DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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

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

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Dialogue is published quarterly in Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter issues. Subscription rate in the United States is $10 per year; single copies, $3; foreign subscription $12. Subscription Department, 900 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90024. *Dialogue* welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, notes and comments, and art work. Manuscripts should be sent in duplicate to the Editor, accompanied by return postage.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Sirs:

It has been a long time since any issue of a magazine has given me so much pleasure as the Autumn-Winter, 1971 issue of *Dialogue*. Even the cover was a delight and all the illustrations, photographs, etcetera.

Thomas Cheney's story touched me immensely, and of course I loved Mary Bradford's "Mr. Mustard Plaster." Sam Taylor's "Little Man Who Isn't There" was marvelous, of course, and all of the DeVoto material; he was a good friend and I treasure some letters of my own that gave me a lift in the early days of my career. I visited with Halldor Laxness in Iceland, one of my best experiences, and treasure books he gave to me. Because I had reviewed *Paradise Reclaimed* he thought, I'm afraid, that I must be a very important American critic. Though I'm sure he'd be gracious in any case.

What else? About Maurine Whipple, of course; I do wish she had left Zion because I remember a Writers' Conference in the Hotel Utah soon after *The Giant Joshua* appeared and there were some hot-under-the-collar St. Georgians there; I thought it boded no particular happiness for her down there, anyway *creative* happiness.

Lots of good poetry too. And for once I was delighted with words from the pulpit.

Bravo. Keep turning them out; much needed, much appreciated.

Most sincerely,

Virginia Sorensen Waugh
Tangier, Morocco

P.S. Sometimes, reading this magazine, I get a mighty dose of nostalgia for my Former Days . . .

Dear Sirs:

This morning, the Spring 1972 issue of *Dialogue* arrived in our mail and we were very grateful to receive it, along with the pleasant reminder of our lapsed subscription.

You were certainly correct in stating we would feel desolate in missing an issue since we have been enjoying *Dialogue* for some time.

We just had to take the time, following our breakfast meal, to read Rustin Kaufmann's review of "The Godfather" and found that his "tongue in cheek" analysis of the movie was as entertaining as his earlier review of "The Graduate."

Thank you again for a most pleasant reminder and for your excellent *Dialogue*.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Sherwood E. Bridges
Mt. Pleasant, Michigan

Mr. Kaufmann contends that he never writes with his tongue in his cheek; it makes it too difficult when he must turn the other one. — Ed.

Gentlemen:

Still *another* tribute to J.F. Smith? *Dialogue* has become, *when* it comes, just another church magazine. I'll take *Ensign*, as its quality goes up, *Dialogue's* goes down. The women's issue followed the church line. Ho hum!

Evalo H. Blackley
Solana Beach, California

Dear Sirs:

Mr. Sherlock was not the only person who had great hopes for the issue on women and came away disappointed. At least it was a beginning. After hearing the women's movement denounced time and again in Relief Society and even in Sacrament meeting, it is a relief to know there are some women in the Church who have open minds on the subject. The defensiveness of so many women gives me cause to wonder why they are so threatened.

One of the basic ideas of the women's movement is that women are persons before they are anything else, and as persons they should be able to choose what they will be. If a woman wants to be a wife and mother only, and bake homemade bread and apple pie, that's fine, especially if she doesn't have an overweight husband. This does not mean that every other woman in the world should have to do the same thing. One may live a life of duty and sacrifice, but I wonder how worthwhile the sacrifice is if there is no choice

involved. If a girl is conditioned to believe from her birth that she must marry and have children, and there are no other alternatives available, then she is hardly more than a servant and a breed animal. It is nice to say that one can be a housewife and do something else too, but some women may choose just the something else.

Each one of us does have talents and gifts, and I believe many of us do have a calling or mission to perform in this life. It is sad that the stereotype women are expected to conform to may keep some person from achieving what she could have. Marriage and children just may not be the calling for some young women, and I don't believe anyone can be the judge of what another should do. Some people are not capable of marriage at some point in their lives, and may never be. There are people who should not have children, and some who cannot. There are many women who can have only one or two children, and who tire of having to explain their reproductive difficulties to everyone who asks, "When are you going to have another kid?" I don't believe for one minute that all Mormon career girls are just dying to get married.

Ms. Bushman's fear of competing in the "real world" raises another issue. If the home isn't real, what is? In our society only money making is real. And since being female means being inferior, why even try?

Speaking of inferiority, consider the lady missionary. At times there is no creature more lowly. Her motives are suspect immediately. She is husband hunting, of course. Her mental health is questionable. "All the lady missionaries in our mission had emotional problems." If she is successful, she is aggressive and unfeminine. If she is not, whether by the Lord's standard, or by the sales quota baptism system, it proves L. M.'s are useless and don't belong in the field. Never mind that she was called by the Lord to do His work. Several young women have said to me that they would have loved to go on a mission, but they could not see themselves as lady missionaries, or they were pressured into marriage and babies "before it was too late" and they became old maids at twenty-two or three.

I agree that housewives and mothers should be recognized as human beings who carry on a valuable, although not glamorous, task in our society, just as garbage men do. Raising children is a challenge, mopping the floor is not. It is a bore. Talking about it, or writing about it is a deadly bore. Please, just because we are women does not mean that we are interested in hearing more about housework, or cooking, or diapering. It is bad enough to have to do it. Also, I can relate to a woman as a person and do not need to know how many children she has. You never tell us how many children the men have. Why does Mary Bradford have to tell us about her morning sickness when we would rather hear more about living in Washington, D. C. She doesn't have to justify herself for having a job. I have never heard of any morning sickness that is any more interesting than any other morning sickness.

Times are changing, and I am certain that the roles of men and women in the Church will change, perhaps more slowly. In the meantime, women need to develop more pride and self-respect for themselves as human beings. Those who do not wish to be type cast need to know about other remarkable women, other than beauty queens and movie stars, whom they can use as models and an inspiration for their own self-confidence. Through *Dialogue* I am given the hope that such women do exist.

Sincerely,

Susan Woodland Howard
Northridge, California

Dear Sirs:

Some of us wrestle mainly with our own hypocrisy. Some wrestle with the hypocrisy of the institutions around us, secular and sacred. Struggling with both personal and organizational hypocrisy is a friend of mine, Eve, a genetic Mormon. She is trying to find a way to stay with the Mormon Church, which she perceives as racist, sexist, and therefore largely unChristian. She maintains that the Church discriminates, treating all women and certain blacks as inferior and discouraging or barring them as groups from self-representation and full participation in spiritual, political, social, economic, and intellectual growth both inside and outside the Church society.

On one hand, Eve:

1) loves the gospel of Jesus Christ,
2) still identifies strongly with the Mormon culture ("I'm still Mormon like a black is a black or a white is white or a woman is female," she says.),
3) values the friendships and positive growth possible from many facets of membership in the Mormon community, and
4) fears the potentially negative consequences of life without the Mormon discipline, especially in her family relationships.

And on the other hand, Eve also:

1) believes strongly that the racism and sexism within the Church, formal and informal, are in violation of the central spirit of the gospel of Jesus Christ and therefore injurious to the spiritual self-development of not only herself and her family, but to human society generally, and
2) believes it is her duty as a Christian to reject or oppose such serious, hypocritical violations of the gospel of love and the concept of individual eternal growth.

She may have made a small breakthrough recently when she decided to try what she calls the Alcoholic Parent Approach. It goes like this: you should love but can only partly admire your own apparently incurable alcoholic parent. You should love that parent because there is good in the person despite the destructive alcoholism and also because your parent is *your very own* personal responsibility. Tolerance and love are your Christian charge.

The Alcoholic Parent Approach may help Eve maintain the tolerance and love necessary for her to remain at least a marginal Mormon. Eve's painful struggle to do what is right is, I think, not unique. She may be on her way out of the Church, but before she leaves, what else can any of us say? Counsel is invited, please.

Sincerely,

Teddie Wood Porter
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs:

Armand L. Mauss's article on "Moderation in All Things: Political and Social Outlooks of Modern Urban Mormons" is another valuable *Dialogue* contribution to clarifying Mormon social positions, particularly on "the Negro problem." *Dialogue* is helping to diminish some of the racial mythology among Church members.

But this article is at least Mauss's second in *Dialogue* which may contribute to an apathetic new assumption: that Mormons "differ but very little in (secular) *racial* attitudes." In other words, Mormons are no more prejudiced than persons of other religions.

This should not be comforting to a Church that celebrates superlatives in so many other aspects of life —

— Highest educational attainment
— Most representation in *Who's Who*
— Greatest membership growth
— Most extensive church welfare system
— Largest church-affiliated university
— Biggest genealogical library

(Come to think of it, race also is a sort of Mormon superlative: As William J. Whalen wrote, "Only two American cults elevate race to the theological plane: the Black Muslims who believe the Negro race is superior to the white, and the Mormons who believe the Negro is cursed by God.")

Let us not glory in that Mormon bias does not exceed gentile prejudice. As educated as Mormons are, they should have the fewest prejudices by now.

Now is the time to end the ecclesiastical bigotry of racial discrimination in the Church.

Sincerely,

Wayne M. Carle
Dayton, Ohio

Dear Sirs:

I have the fondness for literature that according to your quote Brigham Young recognized most Mormons to have. But in common with most Mormons I did not like Fisher's novel *Children of God*. Robert Rees's essay "Truth is the Daughter of Time" caused me to skim his novel to see if I formed my opinion too

hastily. On the basis of this review, I have tried to note some of the basic reasons why I find Fisher's novel inadequate as either historical fiction or fictionalized history.

In part my criticism centers on his failure to take Mormon theology seriously. Along with many other writers Fisher passes over Mormon theology as consisting merely of a gross form of Protestant fundamentalism with a few crude and curious speculations of Joseph Smith thrown in. But Fisher's failure to take Mormon theology seriously ignores its impact on the lives of historical characters he is trying to portray and causes him to seriously distort his portrayals. For example, Fisher has difficulty introducing his major characters early in the book because he has to get them into the Church either by having them deceived — and consequently portraying them as credulous or ignorant — or by having them attracted by their own self interest. Some characters that he may have had more sympathy for just appear out of nowhere to enlist in Joseph Smith's cause for no reason.

Histories of the Church and contemporary documents give me a different impression of early converts. I am impressed with the leadership abilities, intellect, and free thinking qualities of early Mormon converts. Moreover, Joseph Smith seemed to encourage these attributes in his followers by putting them in responsible positions where they could further develop these attributes.

Perhaps because of Fisher's lack of sympathy for and understanding of Mormon theology, he portrays Joseph Smith as an antiquated Elmer Gentry — but more successful because a psychotic delusion of having received revelations dominated Smith's self seeking. Fisher tries to portray Smith as having a naive but cunningly used charm but fails to capture the *charisma* of his personality as reported by Josiah Quincy and Parley P. Pratt. Moreover, Fisher fails to perceive Smith's basic humanism, reflected in his love for children and his fellowman that seems to me to dominate Smith's personality. In Rees's example of Fisher's description of the mobbing of Joseph Smith, Fisher captures the action of the moment for Smith but not the tragedy of the event for him. The death of one of the adopted twins from exposure that night came as a deep personal loss to Joseph Smith. But by rapidly passing over this part of the story as if it made little difference to Joseph Smith, Fisher gives Smith an air of selfishness that history fails to reveal. Moreover, Joseph Smith made lasting friends of men of strong personality because of the love and trust he bore his companions. Consequently, I doubt if he was as indifferent to Rigdon's beating that same night as Fisher seems to imply in his description of the event. It was this facet of love in Smith's personality which helped to hold the Church together during and after his death.

These faults continue through the book but become less severe after Brigham Young takes Smith's place as leader. Perhaps Fisher is sympathetic to Young because he can better understand a successful colonizer than he can a successful prophet. In the twentieth century world of ideas and experience colonizers are essentially the same as dynasty founding businessmen and Fisher admiringly portrays Brigham Young in this way. Successful prophets have no such honor in our modern age because there is no honorific calling corresponding to them. Also the faults are less because Fisher no longer has the problem of converts and explaining how men who prove to be capable leaders are so gullible that they accept Mormonism. Men — even successful men — are slaves to their upbringing.

Similar faults mar De Voto's work on the Mormons. He similarly deals with incidents of Mormon history but ignores the underlying philosophy and theology that attracts and holds its adherents. Perhaps now that Stirling McMurrin has published essays on Mormon Philosophy and theology, novelists fictionalizing Mormon history will be better informed and more sympathetic. However, I doubt if McMurrin has received much notice, even among Mormons.

There is a good deal of history in fiction and certainly there is imaginative writing in worthwhile histories. Fiction, however, because it relies so heavily on its authors' imaginations, forces them to display whatever prejudices and preceptions they have as part of the perspective they have of events or individuals they portray. The lasting appeal of this work depends on how valid their perspective is in terms of human nature. Historians, on the other hand, are expected to tell their stories with accuracy of detail and be able to reach beyond their personal prejudices in making their observations and reaching their conclusions. My overall impression of Fisher's book is that his perspective on Mormons is limited to an imperfect recital of events in their history. He simply has few worthwhile observations to make about the characters of their leaders or their doctrine. Fisher is a technically good writer capable of producing an exciting-to-read book. Many similarly gifted authors in recent times have caught the public's attention and won awards. I fear that few of these authors' works will survive the test of appealing to generations of readers. In this vein, Fisher's book has long been out of print.

Sincerely,

Stephen L. Gardner
Dallas, Texas

SAINTS, CITIES, AND SECULARISM: RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR OF MODERN URBAN MORMONS

ARMAND L. MAUSS

> The fertility of the [Utah] land has been outstripped by the fertility of the people. The sons and daughters born so strangely stalwart from the loins of Eastern and European converts . . . today are migrating from the state, bringing their strength, their vigor, and their eager ambition to the great cities of either coast. They go like a lifeblood, from wounds that Utah hopes one day to close.[1]

This poignant observation by Dale L. Morgan was written even before World War II, and the erstwhile Utah sons and daughters spoken of are themselves now grandparents. Moreover, it is doubtful that anyone any longer has any hopes of closing the "wounds" through which they departed. Indeed, the "wounds" have long since come to be regarded instead as gateways to worldly opportunity. With worldly opportunity has come worldly achievement, which has in turn brought worldly respectability; and respectability is always a problem for a "peculiar people."

As we approach the sesquicentennial of the origin of Mormonism, we might well wonder how the Latter-day Saints have changed since the days when the Prophet Joseph Smith characterized us (in Peter's terms) as "a peculiar people." Some would say that Mormons have remained peculiar in the sense of being *eccentric* (or quaint) in the modern secular world, what with our no-coffee-and-no-tea, tithing, temples, fertility, and "unliberated" women. Odd as such Mormon traits may appear to some outsiders, they are generally regarded on the inside as symbolic of a profound religious and theological separation from the world, a separation that makes us truly "peculiar" in the sense of being *unique*. But just how unique are we now in the ways that really count, and how unique are we likely to be a generation hence?

Secularization and Survival

If Mormonism has not been changed noticeably by its encounter with the modern urban world, then it will certainly have to be considered an unusual historical phenomenon on that grounds alone, for few religious movements have survived without coming to terms with their surrounding culture (except, of course, by prolonged geographical separation). O'Dea developed the intriguing and plausible thesis that Mormonism escaped the fate suffered by most new sects largely through its relative isolation during the second half of the last century in remote Utah, where it came near to developing a separate

sense of nationality.[2] This constituted, however, only a temporary exception to the rule that historically secularization has been the only alternative to annihilation; yet, ironically, secularization is itself part of the process of annihilation (loss of unique identity), especially given the seemingly irresistible assimilationist tendencies of modern urban societies.[3]

Like many other terms in the currently popular jargon, "secularization" means somewhat different things to different people, and some commentators question whether it means anything at all.[4] For the purposes of this article, I shall use the term to refer to the process of assimilation to worldly conventions by Mormons originally separated from the surrounding society and at odds with its conventions. In other words, secularization is a loss of "peculiarity," as the price for survival and respectability. In a society which rewards rationalism, pragmatism, and materialism, secularization implies not only compromise and accommodation, but also "demythologization" and an orientation *primarily* to *this* world as opposed to the other world. Secularization implies further an attitude on the part of individuals as well as organizations which looks *mainly* to science and to the "wisdom of men" for guidance, rather than to revelation; an attitude which defines even the ministry of the churches themselves as relevant to *this* world rather than to the next world. The "social gospel" takes precedence over spiritual rebirth.[5] Recent empirical research and social commentary have made abundantly clear mainstream Christianity's increasing secularization in the terms described in this paragraph.[6] Most of the literature on secularization would lead us to expect the same to be true of Mormons. But is it?

