Diary, October 1, 1902, MS., Historical Department of the Church, Salt Lake City.

[2]President Smith received a two-year liberal arts education at the L.D.S. College in Salt Lake City. In his professional preparation, he forged his own way, achieving the skills of his disciplines by dint of personal effort and experience.

[3]Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., "Libels of Historians," *Improvement Era*, 10 (December 1906), 103-104.

[4]Joseph F. Smith to Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., February 2, 1900, Smith Papers, Historical Department of the Church.

CHALLENGE, CONSTANCY AND CHANGE: SAMPLES OF THE MORMON EXPERIENCE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

EDITED BY JAMES B. ALLEN

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: CHALLENGE FOR MORMON HISTORIANS

JAMES B. ALLEN AND RICHARD O. COWAN

This year (1972), the Mormon Church is 142 years old, which means that 71 years of its history, or fully half its life, has taken place in the twentieth century. Its written history, on the other hand, is notably lacking in serious efforts to report or analyze the momentous events of recent years. This, of course, is understandable, for the nineteenth century was certainly more dramatic, at least in terms of the kind of events that fascinate the general reader, than the years since 1901. In the nineteenth century, Mormonism was propelled into the national and even international spotlight as social and political conflict in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and Utah attracted unusually wide attention. In addition, through its Far Western colonizing activities Mormonism made an essential contribution to the settlement of the American West which still provides a fascinating and open field for writers of history. It is to be expected, then, that these formative years should provide the setting for most of what has been written on Mormon history.

But the time has come to challenge Mormon historians to pay more attention to the twentieth century, including its most recent years. Traditional historians might multiply reasons for not doing so: all the necessary documents are not yet available; it is impossible to write objectively about individuals while they are still alive; the historian might feel intimidated when writing of the recent past for fear of offending certain influential people who participated in the events in question. The history of one generation must be left to the historians of another, such objectors might say, for contemporary history is at best incomplete and usually tends to be so biased that it is of little permanent value.

On the other hand, Mormon scholars could well ponder the implications of a recent article by the provocative American historian, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.[1] Addressing himself to the urgency of writing contemporary history, Schlesinger made several points especially worthy of consideration here: (1) As the world changes more rapidly in modern times than ever before, what we perceive as the "past" is chronologically much closer to us, as change becomes the function not of decades but of days; (2) the means and volume of communication have intensified, making the sheer bulk of source material on current history already overwhelming; (3) along with these rapid changes, there is a greatly enlarged market for contemporary history as our age has developed "an unprecedented preoccupation with itself" and with all sorts of self-analysis; (4) manuscript collections and other historical sources tend to be opened to scholars sooner than ever before, making the writing of recent history more practicable; (5) at the same time, such documents are not always adequate for historians, for, knowing that they will be open to immediate scrutiny, public figures may well

dilute and distort the written record; (6) in order to improve the record for future historians, the contemporary historian needs more and more to turn to the personal interview. Electronic recording devices make oral history more practical than ever before. Schlesinger recognizes that such interviews could be distorted, but he points out that the interviewer could easily agree that parts or all of the recorded material would be restricted for as long as the individual or family felt necessary, but that this oral history interview would become part of the person's papers and essential to historians of later years; (7) Schlesinger answers the objection that one cannot write "objectively" about current events by observing that even if the historian of the past has wider documentation, the contemporary historian, caught in" 'the passion and action of his time,' offers a perspective that cannot be lightly rejected. It is wholly possible . . . that contemporary writers, trapped as they may be in the emotions of their own age, or in consequence, understand better what is going on than later historians trapped in the emotions of a subsequent age." (8) Finally, he pointedly draws attention to the fact that contemporary history, even if inaccurate, serves the ultimate cause of history by giving the participants an opportunity to set the record straight during their own lifetime. It might even be possible, he suggests with some exaggeration,

> to contend that contemporary history can be more exacting in its standards . . . than the history of the past; for contemporary history involves the writing of history in the face of the only people who can contradict it, that is, the actual participants. Every historian of the past knows at the bottom of his heart how much artifice goes into his reconstructions; how much of his evidence is partial, ambiguous, or hypothetical; and yet how protected he is in speculation because, barring recourse to seances on wet afternoons, no one can say to him nay, except other historians with vulnerable theories of their own. The farther back the historian goes, the more speculative his history becomes.

Many of Schlesinger's observations have direct application to Latter-day Saints: Mormonism is rapidly changing in many ways as it grows larger, more complex, and more world-wide in orientation; the volume of Church publications is increasing by leaps and bounds; Mormons are better educated than ever before, and are intensely interested in the problems of the world around them and how their Church is responding to these problems; and, with the growing number of scholars in many fields willing to devote research time to Mormon studies, historians have a richer field of sources than ever before from which to draw the history of their times. Surely consideration of modern trends and problems by those most familiar with them will be highly valued by later generations of historians.

Some Trends Since 1901

What, then, has happened to Mormonism in the twentieth century that is worth writing about? The answer to that question would fill volumes, but we point here only to a few trends and changes which have taken place and which raise questions of real historical import.

At first glance, the most apparent change in Mormonism is its size. In 1900, total Church membership stood at 264,000. By 1971 it was approximately three million. While this rate of growth is not too surprising, such numbers have

obvious implications as far as Church organization and administration are concerned. One of these is seen in the growth of the number of stakes, the basic units of Church administration. In 1901 there were nearly 50 stakes, but by the end of 1971 there were eleven times that number. Administratively, this has necessitated such things as limiting the number of visits to the stakes by General Authorities, calling Assistants to the Twelve, grouping stakes into regions, and appointing Regional Representatives of the Twelve for the purpose of carrying counsel and instruction. More dramatically, it also has meant a vast burgeoning of building construction, Church communication and publication facilities, and professional services. For historians, the growth in numbers and resulting changes in Church administration provide a fascinating challenge in administrative history. What specific factors resulted in basic changes in or augmentation of Church organization? What role did personalities play in these changes, and how effectively were the changes implemented? What factors remained constant in Church administration? What has been the overall effect of the development of a Church bureaucracy, and how does this administrative structure respond to ever changing needs?

An International Church

Expansion of numbers, organization, and services is not the most important aspect of Mormonism's recent history. More challenging, perhaps, to its traditional programs, and to the traditional socio-political orientation of its members, has been the genuine internationalization of the Church. In 1900 some 84 per cent of all Mormons lived in the Intermountain area of the United States. By 1971 this was reduced to 40 per cent, with approximately 20 per cent of the total living outside the United States or Canada. But statistics do not tell the whole story. During the nineteenth century converts throughout the world were encouraged to emigrate to America, and as late as 1908 the *Millennial Star* declared that "notwithstanding the fact that at present the Church is not encouraging the Saints to emigrate, it is with difficulty that many of them are prevented from doing so."[2] At the same time there was the beginning of a greater sense of world-wide involvement in the Church. In 1901, President Lorenzo Snow emphatically instructed the Church that General Authorities were to pay more attention to the interest of the world, rather than local stakes in Utah.[3] The same year a mission was opened in Japan, and in 1910 the President of the Church was attempting to persuade European Saints not to emigrate but, rather, to remain home at least until they had helped establish the faith more firmly.[4]

In the 1920's the organization of stakes began to push out of the Intermountain area, and by 1958 the Church was able to begin creating stakes throughout the world. Today they may be found in Australia, New Zealand, Germany, Switzerland, Great Britain, Holland, Japan, South Africa, Tonga, Samoa, and in many countries of Latin America.[5]

The implications of this internationalization are profound, and should provide ample grist for the mills of historians and other scholars for years to come. To pose just a few questions: What happens as young American missionaries attempt to preach Mormonism in an entirely different culture? Time was when to preach Mormonism in a foreign land was also to preach the virtues of America and to encourage emigration. With this no longer the case, how

will Mormonism adapt itself to the needs of diverse cultures? How far will American Mormons go in becoming better acquainted with the customs and traditions of other people, and how well will other people come to understand American Mormons, thus helping to create a true world brotherhood within the Church? What about the various auxiliary services of the Church, and particularly its educational program? Are traditional programs being adapted to the needs of non-Americans in such a way that the basic tenets of Mormonism are taught without conflicting with the viable traditions of their own culture, or, are there some areas where cultural conflict is inevitable? More importantly, does the Church in reality fill the needs of people around the globe as mounting pressures of the modern world strike at the very hearts of families, churches, and other institutions?

By 1971 several developments pointed in the direction of a more universal orientation, not only in the minds of Church members but also in Church programs. In education, for example, seminaries served students in 22 countries outside the United States and institutes of religion reached into ten.[6] In addition, thousands of non-Americans were being taught in Church schools in Hawaii, Tahiti, Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, New Zealand, Chile and Mexico. Well could the Church's new Commissioner of Education declare in the General Priesthood Meeting in October, 1970:

> One of the great challenges the Priesthood faces in our time is the internationalization of the Church. This is not an American Church — it is the Church of Jesus Christ, who is the God of all people on this planet, and we must, as the scriptures urge, be as "independent" as possible so that the Kingdom is not too much at the mercy of men and circumstances, or the tides of nationalism, or the mercurial moods abroad about America. . . .
>
> We have, for instance, more members of the Church now in Brazil than in all of the Scandinavian countries combined, plus Holland. We have as many members in Uruguay as in the State of New York where the Church was founded. We have as many in Peru as we do in Missouri where so much Church history was made. . . .
>
> These comparisons are sobering and challenging, not only for the Church Educational System, but for the entire Church. Thus, the transculturalization of curricular materials (which is more than translation) represents one of our greatest challenges. The scriptures urge the Church to speak to men "after the manner of their language," taking their various weaknesses into account that all "might come to understanding."
>
> We want our Church Educational System to respond as much as we can to the special conditions in which our members live.[7]

But the response of Mormonism to its own internationalization is seen in more than its educational program. In ecclesiastical affairs, General Authorities have been assigned specific areas of the world as primary responsibilities, and in August, 1971, a General Conference of the Church was held in Manchester, England. A massive translation and distribution program has developed, which employs carefully selected translators, often on a full-time basis, in many parts of the world. Distribution centers for Church literature have been established in at least ten countries outside America. In Mexico City, for example, a center staffed by two dozen workers prints Spanish-language materials and distributes them throughout Latin America. In addition, a unified Church magazine published in 17 languages selects the most appropriate material from other

Church publications and distributes them throughout the world.[8] In down-to-earth social action, the Church has begun to implement programs for promoting literacy, practical education, and economic development in Latin America, and in 1971, for the first time in its history, the Church began sending medical missionaries to underdeveloped areas where not only lack of economic means but also lack of understanding of basic health information contributed to alarming problems.[9]

With the Church on the verge of becoming a truly international body, it well behooves its historians to take a fresh look at any and all affairs that have international overtones. Three authors in this issue of *Dialogue* have made efforts in this direction. Joseph Dixon is concerned with the problems faced by Mormons in Nazi Germany, and implicitly raises the question as to how far committed Mormons might go in their loyalty to diverse political ideologies. LaMond Tullis examines the problems American Mormons have in attempting to understand their Latin American brothers, and suggests that a Church program which worked in the environment of the American West may not really be suitable for the vastly different social and political realities of South America. Paul Hyer sees ways in which Mormonism can be a great stabilizing influence in the current revolutionary milieu of Asia. In addition, Martin Hickman and Ray Hillam insightfully analyze the attitudes toward international affairs of one of Mormonism's foremost statemen, J. Reuben Clark, Jr. But these essays, thought-provoking as they may be, hardly begin to touch the myriad topics with which historians and other scholars should be concerned as they attempt to tell the story of Mormonism as a world-oriented religion.

The Urban Church

Another trend which characterizes the twentieth century Church is urbanization. The general move toward an urbanized society is well illustrated by what happened in the United States after 1900. At the beginning of the century less than half of the population lived in urban centers, but by 1970 almost three-fourths did.[10] The rapid industrialization of America completely changed its population patterns. Among the Mormons, the change was more dramatic. As late as 1920 some 79 per cent of the Church's stakes had a basically rural orientation. By 1971, the ratio was almost exactly reversed with 79 per cent of the stakes organized in predominantly urban areas.[11] While this does not take into account the missions of the Church (many of which are also urban in their basic population), it is nevertheless a strong indication that the basic social environment of modern-day Mormonism was vastly different in 1971 from that of 1900, and that Mormons may have become even more urbanized than the rest of the population. This seems especially true outside America, where the major Church growth is in the cities.

What effect has urbanization had upon the Mormon church as an organization, as well as upon individual Mormons? Are the basic social attitudes of urban Mormons still "rural" in orientation? To what degree have changes in Church organization and programs been influenced by the pressures of the urban environment? To which environment does the missionary program tend best to adapt? Do Mormons living in the cities tend to remain more or less faithful than their rural brethren? Does the political, economic, and social variety of city life lessen dependence upon the Church, or do city dwellers tend

to look toward the Church for identity and community within a giant, impersonal mass of humanity? The answers to such questions are, of course, the essence of contemporary history, but contemporary historians have, as yet, little data with which to approach them.

The Secular Challenge

Secularization, the process by which people tend to replace traditional spiritual values and religious activities with more worldly and temporal concerns, might well be one of the pitfalls of urbanization. This is not to imply that secularization always accompanies urbanization, or that urbanization is necessary to secularization, for such diverse movements as Darwinism, pragmatism, social reform, and women's liberation might all have secularizing influences on the individual. But city life often provides greater opportunity to rub shoulders with secular thought. How have such trends affected Mormonism? Again, little data is available.

A partial exploration of the problems raised by the increasingly urbanized Church membership and the secular challenge is provided by Armand Mauss in his survey, in this issue, of contemporary social and political attitudes of urban Latter-day Saints. This is a brief study derived from a much larger project which is scheduled to appear in print, here and elsewhere, in the near future. While Professor Mauss' work is heretofore unprecedented in its scope and perhaps both surprising and controversial in its conclusions, it will unquestionably spark a great deal of correlated research and discussion. Social and intellectual historians should begin to find great interest in such studies.

Secularization and Education

One of the most important features of the twentieth century has been Mormonism's growing commitment to education — not just to religious education but also to secular learning. By 1920, the Church had abandoned most of its own secondary schools, known as academies, in favor of more fully supporting public education in the Mountain West where most Church members lived. Only the academy in Mexico was retained. At the same time, the foundation was laid for the vast system of seminaries and institutes of religion, established primarily to support and build the faith of students involved in secular educational activities. By 1971 some 126,000 students were enrolled in various seminary programs throughout the world, in addition to 15,000 in Indian seminaries, and 49,000 in institutes of religion. But as the Church expanded beyond its Mountain West environment, the secular educational needs of its members once again became a matter of concern. Elementary and secondary schools were provided in New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, and Fiji, and in the 1950's a challenging program was begun to meet the needs of L.D.S. students throughout Latin America. By 1971 the Church was operating a total of 65 elementary and secondary schools in the Pacific islands and in Mexico and Chile. These schools served 13,200 students, and it was projected that with the opening of two new schools in Peru and Bolivia this figure would soon jump to 17,000.[12]

At the college level, even though the Church continues to support Brigham Young University, the Church College of Hawaii, Ricks College, and the L.D.S.

Business College, in recent years there has been no effort to encourage all Mormon students to attend such Church-related institutions. Rather, in 1970 there were approximately 200,000 L.D.S. students in colleges and universities around the world. Only 32,000 of these, or 16 per cent, were enrolled in Church colleges, and enrollment at B.Y.U. was limited to 25,000.[13] The modern emphasis is on the need for Mormon students to support their local institutions. Said a letter issued by the First Presidency in 1970:

> Members of the Church are taxpayers to local, state, and federal governments in America and their equivalents in Canada, and are fully entitled to send their sons and daughters to tax-supported institutions. The influence of the Church members (whether as students or taxpayers) on our public institutions is needed now — more than ever.[14]

At the same time, the Church is aware of the need to examine the direction post-high school education is taking, and to counsel young people wisely. Declared Church Education Commissioner Neal Maxwell in 1970:

> One of the basic reasons for the pursuit of education is to equip oneself with marketable skills. The less advantaged national economies within which many of our members outside America live — and the shifting prospects with regard to where career and job opportunities will be even in America — both suggest that some additional emphasis is needed in the direction of technical education, which bears on a middle group of skills. For some of our young, earning power, job opportunities and satisfaction will be greater, if they pursue the path of technical education in their post-high school years, including paramedical careers. Professional education in medicine, law, nursing, etc., is going to be needed even more than ever, but all of our youth need not be neuro-surgeons, and the youth who becomes a craftsman should feel just as "approved" as his friend who is a microbiologist.[15]

With such a realistic assessment of educational needs in the modern world, there is some indication that even within the Church system increasing emphasis might be placed on technical education, and on the training of teachers to provide such education, especially outside America where it is most urgently needed. The history of all these modern developments provides an important challenge to Mormon historians; it will say much about the nature of Mormonism itself.

With all this emphasis on secular learning, especially at the college level, what is the role of the so-called "intellectual" within the Church? Since most intellectuals are in some way associated with higher education, to what degree does their natural propensity for raising questions and challenging authority affect their contribution to the Church? A brilliant but preliminary discussion of this question was presented by Davis Bitton in an earlier issue of *Dialogue*,[16] but the full history of what intellectuals have done for, or to, the Church has yet to be written. At B.Y.U. greater stress than ever before is being placed upon advanced degrees and upon proven excellence in one's chosen field of study, as demonstrated by scholarly publications and active participation in professional organizations. There seems to be a growing awareness that such excellence in secular fields is not only desirable but necessary to the educational program of the Church, for Mormon students ought to be exposed to the finest scholarship available.

Excellence in secular as well as religious learning, then, has become one of the essential educational objectives of the Church. At the same time, many scholars have suggested that, ironically, this very emphasis could be the source of major challenges to the traditions of the Church, and thus weaken its spiritual foundations. Thomas F. O'Dea suggested in 1957 that the college curriculum itself could be a shattering experience for the tender Mormon youth who has been taught to live by faith and is suddenly thrust into an academic environment that thrives on raising doubts and questions. "The college undergraduate curriculum," he declared, "becomes the first line of danger to Mormonism in its encounter with modern living."[17] But one wonders if this assessment of fifteen years ago should not be reconsidered by some intellectual or social historian. O'Dea assumed that most Mormon youths came from rural, non-secularized backgrounds. With the urbanization of Mormonism, is it possible that Mormon city youth already have such extensive experience with the secular world that college does not present the threat to them that it may have to the less worldly-wise student from the farm? Is it correct to assume that today, with the availability of television, the automobile, and all the other modern means of rapid communications, the rural student is really so different from his city cousin? What surveys do we have, other than statistics on temple marriage, which reveal the basic religious attitudes of the modern breed of college youth? Richard Poll's essay in this issue of *Dialogue* suggests the attitudes of a few students toward a few relevant issues, but the survey has obvious limitations and only tends to tantalize us with a desire for better information.

The Challenges

The internationalization of the Church, its growth in numbers, the trend toward urbanization, the dramatic expansion of educational facilities, and the challenge of secularism all are threads of a dramatic story which is yet to be told: the emergence of Mormonism as a modern world religion. In many ways this story can be as meaningful to the modern-day saint as the fascinating history of earlier years, although it involves vastly different kinds of experiences, for it will help explain to him not only how and why his church came to be what it is today, but also the source of some of his own ideas and attitudes.

The basic research for such contemporary history has barely begun. Who has taken the time critically to analyze and interpret the lives and ideas of prominent Churchmen who have had an impact not only on Mormonism but in the nation or in the world? Very few such studies exist, although examples of what might be done are seen in the article here by Ray Hillam and Martin Hickman on the international philosophy of J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and Thomas G. Alexander's discussion of the political philosophy of Reed Smoot. The impact of Mormons in the arts and humanities, politics, business, and general public affairs throughout the twentieth century still needs considerable attention, as do the general economic activities of the modern Church.

What of the various branches of Mormonism? In this issue of *Dialogue* Barbara Higdon presents a skillful interpretation of the experience of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in the twentieth century. More such articles need to be produced concerning not only the Reorganized church but also the various divergent groups that still claim

allegiance to Joseph Smith. Intellectual historians need to study Mormon responses to the various philosophical cross-currents of modern times. And finally, historians ought not to ignore the basic doctrines and teachings of the Church and to examine how well they have fared through Mormonism's modern confrontation with internationalism, urbanism, and secularism.

Who is capable of undertaking the writing of modern Mormon history? It would be wrong to imply that only professional historians should be involved, but it is not wrong mildly to chide these historians (including the present writers) for not paying more attention to the needs of contemporary Church history.

Actually, Mormon historians (including non-Mormons interested in Mormon history) are in a better position today than they have ever been to make some important contributions to our understanding of the Church. One evidence of this is seen in the activities of the Mormon History Association. Since its inception in 1965 this group has accomplished some remarkable things. Each year two or more meetings have been held, usually in connection with one of the major historical associations in America. At least 44 important papers or panels have been presented, and at least 15 have been published. In addition, the Association has made a deliberate effort to promote informal "get-togethers" at all historical conventions, where those with common historical interest share their ideas and experiences, often late into the night. Such "rap" sessions have not only been choice experiences, but have resulted in ideas and contacts that have led to important historical projects. In addition, the Mormon History Association sponsored a special issue of *Dialogue* on Mormon history in August, 1966, as well as this issue on the twentieth century. "The Historians' Corner," which specializes in short articles, notes, and documents of special interest, appears twice annually in *B.Y.U. Studies* and is sent to all association members. A Newsletter keeps members informed of meetings, business, projects, and awards. The association also annually awards prizes for the best book and best article on Mormon history.[18]

The success of the Mormon History Association is only symbolic of the fact that in recent years an impressive body of scholars both in and out of the Church have found Mormon research an area of special interest. But Mormons themselves especially should be urged to write their own history in such a way that it not only demonstrates the necessary scholarly skills but also takes advantage of the special knowledge of Mormon culture that only those who are part of it can best reflect. At B.Y.U. alone there is a distinguished group of Asian scholars who are eminently capable of contributing much to contemporary Mormon history in that part of the world. They know both Asia and traditional Mormonism, and are probably more capable than anyone else in the world of putting the two together in a searching historical analysis. A still larger body of historians, political scientists, linguists, literary specialists and other scholars throughout the Church well understand the cultures of many parts of the world, and would undoubtedly respond favorably to the challenge of examining Mormon history in their areas of specialization. The same thing holds true for all aspects of Mormonism in its contemporary American environment. At the same time, the body of available research materials is becoming ever greater, and the climate for historical research within the Church is becoming increasingly favorable. And it was a great boon for the cause of

history when Leonard J. Arrington, one of Mormonism's foremost scholars and the founding President of the Mormon History Association, was appointed Church Historian in January of this year.

It would be oversimplifying the issue to say that all that was needed was a marshalling of the forces, but the Mormon History Association, and everyone else interested in Mormon history, may well need prodding in the direction of contemporary history. Groups of scholars should be encouraged to study the growth of the Church in various countries and to publish their findings. Librarians should be especially encouraged to collect all available papers and sources pertaining to the twentieth century, and serious consideration might well be given to collecting the oral history of key figures in a variety of contemporary Church programs. In the meantime we can only observe that, despite the impressive general increase in Mormon studies, relatively little of a scholarly nature has been written on the twentieth century. In 1957 Thomas F. O'Dea published *The Mormons*, the last part of which was a challenging analysis of the dilemmas Mormonism faces as it confronts the modern secular world. But the only major books since O'Dea that have attempted to analyze modern Mormonism have been written by popular journalists rather than historical scholars, and none of them is adequate to constitute a history of Mormonism in the twentieth century. These include William J. Whalen, *The Latter-day Saints in the Modern Day World* (1964), Wallace Turner, *The Mormon Establishment* (1966), and Robert Mullen, *The Latter-day Saints: The Mormons Yesterday and Today* (1966). In addition, James B. Allen and Richard O. Cowan in *Mormonism in the Twentieth Century* (Provo, Utah, 1967), provide a very sketchy summary. The most significant scholarly writing has appeared in journals and periodicals, including at times those published by the Church. But all of these, together with a few Masters theses and Ph.D. dissertations, still constitute only a beginning of the effort needed to write the story of modern Mormonism. The articles in this issue of *Dialogue* provide a few further insights, but should also serve to challenge us all toward more serious efforts in this direction.

[1]"On the Writing of Contemporary History," *Atlantic Monthly* (March, 1967), 69-74.

[2]*The Millenial Star*, 70 (1908), 660.

[3]B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), VI, pp. 377-388.

[4]Douglas Dexter Alder, "The German Speaking Migration to Utah, 1850-1950"(Masters thesis, University of Utah, 1959), p. 69, quoting *Journal History of the Church*, August 31, 1959.

[5]See Richard O. Cowan, "Stakes Reflect World-Wide Growth," *The Ensign*, 1 (August, 1971), 15-17.

[6]"Annual Report, Seminaries and Institutes, 1970-71," pp. 4, 12.

[7]Neal A. Maxwell, typescript of address to the General Priesthood Session of the October conference, 1970.

[8]See various reports and comments on the translating and distribution program, such as the address of Bishop Victor L. Brown, *Conference Report* (April, 1971), pp. 35-37; Doyle L. Green, "The Church Sends its Message to the World Through the *Unified Magazine*," *The Improvement Era* (August, 1969); *The Church News*, November 6, 1965; October 29, 1966; December 24, 1966; September 23, 1967; July 27, 1968; May 24, 1969; July 26, 1969.

[9]*The Church News*, July 31, 1971. See also the article by LaMond Tullis in this issue of *Dialogue*.

[10]See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, 1969), p. 14; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population. General Population Characteristics United States Summary* (Washington, 1972), pp. 292-93. It is instructive to note that since 1950 not only had the percent of Americans living in rural areas gone down, but also the actual number.

[11]We arrived at these very general figures by listing all the stakes of the Church in the years indicated, then determining whether each of them was predominantly rural or urban, according to the location of the wards and branches in that stake. If it seemed that the ratio was about half-and-half, the stake was counted as rural. It is recognized that making the above determination on the basis of stakes may not be wholly accurate, for, especially in earlier years, the size of stakes tended to vary widely. The image is accurate enough, however, to illustrate the general trend.

[12]M. Dallas Burnett, "Education and the Church," *The Ensign*, 1 (May, 1971), 35.

[13]Maxwell, General Priesthood address.

[14]Quoted in *Ibid.*

[15]*Ibid.*

[16]"Anti-Intellectualism in Mormon History," *Dialogue*, 1 (Autumn, 1966), 111-133.

[17]Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 227.

[18]Davis Bitton, "The Mormon History Association, 1965-1971," Mormon History Association *Newsletter*, January 15, 1972.

Persecution is the first law of society, because it is always easier to suppress criticism than to meet it.

—Howard Mumford Jones

J. REUBEN CLARK, JR.: POLITICAL ISOLATIONISM REVISITED

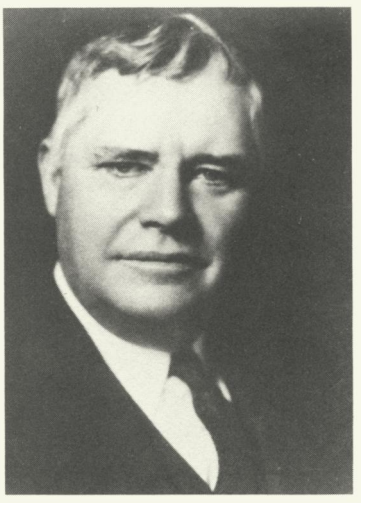
MARTIN B. HICKMAN AND RAY C. HILLAM

Modern Mormonism takes just pride in having produced many men and women of distinction in politics, education, science and the arts. One of these was J. Reuben Clark, Jr., international lawyer, career diplomat, and from 1933 until his death in 1961 a counselor in the First Presidency of the Church. While President Clark never dogmatically proclaimed that his political philosophy should be equated with Church doctrine, he was deeply committed to the Mormon belief that America was a land of divine destiny, and his international philosophy reflected a fundamental concern for the dignity and survival of this country. Here two scholars of international affairs present a cogent analysis of Clark's views on several topics which are still of fundamental concern to America.

A "prophet is not without honor save in his own house," the scriptures tell us, or, if one may tinker a bit with the scriptures: "a prophet is not without honor save in his own time." That such a fate befell J. Reuben Clark, Jr. as a critic of American foreign policy can be ascribed almost wholly to his tenacious defense of isolationism. In the forties, J. Reuben Clark seemed out of date. Time, it appeared, had passed him by. America had plunged enthusiastically into an era of "internationalism," and most of that generation of Americans thought that the United States had a moral obligation to set the world right. They threw themselves, therefore, headlong into the turmoil and tragedy of world politics, advocating policies which led to American political, economic, and military intervention in Europe, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. Clark's misgivings about these policies were ignored by most and ridiculed by some. Moreover, he was not unaware that he was out of step with the time: "Many think me," he told one group, "just a doddering old fogy. I admit the age, but deny the rest of the allegation — the doddering and fogyness."[1]

Clark's concern for the course of American foreign policy after 1914 stemmed not only from his reading of American history, but also from his experience as a practicing diplomat. His years of legal experience as solicitor to the Secretary of State, General Counsel of the Mexican-American Claims Commission, legal advisor to the Ambassador to Mexico, and his later experience as Under Secretary of State and as Ambassador to Mexico during the Hoover Administration more than qualified him as a spokesman on international affairs. His Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine, which repudiated the interventionist twist given that famed Doctrine by Theodore Roosevelt, is a landmark in American diplomatic history. Clark viewed the Monroe Doctrine as a policy

" [W]e have entered into new fields to impose our will and concepts on others. This means we must use force, and force means war, not peace."



designed for defense and not domination; his Memorandum carefully limited the basis for American interference in Latin America and thus created the basis for a meaningful "Good Neighbor" policy.