Empirical Research on Mormon Secularization

Little research on the Mormons relates to this question. Systematic *empirical* research, indeed, is practically non-existent, and what there is leaves the secularization question unanswered. Two Mormon sociologists, Glenn M. Vernon and Wilford E. Smith, conducted pioneering empirical work on Mormon religious beliefs and behavior in the 1950's. Vernon, using northern Idaho data, looked at the relation between social background and orthodoxy. He found that orthodoxy is in large part a function of age, sex, social class, convert background, and missionary experience. While Vernon was not dealing with the issue of secularization as such, he did identify certain factors which, because they are *negatively* related to *orthodoxy*, are, in my terms, *positively* related to secularization (e.g., certain levels of age and income). Of course, he identified other factors (e.g., missionary experience) as negatively related to secularization because they are positively related to orthodoxy.[7] Smith's work, on the other hand, bears directly on the question of secularization. In the earlier of his two studies, he compared Utah Mormons and non-Utah Mormons with regard to a number of religious practices and beliefs (e.g., Word of Wisdom, tithing, sexual behavior, etc.) and concluded that little or no difference existed between the two samples.[8] As Smith pointed out, however, confidence in these findings is severely limited by the small sizes of the samples and by their limited base (all college students). His later work, based on much larger and more variegated samples in Utah, Arizona, and California, found that a secular urban environment definitely threatens observance of the Word of Wisdom.[9]

Nels Anderson and William DeHart found such Mormon family norms as large families and a patriarchal division of labor intact a generation ago.[10] However, a few years later (in the 1950's) Lowry Nelson found that family size was tending to decrease with greater education among Mormons, as has been the case with other Americans, and Victor Christopherson found some waning of patriarchal authority.[11] As for Mormon economic norms, Leonard Arrington has argued that the early Mormon emphasis on cooperation and stewardship has long since given way to the private property orientation of the general American culture.[12] In a complementary finding by C. L. Anderson, we have evidence also that Mormons no longer differ from non-Mormons on social welfare policy.[13] Furthermore, from a political standpoint, while Mormons probably have rather a conservative national image, their actual party affiliations do not seem to be distributed very differently from those of Americans in general, according to a 1965 report by Victor Cline and James Edwards.[14]

Much of the above-cited work, then, provides evidence of growing Mormon secularization. On the other hand, evidence exists for considerable *resistance* to secularization in some important respects, particularly in matters of family, sex roles, and sexual morality. Concerning sexual morality, Harold T. Christensen's comparisons (a decade ago) of Mormons, other Americans, and Scandinavians, showed that traditional chastity norms were still comparatively strong among Mormon youth, in both belief and practice. Moreover, the gap between belief and practice caused more guilt for Mormon youth than for others.[15] More recently, Phillip Kunz found divorce rates quite low for Mormons, particularly for those with temple marriages,[16] while Wise and Carter found Mormon daughters *at least* as traditionally and domestically oriented as their mothers in the homemaker role and in the tendency to defer to their husband's expectations.[17] And Kunz elsewhere found Mormon parents rather traditional in their child-rearing patterns.[18]

Beyond family matters, a study by C. H. Anderson on "community" among Mormons (i.e., in-group friendships, marriages, etc.) shows that the sense of community and the inner bonds (which help to resist secularization) are stronger among Mormons than among Protestants or Catholics, even in cities where each is dominant and therefore free of discrimination.[19] In a study of religious beliefs among various denominations and the non-affiliated, Glenn Vernon found Mormons comparatively high in their belief in God and in their tendency to report spiritual experiences, all of which would be counterindicative of what I am calling secularization.[20] At the same time, however, it is apparent from an intensive study by Cline and Richards (with a mostly Mormon sample) that the *connection between* belief and behavior is a highly problematic one affected by certain variables such as sex. The connection is much weaker for men.[21]

All in all, then, there is evidence pro and con on the matter of secularization among modern Mormons. The findings of all of the work surveyed above (either pro or con) must be considered and qualified in the light of the kinds of samples on which they were based, the kinds of indicators and measures used for the factors being studied, and many other contingencies.[22] Quite aside from empirical evidence, we must be cautious not to apply my hypothesis indiscriminately without regard for time and place. For example, John Sorenson has suggested that Mormons who live in California and in other regions outside

the mountain "heartland" might be affected by a "colonial" or "enclave" mentality, which would slow down the secularization process.[23] Reference has already been made to Thomas O'Dea's contention that two generations of Utah isolation prevented "sectarian stagnation" from occurring among the Mormons by the early part of the present century,[24] and O'Dea elsewhere has emphasized the importance of geographic isolation from the heartland as a deterrent to secularization.[25] He reviewed a somewhat earlier (and classical) work by Lowry Nelson on the Mormon village, in which Nelson had found extensive secularization occurring even in rural areas of traditional Mormon territory.[26] O'Dea then contrasted the circumstances of Nelson's village with those of "Rimrock," an isolated Mormon village in New Mexico, and concluded that the strongly traditional (and I would say "anti-secular") religious style of Rimrock was a function largely of its isolation, which not only prevented its assimilation into the larger culture, but also encouraged a high degree of social solidarity and homogeneity within the village. Clearly, then, it makes a difference whether one is speaking about isolated Mormon enclaves or urban Mormon wards. I shall be dealing with the latter, which comprise the overwhelming majority of the modern Church.

Recent Survey Data on Urban Mormons

The following data on secularization have been collected from Salt Lake City and from a Pacific coastal city.[27] Their chief interest lies in the comparison between Salt Lake City and "Coastal City" Mormons,[28] plus the contrast that will occasionally be made between those two Mormon groups, on the one hand, and some Catholic and Protestant data from Northern California, on the other hand. The *meaning* of those contrasts and comparisons (especially the intra-Mormon ones) is a critical point here. We shall see that in general the Coastal City saints show noticeably higher levels of secularization, and lower levels of traditional religious commitment, than do the Salt Lake City saints (at least as these tendencies are operationally defined here). We shall see also that in certain ways the beliefs of the Coastal City saints more closely resemble those of "mainstream" Protestants and Catholics than do the beliefs of the Salt Lake City saints. But what do such findings *mean*, particularly in light of the secularization issue? In large part, the reader's answer to that question will determine for him the significance of this entire article.[29]

On Being "Religious" and Being "Secular"

To speak of being "secularized" or "secular" is usually to imply being something other than "religious." Rather than engage in semantic arguments, let me point out that in the process of data gathering and analysis, *operational* definitions of a concept are more important, and my operational definitions will shortly become clear from the data presented herein.

Perhaps the most comprehensive operational definition of "religious" in contemporary sociological literature is to be found in the work of C. Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, who demonstrate both theoretically and empirically that there are different *ways* of being religious; and while these different ways might be quite highly intercorrelated, their degree of overlap is small enough

TABLE 1:

LDS Samples Compared

Denominations:	Congreg.	Meth.	Episc.	Disc. of Christ
Percents saying, "I know God really exists and I have no doubts about it."	41%	60%	63%	76%
Percents saying "definitely true" to "God is a real, glorified person with a body of flesh and bone." (LDS only).			—	—
N (100%) =	151	415	416	50

*Data on Protestants and Catholics come from Rodney Stark and C. Y. Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley, U.C. Press, 1968), page 28.

TABLE 2:

Denominations:*	Congreg.	Meth.	Episc.	Disc. of Christ
Orthodoxy Index:				
High 4	4%	10%	14%	18%
3	18	20	23	36
2	18	23	21	23
1	12	17	18	7
Low 0	48	30	24	16
N (100%) =	141	381	373	44

*Data on Protestants and Catholics come from Rodney Stark and C. Y. Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley, U.C. Press, 1968), page 60.

to justify treating them as essentially independent factors.[30] Glock and Stark have devised measures (based on questionnaire items) for five "dimensions of religiosity:" belief, practice, experience, knowledge, and consequence. We will be dealing here primarily with the first two of these "dimensions." Let us begin with *orthodoxy*, which is defined strictly in terms of belief.

The simplest indicators of orthodoxy (though these are not sufficient) are responses to individual statements of belief. Take, for example, the orthodox Mormon statement about God which I used in my questionnaire: "God is a real, glorified person with a body of flesh and bone." Table 1 shows the proportions of my SLC and CC samples which responded "definitely true" to that statement, compared to the percentages of Roman Catholics and certain Protestant denominations who gave correspondingly definite responses to

BELIEF IN GOD

with Other Denominations*

Presb.	Am. Luth.	Am. Bapt.	Mo. Luth.	So. Bapt.	Sects	Total Prot.	Rom. Cath.	LDS SLC	CC
75%	73%	78%	81%	99%	96%	71%	81%		
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	77%	58%
495	208	141	116	79	255	2,326	545	958	296

ORTHODOXY LEVELS

Presb.	Am. Luth.	Am. Bapt.	Mo. Luth.	So. Bapt.	Sects	Total Prot.	Rom. Cath.	LDS SLC	CC
27%	43%	43%	66%	88%	86%	33%	62%	64%	43%
29	20	20	21	9	10	21	19	10	11
16	12	18	7	3	3	16	6	5	6
12	12	7	5	0	0	12	4	4	6
16	13	12	1	0	1	18	9	10	26
457	195	130	111	76	247	2,155	500	898	273

equivalent (traditional Christian) statements about God in the Glock and Stark survey.[31] Summarizing the findings in Table 1, about *one-fourth* of the SLC saints, and *two-fifths* of the CC saints, have at least some reservations about the traditional Church teaching on God, and cannot be classed as "orthodox." Since these proportions are comparable to those of the "mainstream" American denominations generally (and, in the CC case, well below the American average), one could regard the Table 1 figures as indicative of some degree of Mormon "secularization." It is interesting that in comparing the two Mormon samples with the other Christian samples, the Mormon samples maintained almost as high a frequency of belief in the Devil as of belief in God — rather somewhat counterindicative of secularization.[32]

Any one belief, however, is a rather limited measure of orthodoxy. A much

TABLE 3:

Q: HAVE YOU EVER HAD —	Congreg.	Meth.	Episc.	Disc. of Christ
"A sense of being saved in Christ"?				
Percents answering				
"Yes, I'm sure I have"	9%	18%	20%	34%
"Yes, I think I have"	19	28	24	38
"A sure testimony, through the Holy Ghost, of the truth of the Restored Gospel?" (LDS only).				
Percents answering				
"Yes, I'm sure I have"				
"Yes, I think I have"				
N (100%) = (same as Table 1)				

*Data on Protestants and Catholics come from Rodney Stark and C. Y. Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley, U.C. Press, 1968), page 133.

more comprehensive measure is provided by a *composite index* based on several beliefs. Table 2 shows the distributions on such an index of the two Mormon samples in comparison with other denominational samples taken again from the Glock and Stark study.[33] The Index of Orthodoxy for Mormons is based upon four items: belief in God, belief in the literal divinity of Jesus, belief in an actual personal Devil, and belief in Joseph Smith's first vision. For the other denominations the composition of the Index is somewhat different but comparable. Note in particular the changes in the figures from Table 1 to Table 2. Most denominations, however, drop much more drastically than do the L.D.S., indicating that the maintenance of traditional beliefs *aside from* belief in God is much more problematic for those other denominations than for Mormons. In this kind of comparison, then, Mormons appear much *less secularized* than others.[34]

Spiritual experiences, much emphasized in the Mormon tradition, are certainly indicative of resistance to secularization; they are probably among the first elements of "religiosity" to disappear under the onslaught of secularization (even before an intellectual change of actual belief). The most common spiritual experience of which Mormons are likely to speak (especially on Fast Sunday) is that of testimony. One part of my questionnaire asked the respondents whether they had ever had certain spiritual experiences (including the acquisition of a testimony), and how certain they were of such experiences. When compared to Stark and Glock's data, both Mormon samples would be somewhere in the middle with their responses about "testimony," which would make them appear more "secularized" in this respect than the evangelical denominations. If waning certainty about the witness of the Spirit is an indi-

*SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES**

Presb.	Am. Luth.	Am. Bapt.	Mo. Luth.	So. Bapt.	Sects	Total Prot.	Rom. Cath.	LDS SLC	CC
31%	37%	56%	52%	92%	85%	37%	26%		
27	25	20	31	5	9	23	22		
								51%	36%
								22	20

cator of secularization, one would have to regard the CC saints as more secular than their SLC brothers and as equally secular to other Christians on the average.[35]

Still another aspect of religious belief and attitudes is "personal pietism," referring to certain obligations of a behavioral kind which a believer feels he owes the Lord as His disciple. For Mormons these obligations would include observance of the Word of Wisdom, keeping the Sabbath Day holy, paying tithing, and the like. My questionnaire contained a section in which the respondent was asked to indicate "how serious" he thought each of several kinds of infractions might be in the Lord's eyes. He could answer for each infraction in one of four categories ranging from "very serious" to "scarcely matters at all." The infraction most frequently rated "very serious" was "Having sex relations after marriage with someone other than spouse" (90% in SLC and 79% in CC); the one least frequently so rated was "Watching ball games on TV on Sunday" (6% in SLC and 4% in CC). Middle range infractions included "Drinking coffee" (22% in SLC and 15% in CC); "Paying an incomplete tithing" (43% in SLC and 29% in CC); and "Taking the Lord's name in vain" (68% in SLC and 50% in CC). Table 4 shows the distributions of the SLC and the CC samples on a composite *Index* of Personal Pietism, based upon responses to *nine* pietism items in which respondents were given a score of 2 for each "very serious" answer and a score of 1 for each "fairly serious" answer.

Once again we find the CC saints occupying a much more "secular" distribution than the SLC saints on the index. At the highest level of the index are those respondents (23% in SLC *vs.* 10% in CC) who found *almost all* of the infractions "very serious." Table 4, incidentally, demonstrates the lack of

concensus on the importance of pietistic observances among Latter-day Saints in *either* city.[36] (No comparable figures on pietism for other Christians are available at this time).

TABLE 4: *LEVELS OF PERSONAL PIETISM**

Pietism Index:		SLC	CC
Very Low	(0-4)	15%	33%
	(5-8)	17	15
	(9-11)	19	16
	(12-14)	18	11
Very High	(15-18)	23	10
N (100%) =		958	296

*In this and other tables involving an index, percents will often fail to total 100% because incomplete responses by some of the cases make them non-ratable on the index.

So far we have been treating "secularization" *operationally* as simply the relative absence of *adherence to traditional religious beliefs* regarding theology, spiritual experiences, and personal pietism. The inference has been drawn quite explicitly that such adherence has a kind of "reciprocal" relationship with secularism, so that as the one goes down the other goes up. In other words, one is defined as "secular" to the extent that he is *not* "religious" according to the measures and criteria here employed. It is possible, however, to devise a more *direct* measure of secularism from some of the items in my questionnaire. On one item the respondents were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement to the proposition: "The LDS and other churches must adapt themselves and their teachings to the findings of modern science and modern developments." This is a "secular" statement by most definitions because it clearly

TABLE 6:

*Denominations:**	Congreg.	Meth.	Episc.	Disc. of Christ
Percents claiming attendance at "worship services" (or, for LDS, "Sacrament Service") weekly or nearly weekly:	45%	51%	56%	68%
N (100%) =	151	415	416	50

*Data on Protestants and Catholics come from Rodney Stark and C. Y. Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley, U.C. Press, 1968), page 84.

TABLE 5: *LEVELS OF SECULARISM*

Secularism Index:	SLC	CC
Zero 0	59%	41%
1	22	22
2	8	16
High 3	5	15
N (100%) =	958	296

changes the focus of religion away from divine revelation and toward "worldly wisdom." Of the SLC saints, 33% agreed with that statement "fully" or "somewhat," compared with 46% of the CC saints. As usual, however, it is preferable to have a more comprehensive and composite measure than a single question will provide. Accordingly, the SLC and CC saints have been compared by means of an *Index of Secularism*, as shown in Table 5. This Index is a composite of three items: (1) the statement quoted just above on adapting to modern science, etc. (2) a statement that the church should give less attention to preparing for the next life and more attention to contemporary social issues; and (3) a statement affirming the truth of the Darwinian theory of evolution.[37] Only persons agreeing *fully* or *definitely* to one or more of these statements was registered on this index, since agreement "somewhat" is open to too great a range of meanings. As we can see from Table 5, high standing on this index (i.e., definite agreement with all three "secular" statements) is unusual in both SLC and CC. Comparable measures are not available at this time for other Christians, but there is every indication that both Catholics and at least "mainstream" Protestants would exhibit much higher levels of secularism than do the LDS on this kind of measure.[38] One would accordingly have to regard the Latter-day Saints as essentially "other-worldly" in their religious outlooks, with large majorities of even the CC saints scoring either zero or 1 on the Index of Secularism.

ATTENDANCE AT CHURCH SERVICES

Presb.	Am. Luth.	Am. Bapt.	Mo. Luth.	So. Bapt.	Sects	Total Prot.	Rom. Cath.	LDS SLC	CC
58%	65%	75%	73%	84%	93%	63%	80%	58%	33%
495	208	141	116	79	255	2,326	545	958	296

The earlier reference to the theoretical work of Glock and Stark should perhaps be reiterated. Let us recall that they postulated (with considerable empirical support) at least *five* distinguishable "dimensions of religiosity" (i.e., five different ways of being religious).[39] We have so far dealt almost entirely with only one of those dimensions (belief), with some attention to a second one (experience). In the interest of space, we will limit our discussion of religiosity vs. secularism to one *additional* "dimension," that of *practice*. Of interest here are questions about a respondents' *behavior* (rather than beliefs), with special reference to what might be called the "ritual observances" through which one expresses his religious commitments. Perhaps the most common of these is church attendance.[40]

In this case, even the SLC figures are lower than those for other Christians (on the average), and not particularly high even among the range of the various Protestant denominations. It should, of course, be remembered that for many Latter-day Saints, "going to church once a week" means going a total of *2 or 3 times* on Sunday alone, whereas a single morning mass or service might be the norm for the other denominations. At the same time, however, many of the more evangelical denominations meet as many times on Sunday (and during the Week) as do Mormons.

Rather than rely on a single indicator of religious observance, however, let us once again apply an *Index of Ritual Practice* to our data. Since many different such observations are expected of active Latter-day Saints, this index is quite a complex one. It is derived from the frequencies of participation in sacrament services, temple sessions, private prayers, and mealtime prayers, with different weights being given in the scoring to different levels of participation in each of these activities. The most points, for example, went to those respondents who reported *at least weekly* attendance at sacrament services, *monthly* attendance at temple sessions, and daily (or nearly daily) participation in the various kinds of prayers. Lesser degrees of participation in each category received smaller scores. The result was an index with a range of zero to 18, with 12 or more points (i.e., at least 2/3 of those possible) being considered "high" in ritual practice.

TABLE 7: *RITUAL PRACTICE*

Ritual Practice Index Scores:	SLC	CC
Low (0-4)	14%	32%
(5-11)	14	15
(12-16)	28	12
High (17-18)	18	8

As Table 7 indicates, the results of comparing the SLC and the CC saints are similar to those of previous comparisons: much lower levels of "ritual religiosity" are apparent for the CC saints. Realistically, however, scores of 12 points or more are quite high. An item-by-item investigation of the responses of the two samples on the various questions making up the index showed that they were quite close in their frequencies of private prayer and of temple

attendance, (both groups live near to temples), but in all the other practices the CC saints were much lower.

A full comparison with other Christians in the Glock and Stark study is not possible this time, because the latter study employs a somewhat different (and much simpler) index of ritual observance. However, roughly comparable figures from their index (i.e., 2/3 or more of the possible points) show a range of 64% to 97% across the various Protestant denominations, with an average of 77%, and 84% for the Catholics.[41] Compared to these the L.D.S. figures do not seem very high. However, the index used for the L.D.S. samples was a more elaborate and probably harder standard against which to score high.

The Impact of Social Background Factors on Religious Commitment

Our discussion so far has dealt with Mormons as though they were one homogeneous group, except for regional differences. We have compared one sample of Mormons in Salt Lake City with another sample in "Coastal City," but *within* each sample we have made no comparisons across categories of age, sex, education, or any of the other factors which make for differences among Mormons as surely as they do among other people. To be sure, the regional factor (SLC vs. CC) has been shown to have a considerable impact, demonstrating, among other things, the hazards of making generalizations about "Mormons" without regard to where they live. We can expect certain other factors also to create important differences among Latter-day Saints. Space does not permit an elaborate analysis here, but at the most superficial level the CC sample (on the average), when compared to the SLC sample, was somewhat more female (57% in CC vs. 51% in SLC), younger (45% under 36 years of age vs. 27%), and better educated (79% with some education beyond high school vs. 67%).

With respect to the influence of these factors upon religious commitment, certain clear patterns are emerging: first of all, women are noticeably (but not overwhelmingly) more likely than men to score high on all the measures of religious commitment used here. Age too appears to be related to all of these measures, with younger Mormons somewhat less likely than older ones to be "religious" in the traditional sense, especially where church attendance is concerned. In the Glock and Stark study, education level is more highly related to declining religiosity (and advancing secularization) than is any other single factor.[42] From my data, this is not nearly so true for Mormons, for whom high religious commitment characterizes clear majorities across all levels of education. The exception is the area of pietistic observances (e.g. Word of Wisdom, tithing, etc.), where the highly educated are not only about half as likely as the poorly educated to feel that these observances are important. While the generalizations made in this paragraph are applicable to *both* the SLC and the CC samples, they are more true of the latter.

Much of what has been said here is in accord with the findings of others concerning the influence of age, sex, education, and other such social background factors upon religious commitment, but thus far such factors do not seem to weigh as heavily among Latter-day Saints as among others.[43] Many other questions about social and cultural influences remain to be investigated. One important question would be whether the CC saints are affected by sex,

age, and education in the same ways as are the SLC saints; or, in other words, what is the *combined effect* of regional differences with education, sex, and/or age. It could well be that the effect of these factors (and others such as social class) would be intensified outside the Utah environment, where Church traditions are part of the general cultural milieu. Some evidence for this suggestion comes from another study, in which it was determined that education was not nearly so important a "neutralizer" of traditional attitudes as was exposure to non-Church environments outside Utah.[44] Such would also seem to be the implication of the material presented in this paper comparing the beliefs of SLC saints with CC ones. In short, we have every reason to believe that among Mormons, as among others, the least "religious" and most "secular" church member is the highly educated young male living outside of Utah, a numerous and rapidly increasing type of Latter-day Saint. That he is probably not nearly *as* "secularized" as his Protestant or Catholic counterpart is important also, but it does not alter the apparent fact that he is headed in the same general *direction* as they are, even if more slowly.

Church Programs and Resistance to Secularization

There are, of course, many new or rejuvenated church programs intended to cope with the problem of growing secularization among the saints. Two of these in particular, the Seminary-Institute Program and the Family Home Evening Program, are attacking the problem in probably a strategically sound fashion — i.e., in those social institutions that have the greatest socializing

impact (family and education). Just how *effective* these programs are, however, is another question. According to the responses given in my survey, only 20% of the SLC saints and a mere 5% of the CC saints claimed to be holding Family Home Evening as often as weekly or almost weekly. In both samples, about one-fourth of the respondents failed to answer that particular question, which might mean that they did not think the question applicable to them (because they were single, childless, older, or for some other reason). Of course, additional respondents claimed monthly, twice monthly, or some other occasional frequency for their Family Home Evening participation, but the *most frequent* single response to the question was *"seldom or never"* (30% in SLC and 62% in CC). The data for these figures were gathered about 4 years ago, and it may well be that levels of participation in Family Home Evening have increased considerably since then, but such low figures even at that time do not augur well for the program. A Master's thesis which investigated the subject much more deeply with the same data identified the major correlates of participation in Family Home Evening among the SLC saints. Among the more interesting findings were: (1) the saints most likely to participate regularly in Family Home Evening were those who were high on the Index of Ritual Practice, or in other words, those who were also participating regularly in the other meetings and programs of the Church (but *not* necessarily those who were highest in orthodoxy or the other "dimensions of religiosity"). (2) Even among those in the highest category of ritual practice (i.e., those most "active" in the Church), the level of regular Family Home Evening participation did not exceed 40%.[45]

With respect to the religious education program of the Church (seminary and institute), there is again a rather moot question as to real effectiveness in the struggle against secularism. Leaving aside questions concerning the nature and quality of the instruction (which also need to be answered, of course), *quantitative* (i.e., statistical) questions can be raised and, in part, answered. For example, with what *proportion* of L.D.S. students does seminary and institute have an *independent* impact in promoting testimonies and religious commitment generally? By "independent impact" we mean *beyond* what can already be attributed to other agencies such as the home, church auxiliaries, etc. This is a question which is never really addressed in the statistics that are so often cited by the Church Education Department during their seminary recruitment drives. These statistics often purport to show that students who attend seminary are much more likely than other L.D.S. youth to go on missions, get married in the temple, etc., presumably *because* of the seminary experience. There is an element of spuriousness in this reasoning, however, unless one is comparing seminary youth with non-seminary youth *from equally active homes*. In other words, there is reason to believe that L.D.S. youth from active homes go to seminary *and* go on missions *and* get married in the temple, and that seminary itself has no *separate* or independent weight in the process beyond that which already comes from the home. Such, indeed, was the general conclusion of the Catholic sociologist Andrew Greeley, who researched this question with respect to *parochial schools*. He found that Catholic youngsters from devout Catholic homes were likely to become devout Catholic adults themselves, *whether or not* they went to parochial schools; and that the opposite outcome could be expected from non-devout homes, again with or without parochial education.[46]

My own survey data enabled me to investigate the influence of seminary and institute experience from this same point of view. I devised an index to measure the activity and devoutness of the childhood home background of my various respondents, and then I "controlled" for that factor in checking the relationship between youthful seminary participation and later adult religious commitment. In other words, I analyzed the impact of seminary (upon adult religious life) *at each level* of religious activity of the home background, and my results were very similar to what Greeley had found for the Catholic parochial school graduates. That is, I found that respondents who had come from active L.D.S. homes were very likely to be active L.D.S. adults (and to have had missions, etc.), *without regard* to how much *seminary* experience they had had. On the other hand, those who had come from religiously inactive homes were much more likely to be inactive as adults, again without regard to seminary experience. There was strong evidence, however, that *institute* experience *did* have an impact beyond that of the family or other agencies, probably because institute is voluntary in the real sense of that word and tends to recruit students with a greater receptiveness to its educational efforts than seminary students are likely to have. Interestingly enough, the *greatest* single impact upon adult religious devoutness, beyond the home influence itself, (according to these data and measures) came from *missionary experience*, which was much more likely *than seminary and institute combined* to have an independent influence on a person's adult religious attitudes. This finding suggests that the major components in the socialization or indoctrination process for Mormon youth are the *home* and the *mission*, with some independent input from institute, but almost *none* from seminary.[47] This is not to say that seminary is not a critical factor in certain *individual* cases (it undoubtedly is), but if so, its effect would seem to be negative about as often as it is positive, for *on the average* its impact is negligible according to these particular measures.

The data and observations presented in the last few paragraphs are in no way intended as an indictment of the Church's family and educational programs. (Indeed, my family and I have all been active participants both in seminary and in family home evening). The questions of effectiveness which I have raised about these programs come from hard data, not from the carping criticisms of the disaffected, nor from the syrupy, spurious statistics of self-interested apologists. To those, above all, who are interested in resisting the secularization process so evident among Mormons as among others, it would seem that factual data, even if it hurts, should be of the most critical importance. If there is evidence that participation in Family Home Evening runs well below 50% especially in the outlying urban areas where (presumably) it is "needed the most," then that is worth knowing and investigating with some care. If the seminary program (which I take to be an extremely expensive one) is having minimal independent impact on the religious socialization of Mormon youth, then the educational administrators of the Church, more than anyone else, might do well to raise and investigate thoroughly the question of whether the seminary program should be abolished or be fundamentally revised. The data from my surveys, as well as the historical experience of the Latter-day Saints and other religious bodies, all suggest clearly that the secularization process is having its effect on all of us; and if the church programs (e.g., for family and

for religious education) which are intended to cope with that process are not maximally effective, they will be regarded by history not as fortresses of the faith, but merely as additional symptoms of the inroads of secularization.

Concluding Observations

The readers who have been generous enough to follow me this far have been exposed to a great variety of data and observations about the "state of the saints" in the late 1960's. To those who (understandably) are feeling a certain degree of intellectual indigestion, let me say that time and some re-reading should bring a more thorough and satisfying assimilation.

I began this article with a theoretical framework which would postulate that the Latter-day Saints, like other surviving religious movements, are joining the great American "melting pot." The data presented here (and in my previous *Dialogue* article) seem generally to have supported such a postulate. While Mormonism continues to show an immense vitality and comparative resistance to the secularization process, yet Mormons are coming to resemble other urban Americans increasingly (1) in levels of belief in traditional religious doctrines, (2) in political outlooks, and (3) in crucial social attitudes such as those regarding ethnic minorities.[48] My claim for such a trend rests primarily upon the findings that (1) the proportion of the Mormons living in urban areas outside the Mountain West is large and is increasing; that (2) such "outlying urban" Mormons rate much higher on measures of secularization than do their Utah brethren; and that (3) the Mormons of the future (i.e. those now young) demonstrate higher levels of secularization than do their parents and grandparents. The varieties of data which I have presented in this paper have sometimes born directly upon these questions and have supported the secularization postulate convincingly; at other times, the data have been more suggestive or indicative than conclusive.

An extensive geographical study of the Mormons a few years ago concluded with a summary that is perhaps equally appropriate for this paper:

> Geographically, the most significant trend in Mormon culture is the fact that the greatest growth in membership is taking place beyond the limits of the historic Mormon culture region, that is, in areas which it cannot hope to dominate. It does not take much foresight to realize that California will someday have more Mormons than Utah . . . , but it is essential also to realize that California cannot be captured, for it can only be adjusted to.[49]

I, for one, take no particular delight in the contemplation of this projection. Today, as in Nephi's time, it will be only at the peril of oblivion that the "peculiar people" will murmur "all is well in Zion."

[1]Dale L. Morgan, "The Contemporary Scene" (1941), in William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1958), p. 474.

[2]Thomas F. O'Dea, "Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation: A Study of Church, Sect, and Incipient Nationality," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (November, 1954), 285-293.

[3]I have elsewhere proposed a modest theoretical scheme for understanding the assimilation process in the United States as it occurs to radical *political* movements, but the scheme is equally applicable to religious movements. (See Armand L. Mauss, "On Being Strangled by the Stars and Stripes: The New Left, the Old Left, and the Natural History of American Radical Movements," *The Journal of Social Issues*, 27:1 [1971], 183-202). While one may not be justified in equating secularization with assimilation *in general*, I do so here on the basis of an assumption that increasing secularization is the trend in American society. To the extent that one can accept that assumption, one can also hold that increasing assimilation and secularization for American Mormons are at least *concomitant* (if not identical) processes.

[4]See, e.g., entire issue of the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 6 (Spring, 1967), including various articles on the secularization question; also, in the *same journal*, Richard K. Fenn, "The Process of Secularization: a Post-Parsonian View," 9 (Summer, 1970), 117-136; and section entitled, "The Sacred Canopy Becoming the Mantle of Man: More Observations on 'secularization'," 10 (Spring, 1971), 1-36.

[5]The process that today we call "secularization" has long been recognized in social theory. More than a half century ago, Ernst Troeltsch (drawing upon the thought of his colleague and mentor, Max Weber) set forth his classical dichotomy of *sect* vs. *church*, and since then a sizeable body of theoretical and empirical literature has accumulated to refine and elaborate upon the original scheme. See Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, trans. Olive Wyon (New York: Macmillan, 1931), Vol. 2. See also the splendid review of more recent literature on the topic in Benton Johnson, "On Church and Sect," *American Sociological Review* 28 (August, 1963), 539-549; and Paul M. Gustafson, *et al.*, "Reappraisal of Church-Sect Typology," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 6 (April, 1967), 64-90; also, Benton Johnson, "Church and Sect Revisited," and J. K. Benson & J. H. Dorsett, "Toward a Theory of Religious Organizations," both in the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 10 (Summer, 1971), 124-151. Among the main characteristics of the "church" type of religious organization are a formal bureaucratic structure (usually implying a professional clergy), highly developed liturgy and ritual, membership growth mostly from natural increase, a high degree of affluence both individually and collectively (as a church), and an accommodation with the "establishment" such that the church members generally hold the prevailing social and political values of the society. The "sect" type of religion, by contrast, emphasizes informal and charismatic leadership, emotional fervor, active proselyting, working-class and lower-class social base with a general lack of affluence, and a separation and renunciation of the world and of the "establishment" (including established churches), rather than compromise or accommodation.

In one sense, "church" and "sect" can be regarded as theoretically "pure" abstractions or "ideal types" against which to compare actual religious bodies according to their degrees of "churchness" or "sectness," which is to imply that the various denominations and groups in the real world would form a kind of *continuum* between the church/sect poles. In another sense, however, this scheme can be conceived as a *chronological* or historical continuum describing the typical "natural history" of a religious body from its inception as a sect to its eventual emergence as a church which has made its peace with the establishment. Many intervening variables would determine the pace and the style of this evolutionary process (e.g., O'Dea's treatment of the Mormon experience above mentioned), but this conceptualization postulates that every new religious sect (or new political sect, for that matter) which is not simply des-

troyed by its "host society" will have to make its accommodation with that society as the price for survival and respectability. It is in this last postulate, of course, that we have the connection between "sect-church theory" and the notion of "secularization."

[6]See, e.g., W. Seward Salisbury, "Religion and Secularization," *Social Forces*, 36 (March, 1958), 197-205; and Rodney Stark & Charles Y. Glock, *American Piety: the Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), esp. Chapter 11.

[7]Glenn M. Vernon, "Background Factors Related to Church Orthodoxy," *Social Forces*, 34 (March, 1956), 252-254.

[8]Wilford E. Smith, "A Comparative Study of Indulgence of Mormon and Non-Mormon Students in Certain Social Practices which are Authoritatively Condemned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1952).

[9]Wilford E. Smith, "The Urban Threat to Mormon Norms," *Rural Sociology*, 24 (December, 1959), 335-361.

[10]Nels Anderson, "The Mormon Family," *American Sociological Review*, 2 (October, 1937), 601-608; and William DeHart, "Fertility of Mormons in Utah and Adjacent States," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (December, 1941), 818-829.

[11]Victor A. Christopherson, "An Investigation of Patriarchal Authority in the Mormon Family," *Marriage and Family Living*, 18 (November, 1956), 328-333; and Lowry Nelson, "Education and the Changing Size of Mormon Families," *Rural Sociology*, 17 (December, 1952), 335-342.

[12]Leonard J. Arrington, "Property Among the Mormons," *Rural Sociology*, 16 (1951), 339-352.

[13]C. LeRoy Anderson, "A Preliminary Study of Generational Economic Dependency Orientations," *Social Forces*, 45 (June, 1967), 516-520.

[14]Victor Cline and James M. Richards, Jr., "A Factor-Analytic Study of Religious Belief and Behavior," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1 (1965); 569-578; see also my "Moderation in All Things" in the last issue of *Dialogue*.

[15]Harold T. Christensen, "Scandinavian and American Sex Norms: Some Comparisons, with Sociological Implications," *Journal of Social Issues*, 22 (April, 1966), 60-75; see also the same author with George R. Carpenter, "Value-Behavior Discrepancies Regarding Premarital Coitus in Three Western Cultures," *American Sociological Review*, 27 (February, 1962), 66-74.

[16]Phillip R. Kunz, "Mormon and Non-Mormon Divorce Patterns," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 26 (May, 1964), 211-213.

[17]Genevieve M. Wise and Don C. Carter, "A Definition of the Role of Homemaker by Two Generations of Women," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 27 (Nov., 1965), 531-532.

[18]Phillip R. Kunz, "Religious Influences on Parental Discipline and Achievement Demands," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 25 (May, 1963), 224-225.

[19]Charles H. Anderson, "Religious Communality Among White Protestant, Catholics, and Mormons," *Social Forces*, 46 (June, 1968), 501-508.