If in the forties J. Reuben Clark and political isolationism seemed out of date, now, after more than two decades of "messianic" intervention by the United States in virtually every corner of the world and after two costly and perhaps unnecessary wars, they appear to be before their time rather than out of date. In any event, many of Clark's arguments, just as he confidently expected, have stood the test of time, for he believed that despite what appeared to be a new set of circumstances "human nature does not change . . ."; hence his faith in isolation remained unshaken.[2] It seems appropriate, therefore, now that Clark's views on our "meddlesome busybodiness" in foreign affairs suddenly have become fashionable, to attempt a reexamination of the reasons why he believed so strongly in isolationism.

A central caveat is necessary at the onset. First, the purpose of this essay is to examine Clark's own rationale for his belief in political isolationism, not to enlist his prestige on one side or the other of the current debate over American foreign policy. Whatever message he has for the present, readers must judge for themselves. But whatever one thinks about Clark's critique of the past sixty-five years of American foreign policy, one cannot ignore the fact that he raised fundamental questions which the nation is only now beginning to examine seriously.

J. Reuben Clark represented, in a particularly articulate way, the Puritan ethic in American foreign policy.[3] That tradition had four basic tenents: (1) the necessity for human freedom; (2) the rejection of power politics; (3) an overwhelming belief in the ultimate triumph of moral truth; and (4) a belief in the special historical mission of the United States. These basic elements in the Puritan ethic are clearly represented in Clark's views on international affairs.

Necessity of Human Freedom

No theme in Clark's writings puts him so squarely into the Puritan tradition in foreign policy as his emphasis on the reality and necessity of human freedom.

His love of freedom had, of course, deep roots in Mormon theology and his pioneer heritage. It also drew on the parallel American tradition of freedom. In particular Clark viewed the American Constitution as a culmination of a long historical process during which men were gradually freed from the bonds of slavery and oppressive government.

The Constitution, he insisted, grew out of English common law and was shaped and molded by the colonial experience. The framers, Clark argued, were fully aware of the past; they were not political "tyros" but were learned in law and history, and, therefore, sought to escape from the restrictions on human freedom which were the legacy of the past.

An integral part of the common law tradition was, in Clark's view, the notion that government existed by the consent of the governed and had only those powers expressly delegated to it. These views of course are familiar to us all for they restate John Locke's concept of the state which found expression in the Declaration of Independence and ultimately in the Constitution. What set Clark apart in the Mormon community is the felicity with which he expressed them, the intensity with which he held them, and the persistence with which he repeated them. On this point, therefore, there can be no doubt on Clark's position. He believed the Constitution to be the culmination of a long emerging tradition of human freedom which was the expression of the divine will in history, and thus in Mormon rhetoric, "divinely inspired."

This divinely inspired Constitution created the political environment for a society in which human freedom could receive its fullest expression. Consequently, it became the task of foreign policy, Clark believed, to protect that society from outside forces which might seek to change it. Hence, he stressed those passages in Washington's farewell address which insisted upon the necessity to avoid involvement in the ancient quarrels of European powers.

Clark's insistence that the United States not become involved in those ancient quarrels was not an unthinking acceptance of the rhetoric of the past but rested on an analysis of the costs of being a world power. But the argument cannot be understood fully without keeping in mind Clark's moral premise: that men, and nations, are bound by eternal moral principles which must be obeyed. One of those principles was that men, and nations, are bound by the agreements into which they voluntarily enter. *Pacta sunt servanta* is the legal expression of this moral law, and running through Clark's published papers is the assumption that treaties impose moral as well as legal commitments on the signatories. He was scornful of any suggestion that treaties are like "pie crust, to be broken."[4] Given this moral premise, Clark's hesitancy to see the United States become involved in an elaborate alliance system becomes readily understandable, for if treaties and particularly military alliances are not to be treated lightly, they become real restrictions on American independence and freedom. Hence, participation in the world power struggle with its network of alliances raises the danger that the demands of foreign policy and the promises made to allies, rather than Constitutional principles, will shape our national style.

Coupled with this rejection of alliances which would restrict American independence was Clark's belief that as advanced as the United States was it did not possess "all the good of human government, economic concept, and of human welfare. . . ." In human affairs, he wrote, "no nation can say that all its practices and belief is right. . . . No man, no society, no people, no nation is

wholly right in human affairs; and none is wholly wrong."[5] Given man's fallibility, therefore, it ill behooves any nation to seek to impose its ways upon the rest of the world. The desire to do so, Clark believed, was "born of the grossest national egotism," and the result could only be an "unholy tragedy" ("Peace," 74).

The upshot of this analysis was a firm insistence on the right of self-determination for each nation, to be limited only by the freedom of others. If one accepts, as Clark did, the rule that "What we do to others, we must permit others to do to us,"[6] the consequences are manifestly clear: self-determination is imperative for the United States if the national goals expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are not to be subordinated to the wishes of other nations. Furthermore, the freedom essential to the realization of our domestic goals is only possible where all nations enjoy the same freedom to control their domestic affairs.

Rejection of "Power Politics"

Clark's isolationism did not mean he believed that the United States had no role to play in international affairs. He did reject, however, the notion that the United States should participate in what became popularly known as "power politics." Clark, of course, was not alone in rejecting "power politics" and the "balance of power" system. Woodrow Wilson had also reached that conclusion and had become convinced that the only viable alternative was a collective security system. It was this inference which led Wilson finally to the concept of the League of Nations with its elaborate peacekeeping machinery.[7]

Clark was no less vigorous in his rejection of "power politics" than Wilson. Although that rejection was not specifically spelled out, it was inherent in his frequent citations from Washington's farewell address. The international politics of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe were characterized by "power politics" and faith in the balance of power system. The course of this balance-of-power system has been traced by historians, analyzed by political scientists, and has served as the basis for many sophisticated theories of international relations now current in the literature. It was marked by a series of power struggles between the five major European powers (France, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain) over trade, territory, and dynastic succession. The powers tended to shift from alliance to alliance as their national interests dictated; values played a minor role, for the goal was not to assure the triumph of moral force but the getting of power. It was this world of power politics against which Washington warned his fellow countrymen, and it was from this same world that Clark sought to isolate the United States.[8]

While Clark, therefore, shared Wilson's premise that the balance-of-power system was a failure, he drew a different set of conclusions from the premise. Given this kind of a world, Clark saw the United States' role as twofold: (1) to foster international communication, including trade and commerce, while shunning political involvement; (2) to support the cause of peace by working for the settlement of international disputes by mediation and arbitration. This policy did not include an international organization with decision-making powers, but it was compatible with an international organization whose purpose would be to encourage discussion of international differences. "We must," Clark wrote, "have a world organization for the purpose of deliberation,

but not for the purpose of waging wars and imposing sanctions."[9] He feared an international organization with sanction powers precisely because it represented the application of force to international affairs, and Clark believed that the use of force on so wide a scale could result only in tyranny or civil war.

Clark did not place his principal reliance on a world deliberative body but on each nation's adhering to the peaceful settlements of international disputes. He believed that the United States, free from the restrictive bonds of the European alliance system, had been a forceful example in the development of peaceful settlement of disputes.[10] This attachment to peace had been the basis of American influence in the world, and it was an effective influence precisely because it was rooted in peace. This moral force, Clark believed, had been eroded by American participation in both World Wars, and therefore the United States now spoke "only as our brute force may sustain us" (*Some Factors*, 28).

Here we must make explicit what has been implicit in much of the foregoing. Clark believed that war was the scourge of mankind and perhaps the greatest of evils. He considered the effort which began in the nineteenth century to "lessen the evils of war, and especially to relieve noncombatants . . . from the ravages of war" to have been one of the most significant developments of the previous centuries (*Some Factors*, 19-21). It was therefore with a dismay akin to horror that he viewed developments in warfare since 1914. He found no justification whatsoever for the bombing of cities which involved the wholesale destruction of property and the indiscriminate killing of women and children. To those who alleged that it was mere retaliation for the aggression of others, he answered that because "one nation violates a law is no proper justification for another nation to do so" (*Some Factors*, 21). Nor would he take refuge behind the veil of national necessity. He exempted no nation from the condemnation of having been a party to the introduction of "barbarous" methods of warfare. The world, he wrote, had "gone back a half a millenium in its conduct of international relations in time of war. . . ." And then, lest his countrymen smugly blame this relapse on others, he added that "no nation has to bear a greater blame for this than our own" (*Some Factors*, 19).

Clark also faced squarely the greatest moral issue in all of warfare — the use of atomic weapons in the war with Japan. That act, he said, was thought by some to have been unnecessary since the war was won before it took place, and he suggested that if this were so, "it may well be a disaster to civilization. . . ." His own stand was unequivocal: "Some of us think it was shameful" ("Peace," 71).

That ultimate use of force along with all the other modern horrors of warfare led Clark to the conclusion that there was little moral force left in the world "to whose voice the warring nations are as yet willing to harken." The result, he thought, was that "we are now living under the law of the jungle where in cataclysms every beast fights to the death of his own life."

"Are we Christians? We act like pagans" (*Some Factors*, 28).

Accompanying this hatred of war was Clark's deep mistrust of the military. Although he was fully aware of the need for a military force sufficient to the task of self-defense, Clark repeatedly expressed his fears that the ambitions of the military encompassed far more than national defense. He believed, for example, that in the interwar period the full effort of "the general staff of every

first class power in the world, including our own . . . was spent in trying to develop . . . weapons that would wipe out peoples, not merely destroy armies and navies" (*Some Factors*, 21). He expressed his concern over the influence which the military gained in the period immediately after World War II. To him it seemed that the military branches were in almost complete control of the American government and hence were in a position to control our foreign policy. The consequences of this military domination, he said, were frightening. "Indeed, we must regretfully admit," he wrote, "that our own military establishment seems to be deliberately planning and preparing for another great war. . . ." This war, he believed, could only be with Russia, since only the Soviet Union had the resources to challenge the United States. Furthermore, he noted, the military was urging upon the American people larger and larger expenditures for arms on the grounds that "to ensure peace we must maintain a great army and gigantic armaments." Clark insisted this argument ignored the fact "that big armies have always brought, not peace, but war which has ended in a hate that in due course brings another war" ("Peace," 70, 71).

The curse of large armies, he thought, was that where they existed their use seemed inevitable. "Our militarists will no more be able to let a great army lie unused than they were able to withhold the use of the atom bomb once they had it. . . ." This threat led him to inveigh against the use of arms to gain peace: "Guns and bayonets will, in the future as in the past, bring truces, long or short, but never the peace that endures." The right course for the United States, he wrote, was to "honestly strive for peace and quit sparring for military advantage." The United States and the world must "learn and practice . . . the divine principles of the Sermon on the Mount. There is no other way." To Clark this was not a pious exhortation but a categorical imperative. Peace, he insisted, would be achieved only through the "strength and power of the moral force in the world." This moral force not only produces peace but also "fructifies industry, and thrift, good will, neighborliness," and brings about "the friendly intercourse of nations. . . ." All of these come from peace, "whereas force is barren" ("Peace," 71, 76, 78).

Importance of Moral Strength in International Affairs

J. Reuben Clark is perhaps best characterized as an idealist with few illusions. His idealism was clearly evident in his oft-repeated assertion that "moral force is far more important than physical force in international relations." Some experts on international affairs draw the cynical conclusion that morality has no place in international politics, that all states alike are compelled by the "system" to play the evil game of power politics.[11] Not so with Clark; he was willing to impose on all nations, including his own, the highest possible standards. He argued, for instance, that the Atlantic Charter contained "principles of self-restraint and of altruistic aspiration" which were as "applicable to and against us as to and against any other nation." We could not, he warned, expect others to be bound by those principles while we remained free "to follow our own bent. What we do to others, we must permit others to do to us" (*Some Factors*, 8).

Not even the spectre of Russian power caused Clark to lose faith in the ultimate victory of morality. "No group can permanently maintain itself by

murder . . ." was Clark's assessment of the lesson of history. "So it will be with communism . . ." ("Peace," 80). The proper course for the United States was to seek peace and await the inevitable victory of liberty, a victory, however, which must come from within as the spirit of liberty breaks forth among men and sweeps "away everything that lies in its path."

If, as Herbert Butterfield suggests, the only valid moral judgments are those we make about ourselves,[12] President Clark was more than willing to measure the behavior of his own nation against the moral norms which he believed had universal value. "If we are to be the Savior of the world," he wrote, "we must come to our task with the spirit and the virtues of a savior" (*Some Factors*, 18). Hence he worried about rhetoric and programs which suggested that the United States was willing to undertake the reform of the world. He reacted to our plans at the end of World War II to occupy and reconstruct our defeated enemies on the basis of the Atlantic Charter by asking the hard question, "Who is going to occupy us to see that we keep the standards?" (*Some Factors*, 8)

There is in all of this a deep respect for the importance of moral norms and a recognition that no man or nation can escape from the responsibility to meet their challenge. Indeed there is only one sure path to national security: awareness of and adherence to those moral virtues which derive from the Christian ethic. This belief that "force is barren" had led Clark to view with dismay the emergence of the United States as a participant in the world "power struggle." He believed that as a participant in that power struggle the United States became only another "world power" and thereby forfeited its moral leadership. "I believe," he wrote, "America's role in the world is not one of force, but is of the same peaceful intent and act that characterized the history of the country from its birth till the last third of a century" ("Peace," 77). He felt the United States had abandoned its role as the advocate for peace in international affairs. America's task, he believed, was not to plan how to wage war more effectively but to use its resources and the abilities of its people to bring the world to good living and high thinking. But this required that the nation return to its reliance on moral force, and this, Clark thought, would reestablish the principles which had once guided the nation.

Clark frequently contrasted moral force with physical force; the first he believed was the basis of peace, the second the cause of war. The addition, therefore, of American physical force to the already consisting constellation of physical force in the world only increased the probability that war would be the result. He thus worried about a foreign policy which was concerned more with preparing for war than for peace. "We have lost, at least for the moment," he wrote, "the temper to live at peace with our brethren of the world, our fellow children of God" (*Some Factors*, 29).

America's Special Mission

Underlying and reinforcing all of Clark's rational justification for isolationism was his belief in the special historical mission of the United States. As was the case with much of Clark's political creed, this faith had twin roots: one reaching back into the wellsprings of American history, the other tapping the reservoir of Mormon tradition. Clark's own faith in the American mission would have responded wholeheartedly to John Winthrop's confident prediction in 1630 that

> Wee shall be as a Citty upon a Hill, the eies of all people are uppon us; soe that if wee shall deal falsely with our god in this worke wee have undertaken and soe cause him to withdraw his present help from us, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world.[13]

America's mission, Clark thought, was multifaceted, and in his speeches and writings he stressed the three principal themes of the Puritan tradition over and over again: America must defend human freedom, America must be the foremost proponent of peace, and America must be a source of moral strength for the rest of the world.

The first facet of this mission is reflected in Clark's faith that the American Constitution creates the political environment in which human freedom can flourish. He stressed those aspects of the Constitution which assured the maximum freedom: the separation of powers because the lessons of history had taught the founding fathers to be wary of political systems which concentrated power in one branch of government (one cannot help but believe that Clark would have been amused at the yelps of horror of many political liberals who have suddenly discovered since Vietnam how much power they have willingly let the Executive branch amass), and the Bill of Rights because it protected those indispensible handmaidens of freedom — freedom of speech, the press, and religion. These he called the "great fundamentals" and warned against any attempts to change them.[14]

The second facet of the mission is the logical extension of the first. There is no greater enemy of human freedom than war, Clark believed; no greater friend than peace. America's task, then, was to foster peace wherever possible. Clark constantly praised the American record before 1914 in the peaceful settlements of disputes. He knew that this record was not perfect — he described the Mexican War as one in which the United States was the aggressor — but to him it represented a long tradition which deserved to be strengthened. Among his earliest published papers is a plan to further the pacific settlement of international disputes which would "provide a system of world association which shall in no way sacrifice our own interest, our free institutions or our sovereignty."[15]

The third aspect of the American mission was to provide a source of moral strength for the rest of the world. But America could only provide the needed moral force when its internal house was in order. Clark worried not only over what he thought was a decline in the moral fiber of the nation, but also over a foreign policy which was concerned more with preparing for war than for peace. " [W]e have entered into new fields to impose our will and concepts on others. This means we must use force, and force means war, not peace" ("Peace," 19).

Clark believed that the mission of the United States required it to maintain intact its freedom to act so that it could serve in international affairs as the agent of those moral principles which would ultimately bring peace on earth. America's allegiance, he thought, should not be to earthly allies but to the cause of peace and justice; its destiny required that it avoid entangling alliances with secular powers so it could remain free to serve the cause of human freedom.

Clark's insistence on the necessity of American independence or sovereignty was firmly grounded in his belief that it was crucial to the achievement of

America's historical mission. But in no way did Clark's respect for the principle of sovereignty rest on a naive belief that sovereignty would automatically result in a solution to the world's problems. It rested rather on a clear understanding that a salient dimension of rationality is an understanding of the limits of one's effectiveness. He believed that the genius of American foreign policy from the Founding Fathers until the beginning of the twentieth century had been characterized by a clear understanding of where the United States' effectiveness began and ended in foreign affairs.

Isolationism was for Clark simply the recognition of those limits. By implication he posed a rhetorical question: how can a nation hope to solve problems which are outside its sovereignty and hence outside its jurisdiction, when it has so much difficulty with the solution of problems which are within its sovereign jurisdiction? The American mission, he believed, was not to impose its solutions upon the world but to set an example of justice, freedom, and peace which would be a compelling attraction to other nations. For the United States to seek to impose its will on the rest of the world was to resort to force and abandon moral principles, a course which would be a denial of the mission itself. Clark, therefore, accepted the oft-repeated maxim that no matter how good the end, it does not justify the means. He seemed to sense clearly that if the United States insisted on being Rome it would require its citizens to be Romans. He saw a higher goal for Americans: not to be Romans but Christians.

Against this background of the American mission a clear justification for Clark's political isolationism becomes apparent. Rather than being the expression of a narrow American parochialism, it became a policy the goal of which was to provide the benefits of freedom and peace to all men. To Clark it seemed crystal clear that if the United States did not remain free from the "sins of the world" there would be no advocate for freedom, no protector of the peace, no champion of morality.

The goal of his isolationism was not to cordon the United States off from the rest of the world but to assure that there would remain at least one nation whose allegiance was to eternal principles rather than expediency. If the United States were true to its mission, if it did not lose faith and become a participant in the international power struggle, then ultimately the virtues it sought to foster would triumph.

In the end one must let Clark speak for himself, and he has done that in one of his finest rhetorical passages: a passage in which his hopes and vision for America and the world receive their most forceful expression.

> For America has a destiny — a destiny to conquer the world, — not by force of arms, not by purchase and favor, for these conquests wash away, but by high purpose, by unselfish effort, by uplifting achievement, by a course of Christian living; a conquest that shall leave every nation free to move out to its own destiny; a conquest that shall bring, through the workings of our own example, the blessings of freedom and liberty to every people, without restraint or imposition or compulsion from us; a conquest that shall weld the whole earth together in one great brotherhood in a reign of mutual patience, forbearance, and charity, in a reign of peace to which we shall lead all others by the persuasion of our own righteous example. (*Some Factors*, 30-31).

[1]"Our Dwindling Sovereignty," in *Stand Fast by Our Constitution* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1962), p. 97.

[2]*Ibid.*

[3]For an excellent discussion of this tradition, see David L. Larson, "Objectivity, Propaganda, and the Puritan Ethic," in *The Puritan Ethic in United States Foreign Policy*, ed. David L. Larson (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1966), pp. 3-24.

[4]This is a paraphrase of Joseph Stalin's reputed attitude toward treaties.

[5]"Let Us Have Peace," in *Stand Fast by Our Constitution*, p. 74. Hereafter cited in the text as "Peace."

[6]*Some Factors in the Proposed Postwar International Pattern*, address delivered before Los Angeles Bar Association. Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, California, February 24, 1944, p. 8. Hereafter cited in the text as *Some Factors*.

[7]See Inis L. Claude, Jr., *Swords into Plowshares*, 3rd ed. rev. (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 37-49.

[8]There are any number of works on the European balance of power system. Richard Rosecrance, *Action and Reaction in International Affairs* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963), is the best. Also good is Herbert Butterfield, "The Balance of Power" in *Diplomatic Investigation*, ed. Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wright (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1966).

[9]J. Reuben Clark, "The Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," *Unity*, 92 (4 October, 1923), 35-42.

[10]"Let Us Have Peace," pp. 63-65. Apparently Ramsay Macdonald, leader of the British Labor Party, understood Clark's point. He wrote to Colonel House in August 1917 that a large minority in England believed that "America, out of the war, would have done more for peace and good feeling than in the war, and would also have had a better influence on the peace settlement." Quoted in J.E.C. Fuller, *The Decisive Battles of the Western World: And Their Influence Upon History* (3 vols.; London: Eyret Spottiswoode, 1956), III, p. 271.

[11]See Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949). "International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aim of international politics, power is always the immediate aim" (p. 13).

[12]Herbert Butterfield, *Christianity and History*, (London: G. Belt & Sons, Ltd., 1960), p. 85.

[13]Quoted in Arthur A. Erirck, Jr., *Ideas, Ideals and American Diplomacy* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), p. 22.

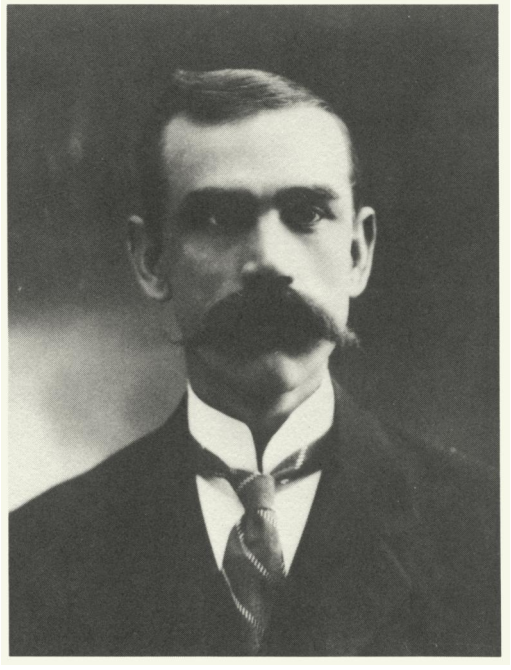
[14]See *Prophets, Principals and National Survival*, ed. Jerreld L. Newquist (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1964), p. 87.

[15]"The Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," *Unity*, 92 (4 October 1923), 42.

I have found that the greatest help in meeting any problem with decency and self-respect and whatever courage is demanded, is to know where you yourself stand. That is, to have in words what you believe and are acting from.

— William Faulkner

REED SMOOT, THE L.D.S. CHURCH AND PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION, 1903-1933



THOMAS G. ALEXANDER

If J. Reuben Clark, Jr., will be remembered largely for his involvement in international affairs, another Mormon leader, Reed Smoot, is notable for his contribution both to international relations and domestic American affairs. In 1902, not long after being ordained an apostle, Smoot was elected to the United States Senate, where he served with distinction for thirty years. As a Senator, Smoot shared responsibility for the controversial Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1931. He also shared J. Reuben Clark's concern that the United States avoid entangling international alliances. Smoot became a Senator during the "Progressive Era," in which many social reforms long advocated by liberal political forces began to be achieved through the actions of the federal government. He has often been thought of as too politically conservative to be responsive to the forces of reform, but Professor Thomas G. Alexander demonstrates in the following article that he had the capacity to judge each piece of legislation on its own merits rather than according to some preconceived prejudice. As in the case of J. Reuben Clark, Smoot's political utterances did not represent an official Church position, but it is important for students of Church history to know where these influential leaders stood on the important issues of their time.

Reed Smoot's service as United States Senator from Utah spanned three decades of rapid change.[1] When he entered the Senate in 1903, the United States was an industrial nation of the first magnitude. When he left in 1933, it had become even more highly urbanized, commercially interdependent, and technically advanced. These changes did not come without their social and economic dislocations, and citizens placed new demands on government at all levels to deal with problems which private associations and local governments proved unwilling or unable to solve. As a Senator, Smoot had to sit in judgment on the justice of these appeals. How did this conservative Republican, revered by L.D.S. Church members as a prophet, seer, and revelator and as an Apostle of the Lord, react to the expansion of governmental activities? The story of Senator Smoot shows that a sincere faith in Mormonism is not ideologically inconsistent with support of progressive legislation.

The man on the street thinks of most governmental activity as new, not old, perhaps because government has expanded so much beyond its traditional scope, and because the federal government has exercised power in areas formerly left to the city, the county, or the state. Actually, since the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601, in England and America basic responsibility for the care of those unable to care for themselves has rested with government. English settlers brought the tradition to the New World and Americans carried it westward as the nation expanded. Private and religious charitable associations supplemented governmental assistance, but they supported rather than usurped the functions of the state.

By the same token, the idea that the state should play an active role in regulating and subsidizing business is not new. The British Empire even before the American Revolution had an extensive code of laws regulating commerce. Parliament granted subsidies for various goods and services which the Empire needed and prohibited the production of commodities which might injure other businessmen. American tobacco farmers, for instance, had a monopoly of tobacco sales in the Empire. American iron manufacturers, however, could not export manufactured iron goods to England.

After the Revolution, Congress instituted similar regulations and subsidies in the new republic. The first tariff act, passed in 1789, subsidized American industry by moderate protectionist features. The Navigation Act of 1789 discriminated against foreign owned ships through port taxes. The Ordinance of 1785 provided federal subsidies for education through grants of land, and this tradition was continued through the First and Second Morrill Acts (1862 and 1890) and various other pieces of legislation. Congress and state legislatures also provided subsidies for the construction of canals, the improvement of rivers and harbors, the building of railroads, and various other worthy projects.

In addition, free enterprise in America was never free from regulation. Corporations had to secure public charters before they could operate. Not long after the first railroads appeared, New England states began regulating certain activities; and in the last half of the nineteenth century, this control was expanded in the Midwest by the Granger Laws and on the national level by the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. Congress regulated the merchant marine as well.

With this tradition to guide them, it is not surprising that when leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints formulated political institu-

tions, they patterned them after those with which they were familiar. The Church practically controlled the Territory of Utah from 1850 to 1858 and dominated the territorial legislature down to 1891. In line with ample precedents, Church leaders, through the legislature, developed a public welfare system, established public educational institutions, set up a hospital for the mentally handicapped, and voted subsidies for various types of economic activities such as sugar refining.[2] The Utah State Constitutional Convention, over which Apostle John Henry Smith presided and in which a number of General Authorities sat, adopted measures for public welfare, restricted certain types of business activities, and adopted provisions designed to improve working conditions for men, women, and children. Church leaders overwhelmingly approved the State Constitution and an overwhelming majority of the people of Utah voted to ratify it.[3]

After statehood came, the people of Utah passed statutes for the regulation of various types of business activity and established such welfare measures as workmen's compensation and old age and widows' pensions. Church leaders have on occasion also given positive support to legislation which proposed the use of governmental coercion to regulate certain activities. For example, Church leaders took an active part in the final battle for prohibition in Utah in 1917. In 1922, they worked for an anti-cigarette law.[4] In 1968, the Church leadership appears to have unanimously opposed the proposal presented to the people of Utah that the state permit liquor by the drink, and in 1970 Church leaders threw their support behind a Sunday Closing Law. In practice, all of these laws used the coercive power of the state to promote the special concern of those who supported the law.

To clarify the following discussion, several definitions seem indispensable. The term *progressive legislation* is defined as any legislation which is designed to correct inequities in society by restricting the activities of one group of people for the benefit of another.[5] This is to be distinguished from *state socialism*, which is a system under which the means of production and distribution are owned by the state; from *communism*, which means a system under which all things are owned in common; and from *totalitarian state socialism* of the Eastern European states, the Soviet Union, and Communist China. The term *economic or business regulation* is defined as the restriction by legislation of the liberty of one person or group of persons to engage in certain types of business activity. *Subsidy legislation* is defined as any measure including tariff acts in which public revenues are used to promote some desired activity at the expense of those taxed. *Social legislation* is defined as any legislation which is designed to assist one group of people to enjoy what the proponents consider to be a better life by the use of the government's coercive power.

During the thirty years in which Senator Smoot served, he was called upon to consider a great many pieces of each type of legislation.[6] Of the thirteen pieces of *regulatory* legislation which passed and upon which he voted or for which he announced a vote, he voted in favor of four, announced himself in favor of one other, and voted against four. On three of the pieces of legislation no individual vote was taken on final passage, and on one he failed to vote. On the fifteen major pieces of *subsidy* legislation which passed in his thirty years of service, he voted in favor of seven, including four tariff bills, and against five. In one case, the Underwood Tariff in 1913, he voted against the bill partly

because it reduced subsidies. He announced himself in favor of one other piece of subsidy legislation, and on two of the bills no roll call vote was taken. Of the nine pieces of *social* legislation which Congress passed during his term in office, he voted in favor of four, against two, and failed to vote on one. Two of them passed without a roll call vote.