[20]Glenn M. Vernon, "The Religious 'Nones': A Neglected Category," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 7 (Fall, 1968), 219-229.

[21]Cline and Richards, *op. cit.*

[22]I might add, incidentally, that while I have gone through the relevant published literature, there may have been more research that I should have considered in my discussion, including some unpublished dissertations or theses which might have had some bearing upon the questions I have raised, particularly those by G. Byron Done and John L. Sorenson.

[23]John L. Sorenson, "The Recent Growth of the LDS Church in California" (1967), an unpublished paper, much of which was presented at the August 28, 1967, meeting of the Mormon History Association at Stanford University.

[24]Thomas F. O'Dea, *op. cit.*, fn. 2.

[25]Thomas F. O'Dea, "The Effects of Geographical Position on Belief and Behavior in a Rural Mormon Village," *Rural Sociology*, 19 (December, 1954), 358-364.

[26]Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952).

[27]Please refer to my article in the last issue of *Dialogue* for a more thorough description of

the samples and the sampling system. ("Moderation in All Things: Political and Social Outlooks of Modern Urban Mormons," *Dialogue*, 7 (Spring 1972), note 3). The sampling and methodological procedures used in my work are modeled after those of C. Y. Glock and Rodney Stark in their large study of Northern California Protestants and Catholics. (See esp. the appendices to Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism* [New York: Harper and Row, 1966]).

[28]For reasons mentioned in my previous article, I will not identify "Coastal City," but in light of some of the concerns expressed about this sample by pre-publication editorial critics, let me assure readers that the city in question is neither Berkeley nor any other East Bay city.

[29]The meaning which I shall attach to these findings for purposes of this article is simply that the Salt Lake City saints represent Mormonism of the contemporary "establishment" *type* (i.e., where the *church* is part of the establishment and strongly influences the social, political, cultural, and ideological environments); Utah Mormonism might also be conceived as a kind of residue of the earlier sect-like faith that was brought there from Nauvoo. Coastal City Mormonism, on the other hand, represents the outlook of contemporary "outland" saints, who are very much in the minority in their respective areas and are subjected to much stronger assimilationist pressures from the surrounding society than are the Utah saints. Furthermore — and this is the most crucial point — the Coastal City saints may represent "modal Mormonism" of the future (Mormonism being here considered as *what most Mormons believe*, rather than what the Church has traditionally taught), if only because the proportion of Mormons living in such settings is now approaching two-thirds and is still growing. (D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 55 (June, 1965), 191-220). That the Coastal City saints are, on the average, a much *younger* population than the Utah saints also argues for looking at them as the harbinger of the future. In other words, Coastal City Mormons stand toward the right-hand pole or *extremity* of a continuum of secularization along which the whole Church is moving (and probably has been moving during this entire century).

To be sure, my assertion for this kind of meaning in the comparison of Salt Lake City and Coastal City saints is arguable, and one reason, I might admit, that it is arguable is that Coastal City has the reputation generally of being a rather liberal cultural setting, so it may be too extreme an example of the *near* future; but even so, it may well define the *direction* of the evolution of Mormonism. Of course, the *ideal* kind of data for establishing this direction would be "longitudinal" data — i.e., data gathered at intervals over time from the same sample. Almost as good would be *historically comparable* data, in which measures of secularizing tendencies applied to a sample in the past could be replicated with a similar sample in the present. My own rather extensive research convinces me that no data are in existence that would make possible either of these two preferable approaches. What I am here proposing, then, with the theoretical rationale on which it is based, constitutes the "best available" approach to the question of growing Mormon secularization, rather than the "ideal" approach. If the reader can accept my rationale, then he can accept my conclusions; if not, he is welcome to offer his own meaning for my findings.

Any body of empirical data must be subjected to *some* kind of theoretical framework if it is to be invested with *meaning* or *interpretation* (as opposed to mere information). Obviously, alternative interpretations of my findings are possible, and I welcome dialogue over them. To my critics I respectfully suggest that neither my data nor my theoretical perspective can be very effectively impeached simply by pointing to their deficiencies. Far more constructive will be the offering of alternative theoretical schemes, and/or bodies of data. One alternative meaning which I had hoped I would never have to confront from (of all people!) *Dialogue* readers was offered me by an editorial critic who, fortunately, remains anonymous to me. He suggested, in effect, that Coastal City Mormons were almost bound, by definition, to be less "religious" (or more "secular") than their Salt Lake City counterparts because of a kind of self-selection process, according to which the less committed L.D.S. have "moved out of the system" by leaving Utah and going to the coast! This "explanation" strikes me as not only naive, and scarcely confirmed by Church statistics on the relative support given the church by its coastal saints, but it is also clearly a *regional* version of the same "ethnocentrism" which holds that *American* Mormons are the *real* ones!

[30]Stark and Glock, *op. cit.*, 177-178, fn. 6.

[31]*Ibid.*, p. 28. The Glock and Stark survey data came from a large urban sample in Northern California. The figures on orthodoxy levels would probably run somewhat lower for a national sample of Christians (see p. 30). While the questionnaire item about belief in God is obviously different for Mormons and for other Christians, I say that the items are comparable because each represents the *most that is demanded* in the respective denominations in order for a member to be considered "orthodox" on that particular item.

[32]Stark and Glock, *op. cit.*, Chapter 3. The figures on levels of belief in such items reported by Glenn M. Vernon in *op. cit.* (1968) are similar to those for my Salt Lake City data, as were those reported to me in a private communication from James L. Clayton (July 8, 1971) regarding another Salt Lake City ward with a somewhat "liberal" reputation.

[33]Stark and Glock, *op. cit.*, p. 60. For an explanation of meaning and construction of an "index," please see fn. 7 of my recent *Dialogue* article, "Moderation in All Things."

[34]Incidentally, the reduction in levels of belief, when we employ an *index* as opposed to a *single item* (e.g., 77% down to 64% in SLC), demonstrates the improvement in discriminating power that an index provides.

[35]Stark and Glock, *op. cit.*, Chapter 6, esp. p. 133.

[36]Questions about "pietistic" observances by Latter-day Saints drew similarly mixed responses from the "liberal" Salt Lake City ward from which James L. Clayton sent me the limited data available (see fn. 32 above), and which I acknowledge gratefully.

[37]I regard belief in the Darwinian theory as an indicator of secularism in the L.D.S. setting because: (a) the preponderance of *authoritative* theological opinion in the Church has always been against it (i.e., among the General Authorities who have addressed the issue, many condemnations of Darwinism can be found, but little, if any, acceptance); furthermore (b) in my surveys, most L.D.S. rejected the theory of evolution as either surely or probably false (72% in SLC; 54% in CC). A Mormon who can accommodate the theory is certainly going against the theological "mainstream" in his religion and is, to that extent, a more "secular" person.

[38]This statement is inferred from the concluding chapter of Stark and Glock, *op. cit.*

[39]Stark and Glock, *op. cit.*, Chapter 1.

[40]*Ibid.*, p. 84 *et passim.* These figures are well above the church attendance averages of Americans in general, since they deal with *church members* only, and Mormon definitions of church membership are more inclusive than those of most other denominations.

[41]*Ibid.*, 105.

[42]This observation was made to me by Rodney Stark in a personal conversation, but it is borne out also in Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), Chapter 11.

[43]Charles Y. Glock, *et al.*, *To Comfort and to Challenge*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), presents data on Episcopalians congruent with what my Mormon data have shown on the effects of these various social factors. Howard M. Bahr ("Aging and Religious Disaffiliation," *Social Forces*, 49 (Sept., 1970), 59-70, in summarizing a variety of studies, has shown that church *attendance* in urban areas *declines* with advancing age, which provides scant hope for later increased religiosity among the youth in my samples.

[44]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).

[45]Gordon E. Mauss, "Religious and Secular Correlates of the L.D.S. Family Home Evening Program," unpublished Master's Thesis, Provo: Brigham Young University, 1969.

[46]Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans* (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).

[47]These and other related conclusions are presented with statistical support in my (as yet) unpublished paper, "Seminary and Salvation: Religious Instruction and Religiosity among the Mormons," presented at the annual meetings of the Pacific Sociological Association, Seattle, April, 1969.

[48]The resemblance between Mormon Americans and other Americans in political and social outlooks is the chief point of my previous article in the last issue of *Dialogue*, to which reference has here been made several times.

[49]Meinig, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

UTAH'S PECULIAR DEATH PENALTY

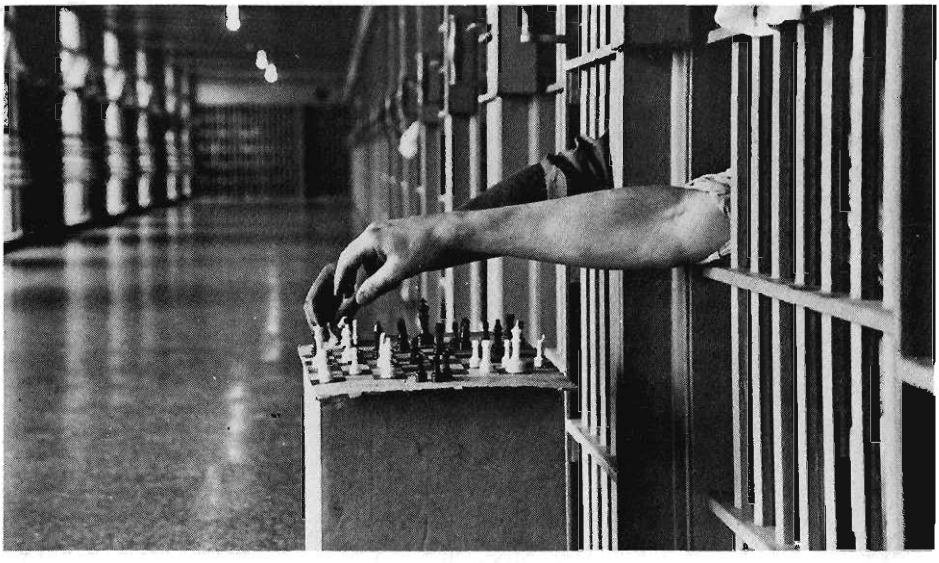
KEITH D. WILCOCK

I remember the warm Indian summer nights of 1959. I drove with both windows of my Volkswagon wide open so I could smell the burning leaves and autumn fields as I passed through Sandy and Draper on my way from Salt Lake City to the prison at the point of the mountain. The muffler on my Volkswagon had rusted through and the noise was, in its own way, magnificent, like a cement mixer. The inmates who were still awake on D block could hear me turn onto that "shortest highway in the state" which curves down to Tower 1. After checking in and greeting other officers who were assembling for a roll call of the graveyard shift, I went to work. Every night at midnight I would walk through the dim, empty halls, forever smelling of disinfectant, and ride the groaning, clanking elevator to my post — death row.

Mack Rivenberg and Jesse Garcia would usually be awake waiting for me. Both were condemned murderers and both had become my friends. From 1958 to 1962 the names of Rivenberg and Garcia were often in Utah newspapers. Both had been convicted of the brutal sex slaying of another inmate in an attic above the maximum security cell block. The truth of what really happened the night of August 24, 1958 will never be known. It is locked up in the dark, shame-tinged memories of the inmates who heard the victim's muffled screams, or saw his empty cell that night and knew why it was empty. Bits and pieces of the truth are known only to inmates who will forever remain silent because, according to the criminal code, to speak out is forbidden. But even without the garbled testimonies of inmates who appeared in court, there was enough solid evidence to convict Rivenberg and Garcia.

Mack Rivenberg often slept during the day so he could be awake and alert, waiting to play cribbage or chess when I came on shift at midnight. When my work was finished, we would fold a blanket lengthwise, place the chess board in the center, and slide it back and forth across an aisle of bars to make our moves. I eventually discovered that I could win simply by establishing a strong defense and waiting for his super aggressive attack to run out of gas. His chess game seemed to be an accurate reflection of his temperament. He was competitive, devious, adventurous, and, at least on the surface, confident of his own power. As time passed, I began to recognize elements of irrational hatred in him, and to realize that through his eyes the world was a corrupt network of plots and schemes, of bribes and lies, where only the crafty, powerful, and cruel survive.

It used to amaze me, as I talked with Rivenberg, to realize that he could have murdered a man and butchered the corpse the way he did. I would study him



carefully and search in his eyes for the beast that must be there. The crime was so cruel, so unreasonably heinous that photographs of the body made grown men turn away. And we talked, this human butcher and I, from midnight until morning. I listened to his stories and he to mine.

The experience had an unsettling effect on me. I had undergone several hundred thousand hours of Sunday School and television conditioning which had clearly taught me that there are good people and bad people, and I thought that the chances were pretty favorable that I was one of the good ones. Now, here was a murderer, the most evil of society's bad guys, the most corrupt of the Sunday School sinners, and I found that he was likeable. In spite of myself, I began to enjoy his company.

Mack was outgoing, sociable, tactful, and charming enough to successfully manipulate others. He tried his hand at painting and at writing, and often asked me to criticize his work. He taught me cribbage, soundly beating me for weeks, and when I would begin to get the knack, he would introduce new rules, new combinations, and cross countings. I rarely won at cribbage.

He told me stories about his past, and about some of his criminal acts. He tried to impress me with his daring, his fearlessness, his ruthlessness. It pleased him to think he shocked or frightened me. In accordance with the criminal ethic, he considered kindness and compassion symptoms of a weak character, and he subscribed religiously to his criminal code. He often swore he would never let "them" execute him. Deep somewhere in the core of him there was white hot hatred of authority and a smoldering militance.

There were many good things about Mack. One of them was his perceptive sense of humor. One evening I was feeling particularly depressed about his execution. When I told him how sorry I was he gave a half shrug and said, "Aw, it'll be O.K. Don't feel bad." Then we both realized that *he* was reassuring *me*. Somehow I had become the oppressed and he the counselor. We both laughed at the same time when we realized how ridiculous it would have appeared to some outside observer, the condemned man consoling his keeper.

I wanted Mack to live, in spite of his cruelty, his irrational hatred of authority.

I would not have been opposed to keeping him well insulated from society, but I felt that perhaps, in time, the flaming hostility would burn out, that he would mellow with age.

One night when I reported for work the prison was buzzing with news of an escape attempt. The death row officer on the afternoon shift had been careless. It was the practice in the afternoon to allow Garcia and Rivenberg out, one at a time, to shower in a small shower stall at the end of an aisle of bars near their cells. They had been given a heavy, homemade, metal paint-scraper to clean the shower stall and make it ready for a touch-up paint job. There was a small window, about a foot square, in the shower stall to allow surveillance.

The officer in charge of Garcia had forgotten about him being in the shower and had left death row for a few minutes to get some aspirin from the dispensary on the floor below. Garcia worked fast. He smashed the small window with the paint-scraper and managed showhow to squeeze through. His shoulders and hips were deeply scraped, but he made it. Then he crouched behind the T.V. set and waited for the guard to return. There had been three sets of bars to get through. Out of his cell into the shower took care of the first. Out of the shower into an outer court area took care of the second. There was still one row of bars left.

When the guard returned, Mack calmly asked him to come into the court area to change the channel on the T.V. set. The guard, who had responded to this request a hundred times, unlocked the door in the last row of bars. When he noticed the glass from the shower window scattered on the floor it was already too late. Garcia leaped at him, clubbing him with the paint-scraper until the guard, stunned from the blows, begged for his life. Garcia grabbed the death row keys. Mack screamed at him to unlock the other cells, but Mack had threatened to kill Garcia at one time so Garcia ignored his cries. Instead he unlocked a heavy iron door and vaulted down the stairs of the maximum security cell block. Had Garcia let the other inmates out, the officer's life as a hostage would have hung in a very delicate balance.

Somehow during the struggle, the guard had crashed the wall phone from its receiver, an act which touched off a red light alarm system in control room No. 1. In minutes, two officers hurried to death row to investigate. One of them carried a sawed-off shotgun.

Garcia heard the familiar jingle of keys as the officers approached and rushed back up the stairs. When the officers arrived they found Garcia crouched in a corner like a trapped animal, paint-scraper in hand. As he lurched into the beam of the flashlight the officer with the scatter gun leveled it and at point blank range squeezed the trigger; but the roar and the jolt never came — only a dead click. Had the shotgun not misfired, Garcia would have been torn apart by the blast.

After that, Garcia submitted. He was disarmed, his cell searched and stripped of its belongings, and he was herded back into it trembling, crying, more convinced than ever, now, that he would be executed.

It had been a fairly hopeless attempt at best. Although he had miraculously succeeded in escaping from death row, he could only have broken into the main prison area, with a complete new set of bars, walls, officers and security measures to overcome.

When I arrived on shift at midnight, Garcia was sobbing softly in his cell,

still wild-eyed and tortured with the disappointment of his desperate attempt. The guard had been taken to the hospital and, luckily, was on the road to recovery.

That night and the nights following were cool. Garcia had been relieved of his mattress, blankets, and clothing. I suppose it was official prison punishment. Several of the officers expressed vivid hatred for him, especially the one whose weapon had misfired. Three days later, when I returned to death row after my days off, I found Jesse pressed into a corner of his cell, still naked and shivering, trying to get some warmth from the cement walls. His clothes and bedding had not as yet been returned. He had somehow managed to snare some newspapers from outside his cell and tried to wrap up in them. I did what I think most people would have done. I tossed him some blankets. He didn't respond at first; he stayed in the shadows and avoided eye-contact, but he took the blankets as soon as I left and gave them back to me in the morning before I went off shift.

Then one day I forgot to retrieve the blankets before the day shift officer came on duty. The results were quite strange. Mack told the officers he had given Garcia the blankets. Mack was then punished for the offense. The T.V. set was taken away for a period of time. I suppose my act of kindness had created enough of an impression so that he felt a need to protect me.