Of the twenty-seven major pieces of progressive legislation which passed Congress during Senator Smoot's term of office upon which the Senator's vote was recorded, he voted in the affirmative sixteen times or about fifty-nine per cent of the time. And, as pointed out earlier, he voted for some pieces of progressive legislation which did not pass.

What was the nature of the measures which Senator Smoot supported? In 1906, he voted for the Hepburn Act, which brought about closer regulation of railroads and other interstate carriers by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Commission was empowered to fix rates and the act placed the burden of proof upon the carriers to show that the rates were unreasonable. He later voted for the Esch-Cummins Act of 1920 which further strengthened the power of the Commission over railroads.

In 1917, Senator Smoot voted for the Lever Food and Fuel Control Act which gave the President authority to fix prices and control the distribution of food and fuel. He voted for the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916 which helped farmers, at federal expense, to receive long-term credit at rates lower than those prevailing in private commercial banks. Later, he voted for the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929 which set up a program of governmentally sponsored low interest loans to agricultural cooperatives in an attempt to support the prices of farm commodities. He also favored the establishment of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in 1932 which allowed direct federal loans to businesses to help them in a time of distress.

In addition, the Apostle-Senator voted for four tariff acts, one of which bears his name as co-author. In each case, the acts were designed, by the use of graduated scales, to give protection to certain segments of American business and to provide a subsidy to them in the form of a market protected, to one degree or another, from foreign competition.

In the area of social legislation, Smoot voted in favor of several laws which were designed to help consumers and the underprivileged. He voted for the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 which prohibited the sale of adulterated and mislabeled food. He supported the Postal Savings System, established in 1910, which allowed the federal government, in competition with private business, to pay depositors interest on money left at the Post Office for safe keeping. He voted in favor of the Federal Child Labor Act of 1916 which was designed to end child labor by excluding goods produced by children from interstate commerce. He also supported the Federal Prohibition Amendment in 1918 which forbade the shipment and sale of liquor in the United States. In addition, he voted for the Income Tax Amendment to the Constitution.

Some of these pieces of legislation evoked positive responses from the *Deseret News*, which from its inception has been owned and operated by the Church. An editorial on the Postal Savings Act said that "it will bring some money into circulation which is now hoarded by people too timid to trust banks." The newspaper said that the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910 which extended the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate common carriers "should

be satisfactory to all." In an editorial in 1912, the *Deseret News* called for the enactment of legislation to regulate the sale of stocks and bonds because, it said, there was too much selling of worthless stocks and cheating of poor people. In 1916, even though Senator Smoot had voted in opposition to the Adamson Act which established an eight hour day for railroad workers, the *Deseret News* was basically favorable to the act, though it hoped that a similarly just settlement could be found for the railroads' problems.[7]

It is interesting to note the attitudes of many Gentile opponents of these laws for which Smoot voted. Some condemned the Income Tax as "violating the sacred precepts of the Founding Fathers and spread [ing] false ideas about the equality of man." Others denounced the Hepburn Act as contrary to the spirit of the Constitution and revolutionary in character. The United States Supreme Court struck down the Child Labor Act as an illegitimate use of the Interstate Commerce Power of the Federal Government. Projects such as the Postal Savings System were condemned because they competed with private enterprise and allegedly constituted an illegitimate use of federal authority.[8]

What was Apostle Smoot's view of the legislation which he supported? He was perhaps most outspoken on the question of railroad regulation, and he made his opinions on that subject clear on a number of occasions during consideration of the Mann-Elkins Act (1910) and the Esch-Cummins Act (1920). He complained that railroad companies discriminated against the Intermountain Region which he represented, and he wanted fair treatment from the carriers for local citizens. He found, for instance, that it was actually cheaper to ship goods from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles and then from Los Angeles to Boston than to ship them directly from Salt Lake City to Boston. As a result, he supported an amendment to the Mann-Elkins Act proposed by Senator Joseph M. Dixon of Montana which would have required the railroads to justify any discrimination by proving to the Interstate Commerce Commission, before they could charge more per ton mile for the short haul which it included, that the long haul was unprofitable.[9]

In justification of his position, Smoot said: "This is not a political question, and it should not be a sectional question. It is a moral question, one of right and justice, and upon that ground I ask the vote of the Senate of the United States in support of the amendment offered by the Senator from Montana."[10]

By 1920, however, the discrimination had still not been corrected, partly because the Senate-House Conference Committee had eliminated the Dixon amendment from the Mann-Elkins Act. Smoot was still angry at the abuse to Utah businessmen, and in support of a similar amendment to the Esch-Cummins Act he said that there was nothing "more detrimental to different sections of the country, than the practice of such discriminations. . . ."[11]

Smoot's views on railroad regulation were much in advance of the general opinion of the people of Utah, if the votes of their representatives in the legislature are any indication. On December 3, 1910, the Senator had lunch in Washington, D.C. with Utah Governor William Spry and Senator George Sutherland. They discussed the Utah political situation and considered legislative proposals. After the discussion, he wrote in his diary that the problem of high freight rates on coal made it "almost imperative that a Public Utilities Commission should be created [in Utah]. The railroads must reduce the price or a commission must be appointed. It has gone so far I believe we will have to

create a Commission and I think it will be a good thing." Not until 1917, however, did the legislature pass a public utilities commission bill.[12]

In 1916, while the Senate considered the proposed Child Labor Act, Smoot spoke out against the abuse of young children through long hours of work. Though he believed that a father might call upon boys in their early teens to assist for several days in gathering a crop, he thought that states which allowed children six years old to work for long hours in the fields "are very derelict toward their citizens, and their laws ought to be amended."[13]

Throughout his career, Smoot was a constant supporter of business subsidy through the protective tariff, and late in his career he called for direct action to promote employment. He discarded the argument that the tariff should only apply to infant industries, and said that government should subsidize any American industry which labored at a cost disadvantage with foreign competitors: "If the foreign competitor has the same advantage in machinery and in other things as does the United States producer and pays only one-third as much wages, the American can not continue to compete without protection, be they infant or old-established industries." This idea of subsidizing industry through the protective tariff, he said on one occasion, was the keystone principle of the Republican Party. In 1931 as the United States slipped deeper into depression, Senator Smoot called upon President Herbert Hoover to create highway construction projects to relieve unemployment.[14]

This is not to say that Smoot was uniformly in favor of every piece of progressive legislation. He voted against both the Federal Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Anti-trust Act. He wrote in his diary that he opposed them because he did not "believe in class legislation." Even there, however, after hearing President Woodrow Wilson's speech on the Clayton Act, he thought that the "business interests of the Country can approve most of what he recommends."[15]

Smoot's views on progressive legislation are in sharp contrast to the views of some present-day Church members. In recent years it has become fashionable to construe Church doctrine, especially the doctrine of free agency, as a sanction against progressive legislation. Ordinarily, proponents of this view use the proof-text method to support their convictions. That is, they present scriptures or quotations from selected General Authorities or others with whom they agree, to support their views.[16] They apparently believe that by stacking up enough evidence, they can demonstrate that their way is God's way and the way of those who oppose them is the way of Satan.

This point of view and these techniques can be demonstrated by reference to three books written by four men who are currently faculty members at Brigham Young University. One of the books is used as a text for a number of sections of the College of Religious Instruction's survey course in the *Book of Mormon*. In it, the authors use a discussion and question technique to present their point of view. They imply that any programs sponsored by government are "plans of the devil," and that government has no proper function except "national defense and police protection."[17] Another author, a member of the accounting faculty and a state legislator, insists that state welfare legislation exercises "unrighteous dominion" over the lives of individuals and that public welfare, economic regulation, and similar programs are "Satan's plan."[18]

One religion professor uses a conservative interpretation of the Constitution

as evidence that such measures should be rejected. After a disquisition in which he gives his views of the Constitution, he concludes: "It follows that governmental measures that foster social programs for the people are basically incompatible with the Constitution," and are thus unacceptable to Latter-day Saints because the Constitution is an inspired document. On occasion, the argument is used that social programs are acceptable if no coercion is used in their implementation — that is, if they are voluntary — but that they are wrong if instituted by government.[19] In summary, the arguments used in these books imply that people who believe that some problems can best be solved by the use of the power of the state rather than by voluntary methods are disloyal to the Church, disbelievers in the doctrines of Jesus Christ, and promoters of the work of Satan.[20]

The support of progressive legislation by the Church leaders in the Territorial Legislature, the Constitutional Convention, and on the floor of the United States Senate, suggests that progressive legislation is not necessarily contrary to the principles of the gospel. In light of the evidence presented in this paper the critics of progressive legislation ought to make their position clear: either the Church leaders such as Smoot who supported such legislation are inspired or they are not. If they are, the legislation which they support cannot be said to be *ipso facto* incompatible with the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

One critic of progressive legislation, to whom the above evidence was cited, argued that Smoot voted the way he did, that the territorial legislature passed the type of laws it did, and that the state constitution included progressive measures because of outside pressure to conform to national standards in order to achieve statehood and national approbation. Beyond the fact that the substance of such a charge is that the Church was hypocritical in these matters, there is no evidence that such national pressure was actually applied. In the case of Utah territory, for instance, the nation only insisted that the Church cease to dominate politics and the economy and give up the practice of polygamy.[21] The progressive measures cited above bear no relationship to these matters.

Another possibility, of course, is that Reed Smoot was out of harmony with his colleagues on these issues. This position hardly seems tenable. The diaries of Senator Smoot show no indication that he was in disagreement with President Joseph F. Smith. He did, however, disagree with Heber J. Grant on Prohibition — a position which he later altered — and on the League of Nations. Smoot was subjected to party pressure to vote for measures sponsored by the Republican party, but by the time of the Taft administration he had become a party leader and a formulator of party programs himself.[22]

It is clear, also, that President Joseph F. Smith favored the use of government power to affect social legislation. President Smith's support of William Howard Taft in the 1912 election campaign has often been used as evidence of his right wing proclivities. If one reads his message from *The Improvement Era*, however, it is clear that his support of Taft had another basis. He said in part that:

> the only charge of any consequence that the opponents of President Taft bring against him is that he has been and is a tool of the "Interests," which means, doubtless, that he unduly favors "big business," or trusts. His administration has proved the contrary, and the careful student will find that he has done as much to regulate the trusts as was ever done by any other incumbent of the

> presidential chair, and he has done it legally. He believes strictly in the judicial application of the law in these cases, and as firmly as any one in the need of just and fair laws to deal with the important question. It is a perplexing problem which not even the experts know just how to handle, and which can not be solved by a mere change of presidents.[23]

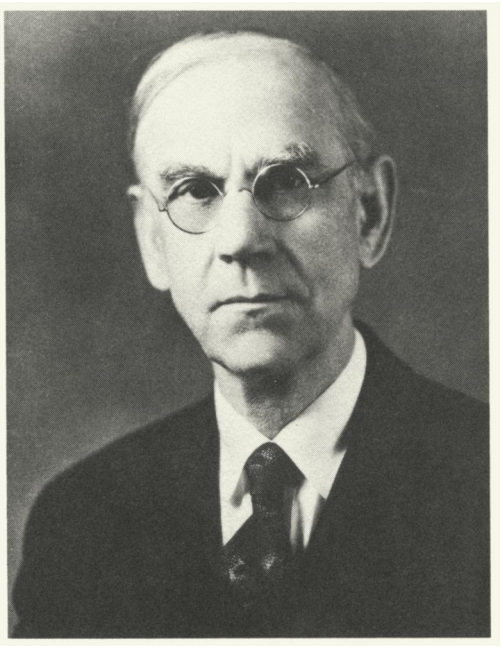
President Smith also believed the power of the state ought to be used to solve moral questions. On the issue of prohibition, he made it clear that:

> even some moral questions, such as the question of prohibition is, can only be solved by the state which is the actual controlling power of all other organizations. Moral questions that must be sustained by law must be solved by the political power. The Church cannot say thus and so it must be; it can only express its wants. The power lies with the individual man and woman who must work to the end desired through the machinery of the state.[24]

Beyond the question of Joseph F. Smith's views on the use of the state power, President Smith, Reed Smoot, and some of Smoot's colleagues in the Council of Twelve considered Smoot's election sanctioned by God. During the 1908 election campaign, President Smith tried to stop opposition to Smoot's candidacy. Apostle Rudger Clawson wrote that he was for Smoot because the Lord was with him, and "furthermore your presence and retention in Congress is due in my opinion to the special interposition of Providence." In 1914, President Smith considered Smoot's retention in the Senate the "will of the Lord." Smoot considered his role to be that of "a Mormon Apostle whose mission to the Gentiles was divinely inspired and directed."[25]

The argument of this paper should not be interpreted as a revisionist study meant to create an advanced-progressive out of either Reed Smoot or Joseph F. Smith. Although some progressives in Utah like William Glasmann, publisher of the *Ogden Standard* — the only major paper in Utah to support Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 — thought Smoot ought to have been the Progressive Party candidate for the Senate in 1914, most of Smoot's contemporaries thought both he and President Smith were conservatives. The analysis of his voting record presented here, however, demonstrates that he was, in fact, a moderate. His voting record appears to have been based more upon a personal assessment of whether a particular measure would help or hurt the nation than upon some abstract concept of the proper role of the state. Though Smoot made it clear that he wanted to leave each individual as free as possible, it is just as apparent that he thought it right and proper for the state to regulate railroads, prohibit the abuse of children, and subsidize business.[26]

In view of the serious problems which face our society today, perhaps we can profit by a current application of Apostle Smoot's principles. Conservative Church members have nothing to gain from abuse and *ad hominem* argument through calling supporters of progressive measures "Tools of the Devil," or "Apostates." Loyal Church members may well disagree on what measures the government should properly inaugurate to deal with problems in American society. To argue that the state should simply ignore all problems, however, or that difficulties should be solved only by voluntary measures is as absurd and impractical today as it was in the first three decades of this century. The guide for the support or rejection of a measure of public policy ought to be its need, not some abstract idea which negates legal courses of action.



Some members in the Church are fond of saying that the Church offers the only hope for solving the world's ills. If that is so they ought to be willing, because Church members constitute such a small percentage of the world's population, to enlist the aid of every person and organization — including government — in helping to deal with difficult problems. If we place our minds in intellectual straightjackets and ignore some possible solutions because someone has picked and chosen scriptures which seem to deny the validity of state action, we may work ourselves into a position where we allow problems to go unsolved. The wiser course, it would seem, would be to do as Paul directs and "prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

[1]The best summary of Smoot's career to date is Milton R. Merrill, "Reed Smoot, Apostle in Politics" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1950). I wish to express appreciation to the College of Social Science Faculty Forum Committee and the B.Y.U. Research Division for research support relating to this article.

[2]For various examples, the reader is referred to: Territory of Utah, *The Compiled Laws of Utah* (2 vols.; Salt Lake City: Herbert Pembroke, 1888), I, 299, 303, 304, 330-657, 658-662, 663-667, 668, 677-690, 691-692, 693-713, 753-761, 764-766. Leonard J. Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891-1966* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), pp. 8-9.

[3]*Constitution of the State of Utah,* Article X, Sec. 2; Article XII, Secs. 12, 15, and 19; Article XVI, Secs. 3 and 4. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I* (6 vols; Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), VI, 323-330. For the debates on the various programs see State of Utah, *Official Proceedings and Debates of the Convention* (2 vols.; Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1898), II, 1032-1068, 1163-1176, 1218-1232, 1236-1312, 1330-1374, 1413-1476, 1524-1584, 1588-1603, 1654-1683.

[4]Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Report of the Ninety-Third Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1922), p. 5. Bruce T. Dyer, "A Study of the Forces Leading to the Adoption of Prohibition in Utah in 1917" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958).

[5]In an earlier version of this paper, the term "welfare state" legislation was used here, but in view of the association of that term with the system developed in Great Britain, it was thought more appropriate to use a term which had been applied to legislation in the United States during the period under consideration. Ordinarily, the term "progressive" was applied to legislation which was designed to redress grievances in society. In view of the extreme anti-progressive and laissez fairist views of the writers cited below, it was thought necessary to broaden the definition to allow the consideration of legislation like tariff acts which some Progressives would have opposed. This application of the term can be justified by reference to some contemporary advocates of the protective tariff who insisted that such acts helped American workingmen and farmers. This argument was particularly powerful in Utah with reliance upon mining, wool growing, and sugar beet raising.

[6]The following is based upon Smoot's voting record as found in the *Congressional Record,* 59th through 72nd congresses (1906-1932).

[7]*Deseret Evening News* (Salt Lake City), 20 and 27 June 1910, 6 February 1912, and 2 September 1916.

[8]George E. Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of Modern America,* 1900-1912 (New York: Harper and Row, 1958), p. 205; Robert H. Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform: A Study of the Progressive Movement* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968), pp. 97-98 and 196; *Hammer v. Dagenhart,* 247 U.S. 251 (1918).

[9]U.S., *Congressional Record,* 61st Cong., 2nd Sess., (1910), pp. 6127, 2132-33, 6135, 5490, 5721, 5722, and 5725.

[10]*Ibid.,* p. 6141.

[11]*Ibid.,* 66th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1919), p. 647.

[12]Smoot, Reed, The Diaries of Reed Smoot, MSS, Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library.

[13]*Op. cit.,* 64th Cong., 1st Sess. (1916), p. 12137.

[14]*Ibid.,* 61st Cong., 3rd Sess. (1911), pp. 1340 and 1342; 63rd Cong., 1st Sess (1913), pp. 2576-80; Reed Smoot to Herbert Hoover (telegram) 1 June 1931, Frank J. Cannon Papers, State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver.

[15]Smoot, Diaries, January 20 and September 2, 1914.

[16]See for instance Jerrald L. Newquist, *Prophets, Principles, and National Survival* (Salt Lake City: Publisher's Press, 1964) which uses the same method and a critique by Thomas G. Alexander, "An Ambiguous Heritage," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought,* 2 (Autumn, 1967), 127-134.

[17]Glenn L. Pearson and Reid E. Bankhead, *A Doctrinal Approach to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1962), pp. 38, 58, and 63.

[18]H. Verlan Andersen, *Many Are Called But Few Are Chosen* (Provo: The Press Publishing Co., 1967), pp. 39 and 41-45.

[19]Hyrum L. Andrus, *Liberalism, Conservatism, Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1965), pp. 19, 22-23.

[20]Andrus, p. 90; Pearson and Bankhead, p. 38; Andersen, p. 45.

[21]Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 353-380; Gustave O. Larson, *The Americanization of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino: Huntington Library Press, 1971).

[22]Smoot, Diaries, 11 December 1909 and 14 May 1910. Smoot was particularly active in the development of legislation for conservation. Thomas G. Alexander, "Reed Smoot and the Development of Western Land Policy, 1905-1920," *Arizona and the West,* XIII (Autumn, 1971), 245-64.

[23]Joseph F. Smith, "The Presidential Election," *Improvement Era,* 15 (October, 1912), 1121.

[24]"Editorial Note on 'The Church Stands for Prohibition,' " *Ibid.* 19 (June, 1916), 738.

[25]Merrill, "Reed Smoot," pp. 146 and 159; idem., "Reed Smoot, Apostle-Senator," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XXVIII (October, 1960), 345.

[26]Merrill, *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XXVIII, *passim; The Progressive* (Salt Lake City), 7 March 1914; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Proceedings of the Ninety-Fourth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1924), p. 36.

MODERATION IN ALL THINGS: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL OUTLOOKS OF MODERN URBAN MORMONS

ARMAND L. MAUSS

Perhaps the most difficult kind of analysis that scholars may presume to make is that of presenting attitudes of people toward various ideas. Any poll can be affected by weakness in the sampling technique, by various shades of meaning imputed to the questions by the people polled, and by several other variables. Nevertheless, we continue to make the effort. Armand Mauss has attempted to discover how Mormon attitudes differ from one area of Church population to another and how these differences compare with similar differences among other Christian churches. Mauss is the first to admit that a survey of two cities is hardly sufficient to make generalizations about the entire Church, but his impressive survey at least begins to provide important insights into attitudes of Mormons in the modern urban and secular environments.

One wonders if it has ever been reasonable to speak of "what Mormons believe" or "how Mormons feel" on any but the most fundamental questions of Church doctrine. If so, to what extent has consensus on theological questions extended to social and political ones? And even if Mormons have historically shared some degree of uniformity in their outlooks on any of these matters, to what extent has it been possible to maintain consensus in the face of modern urban living, with its exposure to an immense heterogeneity of life circumstances and life styles? I argue elsewhere that Mormons, like others, are susceptible to the powerful forces of assimilation and secularization in urban industrial societies like our own, and that we are not a terribly "peculiar people" any more, except perhaps in a small number of religious ideas and observances that are easily tolerated by our neighbors.[1] And if we are not particularly conspicuous any longer for our religion *per se*, it would be somewhat surprising if our political and social ideas were anything but part of the general American consensus. I shall be contending here that while such ideas run quite a gamut among modern Mormons, "moderate" and "mainstream" are probably the most appropriate adjectives to describe them.

The data on which this article is based came primarily from two surveys which I conducted privately during 1967 and 1968. Space here does not permit methodological details, but the model for my surveys was the Glock and Stark project at the Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley, on religion in American life.[2] My first survey yielded about 1,000 valid cases (questionnaires) from ten sample wards in Salt Lake City, and my second survey about 300 cases from two sample wards in a coastal city of California.[3] The questionnaires were extensive and covered a great variety of religious,

social, political and other questions, and considerable social background information as well. Standard social research techniques were used with great care in dealing with the problems of sampling, follow-up, reliability, non-response bias and the like. The results make it possible for us to learn a great deal about the attitudes of representative urban Mormons (who are now, after all, the modal Mormon type), both in Utah and outside. We will turn now to the presentation of some of our findings on political and social attitudes.

Political Outlooks

Let us look first at the question of political preferences among Mormons. There can be but few of us who have not encountered the widespread impression that 20th century Mormons are generally Republicans, and conservative Republicans at that (except, perhaps, for our "pseudo-intellectuals"). Such an impression is reinforced by Mormon writers of conservative hue who seek to identify authentic Mormonism with conservative "Americanism."[4] It is not clear to me just where gentile observers gather the same impression; it might be derived or inferred from the Church policy toward Blacks. An impression of conservative Republican proclivities as dominant, however, certainly cannot be derived from the voting history of Utah during the present century, nor from the party affiliations of Mormon congressmen, who have been largely Democratic for some years.[5] Prominent Mormon politicians and statesmen of national stature during this century could easily be named from both parties. Thomas O'Dea has claimed that the *leadership* of the Church is predominantly Republican and conservative, though he observes that such does not seem to be true for the membership at large.[6] In my own data, region (or at least city) made some difference (as we might expect) in the party affiliations claimed by my Mormon respondents, but not as much as one would expect. As Table 1 indicates, the CC (Coastal City) saints, on the average, claim to be somewhat more liberal and Democratic than their SLC (Salt Lake City) brethren and sisters, but one is struck over all more by the similarities in the figures of the two columns than by the differences. If we were to apply the "right-wing" label to the "conservative Republican" category, then it is clear that less than a fifth of the Church membership (as per these samples) could be so designated, despite the conventional wisdom to the contrary. The data in this table would probably indicate that Mormons, with a Republican percentage around half, are still somewhat more likely to be Republican than are the nation's voters as

TABLE 1: *POLITICAL PREFERENCE**

	SLC	CC
Liberal Democrat	6%	15%
Moderate Democrat	16%	20%
Moderate Republican	35%	30%
Conservative Republican	19%	15%
Independent	18%	15%
N (100%) =	(958)	(296)

*Percentages in this table do not total to 100% because of omission of non-respondents to this item.

a whole (among whom the Republican Party is clearly in the minority), but a more *appropriate* comparison would be a regional one, rather than a national one; and it is doubtful that SLC Mormons are more likely to claim Republican affiliation than, say, the voters of the Mountain West in general. Be that as it may, there is no evidence here for the belief that Mormons are predominantly Republican, to say nothing of *conservative* Republican. Indeed, exactly half of them (in both samples) are found in the political *center* (i.e. in the two "moderate" categories).

Social scientists are aware, however, that claimed party affiliation is only a very rough indicator of actual political attitudes. Somewhat greater precision can be obtained by ascertaining a respondent's beliefs on a series of *issues*. Of course, the *saliency* of issues can change significantly over time, and let us remember that the data I am presenting were gathered mostly in 1967 and 1968. At that time, attitudes toward certain issues were more indicative than they would be now of a generally *conservative* outlook in domestic and foreign affairs. In order to get a comprehensive and composite measure of political conservatism, two indices were developed, one for *domestic* policy conservatism and one for *foreign* policy conservatism.[7] The first of these was built from the responses to five questions: one on labor unions, a second on internal communism, a third on the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a fourth on government medical care for the aged, and a fifth on the danger of recent trends toward "socialism." A strong agreement with the "conservative position" on these issues received a score of 2, and an agreement "somewhat"

TABLE 2: *DOMESTIC POLICY CONSERVATISM**

DPC Index Scores:	SLC	CC
Low (0-4)	29%	47%
(5-7)	39%	33%
High (8-10)	24%	10%
N (100%) =	(958)	(296)

*Percentages in this table do not total 100% because of omission of respondents who failed to answer one or more of the questions on which the Index was based. The same will be true in all subsequent tables.

a score of 1. The distributions of the SLC and CC samples are shown in Table 2 where we can see that the CC saints have considerably lower levels of conservatism than do their SLC brethren, probably in line with the general political climate of the CC area. Even the SLC saints, however, have a larger proportion (29%) at the *lowest* level of conservatism than at the *highest* (24%). While a fully valid relative statement about Mormon conservatism would require a comparison with surrounding non-Mormons, it does seem reasonable to say, just on the strength of the distributions in Table 2, that Mormons (even in SLC) lean more in the moderate and liberal directions than in the conservative one. The degree to which Mormons might be taken as "soft on the John Birch Society" can perhaps be inferred from a single item in the questionnaire, which stated, "All things considered, the John Birch Society probably does more good than harm" (not a terribly strong endorsement of the JBS at best). "Agree strongly" responses were given by 13% of the SLC saints and by 7% of the CC saints. "Agree somewhat" responses were given by twice those numbers, respectively, in the two samples. It is rather difficult to know what meaning should be assigned to an agreement "somewhat" with a statement that is itself not very decisive, but the smaller figures for "strongly" agree (13% and 7%) probably can be taken as endorsements of the Birch Society. All in all, it would probably not be accurate to characterize Mormons as especially conservative in domestic political affairs, but again, rather, as moderates.

A similarly constructed index was used to get some measure of conservatism in *foreign* affairs, but with fewer items: one on admitting Red China to the UN; a second on supporting the UN; and a third on the desirability of a decisive military effort in Viet-Nam (remember that these issues were much more controversial a few years ago). Table 3 shows the comparison of the SLC and the CC saints in foreign policy conservatism (which I would define as a generally militant, "hawklike," and nationalistic outlook in international affairs). Once again, we are lacking comparable national or regional data and measures against which to rate these two Mormon samples, but just on the rather rough 6-point scale deriving from the Index (Table 3), we would have to regard the Mormons as foreign policy "moderates" at most. With both samples, the overwhelming majority is found in the lower and middle ranges of the scale; indeed, in the case of the CC saints, more than half (58%) scored *zero or one* out of a possible 6 points. It seems fair to conclude that, according to my measures, the "doves" outnumber the "hawks" rather substantially among Mormons.[8]

TABLE 3: *FOREIGN POLICY CONSERVATISM*

FPC Index Scores:	SLC	CC
Low (0-1)	33%	58%
(2-4)	52%	32%
High (5-6)	6%	2%
N (100%) =	(958)	(296)

Libertarianism

Closely related to the liberal-conservative axis in the literature of political sociology (at least since Adorno) has been the issue of libertarianism.[9] While my data do not permit me to address that complex issue in a comprehensive way, I do have some standard measures of *religious* libertarianism, based upon respondents' beliefs about what action (if any) should be taken against *atheists* (in the questionnaire: "people who claim they do not believe in God"). Since atheists are the most extreme kind of religious "outsider," tolerance toward them should be an indicator *a fortiori* of tolerance toward other religious groups. Table 4 shows the distribution of Mormon respondents on the very same Index of Religious Libertarianism used in the Glock-Stark study, and a comparison with the appropriate table in that study will indicate that Mormons (particularly those of CC) are more likely to be libertarian than are the Catholic and Protestant samples in the Glock-Stark survey.[10] Note, for example, that a surprising 71% of the CC saints would get the highest rating in religious libertarianism, compared with 53% of the Catholics and Protestants, which the SLC saints more resemble.[11] It would appear, then, that the Latter-day Saints have taken seriously the concept of religious tolerance expressed in the 11th article of faith, and have extended it even to atheists.

TABLE 4: *RELIGIOUS LIBERTARIANISM*

RL Index Scores:	SLC	CC
0	5%	3%
1	5%	3%
2	10%	5%
3	11%	6%
4	54%	71%
N (100%) =	(958)	(296)

The Race Question

The indices discussed above, let us remember, have the effect of summarizing the outlook of my Mormon respondents on a considerable *range* of social and political issues (this is particularly the case with the Index of Domestic Political Conservatism). It seems appropriate to single out one such issue, namely the race issue, for special attention here, considering the controversy and publicity which have been focused upon Mormons in recent years over this problem. A few interesting observations from my data might contribute to the more general discussion of the social attitudes of contemporary Mormons.[12]

The Mormon Church propagates doctrines concerning at least three ethnic

groups: Negroes, Jews (and other Israelites insofar as such can be identified), and American Indians (usually broadened to include Polynesians as well). While we have received much notoriety of late for our doctrines and policies on the Negro, with particular respect to the alleged social consequences thereof, it is no less interesting to investigate the consequences, if any, of the Church teachings on the other two ethnic groups. If negative doctrines and discriminatory policies toward Blacks are supposed to result in a generalized anti-Black bigotry among Mormons (as our critics claim), then what might we expect from our doctrines about Jews and Indians? These doctrines are at worst ambivalent, and, on balance, even favorable, in their definition of the status of these groups in the eyes of the Lord.

The data from my major surveys did not include anything on attitudes toward Indians, though a small study conducted in Cache Valley indicated much lower levels of prejudice there against Indians than against Blacks. Prejudice against both groups was highly contingent upon the amount of exposure respondents had had to ethnic groups (which, in effect, meant living outside of Utah).[13] Whatever may be the attitudes of church members toward Indians, however, there can be little doubt about the commitment of the Church *as an organization* to the redemption of the Red Man. Few non-Mormons are aware of the thousands of Indian children living in white Mormon homes, of the hundreds of Indian youth in special education programs at BYU, or of the many other forms of expensive assistance given by the Church to Indians both on and off the reservation. It is difficult to avoid the rather obvious conclusion that the Indian programs of the Church issue directly from its Indian doctrines, though, like any "obvious conclusion," it is still open to question and to proof. The involvement of the Mormon Church with the Indians is surely one of the most poorly publicized "social action" programs in this age of frantic social reform; and the Mormon work with the Indians in the "Indian country" of the great West is a fully appropriate counterpart to the work that other (historically urban) churches are doing in the Black ghettoes.

Where the Jews are concerned, Mormon doctrines are unique among Christian churches. The concept of a special Jewish perfidy and treachery, so pervasive in traditional Christianity, is largely absent in Mormonism.[14] The Jewish "apostasies" are regarded primarily as examples merely of the general proclivity for apostasy that is endemic to mankind. The chief focus of Mormon doctrines on Jews is zionist and redemptionist. The Jews are people of destiny, like the Latter-day Saints themselves; furthermore, since the great majority of the saints are of Ephraim or other Israelite lines, they are literally "blood brothers" of the Jews.[15] With doctrines like these in the theological realm, what attitudes toward Jews might we expect in secular civil life? Glock and Stark have demonstrated empirically and rather conclusively the chain of beliefs and attitudes that link traditional Christian doctrines to modern secular anti-Semitism among Catholics and Protestants.[16] Using the same basic theoretical model, I have elsewhere (and with different data) demonstrated how the peculiar Mormon doctrines about Jews intervene to neutralize anti-Semitism in the development of their secular attitudes about Jews.[17]

Table 5 of my present data shows the distribution of my two Mormon samples on an Index of Secular Anti-Semitism. This index, a somewhat shortened form of the one used in the Glock-Stark work, is based on degrees of respondents'

assent to certain hostile characterizations of Jews, such as that they engage in "shady" business practices. A comparison of the distributions in Table 5 with those in the Glock-Stark counterpart will show that the Mormons compare favorably with the least anti-Semitic denominations, having the *highest* rates of *zero* anti-Semitism.[18] Further analysis of my data (not presented here) shows also that such Mormon anti-Semitism as there is drops away drastically among those who believe in the traditional Church doctrines about the Jews and Mormons as "blood brothers."

TABLE 5: *SECULAR ANTI-SEMITISM*

SAS Index Scores:	SLC	CC
(Low) 0	23%	26%
1-2	32%	35%
3-4	16%	16%
(Hi) 5-6	4%	3%
N (100%) =	(958)	(296)

With respect to Jews and Indians, then, two of the most brutally oppressed minorities in history, Mormon attitudes and behavior should be acceptable even to the most sensitive guardian of social virtue. It is a pity that the controversy over the Blacks has overshadowed the more general Mormon proclivity toward equalitarianism in racial relations.[19]

With respect to Mormon relations with Blacks, there are several separate

(if related) questions, most of which are, unfortunately, lumped together in the discourse and controversy over this matter. (1) Just what is the policy and doctrine about Blacks within the Mormon Church? (2) How much grounding or support can be found for the policy and doctrine(s) in authentic revelation? (3) How do Mormons as individual church members feel about the traditional Church policy? (4) What *meaning* and consequences, if any, do church members give to this *ecclesiastical* tradition when it comes to *secular civil* relations with Blacks? This is not the place to deal with questions (1) or (2); I and others have already addressed these questions rather extensively.[20] On the third question, public opinion within the Church on the "Negro policy," there are interesting data from my surveys. Both the SLC and the CC saints were asked to agree or disagree with the statement, "I wish that Negroes could be given the Priesthood in the LDS Church." Levels of agreement ran considerably higher among the CC saints: *44% agreed* either "strongly" (33%) or "somewhat" (11%). Among the SLC saints, the corresponding figures were only 11% and 12%, for a total of *23% agreement.* One remarkable thing about this question, though, was the extraordinarily large proportions of respondents who *abstained* from response: 38% in SLC and 33% in CC chose the "no opinion" option on this question. If we add together the responses indicating agreement and those indicating abstention, we are left with the *disagreement* rate: 39% in SLC and 23% in CC. These latter figures are perhaps the most important ones on this particular question, for they give some indication of the net opposition existing in Mormon public opinion to a change in the traditional Church policy toward Negroes. This opposition apparently runs to a little over a third of the SLC saints and to less than a fourth of the CC saints. It seems reasonable to conclude that a change in the Church policy on Negroes would either be welcomed or accepted by a large majority of the Latter-day Saints in and outside of Utah; and even many of the devout saints now in opposition could be expected to acquiesce out of commitment to the principle of continuous revelation, should a change take place. Furthermore, comparisons of responses to this question by age categories showed that levels of disagreement *declined* noticeably among the *younger* saints, so that we can expect opposition to change to be even lower in the future.

The last question of the four I posed above has to do with the "carry-over" issue: to what extent is the Church policy toward Blacks carried over by Mormons in their everyday relations with Blacks outside the Church realm? This too is a question which I and others have addressed before, but with much less systematic data than are now available through my more recent surveys. The earlier works have indicated that Mormons in general (and even those believing in the Church policy) lack any *unique* or *distinctive* prejudice toward Blacks in matters of stereotypes, job opportunities, educational opportunities, housing and the like.[21] This is *not* to say that Mormons lack anti-Black prejudice; only that their measurable levels of prejudice are similar to (or lower than) those of most other religious groups.

The larger surveys on which I have based this paper have brought considerably more systematic data to bear on the issue. A general idea of how the saints think the *Lord* looks upon anti-Negro discrimination can be obtained from responses to a question asking "how serious" an infraction it is "in (the Lord's) eyes" to discriminate against Negroes in housing, employment, etc. Of the SLC saints, 63% responded with either "very serious" or "fairly serious;" among the

CC saints the corresponding figure was 76%. These are large figures in themselves, but are more meaningful if compared to figures indicating responses about *other* infractions. Take for example beer drinking: about as many SLC saints (64%) regarded that infraction *also* as either "very serious" or "fairly serious," which suggests that anti-Negro discrimination ranks about with beer drinking in the hierarchy of sins among the SLC saints. One might wonder about such priorities, but it is difficult to be sure whether they are more indicative of complacency about discrimination or of anxiety about drinking; for among the CC saints only 47% were concerned about beer drinking, compared to 76% about discrimination.

Aside from what the saints think that the Lord thinks about prejudice and discrimination, what do they themselves think? In my earlier article on this subject (based on data from three East Bay California wards), I employed three questionnaire items as indicators of anti-Negro *prejudice*, and three others as indicators of *discrimination* tendencies.[22] I was here drawing again upon the work of Glock and Stark, with whose data I wanted mine to be comparable.[23] In my more recent work, I have combined those three prejudice indicators into a single *Index of Prejudice*, and the three discrimination indicators into an *Index of Segregationism*. Tables 6 and 7 compare the standings of the SLC and the CC saints on these two indices, respectively. It is interesting here to note the unusual *similarity* of the SLC and the CC saints in their distributions on these two indices (the same was true for their distributions on anti-Semitism). This suggests that however much the SLC and CC saints may differ in many of their *other* attitudes, they differ but very little in (secular) *racial* attitudes. The figures in the tables indicate also that only miniscule proportions of the saints agree with all three of the indicators of prejudice and segregationism (i.e., rank "high" on the indices), and that the large majority in both samples rank "low" on the indices (i.e., give little or no support to the usual anti-Black notions that have been common in our culture).[24]

TABLE 6: *ANTI-BLACK PREJUDICE*

ABP Index Scores:	SLC	CC
(Low) 0-2	60%	66%
3-4	23%	17%
(High) 5-6	8%	9%
N (100%) =	(958)	(296)

TABLE 7: *ANTI-BLACK SEGREGATIONISM*

ABS Index Scores:	SLC	CC
(Low) 0-2	76%	78%
3-4	14%	9%
(High) 5-6	6%	4%
N (100%) =	(958)	(296)

There is much more analysis that needs to be done on these data in order for them to be fully meaningful, but this is not the place to do it. The work of thorough analysis is still in progress and will be published soon.[25] Suffice it to say here that it does not now appear that the results of my analysis, when fully completed, will overturn or seriously contradict the main conclusions of my earlier (less systematic) surveys: i.e., that when compared to others, the Latter-day Saints do not have especially high levels of anti-Black feeling, even if they subscribe to the traditional Church policy on Blacks and the priesthood; that the *extent* to which Mormon attitudes toward Blacks are *influenced by the Church policy is heavily contingent* upon the region of the country in which they live, upon their educational level, upon their age, upon their exposure to heterogeneous urban living, and upon a host of other factors which have nothing whatever to do with religious indoctrination. When Mormons are compared with non-Mormons according to age-level, education-level, urban background, and the other factors, my data still indicate that the Mormon/non-Mormon differences in attitudes toward Blacks will simply disappear. This leaves certain other questions which I am not able to address with my data: Would Mormons be even less anti-Negro than other people if it were not for the Church policy on priesthood? Do the intervening social factors which I have mentioned simply neutralize an underlying anti-Black outlook that is still

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—ROBERT LOWELL

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latent among Mormons? We can only conjecture. Glock and Stark showed that religious Libertarianism intervened to considerably neutralize hostility toward religious "outsiders," and Mormons, it will be recalled, rate relatively high in libertarianism, so it might function as a neutralizing factor.[26] Social psychologists who specialize in the study of the formations and expressions of attitudes have made clear how complex (if not impossible) are predictions and assertions about how (and whether) certain attitudes will lead to other attitudes, or will issue in certain kinds of behavior.[27] Such evidence as we have, in any case, does not support a hypothesis of uniquely Mormon anti-Black feeling or behavior. Let us therefore be judged in the surrounding society by our individual

behavior toward Blacks and others, rather than by doubtful assumptions about how Mormons as a whole are *supposed* to think in light of a controversial Church custom.

Concluding Observations

It is probably necessary to add the *caveat* that what has been presented here is only the *beginning* of analysis; it is really more description than analysis, in the Gallup style, though the indices I have employed are somewhat more sophisticated measures than the single-item indicators in the standard Gallup reports. Considerable statistical manipulation of all these data, with techniques ranging from cross-tabulation to regression analysis, will be necessary before we can have any understanding of the factors related to *differences* among the Saints in their social and political attitudes. In particular, nothing has been presented here concerning the impact of *religious* beliefs on these secular attitudes. Work of this kind is in progress and is being published elsewhere as it is finished.

If the reader has remained unstartled so far, then the main point of this paper has perhaps been made: that there is nothing startling about the political or social attitudes of modern urban Mormons. These attitudes are well within the mainstream of contemporary American thought — a bit on the "liberal" side in CC, perhaps, and a bit on the "conservative" side in SLC, but then this too simply reflects regional differences in American public opinion more generally. In political party preference, the Latter-day Saints show a strong centrist tendency, insofar as they accept party labels at all. In both foreign and domestic policy, the clearly conservative among the Saints, according to the measures employed here, are decided minorities (indeed, *miniscule* minorities in *foreign* policy conservatism). Again, a kind of center-to-liberal posture seems dominant. In religious tolerance (libertarianism), the Saints rank rather high on standard measures, the CC Saints especially so, when compared to a West Coast sample of Protestants and Catholics, so that once again they meet or exceed the norms of at least western America. Finally, in attitudes toward ethnic minorities, both samples of Saints compare favorably with the Glock-Stark denominational samples, measuring decisively-to-overwhelmingly low in their incidence of prejudice. However well the Mormons may follow their cultural cliché "moderation in all things" in *other* aspects of life, they do seem to apply it to social and political positions.

[1]See my paper, "Saints, Cities, and Secularism: Religious Attitudes and Behavior of Modern Urban Mormons," forthcoming soon in *Dialogue*.

[2]See especially C. Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966). The Appendices to that volume describe the methodological procedures used in gathering and preparing their data. I used the same procedures for the most part.

[3]With only two wards involved in my Coastal City sample, it seems appropriate to respect the anonymity of the cooperating respondents and bishops by not specifically identifying the city. I will add, however, that it was not a city in southern California, and that the two wards chosen included the most "urban" sections of the city — i.e. rooming houses and apartments — as well as family residential areas. The ten Salt Lake City wards were distributed throughout the Greater Salt Lake area in patterns that reflected the contours of population density. These wards were selected by a system of probability sampling weighted in such a way that a ward's

chance of being selected in the sample was proportional to its membership size. In drawing the sample wards and obtaining lists of ward members, I was, of course, totally dependent upon the cooperation and good will of ward bishops and others in the Church Office Building, and I hereby gratefully acknowledge their help. The data I collected are stored on computer tape under the title "Mormonism and Urbanism" at the University of California (Berkeley) and at the computer center, Washington State University (Pullman). In addition to this body of data, I have collected somewhat less systematic bodies from an East Bay (California) stake and from Logan, Utah. A number of articles and theses have been produced from all these data sources, and much additional work is in progress.

[4]I base this statement upon my reading of the relevant works of Hyrum Andrus, Cleon Skousen, Richard Vetterli, and others.

[5]See, e.g. H. G. Frederickson and A. J. Stevens, "The Mormon Congressman and the Line between Church and State," *Dialogue*, 3 (Summer, 1968), 121-129.

[6]Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press [paperback edition], 1964), pp. 172-73 and 253-55.

[7]A word is perhaps in order here about the measuring device called an "index," although, again, space does not permit a thorough explanation. The kind of composite scaled index used here is based upon two or more individual questionnaire items, each contributing to the over-all score of the index. Such an index is justified by the assumption that a respondent's answers to a *series* of questions about a certain kind of belief is a more consistent and reliable "measure" than would be his answer to only one question about that belief. The highest possible score on the index goes only to those respondents who give a definite answer (in the "direction" being measured) to *all* of the items on which the index is based. Those who give the opposite answer, or who demur, receive a score of zero each time. Scores in between zero and the maximum reflect *combinations* of "definitely," "somewhat," and no-score answers on the various items making up the index. When the resulting distributions on an index are strung out, it is usually desirable to combine or "collapse" the index into fewer categories, which has been the usual practice in this paper. The cutting points in the collapsing process are not entirely arbitrary; consideration is given to such criteria as the clustering tendencies that appear in the original version of the index. No claim is being made that this kind of index is either very precise or is an evenly calibrated interval scale. We cannot say exactly *how much* higher in "conservatism" is a person who ranks "high" on an index, compared to one who ranks "medium" or "low." We can claim only that he is higher — i.e. more conservative.

[8]These findings may seem somewhat at odds with those reported for a B.Y.U. population recently (Knud S. Larsen and Gary Schwendiman, "The Vietnam War through the Eyes of a Mormon Subculture," *Dialogue*, 3 [Autumn, 1968], 152-162). The reasons for the difference between my findings and theirs could perhaps be discussed at some length, but are probably to be found mainly in (1) the important differences in our two samples, especially considering the selective recruitment to B.Y.U. by age and social class, and (2) the psychological variables discussed in their article.

[9]I have reference here to the enormous body of social-psychological literature on personality variables and political attitudes, beginning with the classic (but much criticized) work by T. W. Adorno, et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper and Row, 1950).

[10]See Chapter 5 of Glock and Stark, *op. cit.*

[11]Calculated from table on page 89 of Glock & Stark, *op. cit.*

[12]I have offered more thorough and comprehensive analyses of race questions among Mormons in the following works: "Mormonism and Secular Attitudes toward Negroes," *Pacific Sociological Review* 9 (Fall, 1966), 91-99; "Mormonism and the Negro: Faith, Folklore, and Civil Rights," *Dialogue* 2 (Winter, 1967), 19-39; "Mormon Semitism and Anti-Semitism," *Sociological Analysis*, 29 (Spring, 1968), 11-27; and my unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "Mormonism and Minorities," University of California (Berkeley), 1970. A revised and expanded version of the dissertation will soon be issued by University of California Press under the revised title, *Mormons and Minorities*.

[13]Armand L. Mauss and Ella D. Lewis Douglas, "Religious and Secular Factors in the Race Attitudes of Logan, Utah Residents," *Proceedings* of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, 45 (Fall, 1968).

[14]Jules Isaac, *The Teaching of Contempt: Christian Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965).

[15]Lynn M. Hilton, *The Jews, a Promised People* (Provo, Utah: B.Y.U. Extension Publications, 1958).

[16]Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *op. cit.*; also, Rodney Stark, et. al., *Wayward Shepherds: Prejudice among the Protestant Clergy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

[17]Armand L. Mauss, in *Sociological Analysis, op. cit.*; also, Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of above-cited dissertation.

[18]Glock and Stark, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[19]A less well-known case serves to illustrate the potential effect of such attitudes. In a study commissioned and published by the New Zealand National Council of Churches, the sociologist Hans Mol wrote "The Mormons are the most successful of all churches in the implementation of a policy of integration . . . This applies to the absolute numbers of Maoris who are in meaningful interaction with Pakehas (white men) in face-to-face religious groups. It also applies to their effectiveness in reaching and moulding their members into cohesive communities which are the best antidote to the social disorganization of the urban Maori migrant." *Religion and Race in New Zealand*, Hans Mol, (Christchurch, N.Z.: National Council of Churches, 1966), pp. 46-47. This study does not resolve whether the rather dramatic difference between Mormon policies and those of other denominations, and their respective degrees of effectiveness, are the result of theology (Mormons considering Maoris Lamanites), Mormonism being a "culture-transcending faith," or the possibility that Mormonism "offers a modern *non-Maori* culture . . . which has the advantage of being also *non-Pakeha.*" (p. 59). Such questions remain unanswered.

[20]Stephen G. Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970); and Lester Bush's commentary on Taggart's book *Dialogue* 4 (Winter 1969).

[21]Armand L. Mauss, *Pacific Sociological Review, op. cit.*; and dissertation cited above, Chapters 7, 8 and 9. See also David L. Brewer, "Utah Elites and Utah Racial Norms," unpublished dissertation, University of Utah, 1966, and a shorter version of same, "Religious Resistance to Changing Beliefs about Race," *Pacific Sociological Review*, 13 (Summer, 1970) 163-170. Brewer's study, implicitly if not explicitly, purports to find a tie between Mormon religious indoctrination (on the race issue) and the conservatism of Mormons in civil rights matters, which would be in direct contradiction to the conclusions of my study reported earlier in the same journal (see above). While Brewer's study is well done, given its unavoidable limitations of data and scope, it cannot provide the warrant for contradicting my findings, for the following reasons: (1) It is a study of the race attitudes of *Utah elites* (not the general church membership) and thus is even more limited in its generalizability than is my earlier study of three wards; (2) Generalizations from the leadership of an organization to its membership are too hazardous to take for granted, as is amply proved by the differences in birth control attitudes (and practices) as between the Catholic clergy and the Catholic laity; (3) Of all the elites which Brewer studied, the *church* elite was the only one where denominational affiliation made any difference in racial attitudes, even though the *other* elites whose attitudes he studied (i.e. legal, academic, medical, economic, and governmental elites) were *also* predominantly *L.D.S.* in their affiliation; and (4) the chief *indirect* evidence which Brewer cites for a "carry-over" of the Church policy into secular civil matters is the observation that "in 1964, Utah was the only state outside the Southern and border states which had not passed civil rights laws in either public accommodations, employment, or housing." The saliency of that observation, to say nothing of its accuracy, is highly doubtful in light of the fact that in November, 1964, the voters of *California* (including a very small Mormon minority!) passed "Proposition 14," which effectively wiped off the books most of the civil rights legislation that had accumulated in that state. The fact that the voters' action was subsequently negated by the courts does not in the least restore the shattered argument that one can automatically link the political behavior of a people to the presumably "reactionary" stance of their church leaders!

[22]Mauss, *Pacific Sociological Review, op. cit.*

[23]Glock & Stark, *op. cit.*, Chapter 10.

[24]Although Glock and Stark did not develop comparable indices of anti-Black attitudes in their work, my earlier article (PSR) suggests that once again Mormons would compare favorably to most other denominations in their rates of anti-Black prejudice. (Compare my PSR article with Glock and Stark, Chapt. 10.)

[25]See my forthcoming book, University of California Press, *op. cit.*

[26]Glock & Stark, *op. cit.*, Chapter 5.

[27]Melvin L. DeFleur and Frank R. Westie, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Acts: An Experiment on the Salience of Attitudes," *American Sociological Review*, 33 (December, 1963) 667-73; and I. Ajzen & M. Fishbein, "The Prediction of Behavior from Attitudinal and Normative Variables," *Journal of Experimental and Social Psychology*, 6 (December, 1970) 667-73; and many other such studies.

MORMONS IN THE THIRD REICH: 1933-1945

JOSEPH M. DIXON

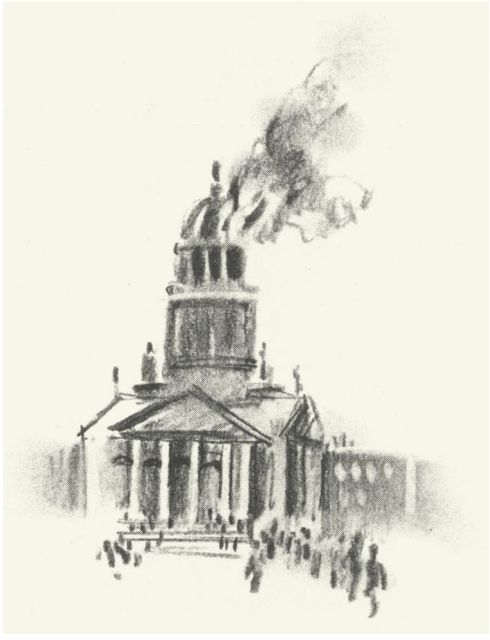
The experience of the Church in non-American countries has not always been easy. In Germany in the 1930's, for example, the Hitler regime viewed the Mormon Church as an American institution and therefore open to some suspicion. The problem for the Church was compounded by differing views among local members concerning the Third Reich. Here Professor Joseph Dixon discusses the experiences of the Church in Germany in the 1930's.

In a totalitarian society, religious groups, by virtue of their committed support of spiritual and moral values, often suffer frustration, persecution, repression and, in some instances, extinction. In Hitler's Third Reich, quite possibly the Twentieth Century's best example of totalitarianism, the Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh-Day Adventists, Christian Scientists, and Mormons struggled even to maintain their existence. The following discussion centers on the Mormon experience in Nazi Germany and tries to suggest some implications of that experience for contemporary Mormons.

Over 15,000 Mormons living in Hitler's highly nationalistic Germany gave their allegiance to the Church with its strong American image, and most maintained that allegiance even during the difficult war years. How did they manage to remain both German and Mormon in such an environment? What happened to them because of their religious convictions? Did they go to concentration camps, as did the Jehovah's Witnesses? Did they have to modify their traditional Mormon beliefs to survive?

There are a number of myths about Mormons in Nazi Germany, and while some are grounded in truth, others border on the ridiculous. Rumors abound about Mormons serving as officers in the Party and holding high military rank. Allegedly, Adolf Hitler so admired the Mormon hierarchical structure that he patterned his party after it. Thus the Young Men's and Young Women's Mutual Improvement Associations supposedly corresponded to the Nazi *Jugend* and *Bund der deutschen Mädel*, and the Relief Society to the *Frauenschaft*. Some believe the Nazi practice of eating a single course meal on particular days *(Eintopftag)* originated in the Mormon fast day.[1] Contrary to, but coexistent with these myths, are tales of Nazi-Mormon incompatability, including severe persecution. What are we to believe?

Coming to terms with these myths requires an examination of existing records. Although virtually all Church property in Germany was destroyed in bombing raids, most written records were preserved because they were sent



regularly to Salt Lake City. These records are only of limited value, however, since the record keepers of necessity avoided allusion to political events. Written communications between mission authorities and missionaries are difficult to find. Practically all such material was destroyed lest it fall into the hands of the police.[2] It was therefore necessary to supplement these records with information gleaned from questionnaires sent to Mormons currently living in Germany and from interviews with mission presidents, missionaries, and members who lived in Hitler's Reich. Many of the German converts who immigrated to this country after the War provided valuable information, although some were reluctant or even hostile to questions about their experience.

The history of the Mormon Church in Germany begins in 1840 when James Howard, an English convert, took a job in a Hamburg foundry and attempted, unsuccessfully, to preach the gospel to his fellow workers.[3] Later in that same decade several missionaries were called to serve in Germany and the Church began slowly to grow there. Although the trend in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was to emigrate to Zion, by 1933 there were 14,305 Mormons in Germany, Austria and Switzerland; by 1939 there were 15,677 in Germany alone.[4] Thus over 15,000 Mormons had the difficult task of surviving in Nazi Germany. They met this challenge in a variety of ways.

Was it possible to be both a good Mormon and a good Nazi? Roy A. Welker, president of the German-Austrian mission from 1934 to 1937, remembered one member who was a party official and also a great help to the Church.[5] But other than that single reference, I found nothing which indicates that any Mormon held a leadership position within the Nazi party, rumor to the contrary. Exact statistics do not exist, but the records mention no Mormons who were prominent in either the district *(Gau)* or national party circles. Usually those Mormons who joined the Nazi party became inactive in the Church or severed their relationship with it entirely. In Hamburg, Frankfurt, Berlin, and other

cities, several Mormons, including a few Church leaders, openly sympathized with the Nazi cause and on occasion used the Church as a vehicle to promote party and personal interests.[6] Most sermons, tracts and communications, however, dealt with gospel, not political, topics.

Before the war, some Church members tried to win Nazi sympathy by professing admiration for the Party's accomplishments. The official Nazi newspaper, *Völkischer Beobachter*, of 14 April 1939, published an article written by Alfred C. Rees, president of the East German Mission from 1937 to 1939, which contained some rather self-conscious comparisons between Mormon and German history:

> The Mormon people know what persecution and suppression mean. And the German people who have gone through the shadow of the valley since the World War; and who have been forced to rely upon their own strength and determination, and upon their undying belief in their own ability to restore their self-respect and their merited place among the mighty sisterhood of nations, reveal that same progressive character, which does not shun obstacles. For that reason, to a student of Mormonism, recent developments in Germany present a most impressive comparison.[7]

Rees discussed the Church's welfare plan and its solution to relief problems among the faithful. He elaborated on the Word of Wisdom with more enthusiasm than perspective:

> The Mormon people, perhaps more than any other people in all the world, pay high tribute to the German government for its bold declaration of war against the use of alcohol and tobacco by the youth of Germany.[8]

Knowing today what we do about Nazi Germany's atrocities, such a statement by a high Church official in Germany is both appalling and embarrassing. Rees's article also discussed tithing and Church finances and concluded on another startling note: "Here is the application of the German ideal: Community welfare before personal welfare. Mormons are practical exponents of that wholesome doctrine."[9]

Soon after the article's publication, a missionary tract containing a condensed version of the text appeared, complete with the swastika prominently displayed on the cover. Mormon anti-Nazis did not have time to complain, since the party itself ordered the tracts withdrawn, resenting the implication that the party sanctioned any American religious sect.