Mack Rivenberg and Jesse Garcia spent several years on death row, living from one execution date to the next, and they received several stays of execution. An execution day came up only once during the six months that I worked with them. As I watched them, tormented with the agony of knowing their life was slipping away, the ticking of the clock took on a profoundly new meaning for me. The insight has never left me. Here were two young men with nothing to live for except to exist in a cell, a small cement cubicle. They had no hope for marriage or children; they would never be free to relax on a beach or in some beautiful canyon, or travel, or enjoy all the simple pleasures life has to offer — yet they struggled desperately to live! As cramped and limited as their future would be with a life sentence, they struggled for that life, hoped for it, dreamed about it.

In the comfort of my living room I had often thought how much better it would be to be executed than to spend life in prison. Now I imagined being pried from my home and put on death row. No more comforts, my family torn apart, my freedom restricted completely, with nothing to look forward to except growing old in a cell. All that made life precious to me destroyed, with only a month or two to live. Sentenced to death. Now I could see clearly, and for the first time, that even with nothing to live for, I would struggle to live. When death is imminent, life, existence, survival, being, is all that matters.

We often discussed philosophy and psychology. I would sometimes lend Mack books and even read aloud to him and Jesse on occasion. We discussed his case often. He claimed he had taken so many amphetamine pills that he was having paranoid hallucinations at the time of his crime and was therefore not responsible. He claimed he heard inmates plotting his death as he passed them in the hallways and on the night of the murder even saw the victim standing headless outside of his cell clinging with bloody hands to the bars. Recent evidence has confirmed that prolonged use of amphetamines in large doses does indeed cause paranoid delusions but in the late 1950's such evidence was not available.

One late Saturday night very near the day set for his execution, after he had learned to trust me, Mack told me much of what he remembered about the evening of the murder. It was a long story, told with feeling unbefitting the stoic he claimed to be. After it was over I dared ask the question that had been gnawing at me for months. "How could you have done such a thing?"

I remember clearly the reasons he gave.

He said the victim was just a big dumb Polack. He had been in trouble all his life. No one liked him. Worst of all, he was a homosexual, a "punk" in prison jargon.

I was told that at that time in the prison there had been a bitter rivalry for power between inmate gangs. Mack, who had been carrying a concealed ax, hoped to gain control by terrorizing rivals. The victim was to be "an example, a lesson to the other groups."

When I got off shift that Sunday at 8:00 a.m. I was troubled. The reasons he gave for the murder were fresh in my mind, the execution near at hand. As was my practice, I cleaned up when I got home Sunday morning and went directly to church. Somehow in Priesthood Meeting the discussion drifted to capital punishment. It was very much on people's minds in those days because of the newspaper coverage of the coming execution. I listened to the others speak, suppressing my feelings. Than an insidious parallel began to emerge. *My Mormon brethren, pillars of society, were justifying capital punishment with precisely the same arguments I had heard through the bars on death row two hours earlier.*

"Rivenberg would be an example — a deterrent. Society (our group) needed to protect itself from criminals (the rival group). Furthermore, Rivenberg was no good. He had been in trouble all his life. He was a homosexual and a thief."

Then blood atonement came up. It frequently did in those years when I discussed capital punishment with fellow Mormons. Historians apologize for the doctrine. Few people claim to fully understand it, but among Mormons I knew it was frequently used as a final argument in favor of the death penalty.

One of the elders stated that certain sins, such as murder, could only be atoned for if the offender voluntarily requested that his blood be shed. They correctly pointed out that Utah is the only state in the union which gives a condemned man a choice as to the method of his execution. The firing squad spills blood. The other choice, hanging, does not spill blood. They indicated that some of the more humane methods adopted by the other states such as electrocution and gas also do not shed blood, but since they would likely be chosen over the bloodspilling firing squad, Utah has not adopted them.

The argument seemed far fetched to me, particularly the notion that blood atonement concepts could still be exercising an influence, however subtle or unrecognized, over modern Mormon thought. Is blood atonement currently a part of Mormon theology? Would these concepts stand in the way of new legislation that would abolish capital punishment or introduce more humane methods of execution? I decided to investigate the matter.

One must turn over many stones of Mormon history to find out much about blood atonement. Most references to the doctrine quote speeches made by Church leaders during the late 1850's, a period of reformation and intense repentance. The following example is from a speech delivered by Jedediah Grant in the Bowery, September 21, 1856:

> I say, that there are men and women that I would advise to go to the President immediately, and ask him to appoint a committee to attend to their case; and then let a place be selected, and let that committee shed their blood.
>
> We have those amongst us that are full of all manner of abominations, those who need to have their blood shed, for water will not do, their sins are of too deep a dye.
>
> You may think that I am not teaching you Bible doctrine, but what says the apostle Paul? I would ask how many covenant breakers there are in this city and in this kingdom. I believe that there are a great many; and if they are covenant breakers we need a place designated, where we can shed their blood.

He ended the talk with this statement:

> Brethren and sisters, we want you to repent and forsake your sins. And you who have committed sins that cannot be forgiven through baptism, let your blood be shed, and let the smoke ascend, that the incense thereof may come up before God as an atonement for your sins, and that the sinners in Zion may be afraid.
>
> These are my feelings, and may God fulfill them.[1]

Was Grant advocating a mass killing of sinners? One envisions a bloody inquisition on Temple Square. But Grant was not alone in his views. On the same day, Brigham Young also made reference to the doctrine, using similar symbolism.

> I do know that there are sins committed, of such a nature that if the people did understand the doctrine of salvation, they would tremble because of their situation. And furthermore, I know that there are transgressors, who, if they knew themselves, and the condition upon which they can obtain forgiveness, would beg of their brethren to shed their blood, that the smoke thereof might ascend to God as an offering to appease the wrath that is kindled against them, and that the law might have its course. I will say further I have had men come to me and offer their lives to atone for their sins.[2]

Another example of Brigham Young's thinking can be seen in a sermon he gave in the Tabernacle on February 8, 1857.

> I could refer you to plenty of instances where men have been righteously slain, in order to atone for their sins. I have seen scores and hundreds of people for whom there would have been a chance (in the last resurrection there will be) if their lives had been taken and their blood spilled on the ground as a smoking incense to the Almighty, but who are now angels to the devil, until our elder brother Jesus Christ raises them up — conquers death, hell, and the grave. I have known a great many men who have left this Church for whom there is no chance whatever for exaltation, but if their blood had been spilled, it would have been better for them. The wickedness and ignorance of the nations forbid this principle's being in full force, but the time will come when the law of God will be in full force.
>
> This is loving our neighbor as ourselves; if he needs help, help him; and if he wants salvation and it is necessary to spill his blood on the earth in order that he may be saved, spill it. Any of you who understand the principles of eternity, if you have sinned a sin requiring the shedding of blood, except the sin unto death, would not be satisfied nor rest until your blood should be spilled, that you might gain that salvation you desire. That is the way to love mankind.[3]

There are a great many other references to the doctrine of blood atonement

on record.[4] There are also suggestions that Mormons may have actually practiced the doctrine.

Even if the doctrine of blood atonement was in the minds of Mormons at the time laws regarding executions were drafted, is there solid evidence that the doctrine influenced the law? Records clearly indicate that when Utah's earliest laws regarding the death penalty were enacted they included choices as to the method for execution. One of the first criminal laws passed by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret on January 16, 1851 stated:

> Section X. Be it further ordained, that when any person shall be found guilty of murder, under any of the preceding sections of this ordinance, and sentenced to die, he, she or they shall suffer death, by being shot, being hung or beheaded.[5]

Joseph Fielding Smith provides a confirming opinion which strongly supports the notion that blood atonement concepts influenced the establishment of Utah's laws.

> In pursuance of, and in harmony with this scriptural doctrine [blood atonement], which has been the righteous law from the days of Adam to the present time, the founders of Utah incorporated in the laws of Territory provisions for the capital punishment of those who wilfully shed the blood of their fellow men. This law, which is now the law of the State, granted unto the condemned murderer the privilege of choosing for himself whether he die by hanging, or whether he be shot, and thus have his blood shed in harmony with the law of God; and thus atone, so far as it is in his power to atone, for the death of his victim . . .
>
> This law was placed on statutes through the efforts of the Mormon legislators, and grants to the accused the right of jury trial.[6]

The opinion suggests that Utah's peculiar death penalty is indeed rooted in blood atonement doctrines of Mormon theology. Today, in 1972, the law reads:

> Section 77-36-16: Punishment of death must be inflicted by hanging the defendant by the neck until he is dead or by shooting him, at his election. If the defendant neglects or refuses to make election, the court at the time of the making of this sentence must declare the mode and enter the same as part of the judgment.[7]

There has been only one hanging in Utah's recent history. It is a horrible way to die and is rarely selected by those on death row. The condemned man was a Mormon. I have been told by inmates and officers who knew him that his behavior often appeared to be an active attempt to blacken his family name and shame his parents. He chose hanging as a final defiant gesture, fully aware that he was not choosing the alternative that might atone for his crime.

I am opposed to capital punishment. When the dust has settled in all the arguments, pro and con, a few practical facts remain. Those who eventually get executed are largely the poor and the uneducated.

Successful criminal lawyers, when one can afford them, often have outstanding records of acquittals. F. Lee Bailey is a current example. Is this because they defend only innocent clients? If not, then one must accept the disturbing possibility that the due process of law can be altered by lawyers talented in the art of persuasion. Until convictions and acquittals are based on fact, and the accuracy of legal judgments improve, I shall be opposed to sentences which are irreversible.

Then there are ethical arguments. My personal view is that capital punishment has no place in the compassionate, forgiving, nonjudgmental, service-oriented ethic of Christ. Of course, one can weave intricate scriptural networks in support of capital punishment, but Christ's example seems clear, simple and difficult to refute. When the adulterous woman was about to receive the legal death penalty prescribed by Jewish law, Christ intervened. The ethic was clearly and eloquently defined. "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone."

One can also be accused of taking Christ's words too literally. But such an argument can erode and alter His simple ideal principles until anything is permitted with moral sanction. His principles of "judge not" becomes "it is permissible to judge." His principle of "love your enemies" becomes "it is permissible to wage war," and His principle of forgiveness becomes "it is permissible to perform executions." More than permissible, it soon becomes morally *correct* to wage war and judge and shed blood.

Of course, neither Rivenberg or Garcia were aware of the roots of Utah law which gave them a choice as to how they would die. Since neither were Mormons, they were also unaware of the controversy within the Church regarding them. Many Mormons who had never met them thought they should live. Many others wanted them dead.

One evening when Rivenberg and Garcia's last appeal had run its course and the day for execution was drawing near, I received a telephone call at home from Rivenberg's mother. She had to be desperate to call me. I was only a guard, a very low man on the totem pole. She cried and pleaded with me just as she must have with all the judges and lawyers and wardens and Board of Corrections members who would listen. I suppose each in his own way felt he could do nothing against the system. As I listened to her I was hurting inside because I too was helpless. State employees are expected to do their job and not get involved with matters that are rightly the responsibility of higher authority, but I promised her I would do what I could.

Knowing that Rivenberg and Garcia could be granted clemency, I wrote to a member of the Board of Corrections in an attempt to influence their decision. But my letter had no effect. On September 13, 1962, the night before the scheduled execution, Rivenberg committed suicide. He took an overdose of barbiturates smuggled to him by an inmate hospital aid. The Board of Corrections met the next day and commuted Garcia's sentence to life imprisonment. Their decision is worthy of praise from all compassionate men.

When prison officials found out about the letter I had sent, I was given a reprimand and was required to work for a period of time without pay. I had accumulated so much overtime that the reprimand had little actual effect on me. They could have fired me. To some extent Warden Turner had no other recourse than to punish me and he chose a method that I considered fair.

For me the story is still not over. My experience convinced me that there is a clear, profound, almost polar difference between blood atonement doctrines and the ethic taught by Christ. Members of the Church should recognize the difference, reject the barbaric blood atonement doctrines which boiled to the surface in those zealous turbulent years of Church history and support reforms in the death penalty throughout the nation that are more in keeping with Christian ideals. They should encourage legislators to recognize that the legal system is imperfect. They must modify the law and do away with capital punish-

ment. When they do this in Utah, I will return the call to Mrs. Rivenberg and see how she is getting along and tell her how much I liked her son.

[1]*Journal of Discourses*, I, 72-73.

[2]*Ibid.*, IV, 53-54.

[3]*Ibid.*, IV, 219-220.

[4]Also see *Journal of Discourses* Vol. I., pp. 82 and 83; Vol. II., pp. 165-166; Vol. III., pp. 226, 235, 236, 241, 246, 247, 249, 279, and 337; and the *Deseret News*, March 21, 1854.

[5]Journal History, 1851, Jan. 16, page 3.

[6]*Doctrines of Salvation*, Vol. I., pp. 136-137.

[7]Utah Code Annotated 1953, Vol. VIII., p. 371.

Man is not defined by what denies him, but by that which affirms him.

— ELIE WIESEL

MORMONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO DIVINITY SCHOOL: A PERSONAL REMINISCENCE

Russel B. Swensen

The Mormon people have traditionally maintained a healthy respect for higher education. It was in the spirit of that tradition that toward the end of the nineteenth century Church leaders began to encourage certain promising young men and women to leave Utah in order to obtain advanced degrees and then bring the advantages of their learning back to the Mormon community. In the 1930s, leaders in the Church educational program were impressed with the great need for Mormon teachers of religion to be thoroughly trained in Biblical and other religious studies. Russel B. Swensen was among a group of young Mormon scholars who were, in effect, called to attend the Divinity School of the University of Chicago for the purpose of pursuing graduate degrees in the field of religious education. While similar encouragement had been given to earlier students, never had it been quite this official. Here Professor Swensen suggests that the faith of the leaders was not misplaced.

It was in the year 1930, after an unusual "calling" from the Church, that I made a momentous personal decision: to enter the Divinity School of the University of Chicago and work toward the Ph.D. degree in Biblical Studies. I had been teaching seminary for four years, but now, impressed with the need for greater understanding of the background of the Scriptures and convinced that I could make my best contribution to the Church only after studying under the finest Biblical scholars in the country, I became one of several Church educators who decided to take what, for a Mormon, would be a most unusual step. What follows are my personal reminiscences concerning why we went to the Chicago Divinity School, what we did there and the ultimate value of this experience.

I am aware, of course, that to many Mormons today, as in the 1930's, the term "divinity school" carries rather unfortunate connotations. It often suggests a place concerned primarily with theological disputation and with educating ministers who preach with a "holy whine" but with little genuine spirituality. Actually, however, religious education has been one of the most influential institutions in the history of western civilization. It flourished in the monastic and cathedral schools and universities of the Middle Ages. It was especially vital in Protestant and Catholic divinity schools after the Reformation. In America, the most respected intellectual, religious and public-spirited leaders among the New England Puritans were ministers educated at Yale and Harvard. In the great German universities of the last two centuries the theologian, Bible scholar, and church historian have been the peers of their secular academic colleagues.

The Prophet Joseph Smith had an enthusiastic interest in Biblical studies and languages. He and other church leaders often expressed the need for a better translation of the Bible than the King James Version. The Prophet even stated his preference for the Martin Luther Version. This interest led him to hire Rabbi Joshua Seixas of Hudson, Ohio, to teach Hebrew to the School of the Prophets in Kirtland, although the pressure of many perplexing problems prevented the school from making much progress in Hebrew. Orson Pratt was by far the best student, an omen of his future intellectual achievements.

But during the nineteenth century, the Church produced few real scholars in the field of Biblical studies, as interest seemed to lag. One of the first modern L. D. S. students to revive interest in Biblical languages was William H. Chamberlain (1870-1921). A graduate in science from the University of Utah, Chamberlain developed a profound interest in advanced studies in religion and philosophy. In 1902 and 1903 he attended summer sessions at the University of Chicago Divinity School where he took classes in Greek and Hebrew, the life and teachings of Jesus, and philosophy. He was appointed Professor of Ancient Languages and Philosophy at Brigham Young University where he taught from 1910 to 1916. A man of deep religious convictions and outstanding intellectual ability, he made considerable progress by individual study in the subjects he had begun at Chicago. An inspiring teacher, he helped many students whose faith was disturbed by the impact of scientific and philosophical thought to achieve a more mature religious and intellectual perspective. His influence was reflected in the lives of many of B. Y. U.'s most eminent and respected leaders: Carl F. Eyring, Hugh M. Woodward, Thomas L. Martin, William J. Snow, Wilford Poulson, B. F. Larsen, and Vasco M. Tanner.

The first L. D. S. scholar to obtain the doctorate in divinity school education was Sidney B. Sperry. After securing a B. S. degree in chemistry from the University of Utah in 1917 and serving in World War I, Sperry became a seminary teacher. Feeling limited and dissatisfied with the elementary sources available to him and his own lack of graduate religious education, he determined to become professionally trained. After considerable investigation he decided that the Divinity School of the University of Chicago was most outstanding, and he sought counsel from the general authorities. Their response was almost unanimously negative, but he was determined and made plans to attend the Chicago school anyway. He left his small family in Utah and enrolled in the autumn of 1925. He chose Old Testament languages and literature as his major field and obtained the M. A. degree in 1926. After another year's study he was appointed Director of the L. D. S. Institute of Religion at the University of Idaho at Moscow. After completing his dissertation, he was awarded the Ph. D. degree from the University of Chicago in 1931. Securing a year's leave of absence, he spent the year 1931-32 in Palestine where he studied at the American School of Oriental Research and the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. Here he became acquainted with some of the leading Jewish, European, and American scholars in Semitic and Biblical studies. He began to teach at B. Y. U. in 1932 where he taught until his retirement in 1970. He was a highly effective and popular teacher, and a prolific author of many scholarly books, church manuals, and articles dealing with Biblical and modern scriptural studies. He instituted a successful department of Semitic studies at B. Y. U. and four of his former students have obtained the Ph.D. degree in this field.