Perhaps the basic explanation of the Church's ability to survive during the Nazi years lay in the Mormon teaching of the fundamental separation of church and state. Mormons have always considered the support of civil law and authority a basic tenet of their faith. If civil laws conflict with religious beliefs most Mormons take the attitude that they are to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." James E. Talmage, in his explanation of this particular Mormon principle, states:

> Pending the overruling by Providence in favor of religious liberty, it is the duty of the saints to submit themselves to the laws of their country. Nevertheless, they should use every proper method, as citizens or subjects of their several governments, to secure for themselves and for all men the boon of freedom in religious service. It is not required of them to suffer without protest imposition by lawless persecutors, or through the operation of unjust laws; but their

> protests should be offered in legal and proper order. The saints have practically demonstrated their acceptance of the doctrine that it is better to suffer evil than to do wrong by purely human opposition to unjust authority. And if by thus submitting themselves to the laws of the land, in the event of such laws being unjust and subversive of human freedom, the people be prevented from doing the work appointed them of God, they are not to be held accountable for the failure to act under the higher law.[10]

Many Mormons in Nazi Germany undoubtedly used this rationale to avoid facing the issue of opposing an immoral regime and to extricate themselves from the collective shame and guilt placed upon the German population by the Nazi government.

This is not to imply that Mormons were untouched by political developments. Problems did not arise if local party officials were favorably disposed toward the Church, but members lived in constant fear of somehow incurring the wrath of even minor party functionaries. M. Douglas Wood, the last prewar president of the West German Mission, stated that members of the Church were "petrified" with fear and reported to him that Gestapo agents had been spying on Church services.[11] Local members particularly feared that politically naive American missionaries would cause problems. When one young missionary from the United States discussed the causes of World War I during a speech in district conference, the mission president stopped him; he then extolled the German government in order to calm the members' fears.[12] Two other indiscreet missionaries had their pictures taken draped in a Nazi flag and gave the film to one of their friends for processing. Delighted with the photographs, they had extra copies made. This time, unfortunately, they sent the film to another processor who immediately turned them over to the Gestapo. The mission president transferred the two out of Germany before they were arrested, but their friend who first processed their film was sent to a concentration camp.[13]

As the Nazis consolidated their power, the Mormons suffered increasing pressures. One frustrating regulation followed another. One by one, freedoms were removed, activities hampered or forbidden. Scouting, a major part of the Church's youth activity, had to be eliminated in favor of the Hitler Youth Movement.[14] Missionaries found their funds cut off when the government refused to allow the Church to send money through the German postal system, although this right was restored after an appeal to the courts. Even Mormon hymns were censored.[15]

By early 1939, missionaries were not allowed to distribute certain tracts, and various books could no longer be sold or even read.[16] Talmage's *Articles of Faith* was forbidden because its many references to Zion and Israel were unpalatable to the Nazis.[17] Local party officials sometimes prohibited street meetings and outlawed tracting.

Small branches continued to operate even under the growing list of prohibitions, but by August, 1939, Church leaders, fearing for the safety of American missionaries, ordered their evacuation.[18] In a matter of days all the missionaries from Germany and Czechoslovakia crossed into Denmark and Holland.

With this move the truly difficult years began. The German Saints would maintain direct contact with Salt Lake City until December, 1941. After that time instructions from Church headquarters came via Switzerland, and for long periods German Mormons received no communication from the outside world.[19]

In spite of the draft and forced labor, local members took over all church positions and still attempted to proselyte until the stress of the war made that impossible.[20] Convert baptisms declined from 418 in 1933 to an estimated 100 per year during the war.[21] The members who were left at home, the very young, the old, and the women, met in individual homes, often at great risk. Husbands and fathers were nearly all away, and the few men left attended several branches on a single Sunday to conduct meetings for the women and children, doing whatever they could to comfort bereaved or hungry families.[22]

Did the Germans change any of the Church doctrines during their isolation from the outside? Otto Berndt, named acting mission president of the West German Mission after the war, traveled through that mission and reported that little extraneous ritual or doctrine had crept into the services.[23] Some local Church authorities had instructed the members to rise whenever Church officers came into the services, a practice generally reserved to show respect for the president of the Church. In meetings, however, the members continued to testify to the divinity of the Mormon Church and did not repudiate the divine call of the General Authorities in the United States.

In spite of superficial similarities between the Church organization and the Nazi Party structure, no connection existed between the two. The Nazis on their own were careful to keep traditional Christian forms intact. Nazi speakers often used familiar Christian imagery. Hitler's closest companions were called his "apostles," while he himself was often referred to as the "savior."[24] Mormons could easily see such similarities, but any parallels which existed between the Church and the Party resulted from circumstance rather than plan. Hitler may have known of the Church's organization, but the Russian Communist Party or any other political party could just as easily have served as a model for his master plan. A few members stretched a point to show the leadership principle manifest in both Mormonism and Nazism, with the president as undisputed leader of the Church, and the *Führer* occupying the same position in the party. The *SA* and the *SS* could, they said, have been the equivalents of the Aaronic and Melchizedek Priesthoods, but such reasoning shows an incomplete understanding of both Church and party organization and particularly of the functions of each.[25]

The Church's stand on the Jewish question could have seriously damaged its position in Germany during the Third Reich. Mormon literature refers to the Jews as a "chosen people" and speaks of their return to their homeland. Solomon Schwarz, a deacon in the Barmbeck Branch and one of a few members with some Jewish blood, was not afraid to admit it. The Gestapo forced him to wear the Star of David on his arm and later sent him to Theresienstadt concentration camp where presumably he died, his Mormon membership notwithstanding.[26]

Evidently a few German Mormons harbored anti-Semitic feelings. In the Altona Branch chapel, someone placed a sign on the door stating that Jews were not allowed to visit the meetings.[27] This was common practice on public buildings throughout Germany but shockingly out of place on a Mormon meeting house. Rudolf Kaufmann was denied baptism by his branch president in Hamburg in 1941 because he was partly Jewish. The district president, however, overrode his decision and performed the baptism.[28]

Church members have reported that they knew of the horrors to which the

Jews were subjected. One Mormon, an expert mechanic, described his task of installing specialized machinery at Auschwitz concentration camp. The atrocities he witnessed so horrified him that he eventually suffered a mental collapse.[29] The majority of Mormons, however, avoided the Jewish problem if at all possible and were terrified if missionaries attempted to convert people with Jewish blood to the Church.[30]

The German Mormons were faced with a bitter dilemma: if they remained silent and went about their own business, they could be reasonably safe. If they in any way openly disagreed with the Nazis, they came to grief. Many felt they could do more in the long run by biding their time and remaining alive.

A few Mormons fought openly against the party. The most celebrated case concerns four young men between sixteen and seventeen years old who were daring enough to speak out and risk arrest. Helmuth Hübner, also known as Helmuth Gudat, a young Mormon living in the St. Georg Branch in Hamburg, and his friends Rudolf Wobbe, Karl-Heinz Schnibbe, and Gerhard Duwer, listened to British shortwave newscasts. Violently anti-Nazi, the four determined that the information from the British broadcasts should be distributed throughout Hamburg. Hübner mimeographed handbills bearing such titles as, "What Happened to General Schoerner, the Army Commander in Serbia?"; "Hitler the Murderer;" and "The Hitler Youth We Were Forced to Join," and placed them in mail boxes and phone booths and even tacked them on official party bulletin boards. Not content with this, Hubner began to write interpretive essays attacking party leaders, including Hermann Goering and others.[31]

The implications of this case for the Church are obvious. Not only was Hübner a Mormon in good standing, he had used office machinery belonging to the Church to duplicate some of his handbills. The boys were arrested, tried, and convicted of treason. The general indictment against them read in part:

> These handbills contain besides British war news slanders and insinuations against the *Führer* and his lieutenants; inflammatory attacks on the measures and institutions of the National Socialist government. They also demanded that the war be ended by the overthrow of the *Führer*.[32]

Wobbe received a term of ten years in a penitentiary, Schnibbe five years and Duwer four. Hübner was beheaded with a battle axe in the prison at Berlin-Plotzensee.[33]

Hübner's stepfather, a non-Mormon, accused Otto Berndt of instigating the entire plan. The Gestapo confiscated all the branch records and reports and interrogated Berndt for three days. At last they decided that the boys acted on their own and the Church was not involved.[34]

The Gestapo, however, did not let the matter rest. They ordered Berndt to see that Hübner was excommunicated from the Church for his crime. Berndt refused to do this, insisting that the Church had no right to excommunicate him.[35] Berndt's stand was overridden by the president of the St. Georg Branch and the acting president of the West German Mission, and Hübner was duly excommunicated on 15 February 1942. After the war the First Presidency reviewed this case and posthumously restored Hübner to full standing in the Church.[36]

While many individual cases of persecution occurred, the Nazi government never attempted systematically to destroy the Mormons as it did the Jehovah's

Young Nazi supporters in SAAR Territory, 1934

Witnesses. Those Mormons who served sentences in concentration camps were not interned because of their religious beliefs but because of politically motivated statements or acts. Heinrich Worbs, a Mormon residing in Hamburg, spent six months in a camp for disparaging remarks he made at the unveiling of a statue honoring a Nazi war hero. He died soon after his release from the tortures he had suffered.

Thus, while the Church operated on a greatly limited scale in Germany during the Third Reich, and especially during the chaotic war years, its growth was hindered more by fear and general pressures than by organized Nazi persecution. While some Mormons actively supported the Nazi regime and a few tried to undermine it, the majority simply accommodated themselves to it, outwardly at least.

A terribly difficult question, however, lies behind this historical record: the proper position of the Church toward the Nazi regime. Was it enough to keep the Church organization running smoothly with the hope that it could eventually ride out the peril, or should the Church have actively resisted the Nazis? Church members who followed the teachings of the Church to obey the government of their country found that their religious beliefs did not cause them any particular trouble. Those who opposed the regime generally died for that opposition.

In an interview after the American performance of his play *The Deputy*, the German playwright Rolk Hochhuth said: "To me, Pius (Pope Pius XII) is a symbol, not only for all leaders, but for all men — Christians, Atheists, Jews. For all men who are passive when their brother is deported to death. Pius was at the top of the hierarchy and, therefore, he had the greatest duty to speak. But every man — Protestants, the Jews . . . all had the duty to speak."[37]

Some young, idealistic German Mormons agree with Hochhuth's position

and criticize their Church's policy of noninterference in political affairs. To condemn, however, comes easily, particularly with hindsight. To be caught opposing the Nazi regime meant imprisonment or death. Few Mormons today can comprehend the force of living under such fear. While acknowledging the nobility of dying to oppose Hitler, many argue that living for a greater cause, the Church, is even more noble.

[1]Questionnaire sent by author to a small group of Church members in Germany. Hereafter referred to as "Questionnaire."

[2]Interview with Burt Horsley, 20 October 1967, and interview with Karl Grothe, 13 April 1968.

[3]Justus Ernst, "Highlights from the German Speaking L.D.S. Mission 1836-1960." Unpublished chronology of history of German missions, p. 1.

[4]"Annual Mission Statistics" (MSS, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), 1933 and 1939.

[5]Reported in the interview with Karl Grothe, 13 April 1968.

[6]Letter from Roy Welker to the author, 6 June 1968. Welker does not identify any of the men.

[7]Alfred C. Rees, "Im Lande der Mormonen, "*Völkischer Beobachter*, 14 April 1939.

[8]*Ibid.*

[9]*Ibid.* The slogan "Gemein Nutz vor Eigennutz" is one which appears continually throughout Nazi literature.

[10]James E. Talmage, *A Study of the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1913), p. 423.

[11]Interview with M. Douglas Wood, 4 October 1967.

[12]*Ibid.*

[13]*Ibid.*

[14]Scouting was forbidden 1 May 1934. Ernst, p. 38.

[15]"Swiss-German Mission Manuscript History" (MSS, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), 30 September 1935.

[16]*Ibid.* 30 September 1934, 31 March 1935, and 30 June 1935. See also "German-Austrian Mission Manuscript History" (MSS, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), 30 September 1935.

[17]Ernst, p. 39.

[18]Missionaries were evacuated from the German Missions as early as 15 September 1938, but were allowed to return to their fields by 5 October 1938. The final evacuation order came on 25 August 1939. Interview with M. Douglas Wood. See also *Deseret News*, Church Section, 15 June 1940.

[19]The declaration of war between the United States and Germany made it necessary for all messages from Salt Lake City to go through the mission headquarters in Switzerland.

[20]Questionnaire. See also "East German Mission Manuscript History" (MSS, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), 9 September 1940.

[21]Form 42 F.P. (MSS, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), 1933 and 1945.

[22]Letter from Johanna Berger to Thomas E. McKay, "East German Mission Manuscript History," 9 September 1940.

[23]Interview, Otto Berndt with author, 13 February 1968.

[24]Werner Betz, "The National Socialist Vocabulary," *The Third Reich* (London: 1955), pp. 786-789, quoted in George L. Mosse, *Nazi Culture* (New York: The Universal Library, 1968), p. 235.

[25]Questionnaire.

[26]"Swiss-German Mission Manuscript History," 30 June 1935. Berndt Interview.

[27]Berndt Interview.

[28]Berndt Interview.

[29]Interview, Ernst Winter with Author, 3 April 1968.

[30]"West German Mission Manuscript History" (MSS, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), 31 December 1939.

[31]*Ibid.*, 31 December 1941.

[32]Willi Brandt, K. D. Bracher, *Conscience in Revolt: Sixty-four Stories of Resistance.* Collected by Annedore Leber (London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1957), p. 8.

[33]"West German Mission Manuscript History," 31 December 1941.

[34]*Ibid.*

[35]Berndt Interview.

[36]"West German Mission Manuscript History," 31 December 1941. See also Hamburg District Record (MSS, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), No. 23404, No. 994.

[37]Judy Stone, "Interview with Rolk Hochhuth," *The Storm Over the Deputy*, ed. Eric Bently (New York: Grove Press, 1964), p. 43.

To sin by silence when they should protest makes cowards of men.

—Abraham Lincoln

THREE MYTHS ABOUT MORMONS IN LATIN AMERICA

F. LaMond Tullis

Perhaps the most dramatic growth of the Church in recent years has been in Latin America where the Church has involved itself in large scale educational and other programs. In this article, Professor LaMond Tullis explores certain misunderstandings which some American Mormons have with regard to their brethren south of the border.

For the most part, Mormons have been a socially homogeneous people. True, the initial Anglo-American stock was reinforced from time to time by immigrants from Western Europe, but these converts were quickly absorbed into the Church's social and cultural mainstream. Although successful missions were established among the Indians and especially among the Polynesians, it was nevertheless the English-speaking white Americans who gave the Church its leadership and set the tone of its culture. In recent years, however, baptisms have rapidly increased in Asia and Latin America, resulting in a changing profile of Church membership.

Latin Americans, for example, are now becoming Mormons at a breath-taking rate. They accept the Prophet Joseph, the gospel principles and ordinances enunciated by him and other prophets since his time, and also the spiritual guidance of present Church leaders. But there, outside the spiritual and moral realm, likenesses between Latin and Anglo Mormons frequently end. Our Latin American brothers, with notable exceptions, do not come from an economically well-off and relatively satisfied middle class, or even from a rural yeomanry. While members of the privileged classes do join the Church in Latin America, they are few in number compared to those coming from the lower social and economic strata. As a result, Latin American Mormons generally do not live in the manicured suburbs of the region's giant and impressive metropolises, drive on its superhighways, or enjoy its social clubs.

Particularly is this true for economically lower-class Mormons in the "Indian lands" of Mexico, Guatemala, and Andean South America. As did similarly deprived and frequently illiterate Anglos from Great Britain a hundred and thirty years ago, they are flocking to the Church in unprecedented numbers. Indeed, so great is the current rate of influx that one frequently hears of interesting if not astonishing crystal gazing. Within several decades, at the present rate of relative growth, Spanish will become the predominant tongue among new converts in the Church. A jest? No Mormon Latin Americanist I know would advise taking bets against what indeed may become a remarkable change in the complexion of Church membership.

Even under the best of conditions most groups which expand as rapidly as the Church has can expect to experience some growth pains, not only in terms of organizational efficiency, but in terms of human understanding as well. Three time-honored, Anglo-Mormon political and social myths tend to block understanding and hinder the growth of brotherhood between ourselves and our Latin American converts. These myths thus prevent the creation of spiritual oneness out of cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and social diversity. An examination of the three shows how mythmakers can and frequently do exacerbate the very problems they sincerely wish to avoid. At a time when Church leaders are making impressive efforts to convey the Restored Gospel to many peoples, it is unfortunate indeed that cultural blindspots and ideological jingoism should hinder the process. In many instances the near-sightedness derives from a vast misunderstanding among the Church's North American middle-class membership — in part because we have misread the analogies out of our own past — as to what it means in a social and political sense to be a Mormon in an underdeveloped, revolutionary land.

"Just preach them the Gospel and everything will be all right," some say. What does that mean? If whatever is meant does not square with the realities of life in Latin America, then, all good intentions and best efforts aside, we may impede rather than facilitate the spread of the gospel there. If our perception of Latin America is wrong, the three myths, which cloud the vision of many Church members as they look southward, are partly responsible.

Myth Number One

Becoming a Mormon in the total sense equips one with all he needs in order to develop, progress, and flourish, not only spiritually but also temporally. Having acquired the appropriate attributes, underprivileged Latin American Mormons therefore can, as did the Anglo pioneers who blazed trails before them, become masters of their own environment.

Partial Truths

This assertion has just enough truth in it to be dangerous. Certainly, if one assumes that people who search out the Church also strive to escape illiteracy, disease, and hunger, or to progress from whatever they are to what they newly aspire to be, then becoming a Mormon sometimes helps. "Mormonizing" oneself is both a spiritual and an intellectual experience. Those touched by the gospel are motivated to progress, to improve themselves, and to help others to do the same. But many converts so motivated are frustrated by an environment which so shackles them that "pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps" is more a reflection of dreamers than it is a reality of people who live in the real world. Mythmakers are either ignorant of or choose to ignore one Latin American reality — the pervasive existence of a rigid social structure which makes attempts by non-privileged classes to alter social and economic relationships not only difficult, but frequently dangerous and sometimes fatal.

For most people, environmental bondage hampers motivation and enthusiasm for temporal progress. Only ascetics flourish under such conditions. Everyone else dreams of escape. Whatever else Mormons are, they are not ascetics. When their shackles remain tight for a long time, their dreams, like

their spirits, tend to fade, and the resulting casualty rates are high. That is the problem.

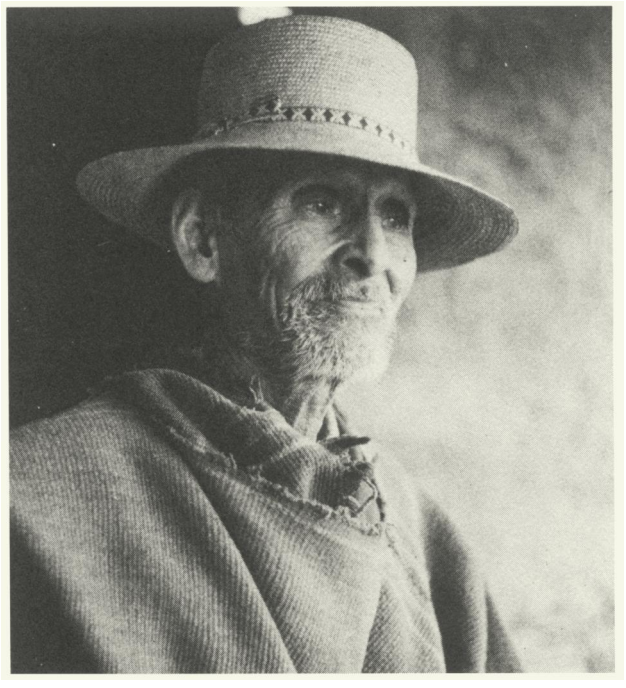
In modern times, motivation and desire in the absence of a reasonably open, flexible, and development-oriented society — or at least an available frontier which no one else wants — produces frustration and rancor, leading eventually either to a defeatist resignation or radical and aggressive behavior. In either case, commitment to the Church tends to suffer. In many Latin American countries, and certainly in those of Guatemala and the Andean South where a rapidly growing number of Church members now reside, the frustration index is accelerating rapidly. Thus, while the baptismal rate is high, so also is the drop-out rate. Mythmakers do not see this problem. In the meantime, in some countries, a whole generation of Latin American Mormons has been lost to the Church.

In Latin America it is the social and political elite, not the Mormon Church, which currently controls opportunities for temporal progress, and the Saints do not ordinarily belong to a social stratum which would guarantee easy accessibility. Indeed, for some members of the Church the doors to temporal development remain totally locked. The spirit is touched; aspirations skyrocket; but life's circumstances frequently remain the same, or perhaps even deteriorate — children die of malnutrition and intestinal parasites, the schools remain either unavailable or abysmally deficient, and occupational opportunities continue to be acquired less through personal ability than through political and social "contacts" (and when one becomes a Mormon he frequently has to break all those contacts).

Many early British converts fled such circumstances in large numbers a hundred and thirty years or so ago, proceeding forthwith to the Promised Land. They could escape their shackles by emigrating from Europe and seeking opportunities in Zion. Where, one is tempted to ask, should the current wave of frustrated Latin American Mormons go? Where is *their* "promised land?" Certainly it is not Utah. The Church now officially discourages any such migration.

What, for instance, is Fermín to do? I can see him standing in the patio of a simple house once used as a chapel, gratefully wearing a hand-me-down suit left behind by some departing missionary. He is clutching his Book of Mormon to his chest. His wife, dressed in the colorful Indian fashions typical of the area, is by his side. So are his two small daughters. With some danger to his personal safety Fermín had broken away from his old life and subsequently became a Mormon. Now he holds the Melchizedek priesthood. Like any convert to the Church he has changed many of his former ideas. He also has abandoned his "home." Not for the usual reasons, however, for Fermín is a peasant running from the law.

Before meeting the Elders, Fermin had decided to escape. No longer would he work for his landlord four days each week without pay. Nor would he honor the debts the master claimed his great-grandfather had incurred decades before. As customary in his area, the lords use such devices to insure themselves a cheap captive labor force for their plantations. An Indian can not move until his family obligations are paid. That is the law. But how can the debts ever be paid? One who lives near the subsistence level can hardly set aside funds to pay off some ancient relative's alleged debts. So when Fermín could no longer tolerate



the oppression, he fled, for to be rebellious and remain on the plantation was to endanger his life. In his new home he found the Elders and became a member of the Church.

Now the police are looking for Fermín. And when they find him he will have to return to the plantation. The problem for aspiring young men of his kind is that their entire country has been a "plantation," alternately run by traditional oligarchs, a selfish middle class, communist ideologists, and a reactionary military. "We believe in . . . obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law." And so does Fermín. But what does he do if the laws are patently unjust, intending not to serve but rather to exploit a certain class of people?

While the "labor prisoners" in Fermín's land resemble in many ways the earlier indentured servants of Great Britain, and while many such individuals both in Great Britain and Latin America have become Mormons, at least one great difference exists between the two groups. Those like Fermín must stay and perhaps face their ordeal; the early British Saints could emigrate. Where can Fermín go? He might try to pay off his great-grandfather's alleged debts and thereby purchase his "freedom." But the lords might think that an undesirable precedent. In any event, he probably could not raise the money. He is not qualified for a well-paying job. Sixty percent of all adults in his country are illiterate. Except for the few skills which the missionaries taught him, Fermín is simply another figure in those statistics. The state has done little to educate him or thousands like him. Those services are destined first to the lords, and second to the "Europeanized" people who live in cities and towns.

Many Anglo-American Mormons (and a few privileged Latin-American Mormons) have little comprehension of these and related blocks to social and occupational mobility. Even in the days of Nauvoo there was nothing compa-

rable. Perhaps the condition of racial minorities in the United States prior to the Civil Rights movement best typifies the difficulty of the environment facing many of our new members in Latin America. Few Anglo-Americans can fully sense the task of moving from economic servitude to the freedom and dignity worthy of a child of God. Fermín understands.

Myth Number Two

What is good for American business in Latin America is good for Mormons there too. Corollary A: *There is a close identity of interest between United States foreign policy and the Mormon Church in Latin America.* Corollary B: *Contrary to many of their countrymen, most Latin American Mormons love the United States government and most of what it stands for.* Corollary C: *Mormons in Latin America appreciate the virtues of capitalism.*

The Other Side of the Coin

Mormons in the United States have prospered economically within a more or less well-regulated system of free-enterprise capitalism. Practitioners of American capitalism have in most instances reflected the logic of President J. Reuben Clark's 1946 admonition to his business and banking friends.[1] He warned those capitalists that an unbridled pursuit of profits was fraught with social and political danger unless the welfare of the working man was well considered. "I have not approved and do not approve," he told them, "of capital's weapons — the blacklist, lockouts, the grinding out of the maximum returns for the minimum of wage outlay, even the imposition of starvation wages that too often have been capital's means of dealing with labor in the past. These have worked great injustices that must not be repeated." They must not, he emphasized, because only the communists and socialists would benefit. Free-enterprise capitalism (which, when moderated, he considered superior to other man-made economic systems) would otherwise soon come to an end.

Capitalists and entrepreneurs in the United States, whether voluntarily or in response to government coercion or social pressure, have generally bridled their exploitation of labor. Not so in much of Latin America. Accordingly, the consequences there have approached a magnitude which President Clark feared might arise in any country if powerful groups consistently failed to temper their exploitative habits. "Some plan of better equalizing the distribution of the proceeds of production must be found," he said. His own plan, he went on to relate, was "a principle of economic partnership . . . which labor and capital should try to work out on some basis, for the welfare, indeed salvation, of each of them, and for the preservation of our civilization."

Latin American capitalists (and some foreign capitalists operating in Latin America as well) for a long time had neither social pressure nor government coercion to bridle them. They created a bad image for the whole economic system. Now, in spite of a few reforms during the past decade, many Latin Americans feel that further "quiet and gradual reforms" are no longer sufficient. The time is past, they say, for the rhetoric of deceit and duplicity. Substantial changes must be made to improve the life of the common man. Thus, much current thinking about social, political, and economic change in Latin America has been influenced by non-capitalistic — frequently even anti-capitalistic —

ideas. Most of them carry a socialist or Marxist flavor. But as any Latin American will tell you, it does not necessarily follow that to be a socialist, or even a Marxist, is to be a communist. Indeed, some Catholic priests in the area, men who consider communism to be anathema, have become Marxist revolutionaries to *affirm* their christianity. In most countries the practical consequences are a "mixed" economy (heavy entrepreneurial participation by government in areas where private capital has not been forthcoming) and considerable suspicion of United States capital investors. Such trends enjoy the sympathies of some Mormons.

For example, take Martín, a brilliant South American student I came to know well in one of my classes at B.Y.U. last year. He used to be a Marxist. Indeed, at one time he even belonged to the Communist Party. Since becoming a member of the Church, however, he no longer belongs to the Party. But he still sympathizes with many of its economic goals. Today, you might call him a socialist. "What you Anglo-American Mormons should do," he told me on one occasion, "is get on the receiving end of Latin America's capitalism and free enterprise system for a while. You'd soon respect a different point of view from the one you now have; and you would probably stop talking about capitalism as if it were part of the gospel. In our countries the employers and landlords have been selfish and brutal. And they have used their money and power to oppress and exploit us. Capitalism and free enterprise where I live are not of God; if not creations of the Devil, they are at best inventions of man.

Martín does admit that not all Latin American free-enterprise capitalists are so bad. A few employers, state and private alike, are much more mindful of their employees than they used to be. And many of them are United States businessmen. But there is no question that historically, capitalism has been oppressive for the common man in Latin America. The image and, indeed, much of the fact lives on. There is talk of change, even revolution.

"It cannot be denied," said President Clark, even of his own country, "that capital has enslaved labor in the past." In Latin America, capital frequently still does. Where social structure is rigid and mobility low, the fruits of free-enterprise are neither free nor very productive. They serve to legitimize "servitude" rather than encourage initiative and productivity. Common people there are becoming increasingly angry and discontent. They want a change. Thus most revolutionary ideas in Latin America, regardless of their ideological stripe, are loudly anticapitalist. The social casualties of any substantial change will include the oligarchs, large landowners, many United States business interests, selfish and cruel politicians, and some innocent bystanders. Adam Smith's capitalism, as interpreted by its traditional Latin American practitioners, is on its way out. With it will also go its chief beneficiaries.

What is good for American business in Latin America, therefore, is not necessarily good for Latin American Mormons. In fact, the traditional interests of United States investors in Latin America — and, therefore, much of the perceived interest of the United States itself — may directly conflict with the current spiritual and developmental interests of the Church. In any event, to the extent that the Mormon church takes on the aura of an "evangelical capitalist institution," as some Anglo-American Mormons would like it to be, it will needlessly be subjected to increasing amounts of anti-capitalist criticism.

For the aspiring Latin-American peasant, awakened Indian, second-genera-

tion urban slum dweller, or university student in the Church, the Anglo-American Mormons' frequent "religious" commitment to capitalism therefore makes no sense at all. One of the reasons, of course, is that the two kinds of Mormons are not talking about the same kind of economic institution. The excesses of capitalism in North America have been bridled. In Latin America, until recently in some countries, they have not. Furthermore, unlike the United Order which we have chosen not to practice, capitalism, protestations to the contrary, is not part of the gospel.

Thousands of Latin-American Mormons live in a tense and frustrating environment, a world unlike that of most of their Anglo-American counterparts. In many respects it is a world strained nearly to the breaking point. In spite of it all, however, their countries are alive with a spectacular newness. People are working, searching, and striving. Thoughts and hopes which have incubated for generations are suddenly hatching to become part of the abundant religious and political excitement visible in nearly every country. And in addition to the revolutionary political and economic ideas of Marxism and socialism, there are those revolutionary spiritual ideas of the Restored Gospel now rapidly spreading throughout the land.

In general, it is not the "natural" pro-capitalists — the traditional lords and the new rich — who are being attracted to Mormonism in Latin America. The rich there do not seek baptism; perhaps they already have their kingdom. The missionaries do not usually convert the politically powerful (although a few second-generation Mormons, rising from humble conditions, are now acquiring responsible positions in at least one country); their secular gospel has already consumed them. Nor does the Church attract very many traditional lords; their interest is strictly of this world. The people being baptized are the "humble fishermen" of the modern day. They are the ones who have sought God and found Him. More importantly, they are not the traditional poor with no vision, but rather their sons and daughters who, while still poor, nevertheless aspire to a new existence. They are not the "old middle class," but rather their uprooted children who are searching for a new value system to give meaning as much to this life as to the next one.

Thus, missionaries have success with those who aspire to a better life and still have hope, among those who are not merely discontented with their present conditions but also concerned about their relationship to God. They also baptize those who come to believe that Mormonism offers not only a plan of spiritual salvation but a worthwhile philosophy about temporal salvation as well.

From the perspective of many Latin-American Mormons, the flag-waving, let's-all-get-back-to-the-principles-upon-which-this-nation-was-founded Anglo-American Mormon does indeed present a curious, if not incomprehensible, picture. Especially is this so when the United States Government, following a "whatever is good for American business is good for America" maxim, lends its support to petty Latin American tyrants, dictators, and military overlords whose only redeeming quality is frequently their professed "anti-communist" stand (even though they repress their own people) or their alleged friendship for the United States and its business community. Such "leaders" have little friendship left over for the common people of their own countries, including Mormons.

Myth Number Three

Leaders of the Mormon church are insensitive to the temporal needs of their more relatively deprived followers and, indeed, are known to subscribe to Myth Number One.

THE LITTLE KNOWN

No doubt Church leaders differ about the role the Church, as an institution, should play in the temporal development of its membership. However, recent trends indicate an increasing concern by the Church for the temporal needs of its more deprived members in Latin America. In many areas where the Saints are blocked from development and progress — no matter how hard they tug at their bootstraps — the Church is on the move temporally as well as spiritually. Programs for the development of literacy, health and nutrition, practical education, and economic development are in various stages of planning or implementation. Echoing Joseph F. Smith's belief that a religion which cannot save a man temporally cannot hope to save him spiritually,[2] the first presidency announced in 1968, "The historic position of the Church has been one which is concerned with the quality of man's contemporary environment as well as preparing him for eternity. In fact, as social and political conditions affect man's behavior now, they obviously affect eternity."[3]

Programs designed to solve temporal problems cost money. To pay for them, greater sacrifices may be required of affluent Mormons, including middle class, Anglo-American Mormons. Indeed, in the not too distant future, conversations regarding Anglo ward budgets may shift from whether to pad the chapel benches to "How many schools did your ward build last year?" ($500 will build one in Bolivia.) If such a radical change is too much for some of the adults, fortunately it does not appear to be so for some of their idealistic children. A striking number are anxious to walk the extra mile. Already they are involved in Partners of the Alliance, Ayuda, the Cordell Anderson Foundation, and many other programs working for the temporal welfare of that stratum of Latin Americans who are joining the Church in large numbers.[3] The fifty-fifth ward Relief Society of the B.Y.U. Fourth Stake is a particularly striking example. This past year the sisters donated over a thousand hours sewing school uniforms for a little bootstrap school in Guatemala where some of our brothers and sisters only now are learning to read and write. Quite aside from the temporal assistance provided, such experiences also foster lasting spiritual bonds.

A new generation of Mormons is now emerging — still of high school and college age — one perhaps better equipped than ever before with the tools and perspective required to match the thrust of a church that, by divine direction, is rapidly becoming international. They will not forget the religious foundation which the past generation established, enduring, as indeed it has, its own temporal deficiencies, spiritual trials, and threats to survival. The threats now, however, are of a different kind. Some of the perspectives need to be also.

Hopefully those who subscribe to the above-mentioned myths will abandon their mistaken notions and, by so doing, win the confidence and respect of their children. And what about those whose cultural, political and social ideals are more dear than the "brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God?" Well,

the gospel always has been a bit selective, as much among those whom it reaps as those it retains. There is no indication it will discontinue being so as its influence shifts eastward and southward.

The Kingdom, we are told, is won by those who can stay in the race. Although places for occasional rest and recuperation are required, the oases of mythland ought to be avoided at all costs.

[1]President Clark's comments are found in "American Free Enterprise," *Address delivered Friday evening, December 6, before the Allied Trades Dinner of the Mountain States Travelers in the Newhouse Hotel, Salt Lake City* (n.p., 1946).

[2]William E. Berrett and Alma P. Burton, eds., *Readings in L.D.S. Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1958), III, p. 364.

[3]The First Presidency, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, "Citizens Obligations," *Deseret News*, September 7, 1968 (with correction of September 11).

[4]For some extended remarks on this subject, see Wesley W. Craig, Jr., "The Church in Latin America: Progress and Challenge," *Dialogue*, 5, (Autumn, 1970), 66-74.

The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

—Franklin Delano Roosevelt

REVOLUTION AND MORMONISM IN ASIA: WHAT THE CHURCH MIGHT OFFER A CHANGING SOCIETY

PAUL V. HYER

About the time this publication was going to press, a team of expert Asian scholars from Brigham Young University were setting out to examine the educational needs of the members of the Church in Asia. This was only one among several efforts to adapt the program of the Church to the needs of non-American cultures. Here Professor Paul Hyer explores revolutionary trends in Asia and makes a positive assessment with regard to the role the Church can play in the lives of the Asian people.

Asia is a land of revolution, a land where a complex of revolutions are interrelated in such a way that one phase is not understood independent of the others, nor of the traditions from which they stem. These revolutionary trends are creating rapid changes throughout Asian society, one of which is a search for a new stability, and this greatly influences the development of Mormonism in Asia, including the kinds of people it attracts and its relative success or failure in sustaining activity and building a strong organization.

Mormon missionaries thrust into this turbulent culture preach what appears to some Asians to be just another version of Christian doctrine, but what is, in fact, a radical and revolutionary Christianity. The principles and programs of the Church embody a total value system, a unique way of life which can help reintegrate in new form or function certain important aspects of Asian tradition. In the following discussion I propose to treat some ways in which the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is relevant to modern development in Asian societies. First, however, it may be useful to establish the background which will lend perspective to these developments and to the role of the Church in Asia.

Traditional Asian societies have had a high level of integration and stability and have maintained a phenomenal resistance to change, as, for example, in the family-centered society of old China and the caste system of India. This century, however, with the advance of modern science, institutions, and ideas, has seen the disintegration of most traditional Asian societies. In China, this has amounted to the virtual collapse of a civilization and the rise of iconoclastic communism. The chaos resulting from dynastic decline, warlordism, civil war, invasion, and a century of semicolonial status have created great social and political ferment, and this has, in turn, led to a new formative period, which many Asians feel may merge into a whole new cultural synthesis.

Although similar revolutionary movements have taken place in Western

society, they have done so over longer periods of time and under much different conditions from those which exist in Asia. What took centuries to happen in the West has happened in a single generation in Asia. Japan was ushered forcibly into the modern world by Perry's American fleet; China began the process, still incomplete, during the Opium War; India, Indonesia and other nations were subjugated by European powers involved in voyages of exploration and discovery. From one point of view, the tragedy of the coming of the modern West was Asia's subjugation by a civilization which discouraged the preservation of age-old Asiatic customs. China's Confucian society was largely the model and prototype for much of the social structure and culture of Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. But the great stability of imperial China, the glory and sophistication of its traditional culture, also proved to be its curse by retarding its adjustment to the modern world. Upon encountering the West, all the great nations of Asia have passed through various stages of rebellion, restoration, reform, and revolution. In the wake of the disintegration of their traditional cultures, they are still searching for a new synthesis, a new value system, a viable integration of elements from their old culture with those of the modern world.

What are some of the problems of Asian societies as they emerge from traditional ways of life to the complexities of the modern world, and how can the gospel of Jesus Christ and the programs of the Church assist in solving them? For one thing, as people move to a relatively individualized and independent existence, they invariably lose the security and stability of their former family-centered social relations. In this most important area, Asian converts may benefit immensely by an acceptance of the gospel. In the modern development of China and Japan, for example, many young people cut loose

from the moorings of traditional society have in their frustration sought security without success in new ideologies and in the fraternity of the communist party or other radical organizations.

Another common phenomenon, *anomie* ("A social vacuum, marked by the absence of social norms or values"), occurs with a breakdown of social values and the disintegration of society; when this happens, peasants become strangers and aliens in their own country. If one studies the composition of such new religions as *Soka Gakkai* in Japan or *Cao Dai* in Vietnam, one generally finds an anomic group of people seeking new security, new stability, and new ties, people who turn to "nativistic" religious movements and "revitalization" sects which try to bridge the gap between the familiar ways of tradition and the strange ways of the modern world. Such movements seldom appeal to the intellectuals of Asian society.

Asians can well be served by the organization and programs of the Restored Church as individuals find new ties in the branch or ward family and in the fraternity of priesthood quorums and auxiliary organizations. The father image of a branch president or bishop as a confidant and counselor is even more important to young Asians than to Western youth who have been conditioned to lead comparatively more self-reliant or independent lives. Asians are accustomed to making fewer friends than most Westerners, but these friendships are generally stronger or more intimate. The common bond of the gospel is an excellent foundation for a warm, trusting friendship. Thus, in a number of ways, Asians find in the Church a new security, both spiritual and social, a security often superior to the older, more narrow way because it brings them into closer contact with the present world. The security of the old family system was too often based on economic necessity and involved a strong element of fear. New Latter-day Saint converts in Asia, as elsewhere, find a security hopefully within the family, but based on the love, mutual respect, and spiritual enlightenment gained from the gospel. In addition, the reception through the Church of the Holy Ghost, the "Comforter," is the source of a deep inner security which will meliorate the chaos and confusion so often characteristic of a rapidly developing nation.

Another frustrating problem inherent in Asia's move into the modern world is that new alternatives create an increasing need for the making of choices. Under the old, comparatively simple way of life, a person had but to faithfully follow established ways of doing things, which changed little from generation to generation. These sacrosanct traditional ways gave the individual security but little freedom. Such customary behavior inevitably fell victim to modernization, and traditionally oriented persons were invariably torn by the dilemmas and the frustrations of making decisions. It was natural, under these conditions, that many would seek a reliable index to truth, a measure of proper behavior, and a direction in life which would promote real success. The gospel introduces to people the gift of discernment by the Spirit, personal revelation on individual problems, and special counsel and guidance available through the contemporary oracles of God. Many Asians bear testimony to a new-found purpose and direction in the gospel plan. They find new models for living in successful, well-adjusted members of the Church.

A third problem to vex Asians as they are liberated from feudalistic traditions is the increasing involvement in a world of ever-expanding desires — the

"revolution of rising expectations." The compulsion is generally to acquire more and more material goods and services, regardless of prior economic standards. This phenomenon has long been a way of life to most people in "advanced" societies, but the full impact of materialism is quite new to Asians, who have been conditioned for centuries to an austere life style. Certainly gaining a few creature comforts above the level of subsistence is no sin, but the problems of materialism in modern society are very real to a people inclined to live by bread alone, to strive unwittingly to gain the world in exchange for their soul, or to sacrifice family for professional development and social status for a rather unenlightened use of newly gained individual freedom.

No definitive prescription or detailed analysis can be given here about the gospel's significance for those caught in a dilemma between traditional poverty and modern materialism, but Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans of my acquaintance seem to find a solution in the self-discipline of the teachings of Jesus introduced to them by the missionaries. They find an enlightened individualism and a self-fulfillment in dedicating their time, means, and talents to brothers and sisters in a common cause.

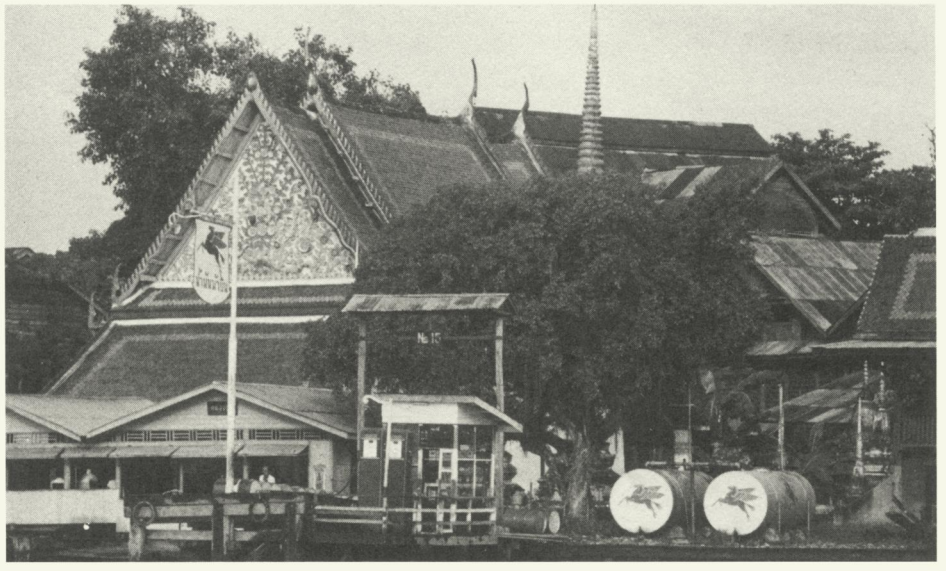
Within the program of the Restored Church, Asian converts seek to find a better life for the people of their nations while avoiding such abominable alternatives as Tokyo's hedonistic night life and shallow materialism or the oppressive controlled consumption of Peiping's totalitarian puritanism. They find that "man is that he might have joy," a joy born of faith, intelligence, love, justice and the wise use of one's powers. They learn that true happiness is not found merely in more and more goods and services but that, as Joseph Smith taught, "Happiness is the object and design of our existence, and will be the end thereof, if we pursue the path that leads to it; and this path is virtue, uprightness, faithfulness, holiness and keeping all the commandments of God." The Church, then, helps Asian converts to mark out the most fruitful path for life and to avoid tangents which, while inviting, dam the way to true progress and happiness.

Another problem faced by many Asians is that of identity in relation to conflicting roles, a problem similar to the "identity crisis" faced by some people in advanced, complex societies. Formerly Asians had a relatively high degree of consistency of roles in the limited cycle of their traditional life. But within the short span of a generation, the number of roles played by individuals in the complex round of modern life has burgeoned. The gospel assists Asian converts in resolving tensions between their various roles. Central to this is the understanding of oneself as the direct offspring of Diety. Asians, more contemplative and introspective than their Western counterparts, find great security, hope, self-confidence, and direction in the new self-image they find in the gospel. The insight they gain from an understanding of the Plan of Salvation and the function of this life as a period of trial and preparation makes it much easier for them to develop self-discipline in diet, dress, thought and behavior. They can view with perspective the demands on them as parents, church members, civic workers, and employees, to name but a few of the competing roles each individual must play.

East Asians reared in the intensely integrated role patterns of the traditional family or group do not easily adjust to the personal independence characteristic of modern society. The problem emerges in one form in the pattern of suicide

among Asian youth, Japanese youth in particular. The role expectations of students are often overwhelming, and traumatic personal and interpersonal conflicts arise over decisions regarding marriage and a lifetime career. Faith, prayer, and other gospel principles and church practices might assist young Asians not only in weathering frequent crises but also in bearing up under the day-to-day grind. With some adjustment and direction, the traditional conditioning of Asians better equips them to adapt to Church ideals than Westerners conditioned to excessive individualism, which often runs counter to the discipline required of disciples of Christ. The Church has not only gone far to outline ideal roles for children, youth, husbands and wives, but also to establish basic guidelines regarding the interrelationship among these roles and to outside persons, influences, or institutions. Finally, an Asian convert can take a great deal of frustration if that frustration is compensated for in other ways. The key element here is a gospel which emphasizes the constructive aspect of adversity.

Greatly accelerated change in the modernization of Asian societies has created, in sociological jargon, sharp "generational discontinuities," which are more troublesome than the "generation gap" in Western societies. In premodern China, Japan and Korea, the assumption of social obligations smoothly flowed in conformity with the traditional criteria of age, generation, sex, family status and so forth. Now young people want economic rewards and professional positions to be determined on the basis of personal merit rather than by nepotism, family influence, and other traditional barriers to mobility. They want the mobility necessary for personal capability and effort to reap their due rewards. At the same time, the older generation is attempting to maintain the status quo, to protect their vested interests and maintain authoritarian restraints. The resulting tensions found throughout Asian societies go far to explain the underlying reasons for the growth of communism and other radical movements. Significantly, much of the revolutionary ferment of Asia is due not to Marxist ideology as such, but rather to strivings for human dignity, for



opportunity, for basic human needs, for civil liberties, and often for national self-determination.

For the Asian convert, the gospel promotes a moderation which eschews violence and radicalism while bringing new dignity to the individual. In particular, it teaches the power of love, mutual respect, and effective communications in solving problems between parents and children and between leaders and followers at all levels of society. Social obligations and functions are thus carried out more smoothly, especially as the ideal of service replaces force in the effort to gain justice and effective social progress. The gospel in action in Asia certainly is not as dramatic or spectacular as Zengakuren student movements in Japan, the Red Guard youth of China, or Viet Cong activities in Vietnam, but these movements often create as many problems as they solve and are hardly worth the cost in what they do to people.

It should be added that not only are the principles of the gospel making an impact on a personal and family level, but also that the basic organization and programs of the Church are attracting considerable attention. In fact the Soka Gakkai, one of the most dynamic and effective movements in contemporary Japan, has been sufficiently impressed with L.D.S. Church organization to make a detailed study of it.

A dominant trend in Asian societies is toward a progressively more secularized society. Much of the folk religion of most Asian societies is discounted as superstition by the majority of educated Asians. While they are thus intellectually alienated from religion, both traditional and Christian, many still have an emotional urge towards some form of religious expression. As Asians study the Restored Gospel, they find that it is scientifically respectable and, moreover, that it has solutions to people's problems, both individually and collectively. It abolishes the artificial division between the sacred and the secular, as all things become integrated in the economy of God.

This brings us to the quest for purpose and meaning of life. For most Asians this is now a continuous quest in a modern world which offers many sets of purposes but no guarantees as adequate as the former, traditional society. This is what the gospel and the Church are all about and there is nothing comparable in the experience of our Asian converts for giving meaning and purpose to one's existence. Mormon teachings on the origin, purpose, and destiny of man answer many of the great questions currently being asked by Asians.

Only the positive side of the Church in Asia has been stressed here. There has been no attempt to analyze the very real problems which arise in the attempts of missions to transmit a traditionally American-oriented church in a foreign culture and to institutionalize the Church in Asian societies. I am well aware of the problems arising from the emphasis on quantity over quality in making converts, from attracting an overabundance of teenagers and maladjusted adults, and from a host of other problems. The intent here, however, has been to emphasize the positive role the Church may play, and in many ways is playing, on the complex, revolutionary continent of Asia. The gospel in Asia is performing the miracle of conversion and is doing so at a surprising rate. This is reflected in the recent four-fold division of the Japanese Mission, the division of the Chinese Mission, the organization of the Tokyo Stake, the opening of new missions in Southeast Asia, and in the sending to Asian countries of an increasingly larger percentage of the missionaries of the Church.

THE REORGANIZATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

BARBARA HIGDON

On April 15, 1972 the Mormon History Association held a notable convention at Independence, Missouri. Some 130 members and friends of the Association visited historic Mormon sites and heard discourses from scholars representing both the "Utah Mormons" and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. One of the most encouraging features of this meeting was the genuine communication between scholars of both churches who were concerned with a common historical heritage. In this spirit we invited Barbara Higdon of Graceland College to discuss the Reorganization in the twentieth century. Her essay provides valuable insights into the pressures that have shaped her church in the modern world.

The 1970 World Conference of the Reorganization may well prove in retrospect to have been the occasion upon which the official legislative body of the Church took cognizance as never before of the impact of the twentieth century upon it. From the floor of the conference troubled delegates called into question the influence of scholarship and professionalism and challenged the consideration of certain theological questions in an expression of the rising fear that changes wrought in "the old Jerusalem gospel" would destroy it. Expressed both literally and symbolically in the deliberations of the 1970 conference, this conflict over the mission and nature of the Church had been too long in coming. Until almost mid-century, critical organizational and financial problems had distracted the attention of the Church from the few voices calling for the alteration of some of the traditions inherited from nineteenth century origins. Gradually, however, with the solution of more apparent problems, the few found support, and the Church began the agonizing process of discovering how it could translate the principles of the Restoration into the language of the twentieth century.

The progress of this change can be charted in the Church's evolving understanding of its nature and mission: how ought the Church to be defined? What message ought to be preached? The answers to these questions are found in pronouncements by Church leaders, in the materials of religious education, in the hymnal, in missionary philosophy and techniques, and in the practical application of the gospel in the lives of believers.

A typical point of early reference against which current change can be measured is the view of the nature and mission of the Church presented in *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder* by Daniel MacGregor, published in 1923.[1] This popular book contained one set of answers to the above questions, defen-

sive answers that had been present in the thinking of the Church since 1830. MacGregor asserted that the Church was defined by the institutional structure described in the New Testament. He related the structure of the Reorganization to scriptural passages mentioning priesthood office and function and validated the advent of the Restoration by reference to the apocalyptic literature of Daniel and Revelations and by complicated mathematical computations based on biblical prophecy. Interpreting contemporary historical events as "signs of the times" by which the latter days as the setting for the Restoration could be identified, MacGregor claimed apostacy from original Christianity and quoted leaders of the Reformation to the effect that they had only begun the task of restoration of original Christianity. These ideas and interpretations gathered together some of the major themes of the nineteenth century Restoration, and they supported much of the belief and practice of the early twentieth century church.[2] For people born into the Church these beliefs were the heart of the gospel, and for people converted by missionary materials based on them, they were an important persuasive force. Although continuous modifications in language took place, these ideas defined the Reorganization in the first half of the twentieth century. Making certain assumptions about history and the revelatory process and permitting little variation, these ideas were affirmed and reinforced in religious education materials, in countless missionary sermons, and in books and articles.[3]

As the Church passed mid-century, many forces could be found pulling the movement away from these interpretations of its nature and mission. Among them was the recognition by the missionary force that baptisms had been declining for a decade.[4] Other forces included an expectation of more professionalism in the presentation of the Church to member and nonmember alike by people exposed to an increasingly sophisticated culture (no longer would lack of professionalism be accepted as a proof of divine favor);[5] the skepticism of a generation of college-trained members who refused to be persuaded by claims based on a single, literal reading of the scriptures; the presence in the college-trained group of a few who had been directly influenced by the formal study of theology and had responded to the liberalism of twentieth century Protestant theologians; the expansion of the Church into non-Christian areas, stimulated by the movement of private Church members in the Armed Forces or in business as well as by administrative design;[6] and the gradual acknowledgement that somehow theology and practice must take into account those outside the Church who were engaged in the work of God. The changes that have occurred as a result of these forces and others constitute an adaptation to the milieu of the twentieth century just as the interpretations offered by MacGregor summarize an adaptation to the interests and concerns of the nineteenth.

In 1970 the Church publishing house announced the publication of a new book entitled *Exploring the Faith*, which included essays previously published in installments in the official Church publication, the *Saint's Herald*, representing a ten-year labor by many Church officials in hammering out a statement of belief which it was hoped would unify the theology of the members. In the Foreword the committee explained that "Historical and traditional points of view needed to be expanded in view of contemporary religious experience and scholarship." From this perspective the definition of the nature of the

Church formulated by the committee showed a considerable shift in emphasis from the earlier position. The committee viewed the Church not primarily as an institution identical to the early Christian church but as a fellowship of those who acknowledge Jesus Christ as Lord. They suggested that the biblical description of the early church was too meagre to justify a claim of identical characteristics, though great similarities exist because the needs of people are the same from age to age and similar structures would thus be needed to meet these needs.[7] Further, scripture was seen not as the words of God but as words about God, "especially words about the incarnate Word of God, Jesus Christ, who is himself the fulfillment of God's self-revealing."[8] The gospel was thus defined not as a set of propositions but as the activity of God through Christ.[9] Supporting this view, other writers suggested that the distinctive nature of the Church is not to be found in the presence of certain offices which may be similar to New Testament offices, but in the willingness of its members to bear one another's burdens and assist each other in the process of sanctification which is defined as a personal piety that expresses itself in concern for the life of the world.[10] The recent development of a n curriculum for Christian education assumes this definition of the Church. It no longer uses the study of scripture and church history as an end in itself, but rather as a means for discovering what God intends the Church to be today.[11] The basis of the claims for institutional distinctiveness has also been shifted. Addressing a gathering of the High Priests of the Church in 1971, Apostle Clifford Cole, President of the Quorum of Twelve said:

> . . . we are shifting from an emphasis on distinctives — that is, on the ways we are different from other churches — to a concern for teaching the whole gospel of Jesus Christ and winning persons to committing themselves to him. Prior to the last two decades our missionary emphasis was highlighted by . . . [materials] on such subjects as the apostasy, stories of Joseph Smith and the founding experiences of the Restoration movement, and life after death. Since that time many new . . . [materials] have been written indicating a concern for ministry to people and a desire to bring them not only to the church but to Jesus Christ.[12]

Another facet of the definition of the Church which has undergone change is the attitude toward centralization of administrative authority. In 1966 decentralization was enunciated as an important goal for the Church.[13] As this goal has been implemented it has seemed to carry an emphasis on fellowship as the defining essence of the Church. Individuals and small groups far removed from Church headquarters and leading Church councils have been permitted to create programs for themselves. This policy has been implemented in missionary activity, in the appointment of national ministers in foreign missions, in stake programs, and in campus ministry. The new Christian education curriculum reflects this trend by providing resources but not detailed programs and suggesting that attention in the class shift from teacher to students.[15]

Growing out of the changing concept of the nature of the Church is a changing understanding of its mission. Repeatedly in current literature the assertion is made that revealed truth is incarnational living, that personal piety suggests a life of service. Thus personal piety is not an end in itself but an attribute which enables the Christian to conduct the mission of the Church. This mission is not limited to baptizing new members, although that goal is

Tabernacle and Church Headquarters, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri

still important. The mission of the Church is also accomplished when members enter into the life of the secular community to witness by deed to the efficacy of Christian fellowship. The mission does not become mere social service because the Church testifies to the world of a power that is holy and transcendant.[16]

In practice an incarnational attitude is observable in many facts of Church life: the establishment of medical missions and English language schools abroad;[17] the utilization of Church buildings for community service; the development by the Quorum of Seventies of a method of evangelism directed primarily to a program called Witnessing Weekend in which teams of witnesses "share a positive current testimony of God at work in their lives."[18] Formerly evangelism might well have meant the reiteration of the superiority of the R.L.D.S. Church over other denominations by use of scripture and a recounting of the events of 1830. In the missionary approach to nonmembers the same kind of change can be seen. Emphasis is being placed on the evidences of God's spirit reaching out to people's lives today with the Church serving as the framework which enables this contact to occur with greatest effect.[19]

This shift is also marked in current literature, such as a 1968 publication which reported the proceedings of a symposium held by the Church on contemporary issues. The emphasis was sounded in the Introduction:

> . . . the membership of the church will come to recognize the need for the increasing expenditure of zeal and energy in behalf of specific needs existing in their immediate locality. May it also lead us into a program of study that is concerned with the problems of mankind, in order that we may more proficiently perform our duties in behalf of the Master of men.[20]

This change has also had the effect of breaking the traditional reluctance of the Reorganization to mix with the community, a reluctance which may have had a practical as well as a theoretical origin. Certainly the affirmation of the pervasiveness of God's — and hence the Saints' — concern with every aspect of life was present from the beginning of the Restoration. It may be that members of the Reorganization interpreted the tragedy of Nauvoo as a warning against mixing in the affairs of the community. Or the disfavor with which

nineteenth century American society viewed all branches of Mormonism may account for the Church's isolationism. Whatever the reason, the theoretical grounds of isolation in the past have been an overemphasis on the second half of the admonition that the Church should be "in the world but not of the world," with the world being defined as all non-R.L.D.S. people and activities. The extent to which this belief could be carried can be seen in the assertion in the *Saints' Herald* in early 1933 that the Saints would have been almost untouched by the depression if they had just followed the commandments of God.[21] This attitude too has changed. Not only is the Church as an institution entering into the life of the community by providing housing for various community activities in the suburbs, but it is ministering in the inner-city as well.[22] The Church seems to understand its mission now to involve a suffering for and with the world. Church leaders have long admonished members to acknowledge the efforts of other churches. For example, in 1941 the Presiding Bishop of the Church called for this kind of ecumenism:

> One of the common fallacies in the thinking of many Latter Day Saints is that of regarding the hope of Zion as an exclusive possession of our church. There has been a growing understanding during recent years, however, that the objectives of the church, in the economic and Zionic sense, are not out of harmony with those of other movements which are being promulgated in the world today. One of our serious problems is that of relating our movement to these other movements.[23]

The use of materials from outside sources (the new curriculum of Christian education draws on materials from non-R.L.D.S. authors)[24] and the adapting of the ideas found successful by other churches (the original idea for Witnessing Weekends came from the Institute of Christian Renewal)[25] are two expressions of the acknowledgment that God's work is being done by many people. The resolutions with social content appearing on the agenda at recent world conferences also testify to the effort of the Church to meet the world. Earlier conferences focused attention almost exclusively on the Church as an institution. In recent years there has been considerable looking outward, in an attempt to discover ways in which the Reorganization could deal prophetically with world problems such as pollution, race, war, and poverty.[26]

As never before the Reorganization is admitting the possibility of a pluralism of belief. It is not paradoxical that the statement of basic beliefs which was intended to unify the theology of the Church asserts towards its close, "The problem has been in our tendency to insist on unity of opinion when it is really in our essential trust in God that we are to be united."[27] Controversial material in the *University Bulletin*, in *Courage: A Journal of Thought and Action* (recently completing its first year of publication) and occasionally in the pages of the *Saints' Herald* gives evidence of a growing latitude of thought. The toleration of discussion of such formerly sacrosanct subjects as the Virgin Birth, the historicity of the Book of Mormon, and rapprochement with the Utah church indicates increasing intellectual freedom. The adaptation of the gospel to a variety of cultures also encourages intellectual pluralism and "gives latitude in forms of worship and patterns of living."[28]

Finally the presence of greater professionalism in the Church and the willingness to go outside to obtain supplementation in the structuring of the

program and materials of the Church reflect a growing economic affluence as well as an expectation that the wisdom of the world has a contribution to make to the work of the Church. Not only is the membership becoming more expectant of professionalism, but the increasing educational status of many members is available to fulfill the expectation. This growing sophistication is apparent in the hymnal of the Church published in 1956 on which a more consistent professional scrutiny of both the music and the words was rendered than on any earlier hymnal. The historiography of the Church has been greatly enhanced by the creation of a historical library that makes research possible. Trained theologians and professional educators have been employed in campus ministry and Christian education. Nonmember specialists in many fields are being consulted freely. For example, the Joint Council and campus ministry have utilized outside specialists such as theologians and church historians.