Swift Hall, University of Chicago Divinity School

An educational leader who stimulated advanced intellectual training and religious education was Dr. Adam S. Bennion, L. D. S. Commissioner of Education from 1920 to 1928. He held a Ph.D. degree in literature and was fully abreast of modern intellectual trends. He was also aware of the limited background of the seminary teachers in Biblical studies. To help alleviate this problem he placed scholarly books dealing with historical and literary analysis of the Bible in all seminary libraries. I was employed by Dr. Bennion in the summer of 1926 to teach seminary, and taught until June, 1930. I found the above mentioned books on Biblical studies extremely fascinating and challenging by their use of the historical approach to the books of the Bible. The year and a half in which I worked under Dr. Bennion's enthusiastic and inspiring leadership had a profound effect upon my thinking and goals in education.

Commissioner Bennion, in 1927, secured the cooperation of Elder John A. Widtsoe of the Council of the Twelve and President Franklin S. Harris of the Brigham Young University to have a six-week educational institute for all seminary teachers at the Alpine Summer School at Aspen Grove. The purpose of this project was to enrich and integrate the intellectual and theological thinking of these teachers of which I was one. The major contribution to this seminar program was made by Elder Widtsoe. A graduate of Harvard with a Ph.D. from the University of Göttingen, Germany, he had been president of Utah State University and the University of Utah. With an academic background in science and his extensive studies in religion and Mormon thought, he fully understood the issues and problems of what has been called "the conflict between science and religion." With his masterful exposition of the goals, methods, and truths of both scientific and religious thought, he broadened the base upon which one should evaluate these two great aspects of experience and inquiry. Many of those present in the seminar of 1927 have since affirmed that his teaching plus his personification of great faith and

rationality profoundly affected their own religious and intellectual thinking. Dr. Bennion was also highly effective in his eloquent exposition of the idea that faith and intellectuality were mutually compatible. The influence of these men stimulated many of us with a desire to enter graduate schools, and within three years three of us entered a divinity school.

A further step toward Mormon involvement in divinity school education was taken by Heber C. Snell, a former student of William H. Chamberlain. Snell attended the Pacific School of Religion at Berkeley, California in 1926-27. His primary interest was Biblical literature and languages. In the summer of 1928 he gave an informative and scholarly course on the literature of the Old Testament at the B. Y. U. summer school. As a student in the class I was particularly impressed by his historical approach to the subject and his deep appreciation of the religious message of the Old Testament.

Dr. Joseph F. Merrill succeeded Dr. Bennion as Church Commissioner of Education in 1928. He proved to be a vigorous advocate of graduate education for seminary teachers. A distinguished scholar with a Ph.D. in physics from Johns Hopkins University, he had been dean of the College of Mines and Engineering at the University of Utah from 1897 to 1928. He was noted for his rigorous scholarship and advocacy of uniformly high standards for both faculty and students in his college. He zealously tried to pursue the same policy during his years as commissioner, 1928-1933. Highly impressed by Sperry's enthusiasm and achievements at the University of Chicago, he had him teach all seminary teachers at the B. Y. U. summer school of 1929. Sperry's mastery of Old Testament studies, his friendly personality and his ability as a teacher were most stimulating to me, as well as to most of the other young teachers who were planning to devote their lives to Church education.

Sperry's scholarship and his own high standards of academic performance prompted Commissioner Merrill to take a momentous step. In the spring of 1930, he selected George S. Tanner, Daryl Chase and myself to attend the University of Chicago Divinity School. Each of us had previously expressed his intention of pursuing graduate studies, but this invitation came as a complete surprise. We were granted a stipend of half salary for one year and we were told that re-employment in the Church school system would depend upon our faith and continued loyalty to the Church.

About the same time, through the initiative of Sidney Sperry, arrangements were made by Dr. Merrill to have some of the most eminent scholars of the University of Chicago Divinity School teach the seminary teachers in B. Y. U. summer school sessions. Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed, the distinguished New Testament scholar, was the first to come in the summer of 1930. His vital and friendly personality, enthusiasm for his subject, and his stimulating lectures made his classes an outstanding success. T. Edgar Lyon said that Goodspeed was a major influence in his decision to go to the Divinity School at Chicago in 1932. Other professors who taught in 1931-33 were Dr. William C. Graham, an Old Testament scholar, Dr. John T. McNeill, a medieval church historian, and William C. Bower, a specialist in religious education. Like Dr. Goodspeed, they were competent and popular teachers. I met all of them later in Chicago and was impressed by their high praise for the B. Y. U. and for the vitality and high quality of the Mormon religion. Dr. Graham once told Daryl Chase and me that he believed Joseph Smith was inspired of God.

The three of us began our divinity studies in the summer of 1930. Although we were unacquainted before, the sharing of exciting and novel experiences as "freshman" divinity students became the basis of a lifelong friendship. We found the intellectual traditions of the University both interesting and stimulating. It was a relatively young university and some of the professors had been associated with it in its earliest period. The University had its origin in the Morgan Park Theological Seminary, the most important Baptist seminary in the Midwest. William R. Harper, a former Old Testament scholar at Morgan Park was the first president. He laid down some interesting guidelines for the University and the Divinity School that still persist. His major emphasis was complete academic freedom, rigorous and productive research, and the avoidance of religious controversy. It was a time when the fundamentalist-modernist controversy was raging, but in my four years at the Divinity School I do not remember hearing any church or rival scholars harshly or unfairly criticized. Because of this emphasis on research the Divinity School was noted more for its scholarly publications than for its devotional or promotional religious activities. Some of its scholars, in addition to Dr. Goodspeed, had acquired national and international reputations. These included such men as Martin Sprengling and A. T. Olmstead in Semitic studies, J. M. P. Smith in Old Testament, S. J. Case in early Christian history, and Dean Shailer Mathews in Christian theology.

We found the divinity school faculty, with hardly an exception, to be great teachers. Their lectures and seminars were remarkably stimulating, especially those of Dean Shailer Mathews. A large man with an impressive personality and a genius for witty aphorisms, he seemed to be proud of being an unordained dean of a divinity school, and often made jibes at ministerial formality and ecclesiastical rhetoric.

The students of the Divinity School were a miscellaneous group. Many were middle-aged ministers and teachers of church colleges seeking advanced training and higher degrees. Some of the ministers were former missionaries from the Far East; a few were army chaplains. Some were from wealthy parishes of big cities, while others were from small country parishes. Many of the younger students, mostly unmarried, were recent college graduates seeking the Ph.D. degree in various disciplines to qualify for teaching positions in the divinity schools of their respective denominations. A few were blacks, including Charles D. Hubert and Benjamin Mays. Subsequently these two became, respectively, presidents of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. Dr. Mays became the teacher of Martin Luther King and in 1968 gave the final eulogy at the funeral of his famous student. These two were among the most impressive men I met in the Divinity School. There were also some Jewish rabbis, orthodox and reformed. One of the former, Morris Gross, became a warm friend of the Mormon students. Regionally, most of the students we knew were from the Midwest, but a surprisingly large number came from Canada and the southern states. Most of the Protestant churches were represented, but denominational membership was not easy to ascertain for it was a divinity school tradition not to probe into the private beliefs and religious convictions of fellow students. Practically all the students were "modernists" in their religious and Biblical views.

At no time were we Mormons subjected to blunt inquiries as to our faith

and theology. The younger students were much like our returned-missionary friends in college. They were very friendly and outgoing. They elected George Tanner as director of intramural athletics and myself as captain of the divinity basketball team, which won the championship of the divinity league. In 1933, a Reverend Nutting, leader of a Protestant evangelical missionary effort to "convert" the Mormons to Christianity, came to the Divinity School to stir up trouble for Mormon students. He cornered me in the lounge of the divinity dormitory and began a vigorous attack upon the Church. I had hardly begun to refute him, when several young Baptist and Presbyterian ministers surprised me as well as him by joining with me in the defense of the Church.

Our friendly relationships in the dormitory and the classes brought an experience which completely surprised me. A young Baptist minister in the dormitory was a part-time pastor of a large Baptist Church in Chicago. Quite a number of the students held similar posts to meet educational expenses. He invited me to speak on the essentials of Mormonism at his church services. It was a large and receptive audience and there were many questions afterwards. A few weeks later I was invited to address a Presbyterian youth organization on the same topic. Chase and Tanner had similar experiences, and all of us were treated only with the greatest respect as we tried to tell the Mormon story.

It was the custom of many professors to invite students to their homes for an evening social at least once a quarter. Every noon from Tuesday through Friday there were religious services in the beautiful gothic Bond Chapel adjacent to Swift Hall, the divinity school building. Here we heard many speakers from the divinity faculty as well as other noted scholars, ministers, and rabbis. One of the most unique speakers was Coach Alonzo Stagg, who told of his association with President Harper when both were at Yale. Because of his inspiring ability as a teacher, Harper had persuaded the entire Yale football team to take Hebrew, which they did, it was said, with great enthusiasm.

Each department had its own club, composed of faculty and students, whose meetings were often addressed by eminent visiting scholars and specialists. At one noteworthy meeting in the autumn of 1930, the president of the New Testament club introduced Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed as the speaker and added that he had just returned from Utah where he had been trying "to convert the Mormons." A titter of laughter broke out. Dr. Goodspeed's face was red with indignation when he arose and with considerable warmth he asserted he had met some of the finest people and had one of the most enjoyable experiences of his life in his summer at Brigham Young University. He also spoke of his great admiration for the Mormon religion, of its great vitality, its fervent zeal for Christian service, and the dynamics of its lay leadership system which brought such a high proportion of men into religious leadership and activity. We Mormon students naturally found great interest in participating in these clubs, and at one meeting of the Church History Club Daryl Chase was invited to speak on the essentials of Mormonism. He enjoyed a friendly and receptive audience and many favorable comments after the meeting showed admiration for the Church and for Chase's exposition.

Chase and Tanner chose American Church history for their major and I selected New Testament studies. We had many classes together because the

Divinity School had general requirements for all doctoral candidates: basic courses in New Testament literature, Old Testament literature, Ancient Church history, Medieval Church history, American Church history, Christian theology, and two in pastoral education. These courses extended the time required for the doctorate, but they were most interesting and valuable for the broader perspective and insight they gave us into the various fields of religious study.

The basic method applied in these courses was a thorough analysis of the historical situation in which the various aspects of Biblical, theological, and church developments occurred. There was also considerable use of the principles and methods of psychology and sociology in studying human behavior and institutions that were relevant to the above studies. Each book of the New Testament was analyzed by itself as an unique expression of an inspired writer seeking to apply the teachings of Jesus and the apostles to meet the challenges and problems of the early Christian communities. We were also taught that each book displayed peculiarities of thought and distinctive religious emphasis in attempting to meet the problems and challenges of the early Christian communities.

These courses also served to correct some previous misconceptions which we had held. Valuable insight into early Christian history, for example, was gained by studying it in relation to Pharisaic Judaism. We learned to appreciate and admire the high quality and vitality of its religious life and its motivating social controls. Through the classes in theology and church history and our association with the divinity students we also gained a more appreciative perspective of the beliefs, the great leaders and history of the various Christian denominations.

Probably one of our most vital experiences at Chicago was the close association and many intimate discussions which we three Mormons had together. Not only did we share these general education courses together, but we also had Mormon topics for our master's theses: Chase on Sidney Rigdon, Tanner on "The Religious Environment in Which Mormonism Arose," and I on the "Influence of New Testament on Latter-day Saint Eschatology." We discussed

and debated many topics which arose in our classes as well as many aspects of early L. D. S. history. Our discussions became vigorous Mormon seminars in which we were able to evaluate our own ideas more critically and to correlate with them much of the new information and points of view to which we were exposed.

We also kept in touch with and were active in the L. D. S. ward in South Chicago. All of us held church teaching positions and enjoyed our associations with the Church members. We were treated kindly and hospitably by them.

Upon completion of his master's studies in 1931, George Tanner was appointed Director of the Latter-day Saint Institute of Religion at the University of Idaho. He was highly successful in this assignment, and inspired many students with his ability to combine deep religious faith with genuine academic scholarship. One of his most promising students was Leonard J. Arrington, now one of Mormonism's most distinguished historians as well as the historian of the Church.

During the September vacation of 1931 Daryl Chase and I returned to Utah, where we shared the interesting experience of a long interview with President Brigham H. Roberts, a member of the First Council of Seventy and noteworthy Church historian. It was just two years before his death, but he was astonishingly vigorous, alert, and incisive in his conversation. He was most friendly and candid toward us and made some interesting reflections about his career as an historian and the problems he had to face in his own research and writing. Speaking with frankness and considerable ironical wit, he deplored the fact that most Mormons were largely ignorant of L. D. S. history and had so many naive misconceptions about it. With a droll smile and a tone of mock hyperbole he stated that many would be deeply disturbed if they knew its actual history. He thought there might be some difficult problems for us if we chose to write on Mormon topics for our doctoral dissertations. This advice caused Chase to write his dissertation on "The Early Shakers;" my topic, finished in 1934, was "The Rise of the Sects as an Aspect of Religious Experience," an analysis of sociological factors which were instrumental in the rise of the great heretical movements in the Christian Church of the second century A.D.

Upon our return for the autumn quarter in 1931, we found that two additional Mormon students had come to study at the Divinity School: T. Edgar Lyon, a seminary teacher, and Carl J. Furr, a graduate student in Romance linguistics from Utah State and the University of Oregon. Lyon chose American Church history for his specialty and wrote his master's thesis on "Orson Pratt, Early Mormon Leader." After receiving the M.A. degree in 1932, he returned to Utah.

In the next few years several more Mormon students came to the University of Chicago Divinity School. Heber C. Snell commenced New Testament studies in 1932. He obtained his doctorate in 1940, and his thesis, "The Historical Background of the Teachings of Jesus," was written under the supervision of Dr. S. J. Case. Vernon Larsen became enthusiastic about divinity studies after taking classes under Sidney Sperry at B. Y. U. He entered the Chicago school in the autumn of 1933 and began studying the Old Testament and Hebrew. However, he changed majors and specialized under W. C. Bower and Ernest Chave in religious education. He returned to Utah before he finished his doctoral dissertation and became an educational adviser in the office of

Franklin L. West, who had become Church Commissioner of Education in 1937. Larsen finished his thesis, "The Development of a Religious Inventory or Specific Study in Higher Education," in 1942. It was essentially an analysis of the types and degree of religious conflicts of students in the Utah schools of higher education.

Wesley P. Lloyd, a seminary teacher, and Therald N. Jensen, a recent law school graduate from the University of Utah, arrived in Chicago in 1934 to begin divinity studies. Lloyd had already received a master's degree at B. Y. U. in sociology. Working as a departmental fellow under Dr. William C. Bower he obtained his doctorate in 1937 with a thesis entitled "The Rise and Development of Lay Leadership Among the Latter-day Saints." Jensen, from Price, Utah, discovered that a law practice in the early thirties at the height of the depression was a difficult enterprise. Inspired by his former teacher from Snow College, Heber C. Snell, he decided to go to the Chicago Divinity School to get a broader background in cultural studies. He chose world religions as a major subject, but also took advanced courses in the law school, and in philosophy. His doctoral dissertation, written under the direction of Eustace Haydon, was "The Mormon Theory of Church and State."

Anthony S. Cannon, a seminary teacher, was motivated by Sperry's lectures in 1929 and by those of the four University of Chicago professors at the B. Y. U. summer schools. After obtaining a master's degree in sociology at B. Y. U. in 1934, he was encouraged by John A. Widtsoe, then Commissioner of Education for the Church, to attend the Chicago Divinity School. He began his studies there in the summer term of 1935 and chose to work in the Department of Christian Theology, where he was a fellow in 1936-37. He earned the Ph.D. degree in 1938 with a thesis entitled "A Study of Sociological, Psychological, and Religious Interpretation of Christian Vocation."

After the 1930s no more L. D. S. students entered the Chicago Divinity School to obtain the Ph.D. degree. Despite its positive results, the "Chicago Movement" stopped almost as suddenly as it had begun. Various factors may account for this. One was the withdrawal of the strong support of Joseph F. Merrill, who was called to preside over the L. D. S. European Mission in 1933. At the same time, many general authorities of the Church were fearful that the sociological, historical, and literary approach to Bible studies plus the liberal spirit of the Divinity School would undermine the faith and loyalty of L. D. S. students who went there to study. The searing impact of World War II and the fact that the type of young men who might have desired a divinity education now went into military service may also have been a deterring influence. Another consideration was that men with a divinity school doctorate would not be trained in secular subjects and the fact that the Church had no divinity schools would greatly reduce their opportunity for employment. Furthermore, the increasingly activity-oriented programs of the L. D. S. Institutes of Religion required their teachers to have more versatility in promoting and organizing religious activities for the L. D. S. students than intensive academic training.

It would be difficult to make an accurate assessment of the full impact of the "Chicago Movement" on the Church, or to determine the degree to which it fulfilled the expectations of Adam S. Bennion, John A. Widtsoe, Joseph F. Merrill and other church leaders who hoped for a broadening of perspective through such educational experiences. Some insight, however, might be gained

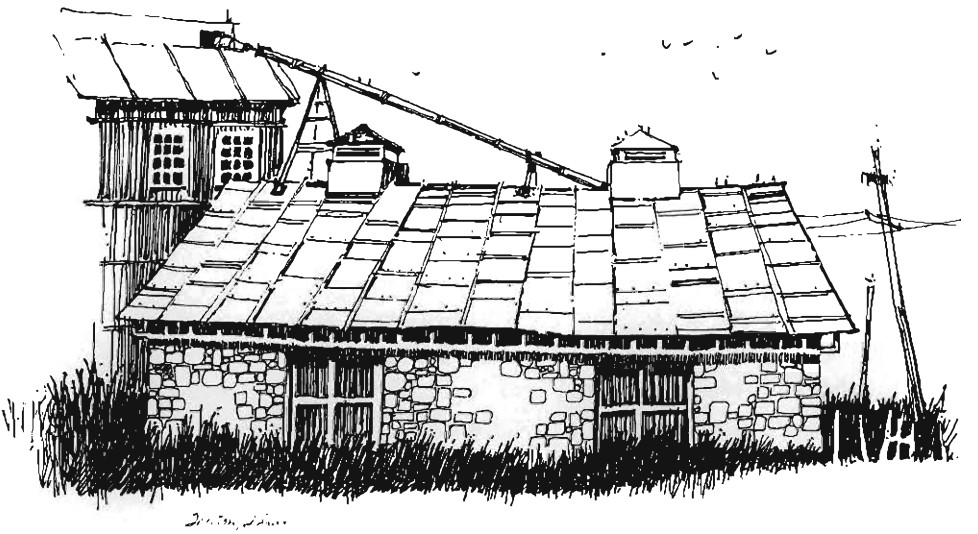
by looking at what happened to the L. D. S. divinity alumni and by noting some of their own evaluations.

First, it is significant that in spite of cautions given by such men as B. H. Roberts, all five of the master's theses written by the "Chicago Men" (Sperry, Chase, Tanner, Swensen, and Lyon), concerned Mormon or Mormon-related topics. The Ph.D. theses by Lloyd, Furr, Jensen, and Larsen also dealt with Mormon subjects. The hope of Adam S. Bennion, John A. Widtsoe and Joseph F. Merrill had been partially fulfilled as these men used the tools of genuine scholarship to further understand the Mormon experience.

The subsequent careers of the Chicago divinity students have been quite diverse. All except Sperry, Tanner, Lyon and Snell eventually left religious education for secular academic and professional positions. Two men, Carl J. Furr and Therald N. Jensen, took up careers entirely outside the field of education. George S. Tanner became director of the Institute of Religion at Moscow, Idaho, later a teacher at the Institute at Logan, Utah, and finally director of the L. D. S. Information Bureau in Honolulu, Hawaii, from which he recently retired. Daryl Chase taught in the L. D. S. educational system from 1932 to 1944. He then became Dean of Students at Utah State and later Director of the College of Southern Utah. From 1954 to 1968 he served with distinction as President of Utah State University. He became the author of several articles and an excellent history of the Christian Church, *Christianity Through the Centuries,* published by the L. D. S. Department of Education. T. Edgar Lyon remained in the L. D. S. educational system, except for a period when he was mission president of the Netherlands. He spent many years at the Institute of Religion at the University of Utah and has written many articles and manuals for the Church. He now serves as Director of Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated. Wesley P. Lloyd became Dean of Students at B. Y. U. in 1937 and later was appointed Dean of the Graduate School. Since 1969 he has been graduate dean at United States International University, San Diego, California. Continuously active in the Church, he has served as a bishop, a member of the YMMIA General Board, and on three high councils. Anthony S. Cannon taught in the Institutes from 1938 to 1941, then became a member of the F.B.I. In 1947 he joined the faculty of the U. of U. as a professor of sociology, remaining there until his retirement in 1966. He still teaches part time for the seminary system. Heber C. Snell was a teacher in the Institutes of Religion until his retirement, and at the age of 89 he is still vigorously enthusiastic about his Chicago experience. As for myself, I taught in the College of Religion at B. Y. U. from 1934 to 1947, when I entered the Department of History. I was chairman of that department from 1949 to 1954. I have written three manuals on New Testament studies for the Sunday School, and over thirty articles for Church magazines. I still gratefully acknowledge the brilliant scholarship and warm friendliness of the Chicago professors, and I am convinced that the excellent training received from them in the critical analysis of religious history and literature has been one of the most positive factors in whatever contribution I have been able to make to Mormon education.

Recently I wrote to all the Mormon educators who received their training in the Chicago Divinity School. I asked how they now felt about their experiences of 30 or 40 years ago, and what importance they attached to it. The replies were generally enthusiastic. Wrote George Tanner, "The four quarters I spent at

the University of Chicago are easily the highlight of my intellectual life," and he emphasized especially that "we learned that non-Mormon scholars were honest, sincere and interested in our welfare." Wesley Lloyd declared that, "The Ph.D. degree program was a rugged, basic and thrilling academic experience in which I found increasing evidence that intensity of feeling is no substitute for a reasoned faith in the Gospel. A mind that is free may tend to lose its fears but not its faith to live by. Looking back a few decades, I sensed that the Chicago days had given me a foundation for more objective thinking that could help to bring a measure of reliable judgment to my later work." Anthony S. Cannon wrote that "one did not look for an ultimate theology there — but learned much that helps one to look carefully at data, to separate theory and hypothesis from facts and eternal truths, and to cling to the satisfying realities of being a participant observer of the Mormon way of life — and the meaning of the Church of Jesus Christ to its members, investigators, and to the world. Such training is ideal in preparing a faithful Latter-day Saint to be able to teach and counsel with growing youth in a modern, changing world." A most searching analysis of the whole movement was provided by T. Edgar Lyon: "It appears to me," he wrote, "that the securing of graduate degrees . . . represents a landmark in an educational outreach which the Church had never known before, and which has profoundly influenced the teaching in the seminaries and institutes since that day. The importation to the B. Y. U. summer school for the teachers of religion of Doctors Goodspeed, Graham, McNeill, and Bower . . . is reflected in the lessons and textbooks written for use in the Church schools and auxiliaries since that time. It was a time of an intellectual and spiritual awakening which was the entering wedge that put the Church educational system in contact with the ongoing mainstream of Christian scriptural and historical research. This outlook has aided in the metamorphosis of the L. D. S. Church from a sectionally oriented to a worldwide Church in less than forty years."

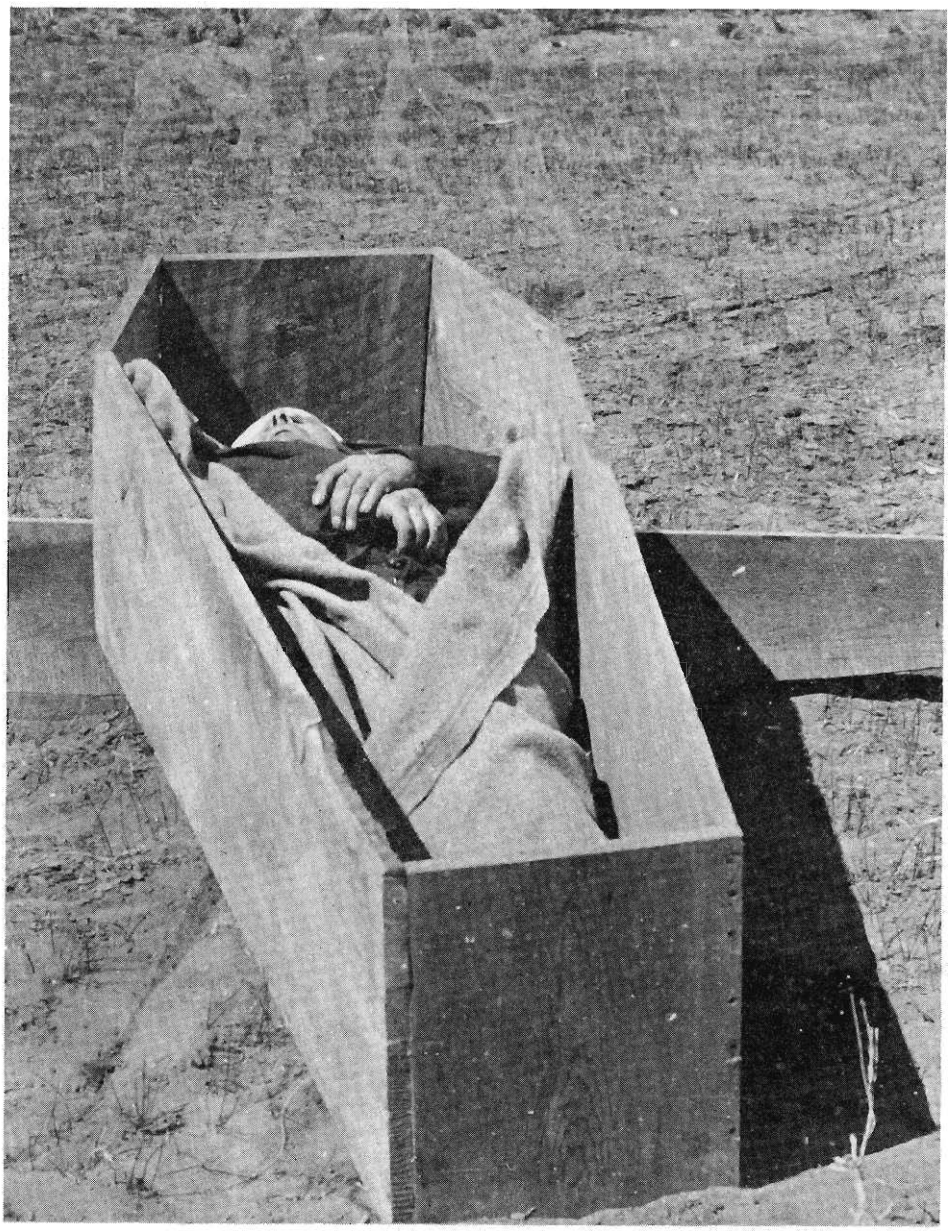


John D. Lee

at his execution,
Mountain Meadows, Utah, March 23, 1877

I want to say I used what strength I had
to save those people. It went on. I could not
stop it. They brought it on themselves — waving
a gun they said they used on Joseph Smith,
calling an ox 'Brigham,' our wives 'whores,'
poisoning springs — until some Indians died.
And when I met Moquetas and Big Bill
on the road between Cedar City and New Harmony,
painted for battle, they said they'd kill me —
kill everyone in the settlements —
if we didn't help them get that wagon train.
They took my small son hostage and rode off.
The rest is tangled threads, drawn to a knot
that blood has hardened. We got out here — the camp
was twice as large as anyone had supposed —
children, women at their work, men posted.
Somewhere along the trail two parties had joined.
I looked down from that hill and did not see
myself standing where I stand today.
Where were the murderers? I wept, pleaded —
the chiefs would not move. Under a flag of truce,
I offered a Militia escort back to Cedar.

Last scene in the life of John D. Lee taking leave of the officers while sitting upon his coffin just before being shot. Mountain Meadows. J. Fennemore & Co., Photographers



Remains of John D. Lee, five minutes after execution, on the ground where he was shot. Mountain Meadows. J. Fennemore & Co., Photographers

The Indians, I gave out, would be drawn off
by supplies, cattle — but they had to leave
their weapons behind, and any murderers
among them must stand trial. I saw suspicion
in eyes that had been open for a week,
but most of them were just too starved to argue
with their deliverers. We drove two wagons up,
loaded them with the wounded, and young children,
and women and children walking, we set out
in a blinding dusk. Behind, a quarter mile,
the men came, one by one, each with a guard.
The horses, moving fast, got far ahead,
and just as the wagons passed behind a knoll
the women entered a draw where scrub oak grew
on all sides, shadowy and shoulder high.
At the command, 'Halt! Do your duty!' the guards
knelt down and shot their prisoners, while the Indians,
leaping the brush from both sides of the trail,
hatcheted children, women, and stray men
whose guards, afraid of murder, shot the air.
I was assigned to kill the sick and the wounded —
McMurdy and Knight, who helped me, say I did it,
but actually the shots I fired went wild
in the confusion and almost killed McMurdy.
Next morning, we rode back and quickly buried
six score — right where they fell — the braves
had scalped and stripped the bodies during the night.
That landscape took a general's sanity.
Now for the last victim — here I am
beside this casket twenty years to the day.
Death holds no terror, and I have not asked
the courts or the world to spare my life.
Where I am going is no worse than this.

Center my heart, boys, don't mangle my body.

Cornerstone

(Tracting in New Mexico)

With vivid cunning
she draws rounded
petals of smoke
within her mouth,
crosses a bony knee
and speaks
of converting
other Lamanites.
Eve, too,
was a brunette.
And from this tender mouth
rings the laughter
of a girl,
a vessel of the fruitful earth.
My body is
occupied
by sin,
she says, laughing.
I know because
the holy spirit
told me.
The devil is a molten ball.
I dreamed of
Catherine of Siena
as a child.

Endless nights, Father.
White flowers
bursting into flame
at my bedside:
a sign.
Pierced through
the heart with
a sharpened candlestick.
I come, penitent.
Sundays
laid out before me,
fresh sheets
drying upon
the grass
with rocks
at their corners.
Parted lips
are among
my eternal
burdens.
How much
do you wish
for this naked hallway,
this remorse?

REVIEWS

Edited by Davis Bitton

An Uncertain Voice in the Wilderness

MARVIN S. HILL

The Voice of one Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer, 1793-1876. By F. Mark McKiernan. Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1972. $7.50.

When so many biographies of early Mormons are made immaculate (and superficial) by filial piety, it borders on the tragic when an historian seeking to write an objective life of Sidney Rigdon fails in many ways to expand or deepen our understanding. Despite the inclusion of a much needed chapter on Rigdon's post-1844 career, F. Mark McKiernan's *The Voice of one Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon Religious Reformer* is disappointing. Its deficiencies often seem rooted in the academician's perilous prerequisite — publish or perish. McKiernan, professor of history at Idaho State University, may have allowed the pressures for productivity to affect the publication of a study which in many ways seems unfinished. The volume shows signs of haste: factual and interpretive errors, clumsy writing, poor conceptualization, inadequate research. What might have been an important contribution is often no more than a rehash of well known history, history at times related but incidentally to Sidney Rigdon.

Factual mistakes mar the book. Contrary to McKiernan, there is evidence in the ledger book of the Kirtland Safety Society at the Chicago Historical Society that only a few Mormons, and not the major dissenters, lost money in the bank (p. 78). Opposition to the bank and to Joseph Smith in 1837 must be explained on other grounds. Alexander Doniphan's bill to organize a Mormon county passed the Missouri legislature in 1836 but did not, as McKiernan affirms (p. 81), encompass Ray and Daviess counties. Lilburn W. Boggs successfully opposed the original bill and restricted the Saints to Caldwell County. Failure to perceive this makes the Mormon war of 1838 difficult to explain. Joseph Smith was tried before Austin A. King in September, 1838, but in a farmhouse in Caldwell County, where he felt secure, rather than at Richmond as McKiernan maintains (p. 90). The names of Joseph Smith and Nancy Rigdon, as Benjamin Winchester suggests, were first linked in Kirtland, not Nauvoo (pp. 113-115). McKiernan misjudges the reason for Rigdon's excommunication in 1844, designating it "partisanship" (p. 155). But there was more than partisanship involved since Rigdon had initiated his own movement by ordaining prophets, priests and kings, thus threatening the unity of the Church. Rigdon's

letters to Stephen Post, deposited in the Historical Department of the Church archives at Salt Lake City in the fall of 1971 but not utilized by McKiernan, provide evidence that Rigdon was not isolated from all Mormon groups during the last thirty years of his life (pp. 133, 144), but that he remained actively engaged in trying to establish the Kingdom of God. In 1864 he received a revelation which instructed Post, Joseph Newton, William Stanly, and Abraham Burtis to flee the wrath to come and gather at Council Bluffs.

Was John C. Bennett's sponsoring of the Nauvoo charter, the Legion, and Free Masonry largely responsible for the destruction of Nauvoo (pp. 109, 124)? Or were there deeper antagonisms between Mormons and non-Mormons which would have been manifest without Bennett? Mormon experience in Ohio and Missouri before Bennett joined the Church suggests the latter view. Anti-Mormon literature makes it clear that Mormon collectivist institutions, however modified, were more objectionable than personalities and programs.

In writing and organization McKiernon's book frequently lacks finesse. McKiernan tells us (p. 17) that Rigdon died in 1876 but he and his wife, Phebe, "lived together in harmony . . . until she died in 1886." Chapter II deals with the advent of Mormonism to Ohio, but continues for four additional pages to treat the theme of the preceding chapter, Rigdon's relationship to Alexander Campbell. Chapter III terminates in 1832 with the mobbing of Rigdon and Joseph Smith, inferring some special significance in this incident. But the significance is not explained. At several places McKiernan introduces a topic, drops it, and then takes it up again, destroying the continuity of the story (pp. 45, 52-57, 113, 115). In his discussion of the Danites, Rigdon's role is minimized, yet a whole page is devoted to the Danite constitution (pp. 95-96). Rigdon's position on succession is given brief treatment, but Brigham Young's is criticized at length (pp. 128-130).

The book suffers more fundamentally in that the theme of Rigdon as religious reformer is not developed consistently. McKiernan does not tell us enough of Alexander Campbell as reformer nor does he treat early Mormonism as a reformation (or re-formation) of American Christianity. Thus Rigdon's attraction to these movements is not adequately explained. Research in the Stephen Post papers demonstrates that Rigdon spent five years at Friendship, New York, studying the prophecies of the Bible and of Joseph Smith, trying to decern his relationship to the destiny of Mormonism and to the destiny of the nations of the earth.