The transformation of the Reorganization from a nineteenth to a twentieth century church was not finished by the recognition of these four foci of change at the 1970 Conference. The events that triggered the immediate controversy will have effect far beyond present expectation. However, this process gives evidence again to the truth implied by the very existence of the Restoration, that the gospel of Christ speaks to men in the transitory symbols of a specific age. Three times — in the 1830's with the restatement of these principles for the nineteenth century, in the 1860's and 70's with a reassessment of the founding stance, and finally during the last twenty years — the Reorganization has been forced by external events to identify and translate its Christian evangel. That the process has occurred and will occur again is the basic vital sign of the institution.

ADDENDUM

Since the writing of this article the Church has held its 1972 World Conference. Many of the same issues were debated again but with less heat and fewer dissenting voices. The outward thrust of the Church received validation in the word of God presented by W. Wallace Smith, the Prophet and President. In part the revelation said, ". . . there are also those who are not of this fold to whom the saving grace of the gospel must go. When this is done the church must be willing to bear the burden of their sin. . . ." Following a full day of discussion the Conference accepted the document as the mind and will of God. It now remains for the Church to discover and accept the full meaning of bearing the sin of the twentieth century world.

[1]Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1923.

[2]Parley P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning*. First published in Nauvoo in 1839, this book went through seven editions in the Reorganization.

[3]Typical of the body of literature are the following: *The Restoration Story* and *The Good News*, both missionary booklets of the 1950's; *Telling the Gospel Story*, a junior quarterly of 1945; E.A. Smith, *Restoration: A Study in Prophecy*, a 1946 book; "High Points of Our Message," an article in the October, 1935, *Priesthood Journal*.

[4]*World Conference Reports*, 1968, p. 67.

[5]Doctrine and Covenants (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House). Sec. 1:4 has been interpreted to suggest that worldly wisdom would be overcome by unlearned servants of God.

[6]Lillie Jennings, "Korea: New Chapter in Church History," *Saint's Herald,* Independence, Missouri: 15 May 1965, p. 8.

[7]*Exploring the Faith* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1970), pp. 130-131.

[8]*Ibid.*, p. 200.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 211.

[10]Donald D. Landon and Robert L. Smith, *For What Purpose Assembled* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1969).

[11]*A Design for Adult Education in the Church* and *Design for Discipleship* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1971).

[12]Clifford A. Cole, "Theological Perspectives of World Mission," *Saint's Herald* (July, 1971), 11.

[13]*World Conference Reports,* 1966, p. 240.

[14]Cole, p. 12.

[15]*Design for Discipleship,* p. 6.

[16]Cassette conversation recorded to accompany new curriculum for Christian education, Donald Landon, Geoffrey Spencer, Robert Smith, 1971.

[17]A permanent medical installation exists in Seoul, Korea; several church medical teams have visited Haiti; English language schools exist in Lima, Peru, and Tokyo, Japan.

[18]Ed Barlow, "Witnessing Weekends," *Saint's Herald* (June, 1971), 28ff.

[19]For example, in the 1967 Campaign for Christ in Tulsa, Oklahoma, the sermons of Seventy A. M. Pelletier, Jr. emphasized the fruits of Christianity: Christian Discipleship, Commitment, Involvement, and Community.

[20]Paul A. Wellington, ed., *Challenges to Kingdom Building* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1968).

[21]Ward A. Hougas, "Our Church and the Depression," *Saint's Herald* (January 27, 1932), 78.

[22]Cole, p. 11.

[23]G. L. DeLapp, *A Study of Zionic Procedures,* Vol. I (1941), p. 5.

[24]*A Design for Adult Education in the Church.*

[25]Barlow, p. 30.

[26]See Minutes of the 1968 and 1970 World Conferences.

[27]*Exploring the Faith,* pp. 245-46.

[28]Cole, p. 62.

GOD AND MAN IN HISTORY

RICHARD D. POLL

As a discipline, history is often concerned not only with facts and interpretations of facts, but also with philosophy. Can the study of history produce a personal philosophy that will be satisfying — or should one even look for such a philosophy in history? Can one find a basis for value judgements in history? Is there, or should there be, such a thing as a Mormon philosophy of history? The Church, of course, takes no position on such an ambiguous question, and neither does the Mormon History Association, but each Mormon historian usually develops his own philosophy based on his own understanding of both history and the Mormon faith. One such scholar is Richard D. Poll, a past president of the Mormon History Association. Here he shares his thoughts, based on years of experience as a teacher and writer of history, on the relationship between God and man in the ongoing historical process. "God and Man in History" was the presidential address delivered at the Mormon History Association Meeting in Los Angeles, California, in April 1970.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints sees both God and man in a temporal, that is historical, context, but it has developed no authoritative, systematic statement of the philosophical implications of historical relationships. It has no *official* philosophy of history. What follows, therefore, are simply reflections on some problems which relate to the religious affirmations of the L.D.S. people and a tentative approach to my personal philosophy of history.

By "philosophy of history" I mean a central conception of what history is about. What does the process add up to? Does it have meaning? Is it going anywhere? If so, where? Is it going up, or down, or around in a circle, or up and down like a roller coaster? What are the purposes being served? What are the ultimate ends toward which history is moving?

In the doctrines of Mormonism there are, of course, many statements about God, man, time, matter, space, intelligence, law, choice and other subjects which are highly relevant to these questions. However, the integration of these affirmations into a comprehensive and internally consistent philosophy of history has not yet been accomplished. I am not now attempting to perform that service for the Church, but rather to explore a few problems that must be resolved by whoever undertakes that task.

There are many variant philosophies of history to which people have given intellectual, emotional and even activist commitment over the centuries. The late nineteenth century found many Americans committed to what might be called a straight-line progress philosophy; each generation, standing on the

shoulders of its predecessors, was seen as moving toward a more ideal society. The twentieth century shattered many of the philosophical assumptions of inevitable progress, giving rise to such cyclical theories of history as the secular cycles of Oswald Spengler and the religiously-oriented cycles of Arnold Toynbee. Deterministic philosophies like Marxism see social laws leading us inevitably in certain directions, while theologically based neo-Calvinism predestinates the historic process according to God's will.

A fashionable trend at present is to deny history and philosophy. To some, life really adds up to nothing. It started as an accident and has been a combination of accidents — or "happenings" — ever since. Ultimately it ends with neither a bang nor a whimper. This notion of life as essentially absurd — without fundamental meaning — is found in some versions of existentialism.

While Latter-day Saints can find some basis for associating with any and all of these philosophies, we have not, as a Church, identified clearly with any of them. And yet, the L.D.S. way of looking at life contains the ingredients for a philosophy of history. The concept of dispensations lends itself to a cyclical idea, or perhaps a cyclical spiral, with some repetitions from dispensation to dispensation, but with each building upon its predecessor. This cumulative conception of progress, however, must be set off against the concept of a Golden Age at the beginning of the human story. Some years ago the Priesthood studied a book based upon the notion that the beginning phase was the best phase; it was followed by a series of apostasies and partial restorations by which man is gradually working his way back to the level of the beginning.[1]

The concept of the miraculous in Mormonism has implications for a philosophy of history. It can support the idea of theological determinism — that God is actively directing the historic process and doing whatever is necessary to accomplish His purposes, whether making the sun stand still for Joshua or raising Lazarus from the dead. Occasionally, however, one encounters testimonies of miracles which suggest a whimsical quality about divine interpositions, like the ancient Greek philosophies of history in which the Gods are directly involved but seem to be playing pointless games with men as pawns.

A mechanistic determinism can be derived from the idea of irrevocable laws according to which things happen. Even the Lord is bound by these laws. We do certain things and certain results occur; they may be blessings or penalties, but they are built into the system. However, many aspects of Mormonism resist such a deterministic conception. The affirmation that man is a free agent — that he has the capacity for real choice — serves as the basis for an indeterministic philosophy of history. Some read it as an indeterministic progress theory — man as a free agent is going somewhere; others suggest that man is merely biding his time, trying to avoid worldly transgressions until the millennial end comes.

Why has the Church developed no systematic philosophy of history — no unifying conception about the historical process? For one reason, in our approach to our religion we Latter-day Saints display little sense of history. Apart from the veneration of certain idealized episodes from the past — the first visions, the martyrdom of the Prophet, the crossing of the plains — we have forgotten our past. And as far as such features of that past as plural marriage are concerned, some of us would appreciate not being reminded of them.

Not merely the events of the past, but the concept of the past as a process

influences current L.D.S. thought very little. The significant legacy of the past is seen as a body of revelations, of encapsulated and uncontested truths which are of equal validity and relevance in every generation. The rest of the historic record is nonfunctional in terms of the quest for exaltation and so, the counsel of Section 88 of the *Doctrine and Covenants* notwithstanding, the body of historical knowledge and experience is not brought to bear on the decisions and value judgments of the here and now.

Let me illustrate this and certain other propositions with some findings from a survey made at Brigham Young University in December 1969. A group of more than fifteen hundred students in my American Heritage class answered a series of propositions designed to discover what they "*really* think about their educational experience and some of the issues which are periodically discussed" at the university. They responded on a "strongly agree — strongly disagree" five option scale. The same instrument was used with several other groups for comparison purposes. Two of the propositions illustrate what I believe to be the case — that the typical L.D.S. approach to life today is not tied to an awareness of yesterday.

One of the survey items concerns perceptions of the secular past: "The United States is a less virtuous nation today than it was a century ago." Sixty percent of the survey group, almost all Mormons, agreed, while twenty percent were undecided and only twenty percent disagreed. The apocalyptic doctrinal view of the last days requires a framework of moral deterioration of society, and even exposure to my mildly optimistic interpretation of the American heritage did not override the historical image which millennarianism almost requires. If one recalls that "a century ago" means the period of the Tweed Ring, Southern Reconstruction, child labor and the anti-Chinese riots on the Pacific Coast, one is not surprised to note that only one of fourteen graduate students in history who were surveyed and only two of sixteen history professors at B.Y.U. agreed with the proposition.

The second proposition concerns historic process within the Church: "Some L.D.S. doctrines have changed since Joseph Smith's day." Forty percent agreed, while twenty percent were undecided and forty percent disagreed. By contrast, only three of the graduate history majors and one of the history faculty members disagreed with the proposition. To the extent that the oracles from the past are perceived as unchanging, the processes of change — of continuous revelation — within the Church today are likely to be resisted, overlooked, or rationalized away.

Let me comfort this gathering of Mormon historians by suggesting that the American Heritage survey does not confirm the occasionally voiced suspicion that the study of history leads to apostacy. None of the propositions used in the survey is, in fact, an authoritative Gospel concept, although some of them have dogmatic advocacy among Latter-day Saints who feel some need to define Church positions in areas where the voice of revelation is silent. Rather, the results of the survey seem to confirm that general truth about the hazards of intellectual inquiry once aptly stated by the dour British ecclesiastic, Dean Inge: "The acquisition of each bit of knowledge drives us from some Garden of Eden."

Having thus paid respects to the explanation that we Latter-day Saints have no systematic philosophy of history because we have little sense of the nature and relevance of history, let me argue next that, to this date, the Church has

no systematic philosophy. The philosophy courses in the institutes and at the Church schools, for example, discuss the nature of time, evil, knowledge, man, truth and reality; but one finds therein no set of systematic propositions which may be followed by the phrase, "Thus saith the Lord." The addresses and writings of the General Authorities offer a number of excellent precepts for living and some ideas about the nature of life that give meaning to those precepts. They also contain affirmations about the remote past and the remote future, but they can be fitted into a wide range of philosophical systems. One need only live for a while on the B.Y.U. campus and hear ultimate reality defined in a half-dozen different courses by a half-dozen different professors, some of them professional theologians and all of them committed Latter-day Saints, to discover a range of philosophic preferences which approaches anarchy.

This lack of consensus was reflected in the American Heritage survey, in which one item invited agreement or disagreement with the proposition: "Man is by nature evil." Among the fifteen hundred undergraduates, mostly freshmen, 68 percent said "No." Among the recently returned missionaries, 51 percent said "No," while more than 80 percent of the graduate students and history faculty were in the negative, apparently preferring the "as God once was" to the "carnal, sensual and devilish" theme in Mormon teachings about man.

Latter-day Saints have difficulty with such basic conceptions as the nature of time and space, the ultimate stages upon which the historic process unfolds. Most of the talk about eternity and infinity simply proceeds from the assumption that man is here on a planetary piece of matter, moving through God's universe. We are at the center, time going infinitely forward and backward and space going endlessly in all directions from this point. For the serious and perplexing implications of such concepts as eternity and infinity, there is little concern. We have as much time and space as anybody else, and the important question is what we are doing with them.

Certainly when it comes to the fundamental conception of the relationship between God, our Heavenly Father, and time and space, one finds a wide range of opinion. The topic, "God and Man in History," is consistent with Mormonism in suggesting that God is *in* the historic process. This is in contradistinction to Catholicism and certain other theologies which hold that God, by very nature, is outside the time and space context; all things are simultaneously present with Him and the passing of time is only with us. Yet many Mormons want both the security that comes from the concept of a Supreme Being who is apart from the temporal process and the feeling of kinship that comes from a Heavenly Father who is involved somehow in the same process as man — who in some way *was* once as we are now and who *is* now as we may someday become. The ostensibly authoritative discourses on this subject convey a strong suggestion that in this matter we can eat our cake and have it too.

On the American Heritage survey the highest degree of consensus was achieved on a proposition relevant at this point: "God is all-knowing, all powerful and unchanging." In the total class sample, 85 percent agreed, with returned missionaries two points higher. Yet among seniors in the sample the affirmative percentage was only 80, while 110 seniors in the Honors Program registered 70 percent. What of the history faculty? They divided nine to four for the *negative*, with three undecided; for the majority of this sample of L.D.S. professionals in history, God is *in* time with them.

This basic question of the relationship of God to time is crucially related to the question of His relationship to prophecy. Is the future to God as the future is to His children, or has the future already arrived as far as He is concerned? In what sense does God know the future? Raised in any Priesthood quorum, this question may receive as many answers as Priesthood bearers present. Is the future absolutely present, absolutely certain, in the mind of the Lord? Or is the future known to him because, as an earthly father knows what his children are likely to do, so our Heavenly Father is able to look ahead, diagnose and predict? Does the Lord, in fact, foresee the future on the basis of superior predictive knowledge, or is His knowledge of the future absolute because he has a different relationship to that future than we do? Again, there is no consensus among Latter-day Saints.

So, too, with a closely related question, fundamental to an approach to history: Is the future fixed for anyone? Some scriptures state that the end is known from the beginning and that some of the prophets saw the end from the beginning. Yet we are also taught that what happens today can affect what happens tomorrow; we are not just role playing but making choices, and our choices make a difference.

Almost every Mormon will accept the proposition that what an individual does has a bearing on his own personal salvation. But that is a different thing from saying that what one does not only affects his own future but bears on the outcome of the whole enterprise in which we are collectively engaged. A fairly prevalent view sees the Lord so closely managing this world that no individual choice affects the larger process; the erring soul will be left with the consequences of a mistake, but the total story of mankind will proceed to exactly the same foreordained end as if the sinner had not taken the wrong turn in the road.

On this crucial question, the Saints range as widely as it is possible to range. Some cherish a hard-shelled Calvinistic theology which makes man little more than a pawn who has the illusion of choice but in fact does what he has been foreordained to do. Such Mormons reject the wicked word "predestination" but accept the content of the word because it satisfies the yearning for historical certainty. Some express their tendencies toward authoritarianism and their yearnings for an unchanging God in conceptions of history almost Catholic. Other Church members espouse liberal ideas of historical progression through meaningful human choices. Their emphasis on a social gospel makes free agency a key not only to individual exaltation but to the outcome for mankind in this telestial world. Still others become so harrassed and bewildered that they talk in strong pessimistic terms: What happens does not make much difference, really. We are just muddling up the Lord's program; may He soon cut short the whole painful business!

In such perplexity and diversity lies grist for much interesting if rarely rigorous discussion, but nothing which emerges can appropriately be represented as *the* Church philosophy of history. No Latter-day Saint Thomas, Bossuet, Hegel or Marx has made an acceptable synthesis, nor does the lack of such a synthesis cause much concern.

The conclusion of this commentary on the theme, "God and Man in History," does not attempt an institutionalized Mormon philosophy, then, but merely presents some thoughts on how one L.D.S. historian handles some of the ques-

tions of faith which stem from his vocation. Let us look at first things first.

God seems to me to be present in history in these ways:

In the first place He organized the enterprise out of whatever was there before — ideas, intelligence, energy, matter — and He involved us in it. He understands the process and the goals, and He defines those goals to us to the extent that He can get through to us and we to Him. There is, then, purpose in the process; history *is* going *somewhere.*

Further, the Lord directs and influences the outcome of that process. This intervention, however, is not analogous to one of those clocks which, when they run one second fast or slow, are automatically corrected by some mechanical or electrical means. The intervention of our Heavenly Father is not that coercive or continuous; it is sufficient to keep the process related to the goals. Suppose a prophet misses his calling, leaving an important task undone. Somehow the job will get done. But there may well be some slippage in the process; the task may not be done quite so neatly and expeditiously if ground has to be recovered.

Divine intervention is to be expected at points where that intervention is indispensible for God's purposes to be fulfilled. The key intervention is the atonement brought to pass through Jesus Christ, a historical event in which something that had to be done and could not be done otherwise was miraculously done. There are other key areas in which the conditions have required it, such as the opening of dispensations. (For purposes of this analysis, consideration of private miracles is omitted, though their relevance to some points in the discussion will be apparent).

With regard to the relationship of God to the future and the outcome of the historic process, they are known to Him only in generalized terms because, in fact, they are being worked out in the time context. This seems to me inescapable. If the historic process is, in fact, being worked out by meaningful choices — if something that happens can make a real difference in what happens next — then the ultimate outcome can only be clear in general terms to anyone — God or man — who functions within that process.

I will not argue with the proposition that the Lord *can* direct events so that at every point He will be in command of what is happening and it will come out exactly right. For reasons to be considered presently, I do not see this as the way God has defined His role. But even if He were to give such close and coercive direction, it would not be based upon a detailed knowledge of the end from the beginning but upon the possession of sufficient power to relate decisively to the unfolding sequence of events. For if He is, in fact, living in time — if He is in any sense a progressing entity — then the future is ahead for Him. He masters eternity as He uses knowledge to master the historic process, which is eternal.

This concept of God's relation to history helps to explain the inefficiency of the historic process as perceived by the historian. Given the power which is the Lord's, there ought to be a better way of saving men, if reaching the foreordained end were the only goal of life. There is too much wasteful loss of human effort and potential, not from the sins that contribute somehow to learning and possible growth but from the pointless evil — the mountains that slide down and bury scores of school children before they have a chance to savor the opportunities of life. Mormons handle such problems of gratuitous

evil in different ways, but it seems to me that involved here is the centrality of freedom in the historic process, to which our Heavenly Father is committed partly by His nature and partly by His will. Bound by His temporal nature and by the laws of the space in which He functions, God further restrains the arbitrary use of His knowledge of these laws in order that man may grow by learning those same laws and making wise choices based upon them. That is one reason why the historic process cannot be precisely plotted and why it is as inefficient, painful and pathetic as it is.

This view of God in history also helps us to understand the relationship between prophecy and history. When reading the language of recorded prophecy, one finds some that reads almost like history and some that does not. He finds also that the prophecies with the most specific and clearly identifiable referents deal with the prophet's own day and time, while those which relate to the remoter future do so in more generalized terms. If a hundred years hence is as clear to prophetic insight as a hundred years ago, this should not be the case.[2]

The point can be illustrated by any number of prophetic foreshadowings of the last days, not only in the Old and New Testaments but also in the other L.D.S. scriptures. Graphic in imagery and warning, they defy precise identification with unfolding events while tantalizing scriptorians of every generation to make the attempt. Also illustrative is the prophecy (Doctrine and Covenants, Section 87) on the Civil War, often cited as an example of Joseph Smith's inspired gifts. Written in 1832, it begins with specific allusions to South Carolina's rebellion against the tariff and Nat Turner's slave rebellion, both then in the news, but as it looks farther ahead the language becomes so broad that it cannot yet be confidently said to what extent it has come to pass. In 1861 Brigham Young said that the prophecy was being fulfilled with the pending destruction of the Union; by 1865, the Civil War being over, he had come to another conclusion.

A plausible, and to me persuasive, explanation of this aspect of prophecy is that the future cannot be described with complete precision because that precision depends upon what happens between prediction and fulfillment. The combination of circumstances from the time that Isaiah foresaw the coming of Christ down to the time when John the Baptist saw it with more immediacy and to the time when the post-meridian disciples wrote what had happened conditioned what each *could* write. The farther one looks into the future, even under divine inspiration, the more generalized he must necessarily be, because the future is not yet fact.

This is the way one historian with a Latter-day Saint commitment handles the problem of the relationship of God to the historic process. It is a directing and ultimately controlling participation, but one which is limited in part by the nature of our Heavenly Father himself and partly by his commitment to the free agency of man.

Which leads to the question of the role of man in history.

The initial assumption is that man, as a free intelligence, is co-eternal with God and so is a meaningful part of the whole historic process. He can easily cast himself in the role of an enemy, but he is meant to be a partner with the Lord. What he does makes a difference in the outcome of history.

For one thing, what man does affects the timetable of revelation as far as the

Lord is concerned. We are repeatedly reminded that one of the reasons we do not receive more light is that we are not making much use of the light we now have. If we were to do so, it would have real bearing on what God would be contributing to the historic process.

In the second place, what we do significantly affects the timetable of progress. Both in the meridian dispensation and in the dispensation of our day, the prophet-leaders who opened them up were optimistic about how much time it would take to complete the work. This is a possible explanation for the statements by Joseph Smith and some of his associates, as well as some New Testament prophets, that were interpreted by members of the Church as meaning that the Second Coming was in immediate prospect. The prophets were overwhelmed by the manifestations of the power of God and the beauty of the Gospel; surely no one could resist. But the capacity of man to resist the counsel of the Lord is depressingly apparent in every dispensation. So it takes more time than the prophets hoped, and as a rather wry fact of the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times, most Mormons in this generation are less confident of the immediacy of the Second Coming than were Joseph Smith's contemporaries.

L.D.S. diversity on this point is graphically revealed in another item from the American Heritage survey. To the proposition: "The millennium will begin within the next fifty years," 50 percent of the large class agreed, 40 percent registered indecision and 10 percent disagreed. Among the experts (our historian sample) the crystal ball was also clouded, but a clear majority were undecided or answered in the negative. I suggest that some of the ambiguity with which we Latter-day Saints relate to the problems of our secular society stems from this indecision about the temporal implications of the phrase, "the latter days."[3]

Under the circumstances, some people legitimately think that certain things need to be done — an acceptable amount of preaching of the Gospel, of work for the dead, of building temples, of gathering, and of various kinds of good deeds — as conditions for the Second Coming. A certain amount of trouble is also foreseen, but any reading of history presents sufficient calamity in every generation, including our own, so there need be no stirring up of woe to fulfill the gloomier prophecies of the pre-millennial finale. The tempo of events, in any case, is not decreed.

By this conception of the role of man in the historic process, man not only saves or loses himself by his acts, with the indispensable assistance of Christ, but has influence on the timetable and the details of the larger story. Into this context fits the scripture, "The day and the hour no man knoweth, not even the angels in heaven, but my Father only" (Matt. 24:36). Some people say this means that the Lord is keeping it a secret from everyone, but it can also be read as meaning that, within certain tolerances known only to God, it could go one way or another. If all men would repent and really act repentant, the story could be concluded in a few years. Or perhaps H-bombs could be used to create an environment that would make the finale indispensable. The conclusion is the same: We do have something to do with the apocalyptic schedule — the point at which and the circumstances in which this phase of the historic process ends.

The sum of the matter for this L.D.S. writer is that the history of humanity is not already written, not even for the Lord Himself. What we are presently

engaged in is not a drama without a point, or a fortuitous comedy of errors, or a foredoomed tragedy, or a fully-scripted pageant in which we are all mimes. Fundamental to this concept is the conviction that God is the producer and Christ is the central actor in the play, but what happens on the stage depends significantly upon the choices of all members of the cast.

The study of the past is thus profitable for Latter-day Saints and commended by scripture (D & C 88:79). Study of the record of our forebears' deeds may help us better to discharge our responsibilities toward that chapter of the eternal saga being written by our own generation. As John F. Kennedy put it in his inaugural address: "With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forward to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help but knowing that, here on earth, God's work must truly be our own."

[1]Milton R. Hunter, *The Gospel Through the Ages* (1945).

[2]The observable differences between Old Testament and Book of Mormon prophecies with regard to the coming of Christ may, it is suggested, be attributed at least in part to the fact that the latter-day translator of the Book of Mormon prophets knew, on the basis of historical information, some of the things which had happened in the interim and so could relate the prophecies rather specifically to events which satisfied their terms; hence Christ comes through much more clearly in Alma than in Isaiah. No comparable differences are found in the way the two scriptures deal with the still-future millennial dispensation. (This interpretation is based on the further assumption that Joseph Smith's translating went to the meaning of his sources rather than to the individual English equivalents of ancient symbols.)

[3]That there is nothing like an L.D.S. consensus on major social issues of today is graphically demonstrated in these responses on the American Heritage survey:

Proposition	*Agree*	*Undecided*	*Disagree*
Peaceful coexistence between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. is possible.	49%	16%	35%
The war in Vietnam is an immoral war.	27%	23%	50%
The Supreme Court ruling against required prayers in public schools is wrong.	49%	17%	34%
A capitalistic economic system functions best when it is regulated by government.	44%	31%	25%
Sex education does not belong in the public schools	41%	18%	41%

The impression conveyed by these responses (December 1969) is of an opinion configuration more conservative than that likely to be encountered in other large universities, but hardly of a doctrinally-imposed unanimity. No correlations were run between strength of millennial expectations and views on contemporary public issues, but the survey responses as a whole support the not-surprising conclusion that among Latter-day Saints, as in many other religious groups, theological fundamentalism is associated with political conservatism.

AMONG THE MORMONS

A Survey of Current Literature

EDITED BY RALPH W. HANSEN

Every man's work shall be made manifest. — I Corinthians 3:13

The world of Mormon-directed periodicals continues to thrive as new journals appear and old (those that began within the last few years) journals struggle for continued existence. In our last essay on periodicals brief mention was made of *Zion's Warning,* an R.L.D.S. oriented newspaper format publication. We have since learned that *Zion's Warning* is "dedicated to the cause of publishing the PURE and UNDEFILED Gospel of Jesus Christ as revealed from Heaven by the Power of The Holy Ghost." Early issues contain articles charging the Council of Churches with being pro-Communist; taking a stand against R.L.D.S. ecumenism; and declaring the church is in apostacy. Apparently *Zion's Warning* is free upon request (2640 Rainier Way, La Habra, Calif. 90631).

Dialogue and *Courage* continue to survive by the grace of generous contributors. The Venture Foundation, sponsors of *Courage,* reported a net $5.26 income over expenses for 1970/71. This balance was made possible by contributions to the amount of $3,583. *The Carpenter,* issued in Madison, Wisconsin, has completed one full volume, but *Mormon History* appears to be moribund. Nevertheless, new L.D.S. oriented periodicals continue to appear. From Williamsville, New York comes *Mormonia: A Quarterly Bibliography of Works on Mormonism* (Box 54, Williamsville, New York 14221, $5.00 per year). "*Mormonia,*" writes editor and publisher Velton Peabody, "hopes to bring together . . . a description of the rapidly expanding body of literature available to the student of Mormonism in all its phases." Peabody intends to concentrate on current publications but will include retrospective material as space permits. Not unlike this column, *Mormonia* will publish "brief bibliographical essays describing important collections of *Mormonia.*" The first issue contained a bewildering combination of new books and periodical articles inter-listed with retrospective material. *Mormonia* would do well to more clearly define its mission if it hopes to appeal to the rather limited clientele of Mormon bibliophiles.

Two additional journals have recently come to *Dialogue's* attention. The first, *Notes of the L.D.S. Composers Association,* is a quarterly devoted to music and the Church. *Notes* is available from Dr. Merrill Bradshaw, E-422 HFAC, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84601 ($1.00 per copy). The second publication, *Times and Seasons,* is a resurrection of the Church organ

by the same name published in Nauvoo one hundred and thirty years ago. Although an unofficial successor to the original *Times and Seasons* the new periodical begins with volume seven, thus continuing the sequence from the long deceased original (Nauvoo: *Times and Seasons*, Ltd. $5.00 per year). *Times and Seasons* appears to be a promotional periodical for restored Nauvoo. In its first three issues there appeared articles about the restored homes of Brigham Young, John Browning, and the Mansion House of Nauvoo. Each issue also contains reprints from the original *Times and Seasons* and full color reproductions of the exciting paintings of C.C.A. Christensen.

POTPOURRI

The Mormon History Association's prizes for best book and best articles in 1970-71 went to Gustave O. Larson for his *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood*, and Dean C. Jessee for his article, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," in the Summer, 1971, *Brigham Young University Studies*.

The Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints offered three $1,000 research fellowships for work in its library and archives during the summer of 1972. Although this information comes too late for our readers who did not receive a direct announcement from the Historian's Office, this will be an annual program and now is the time to plan for 1973. Inquiries should be addressed to: The Church Historian, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah 84111.

On the subject of The Church Historian's Office, a note of significance is that Leonard J. Arrington of Utah State University has been appointed Historian for the Church. Dr. Arrington has selected James B. Allen of Brigham Young University and Davis Bitton of the University of Utah as assistant historians.

An important research tool recently published by the Brigham Young University College of Religious Instruction is *A Catalogue of Theses and Dissertations Concerning The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Mormonism and Utah*. This massive tome does not claim to have surveyed every graduate degree program in the country, but it certainly is, as the forward claims, "the most complete collection of its kind." Copies are available from Dr. Lamar C. Berrett, Dept. of Church History, 123 Joseph Smith Building, B.Y.U., Provo, Utah 84601.

Add to the above the newly published *Ten Year Index to Periodicals of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, January 1, 1961-December 31, 1970. This monumental two volume work is available for nine dollars from the Church Distribution Center, 33 Richards Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

The following list of articles of Mormon interest is selective; material of peripheral interest and popularizations have generally been excluded.

PERIODICAL ARTICLES ON MORMONS AND MORMONISM

Ablon, Joan. "The Social Organization of an Urban Samoan Community," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 27 (Spring 1971), 75-96. Mention of Mormons and their church and school participation.

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REVIEWS

Edited by Davis Bitton

Recent Scholarship on New World Archaeology

DEE F. GREEN

Man Across the Sea: Problems in Pre-Columbian Contacts, edited by Carrol L. Riley, J. Charles Kelley, Campbell W. Pennington, and Robert L. Rands. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971, xvii + 552 pp. $12.50. *Before Columbus: Links Between the Old World and Ancient America*, by Cyrus Gordon. New York: Crown Publishers Inc. 1971. 224 pp. $6.50.

Latter-day Saints have long had an interest in pre-Columbian ocean travel. Americanist scholars, with a few notable exceptions such as Gordon Ekholm, J. Charles Kelley and a few others, have in the past either rejected such contacts outright or have been highly skeptical of them. However, in the last decade a number of Americanists have begun to look with more favor on the possibility of pre-Columbian contacts across both oceans. Both of the volumes under review reflect this increasing acceptance.

Man Across the Sea contains the contributed papers of 24 scholars who originally presented their ideas before a symposium at the Society for American Archaeology in 1968. The editors have divided the papers into three sections — theory, alleged contact, and plant dispersal. A paper by Jett on "Diffusion versus Independent Development" is an important contribution to the first section. After a brief review of the controversy he points out that in the long run the theoretical importance lies not so much in whether contact between the Old and the New World took place, but rather in the degree of impact such contact might have had on New World culture.

Latter-day Saints have usually assumed that a great deal of evidence for cultural parallels with the Near East should exist in the New World archaeological record. Our "Book of Mormon archaeologists" go to great lengths to establish such parallels, apparently believing that unless we can demonstrate contact the Book of Mormon is in trouble. While I certainly agree that Near Eastern artifacts in a pre-Columbian archaeological context would be beneficial to Book of Mormon claims, I do not agree that they are necessary nor that their absence constitutes a refutation of the volume. Before we get too disturbed over the lack of Near Eastern archaeological parallels with the New World, we had better learn some basic principles of culture change and contact. Just how long would it take the Nephites, for example, to learn that their wheat wouldn't grow in tropical America and adopt maize from their neighbors? Those areas of culture with which archaeology can best deal (technology, cultural ecology, etc.)

are precisely those areas of culture which change the fastest, and those areas of culture with which archaeology has the most trouble (world view, religion, etc.) are those areas which seem to change the slowest. It is naive to assume that New World Nephite technology (and many other Nephite cultural traits for that matter) was a simple Old World transplant.

Section Two of *Man Across the Sea* contains eight articles and a comments section which deals directly with the diffusion process. Of special interest to L.D.S. readers are the articles by Basil C. Hedrick and John Sorenson. Sorenson was a most happy choice to "bell the Near Eastern-New World diffusionist cat," as he is the best qualified Latter-day Saint to deal with the complex archaeological and anthropological problems. He was also the only Mormon participant in the symposium. Besides offering a most interesting working list of possible parallels between the Near East and the New World, Dr. Sorenson points out how important the "trait complex" (rather than the isolated trait) is to a demonstration of contact. In scanning his list of comparisons one cannot help but be impressed by the number of complexes which rely on anthropological rather than strictly archaeological understanding.

Hedrick's article on Quezalcoatl will probably put off those Mormons who are wont to see the Toltec culture hero as evidence for Christ's visit to the New World. The equating of Christ with Quetzalcoatl by many Mormons is another example of our naive myth building using trait comparisons, and our overcompulsion to find Book of Mormon "evidence." In the search we have either missed or ignored evidence which doesn't fit. For example, there is no documentary evidence to support the birth of Quezalcoatl prior to about 800 A.D., well outside the Book of Mormon time period. Furthermore, he got a girl in trouble, performed ritual suicide by cremating himself, and did a number of other things unbecoming the resurrected Christ. A good example of how our myth building has warped evidence is the Mormon notion that Quetzalcoatl had a white skin. Both he and white are associated with the east in Toltec religious symbolism, but this has no necessary connection to his skin color. In fact, on the Codices he is usually painted black.

Section Three deals with more technical matters in the world of plants. Evidence for transoceanic contact prior to 1492 is presented, although the general tone is one of caution. Since most of the present evidence creates more problems than it solves, the botanists want more data before they start giving answers. A concluding chapter by the editors summarizes the current situation and makes several recommendations for future research. The volume concludes with an excellent bibliography and an adequate index.

Gordon's *Before Columbus* is a disappointing attempt to link Old and New World civilizations in one grand oecumen. The hypothesis is worthy of serious consideration, but unfortunately Gordon has made many errors of logic, theory, and unwarranted assumptions. Space permits us to give only a few examples.

Chapter One is an attempt to show New World-Old World contacts on the basis of evidence from New World clay figurines. Of the millions of these artifacts which have been discovered, some do look very much like Africans or Semites, but Gordon would have us believe that every one is a "sculptured portrait" and that prior to 300 A.D. none of them looks like an American Indian (p. 21). Gordon presents no evidence for these assertions. I see no reason to assume that figurines are necessarily portraits of people any more than dolls

or political cartoons in our own culture faithfully portray the physical characteristics of the individuals they represent.

Chapter Four develops the notion that world-wide trade was established by at least 4000 B.C. Little evidence is presented to support such an early date, and most of the chapter resorts to dogmatic pronouncements. Unfortunately, this technique is common throughout the book.

Chapter Seven deals with linguistic tie-ups. Again Gordon advances claims which are difficult to accept. For example, on page 131 he attributes the naming of a number of rivers (Paraiba, Parana, Paranaiba, Paranapanema, Paragua, Paraguai) in the Gran Chaco and Eastern Brazilian areas of South America to some people (he doesn't say who) who named the Euphrates, all before 4000 B.C. If I have followed his reasoning correctly, it hinges on the notion that Euphrates means river (p. 129) and the South American rivers all begin with a word *para* which also means river (p. 131). The assumptions necessary to accept such reasoning are staggering. Is *para* an Indian word which was applied to those South American rivers prior to 4000 B.C. and remained unchanged for five and a half thousand years? Is *para* a Spanish word which means *for, to,* or *toward,* functioning here as a prefix to the river names? Or is *para* not the prefix at all but rather *par?* Note the difference this would make in the rendering of the word stems for Gordon's list of rivers: Par-ariba, Par-ana, Par-anaiba, Par-anapanema, Par-agua, Par-aguai. In each case the initial *a* makes the stem a meaningful word, as any second year Spanish student can see.

Chapter Eight on Cultural Transmission is perhaps the weakest chapter. On page 139 Gordon begins with the idea that ancestor worship was characteristic of the Maya and therefore shows contact with the Chinese. He uses two pieces of evidence to support his claim. First, he draws on artifacts known as "mushroom stones" and following Dr. Dennis Lou interprets these to be "a penis representing the male ancestor" (p. 139). Perhaps Gordon and Lou are right in assuming that the mushroom stones are actually male sex symbols. It does not follow that the Maya were therefore ancestor worshipers.

His second piece of evidence is even more difficult to accept. He interprets the lighting of candles in church by the Maya Indians of Chichicastenango, Guatemala, as a Chinese practice transferred to the New World in ancient times, rather than an adoption of the Catholic ritual. His designation of the lay Maya priesthood as "witch doctors" (p. 139) is a pejorative value judgment unbecoming a scholar.

In Chapter Ten Gordon attempts to show how the *Popol Vuh* (a Quiche Maya document) is a sort of New World bible whose inspiration is obviously the Old World Bible. Some Mormons have made much the same case. Gordon's interpretation follows the traditional Christian and Jewish scholarship on the subject of Biblical interpretation, however, and runs counter to Mormon ideas on many crucial issues. That Mormons and Gordon can interpret the same passages of the *Popol Vuh* so differently only argues for the futility of such an approach. Brigham Young was correct in urging that scripture be interpreted in light of the cultural background of the people who wrote it. Gordon's chapter fails to do so.

When Gordon argues against the independent inventionist position, he assumes that the only theoretical model underlying that position is psychic unity. If he were more familiar with current theoretical discussions among

American anthropologists, he would not slip into so simple a position. Much of Gordon's data are as well explained by viewing culture as an adaptive mechanism as by diffusion.

Gordon is guilty of a subtle putdown, however unintentional, of American Indians, when he states that they "could not" have invented civilization. The whole book conveys the impression that anything of merit in the New World got there from the Old.

Much heat and darkness have been generated over the independent invention-diffusion controversy. Unfortunately, Gordon's volume will increase the heat rather than shed light. Not because Gordon is completely in error, not because there was no contact between the two hemispheres before 1492, but because by making unwarranted assumptions he has pushed his data beyond the limits of good scholarship.

For Latter-day Saints the message of these volumes is not "Aha, we knew it all along," but rather "Wow, the situation is more complex than we realized." Clearly some of the basic myths we have built up about Book of Mormon peoples will need reexamination. For example, our simplistic reference to American Indians as Lamanites. If we agree with Gordon that Phoenecians, Chinese, southeast Asians, Japanese, Egyptians, and a host of others might have wandered into the New World, it is going to be difficult to maintain our narrow view of the Lamanites as a valid racial entity with all that other genetic material present before, during, and after Book of Mormon times. The same is true of the cultural situation. How, for example, does one separate a Nephite archaeological site or artifact from all the others?

Perhaps the Book of Mormon does not represent the great pan-hemispheric cultural tableau some have envisioned. Like the Biblical portrayal of Palestine in the Old World, the Book of Mormon may give an ethnocentric account of a small part of the New World's oecumenical civilization.

Until Mormons begin to deal with the Book of Mormon as a cultural record using all the tools of anthropology, and until we free ourselves from our limited historical-archaeological, trait-comparison syndrome, research in American prehistory of the kind reported in these two volumes will have only limited impact on Book of Mormon studies.

Faith, Folklore, and Folly

SAUNDRA KEYES IVEY

Lore of Faith & Folly. Edited by Thomas E. Cheney, assisted by Austin E. Fife and Juanita Brooks. Salt Lake City, The University of Utah Press, 1971. ix + 274 pp. $7.50.

A Guide for Collectors of Folklore in Utah. By Jan Harold Brunvand. Salt Lake City, The University of Utah Press, 1971. xi + 124 pp. $6.50.

In a preface to *Lore of Faith & Folly*, William A. Wilson observes that while few states possess Utah's abundance of folklore, few have been more reluctant to collect and study their traditions. With the appearance of two volumes on Utah folklore, both published within the state (as many earlier studies were not), this reluctance seems happily to be disappearing.

Although the Folklore Society of Utah has functioned at varying levels of activity since 1958, *Lore of Faith & Folly* presents the first fruits of its commitment to publication. The twenty-five selections comprising the book were wisely chosen to reflect the entire membership of the Society (rather than its academic wing alone), and therefore include popular literature, personal and family reminiscences, and comparative and analytical studies. The results provide pleasant glimpses of Utah's traditional heritage to the casual reader as well as stimulation for the professional folklorist.

The reminiscences survey numerous aspects of Utah existence in earlier days. Juanita Brooks recalls a child's introduction to Indian custom in "Our Annual Visitors," and recounts community practical jokes (sabotaging the wagon of a couple setting off for a St. George Temple wedding, adorning a church steeple with a gate from the bishop's home) in "Pranks and Pranksters." Andrew Karl Larson's "Reminiscences of a Mormon Village in Transition" covers virtually the entire spectrum of traditional small-town life at the beginning of this century. Carpets and mattresses were made at home, school children played mumble peg and base-rounders, "ragging" (the telling of tall tales) passed away winter hours, and community songs memorialized such events as "Julius Hannig's Wedding."

Other examples of Utah lore were gleaned either by collecting or through library research. Olive Burt's "Wine-making in Utah's Dixie" presents tales from Toquerville, Utah, where the traditional potent brew was said to have distracted U.S. deputies searching for "cohabs" in the 1880's. Gustave O. Larson brings together from secondary sources numerous legends surrounding the career of Porter Rockwell, and Thomas E. Cheney develops a "double exposure" of Samuel Brannan, drawing on accounts which range from admiration for Brannan's financial acumen to condemnation by Church leaders (and, according to some sources, pursuit by the Danites). Utah's ties to the wider patterns of American folklore are reflected in Austin and Alta Fife's "The Cycle of Life Among the Folk" and in Wayland Hand's "The Common Cold in Utah Folk Medicine," both of which include Utah-collected beliefs and customs that are traditional throughout the country. In "Unsung Craftsmen," the Fifes point out that material culture traditions were both brought to and invented within the state. Helen Z. Papanikolas' "Greek Folklore of Carbon County" illustrates the strong ethnic components of Utah lore and serves as a fascinating reminder that Mormon pioneers were not the only contributors to the state's heritage.

While these selections will be enjoyed by both academic and casual readers, they would be much enhanced by the inclusion of biographical and bibliographical data. A scanty "About the Authors" does not include all contributors, and gives none of the biographical details which would interest the lay reader and authenticate material for the scholar. In fact one selection, "A Strange Gift," is meaningless because it lacks such data. Turning to the second page of this account, written by Rosabel Ashton (unidentified), the reader discovers that he is actually examining "Lerona Wilson's Own Story," apparently in Lerona Wilson's (also unidentified) own words. Brief headnotes would make "A Strange Gift" intelligible and would help to place other selections in context. (The book's foreword indicates that some sections were prepared for and presented at meetings of the Folklore Society of Utah, but neglects to tell

which or when. Casual readers would appreciate, and scholars consider essential, such information.) Even without headnotes, though, *Lore of Faith & Folly* is a fine first offering from the Society, and will surely whet readers' appetites for the future volumes which the Society hopes to provide.

The gathering of material for such volumes will be greatly facilitated by Jan Brunvand's *A Guide for Collectors of Folklore in Utah.* Directed largely toward amateurs who might develop an interest in folklore, the *Guide* "is intended to show you what to collect, how to collect, and where to deposit your material." Its success results mainly from the ability of the author, a talented and energetic professional folklorist, to transfer his enthusiasm for collecting to the printed page.

Brunvand does an excellent job of making readers who may never have heard the word *folklore* aware that they have been learning and transmitting it all of their lives. He defines the essence of folklore, drawing on previously collected Utah lore to illustrate each aspect of the definition. His discussion of the folk group ("any group that shares some common trait out of which spring some shared traditions") will quickly sensitize readers to their memberships in several such clusters. As Mormons, for example, church members share traditional anecdotes about church leaders (such as J. Golden Kimball stories), a specialized vocabulary ("Jack Mormon," etc.), a body of orally transmitted songs and stories — in short, folklore. Yet as Brunvand makes clear, a Mormon may also be a member of an ethnic culture, or a student learning dating customs at B.Y.U., or an Army private absorbing the lore of the military.

Convinced that he is a member of several folk groups, the reader will be eager for suggestions on the collecting process. These are presented in chapter 2, which suggests guidelines for developing collecting projects and presents brief but adequate remarks on the use of tape recorders and cameras. For the reader who just can't wait to begin collecting (and there will be some), the book includes a questionnaire on personal folklore which may be filled out and submitted to the Utah Heritage Foundation.

The *Guide* is a handsome volume, creatively designed and well executed; however, its attractiveness raises what is, for this reviewer at least, a central problem — cost. While $6.50 is not unreasonable, and while a paperback edition is available at $3.95, this book simply is not going to be made as widely available as a state collecting guide could and should be. This is not to imply that the book is not worth the money (it is), but rather to suggest that its central purpose could have been achieved in a less spectacular format. Surveying the photographs in the *Guide,* for example, one quickly notices that while some provide information necessary for potential collectors (such as showing what the Nauvoo or "I" style house type looks like), others depict scenes totally familiar to readers (such as children jumping rope) and are merely decorative. Perhaps Brunvand will one day supplement the *Guide* with an inexpensively printed group of suggestions which could be sent out free or at low cost to potential collectors. (The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission published such a guide in 1968.)

Dialogue readers are urged, however, not to await the materialization of a reviewer's hopes, but to examine Brunvand's *Guide* at once. Interesting reading in itself, the book should spark collecting adventures that will result in contributions for the sequels to *Lore of Faith & Folly.*

Archaeology in Nauvoo

IVOR NOËL HUME

Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple. By Virginia S. Harrington and J. C. Harrington. Salt Lake City, Nauvoo Restoration publication, 1971. 54 pages, 32 illustrations.

Rarely is a report on an archaeological excavation so handsomely designed and mounted, but equally rare is a site whose history is as remarkable as that of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo, Illinois. Built in the grand manner between 1841 and 1846, the massive structure was barely completed before its congregation had moved away, leaving the building to be gutted by fire in 1848 and to be felled by a tornado two years later. Here, then, was a monument to the industry of the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, but one whose contribution to Mormon life and history ended almost before it had begun.

The ruins were first cleaned out by the French Icarians who attempted to convert the basement to their own use, but who gave up after the tornado; then, along with other settlers, they proceeded to carry away the building materials for use elsewhere. Out of this relatively unpromising site, Virginia and Jean C. Harrington have been able to fashion an engrossing and yet scholarly book. Realizing that the contents may be more interesting to members of the Mormon Church than to archaeologists (there being few artifacts and no likelihood of unearthing another Mormon Temple like it), Mrs. Harrington has very properly concentrated on telling the history of the building and describing what they found of it, leaving her husband's account of "Archaeological Procedures" and his clear but, to the layman, possibly intimidating sectional drawings to hide as appendices at the back. Mr. Harrington has also supplied a useful bibliography of their sources and a thoroughly workmanlike index.

Those of us who are concerned about the ever climbing cost of printing and who question the usefulness of publishing archaeological reports that are of little value to colleagues not concerned with that particular site contend that too many excavators print material that could just as well remain in manuscript in an appropriate archival repository. Archaeologists are taught, however, that publication is the essential end-product of any excavation — even if it only serves to cleanse the director's conscience and to expand his vita and thus his market value. The Harringtons, of course, need no such buttress, for Mr. Harrington is internationally recognized as the pioneer of historical archaeology in the United States, who, throughout his career, has been a vociferous

champion of an historian's approach to the buried remains of America's European past. Although this publication may at first glance appear to be of little practical use to historical archaeologists, it has, in fact, a great deal to teach us. The volume is a model of clarity, demonstrating just how such a report should be organized, showing how it can be presented to make the medicine easy to swallow, and above all sounding the humbling warning that one picture can be worth a thousand stones.

There are, in fact, two contemporary pictures of the temple (a daguerreotype of c.1846-48 and a tintype of 1850) plus an 1848 sketch of its tremendous baptismal font. The excavations yielded a few leg and sculptured hair fragments from the font's twelve supporting oxen, plus pieces of its dressed stone; although valuable details to aid in any eventual reconstruction, they were not enough to reconstruct or even identify the font had its existence not been known from documentary sources. Similarly, although the digging revealed the basement ground plan, it would have been a rash director who would have attempted any kind of artist's reconstruction based on such slender evidence. It is the comparison between the daguerreotype and the ground plan that provides the real archaeological lesson of the Nauvoo Temple, and it is one that can usefully be pondered by every archaeologist who tries to interpret the robbed remains of masonry buildings of any culture or period without the benefit of contemporary illustrations or descriptions to show what those buildings were *really* like.

Apart from a minor quibble involving the need for the identification on the master plan of photo angles and the lines of drawn sections illustrated in the report, my only major complaint probably belongs at the door of the Nauvoo Restoration rather than at that of Mr. and Mrs. Harrington. Their otherwise admirably produced book is marred by the inclusion of a modern frontispiece painting of the temple based on "drawings and plans of William Weeks," the temple architect. This flat, calendar-art reconstruction is out of character with the design and scholarship of the rest of the book and manages to make the building seem infinitely less impressive than it does in the contemporary daguerreotype. More importantly, it may lead the reader to suppose that the report will deal with the superstructural evidence upon which the artist's reconstruction is based, whereas, in fact, it is concerned almost exclusively with the below-ground appearance and layout of the building. One can but hope that so fine a record of an important piece of work will be sufficiently well received to merit a speedy second printing — omitting the frontispiece painting in favor of the original photograph (now Figure 1) or of using William Weeks' plans, which in this edition are referred to but not illustrated.

The Godfather

RUSTIN KAUFMANN

Readers may recall Rustin Kaufmann's review of "The Graduate" which appeared in the Spring, 1969 issue of Dialogue. *At the time Mr. Kaufmann had agreed to become a regular correspondent to these pages, but the surprising reaction of readers to his review (see Letters to the Editor, Summer, 1969) hurt*

Mr. Kaufmann's feelings and he has declined to contribute until now. Since there is so much controversy raging over the movie "The Godfather," we asked Mr. Kaufmann to review it for Dialogue, *which he graciously agreed to do.*

Mr. Kaufmann's reviews appear regularly in the Idaho Hog Journal *and in* Better Hogs and Gardens. *In addition, he writes a monthly column in* Sweet Spud, *the journal of the combined sugar beet and potato 4-H clubs in Southern Idaho.*

We hope readers will find Mr. Kaufmann's reviews as provocative as we have. Coming as he does from the hinterlands of Mormondom, we feel his grass roots insights are a welcome tonic for these troubled times.

I drove to the city to see "The Godfather." I worried about it because it had an "R" rating. By way of comparison, "The Graduate" is now rated only "PG," despite those lurid bed scenes with Mrs. Robinson, and the frequent taking of the Lord's name in vain. So because "The Godfather" was rated "R," I expected the worst. Half way to Idaho Falls, I nearly turned back. But now I can report to you that "The Godfather" is not deserving of its "R" rating. It's relatively clean.

Oh, there is a scene of so-called heavy petting, between Sonny Corleone and one Lucy Mancini. But as it turns out, both Sonny and Miss Mancini are fully clothed and on their feet the whole time. The only other scene which might have warranted an "R" rating involved Michael Corleone's honeymoon night in Sicily. In that scene, Michael finds himself facing his indecently-clad bride, Appolinia, contrary to the book version, wherein Michael leaves the bedroom to take a few drinks down the hall, leaving Appolonia to make bedtime preparations in his absence. So while the movie version is a bit more sensuous, it is far less alcoholic.

In "The Graduate," you remember, Benjamin returns from college and wanders around in slovenly clothes, treating his betters with disrespect. By contrast, Michael, the hero of "The Godfather," is spic and span and dressed in the uniform of his country, and commendably polite to everyone, as he comes home to attend the wedding of his sister. Instead of trying to join up with a yippie subculture, Michael is drawn more and more to his family traditions, until he gives up his law career to take the place of his ailing father in supervising family affairs.

The Corleone family is in some kind of business — olive oil, I think. In fact, they seem to have a whole chain of enterprises. But other Italians try to encourage the Corleones to participate in a narcotics ring. When Don Vito Corleone refuses to do it, they shoot him down. But he is a strong and courageous man, with much to live for; and he clings to life in a hospital bed. Michael protects him from harm and helps to hold his business empire together. Following the tragic death of eldest brother Sonny, out on the expressway, Michael is entrusted with the whole family operation, even though he still has another older brother, Freddie. This disrespect for primogeniture and the patriarchal order shocks us, of course, but we must remember that occasionally a second or third son comes along who is possessed of such remarkable acumen that he is deserving of greater responsibility, as is the case in the Old Testament accounts wherein Jacob is elevated over the older Esau, Joseph over Reuben and his brothers, and Ephraim over Manasseh.

The key to understanding "The Godfather" is family solidarity. The Corleone family had once come to a hostile America to face privation and ethnic oppression. But they transcend these obstacles through their love for one another and through obedience to the dictates of the family patriarch, the "Don." Central to their renewing their determination to perpetuate these traditions is a family gathering of the male members in the Corleone study. The men, one by one, kiss the hand of Don Vito Corleone, as they might kiss a Cardinal's ring. I don't know whether or not they hold these family gatherings in the home on a special evening of the week, or only on an *ad hoc* basis, but I find something familiar and praiseworthy about this method of teaching family customs and beliefs.

It's a shame that there had to be so much killing in the story. All of us abhor the shedding of innocent blood. And it is almost as irresponsible for the movie makers to make appealing the senseless taking of life as to celebrate sexual promiscuity. But "The Godfather" is relatively free from unnecessary violence. Instead, the movie depicts a desperate situation, where the close-knit Corleone family is set upon by Emilio Barzini's hoods, who are bent upon annihilating them. What killing the Corleones do, they do by way of self-defense.

When the picture ends, we have the feeling that the way has been cleared for the Corleone family to expand their olive oil imports, and perhaps to go into the hotel and restaurant business in Las Vegas, only 450 miles away from Salt Lake City. I could not help but think that this would put them in closer proximity to gospel influences, especially if the Church sees fit to open a Religious Information Center in that city.

Esta Seaton

Reprise

After the marches
 after the telegrams
  and the petitions
   the letters to the editor
    the speeches cheered
     and booed
      After that other poem I wrote
       four years ago
        when my husband said
         "Maybe the war will be over
          before the poem is published."
           and I smiled
            but believed in the possibility

After all that
                like a scene shown over and over
                on a motion-picture screen
                by some maniac projectionist
                who is fixated on the moment
                when the throat is slashed by the knife
                and you are roped to your seat in the theater
                not really convinced of what is happening
                struggling against paralysis
                as in the terror of a mid-afternoon dream
                when you try to wake to face the stranger
                who is never in the room

there is no new news
on the evening newscast.
        I sit at the dinner table
         rolling a crumb of bread between my fingers,
          planning my next move,
           rehearsing arguments in a dead language
            that will fall on dead ears,
             and I see that my shoes are soaked with blood.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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THE FOURTH ANNUAL

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FIRST PRIZE ($150): ALMERA ANDERSON ROMNEY, Monrovia, California, for her essay "All Children are Alike Unto Me."

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*As in past years, the previous year's winners and members of *DIALOGUE's* Editorial Staff were not eligible for this year's prizes.

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