Rigdon as prophet, his mysticism and millennialism are slighted, and thus a basic ingredient of Rigdon's personality is unexamined. This leads to misunderstanding of the succession crisis in 1844. Brigham Young did not win the majority of Mormons merely by parliamentary maneuvers and public disparagment of the man from Pittsburgh. The truth is that there were no better claimants than Young available. Joseph Smith's son was too young, William Smith and Sidney Rigdon were erratic. Strang did not have status enough early enough to win many supporters. Young very wisely affirmed that he would not try to replace the Prophet but to carry out his programs. Rigdon made a similar public statement, but in private informed his followers that Joseph was a fallen prophet, thus casting doubt on his loyalty in the minds of most Mormons. If Joseph had in fact fallen, to whom would the Saints turn? Rigdon would not do. Most Mormons, like Newel K. Whitney, had little faith

in Rigdon's prophetic powers. Rigdon preached in 1844 that he held the keys of conquest and that he would triumphantly lead the Saints to battle against the United States and England, preparatory to the battle of God and Magog. Such wild apocalyptic utterances, characteristic of Rigdon, seemed extravagant to most Mormons. They seem to have sensed what Rigdon's son, John W., said in 1859. When some of the elders persuaded Rigdon to leave Friendship and preach at Centerville, it raised the anger of his son: "My father is in no condition to preach to any people he is a Maniac on religion & you did very wrong to influence him to leave his home." John W. may have been guilty of the Rigdon tendency to exaggerate, but a more thorough and thoughtful study is needed before we can be certain.

Sysiphus in the West

MAUREEN URSENBACH

Goldenrod. By Herbert Harker. New York: Random House, 1972. 186 pp. $5.95.

In a recent *New Era* article (August 1972) Arthur Henry King made an incisive comment about Mormon literature: Mormon artists, he said, "need not write especially for Mormons, and they need not write especially on Mormon subjects" for the treatment to be inescapably Mormon. I cannot be sure that a Gentile would recognize the Mormonism in Herbert Harker's novel *Goldenrod,* but certainly here is a work which finds resonance in at least one Mormon soul, and a new talent which gives some substance to Dale Morgan's hope, expressed in *Dialogue*'s issue on literature (Autumn 1969) that "there is going to be, as there is now, a Mormon literature, and on the whole, I think the best is yet to come."

Goldenrod makes literary sense on several levels. It's plot line is western, and Harker can suit his prose to the fast action of the rodeo circuit which is the milieu of his protagonist Jesse Gifford. A down-and-outer since a trouncing under the hooves of the bronc that had thrown him, Jesse, his back taped to protect the still fragile pelvis, tries for a comeback in the granddaddy rodeo, the Calgary Stampede, astride the saddle-bronc Polka Dot:

> The chute opened. Polka Dot . . . stood for a moment, uncertainly. Then, with the same zest he had shown earlier, he spun on his heels and leaped into the arena. Jesse felt blue sky under him, but when the horse came down hard on all four feet, he chucked back into the saddle like a rifle bolt going home. He felt as if his encasement of adhesive tape had crumbled, his pelvis smashed with the shock. . . .

The story moves rapidly, with tight, concise prose. Flashbacks enlarge the plot so easily that the reader is hardly aware that it was a literary device and not an actuality which filled in the details.

Goldenrod does more than tell a western tale. There is a lyricism in Harker's setting of the western scene which not only puts the characters in a fitting locale, but creates that landscape and characterizes those people in a few deft strokes. The book begins:

> Jesse and his boys had traveled for three days. Now it was evening again, and as he looked back across the distance they had come, Jesse saw their long-legged shadows ripple over the uneven prairie behind them. He was weary beyond feeling. The numbness of his body was intensified by the ache that hung inside him, swinging with the motion of the saddle. Sometimes that ache seemed suspended from his heart and sometimes from his broken pelvis.

And already there is established a tone which undercuts the romance of the west which we have learned to impose on our writing of cowboy lore; with the broken pelvis we sense the breakdown of the cowboy hero. Jesse Gifford can ride, better than most circuit cowboys, but he is far from the John Wayne-Roy Rogers hero we grew up with. He misses the rabbit he was aiming to feed his boys for supper because he forgot to load his gun; he refuses to fight the champion who has stolen his girl because "his anger all drained out through the soles of his feet;" he can't function with a couple of drinks under his belt; and in an angry madness he shoots his faithful horse. The alternating hero and anti-hero, or better expressed, non-hero, makes of Jesse Gifford a man to be believed in. The balance is precarious, but Harker manages to maintain it.

And out of the tension which arises between Jesse Gifford the cowboy and Jesse Gifford the man emerges a novel which has more in common with Camus' *The Stranger* than it does with Jack Schaefer's *Shane*. The pseudo-morality of the western frontier is an imposed direction which, when he thinks about it, Jesse Gifford cannot accept. So he turns at each step, and discovers his independence in acting contrary to the expected. The emerging ethic is not existential: it is most often by accident that Jesse finds himself behaving authentically. But the implications are still there: Jesse is a better man for being a lesser hero.

There are weak moments in the book: the attempted hanging in the stable lacks the balance of dark and light which saves most of the episodes from overseriousness. And the final chapter gets too caught up in the "ride off together into the sunset" ending to avoid the sentimentality of the formula western. The scene could be one of those rare unforgettable ones: Jesse, broken down and broken legged, clad only in his plaster cast, tangles with his muscled rival Keno; licks him with the help of a shotgun blast fired into the rafters by his twelve-year-old Ethan; then politely suggests that unless Keno leaves now, the road will be snowed in. And then he invites his own wife Shirley to stay, or go with Keno, as she pleases. The elements are all there; only Harker's usually pervading humor is missing.

But if one or two scenes seem less than right, it is mainly because of the craftsmanship with which Harker has wrought the rest of the book. The moment in the third chapter, for example, when tough little George, who doesn't know he ought to be feeling sorry for himself, bereft as he is of home, mother, security, discovers fear in a baby rabbit whose mother has hopped off. The juxtaposing of the two seems too artless to be planned, but too poetic to be accidental.

The scene which, for me, pulls the novel closest to the archetypal, the mythical, and makes it speak with a responsive universality, is the one in the pasture with Czar, the horse. Jesse is trying to escape for a day, and his only chance is to saddle Czar and race on him to the nearest train stop. Already he hears the whistle. But Czar won't be caught, and when Jesse does get close, evades the

bridle. In excruciating desperation Jesse explodes his anger by firing his shotgun full in Czar's face. His rebellion stilled by his horror of his action, he reasserts his humanity by firing a second and infinitely more difficult shot to kill the horse. Swinging wide his arms, he hurls the gun into the deep grasses and falls on his face near the gruesome corpse of Czar. There his boys find him; bit by bit he acknowledges them, his responsibility, and his life. Sisyphus, having failed in his attempt to hurl his rock in the face of the gods, trudges again down the mountainside to retrieve it and with it start the ascent anew.

In summary the scene sounds heavy with philosophical weight; actually it moves quickly and lightly, its implications trailing along in its wake. Its salvation is the author's gift for glossing the whole with a fine sheen of humor, yet at the same time maintaining the sense of impact of the events on his characters. He seems able to show the comic mask not quite hidden behind seeming tragedy in such a way that we see life more real than real.

Such an awareness, accompanied by a compassion grown of understanding, I kept thinking as I read, could create a literary expression of Mormon experience which would be both truthful and significant. Harker's roots are in the Mormon communities of Southern Alberta; his adult world has expanded far beyond small-towns into modern urban Mormonism. He knows Mormon subjects, and he can write. The anticipation that those skills so evident in *Goldenrod* might be applied to the creation of a Mormon novel, with Mormon themes and Mormon characters, was the final excitement in this reading.

A Prophet's Goodly Grandparents

DEAN JESSEE

Joseph Smith's New England Heritage: Influences of Grandfathers Solomon Mack and Asael Smith. By Richard Lloyd Anderson. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1971. 230 pp. $4.95.

Joseph Smith's New England Heritage by Dr. Richard L. Anderson is an important contribution to an understanding of Joseph Smith's immediate ancestry and the domestic environment in which he was raised. Since Joseph attributed dominant traits of his character to the influence of his "grandfathers while they dandled me on their knees;" and inasmuch as "books debunking Joseph Smith typically begin by downgrading his immediate ancestors," a careful study of Joseph's forebearers is long overdue.

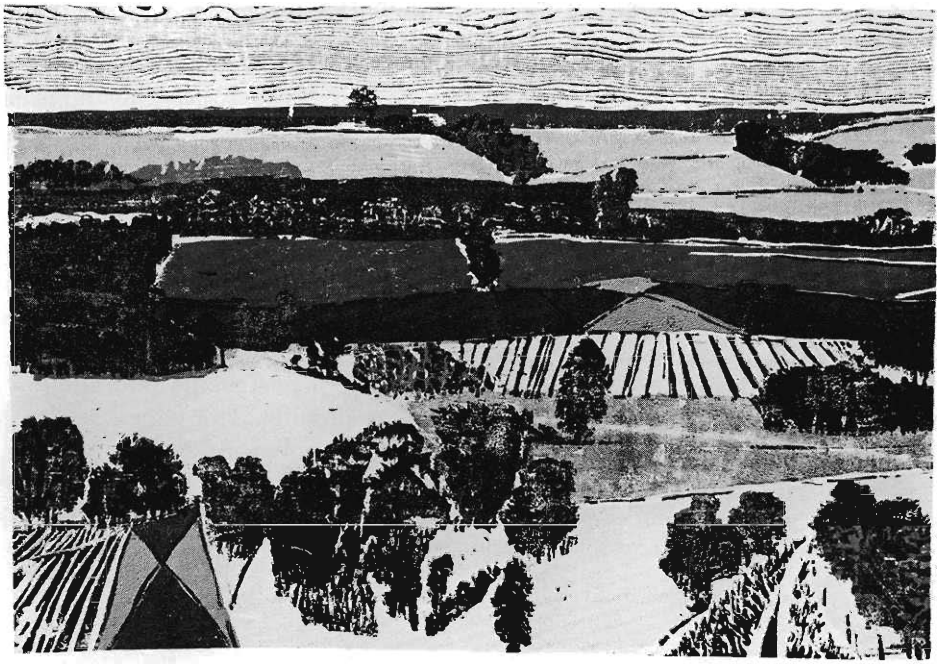
This volume contains eight chapters divided into a prologue, an epilogue, and six chapters dealing with the lives of Joseph Smith's grandparents. Extensive notes provide much detail, enrichment, and clarification. Although limited to names, the index permits quick reference to members of the Smith and Mack families. Twenty-one illustrations give valuable assistance in showing family relationships, New England residences, and pictorial views of individuals and places mentioned in the book.

Chapters two to four focus upon Joseph Smith's maternal grandparents, tracing events in the life of Solomon Mack from his early war experiences to

his death in Gilsum, New Hampshire in 1820. Chapter three contains the text of the autobiographical *Narrative of the Life of Solomon Mack* that was published about 1811, and is followed by the account of the miraculous healing of Solomon's daughter, Lovisa. Chapters five to seven detail the life and writings of Joseph Smith's paternal grandparents. Asael Smith, a Revolutionary War veteran, raised a large family and was a respected community leader in Tunbridge, Vermont. He later moved to New York and lived to see the publication of the Book of Mormon, which he read and accepted. Two extant Asael Smith holograph letters dated 1796 and 1799 are reproduced in chapter six. The family history written by Asael Smith's son, John, presented in chapter seven is the only account of Asael's life and the early years of his family.

Dr. Anderson cites numerous incidents in the lives of Joseph Smith's grandparents that draw attention to the moral fibre of the family. For example: Solomon Mack's willingness to gamble his life to save a fallen comrade during military action in the French and Indian War; and Asael Smith's desire to save his father's name "from going down to posterity as an insolvent debtor," by personally settling the father's estate when he died. This resulted in great hardship to Asael as he undertook to pay debts in a time of depression that had been contracted in a time of inflation, and at a time when "thousands of debtors in rural Massachusetts supported armed revolution rather than face compulsory collection and foreclosure proceedings."

Since a quarter of the book comprises extensive "notes on the text," the reader who ignores them because they are not conveniently printed at the bottom of each page will miss significant commentary. Many of the notes are small essays in and of themselves that present valuable insight and clarification on side issues and events. The extensive documentation, from hundreds of New England sources, is not only a tribute to careful scholarship and the legal-historical talents of the author, but presents a good test for the factual accuracy of the Smith and Mack writings.



Among little known and obscure source material utilized in *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage* is the original manuscript of the Lucy Smith history. This document has not heretofore been cited in Mormon scholarship, except as reflected in later versions of Lucy's history — notably the Coray manuscript and the version published by Orson Pratt in England in 1853 under the title, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet*. Handwriting of the original manuscript identifies it as a Lucy Smith holograph. This manuscript provides added insight to the Smith family and Mormon beginnings that was either passed over in the Coray edition or added by Lucy in revision. The reader may compare the preliminary manuscript with the *Biographical Sketches* version of Lucy's history in the parallel presentation of Lovisa Mack's healing in chapter four.

In conclusion, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage* is a valuable study of the lives of Joseph Smith's grandparents that broadly illuminates the immediate environment that produced the Mormon prophet. If Dr. Anderson's presentation of the heroic side of his subject's lives seems to obscure any failings, the book nevertheless offers a serious alternative to the image of Joseph Smith and his immediate ancestors that has been portrayed by his critics.

New Acts of Poetry

MARY L. BRADFORD

Spaces in the Sage. By Emma Lou Thayne. Salt Lake City: Parliament Press, 1971. 60 pp. $2.95.

What You Feel, I Share. By Dennis Drake. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971. 54 pp. $2.95.

Speak to Me. By Christie Lund Coles. Salt Lake City: Press Publishing, 1971. 64 pp. $2.98.

the lost, the found. By Gale Tampico Boyd. Salt Lake City: Studio West, 1971. 77 pp.

More and more acts of poetry are being committed by Mormons these days. Before me are four volumes attesting to a variety of interests and a variety in printing and format. I am happy to report that the best of these, *Spaces in the Sage*, appears under a new imprint "Parliament Press," tastefully done at Bookcraft, inaugurating what I hope is a trend dedicated to the publishing of good things for their own sake.

What You Feel, I Share, printed by Bookcraft, has an attractive typeface, but is marred by unnecessary illustrations. *Speak to Me*, by Christie Lund Coles, a poet who has been publishing in Church magazines for many years, would be better without the awkward pen and ink drawings. This brings up the question: do poems need pictures? I would give a resounding "No" if books like *Reflections on a Gift of Watermelon Pickle** weren't so satisfying. *the lost, the found* (in lower case) seems to be a successful meshing of poetry and photography, although the poems are not always as good as the pictures. This paperback book is apparently published at the behest of the photographer, Brian Record.

So much for printing; now to poetry. Dennis Drake is most successful when he forgets his beliefs and concentrates on deeply felt emotion or imagery. This short poem seems to be completely realized (and the beliefs come through too):

*Anthology for children (and adults) by Dunning / Lueders / Smith, Lothrop, 1967.

YEAR SUPPLY

Preparation will not erase for me the fear of famine:
I have a ravening lust for life, deserved or not.
Be sure that one poor man will never crave
Secure and shallow comforts of a grave.
I wish no quicker end to come
Than must, and I am dumb
To think of a red moon
Or towers of smoke
That Jesus come.

Other poems are marred, however, by trite lines like "If you are light, God, I want to be like you." This ends a poem which begins promisingly as a Laser beam. Some lines seem obvious: "No knowledge is free for the asking / It presumes preparation / assigns obligation." "A Girl is like a Fawn" has trite images like "Spring-young, a girl is like a fawn / in danger situations" and slack descriptions like "half-frightened, half-curious" and "ripeness, beauty, life." This young poet needs practice and pruning. The talent is there, but he gives in easily.

Christie Lund Coles doesn't try hard enough either. Her first poem "Speak to Me" (previously printed in *Dialogue*) shows what she can do when she really feels herself into another life. But turn the page and the rewards are trite, derivative lines: "There must be silence / Silence to review the path taken / and those we must still trod / There . . . must be meditation to renew our faith in God." I didn't think anyone would dare to rhyme *God* and *trod* anymore!

"It Is Over Now" is a delicate evocation of lost love: "It is over now, I am past the place / where the world was hollowed in your embrace." And there is a nice irony in "Artist:" "In a distant city / they exhibited his pictures / called them good art / said he was giving / immortality / to the town and people / whose houses he painted / to make a living." Mrs. Coles has the poet's soul. She perhaps has not been perservering enough to push for the final image, the best of all possible words.

Gale Tampico Boyd is in love with words. Her world is swirling with adjectives, most of them clouding the poet's vision like the insects she describes as "the dainty-winged darlings / become blats of bitter bastings / and the splays of glucky green / and pus yellow / somehow taint the taste of my / preterminal potato chips."

She experiments with typography, sometimes making arrangements out of poems. Many of the poems tend to disappear, however, in the pyrotechnics. She is not preachy, though, which I find refreshing.

There is a fun-loving grace to "Crumpled Foil" in which the poet uses an old piece of foil as a mirror: "I pull a shining sheet of swishing foil / and crumple it / and then unrumple it / and spread it full of wrinkles on the floor / and gaze in it / (to see my face in it) . . . " I think we can do without "shining" and "swishing."

There is a touch of Joyce in "Lola:" "All falldeerallish kiss was she / Flanibulously gay — / A sensuabulous young thing / Like a rosybis in May." And a little poem called "One Dollar Room" has a satisfying grittiness to it:

"sink like a smudge pot / dry rot / stink clot / rotted through the brain cells / my hell / oh well . . ." I do draw the line at gratuitous exercises like "Trip-dream:" "all purgation purple / oozing orange / my mind / a vermillion varminatry / vacuum / vile and viscous."

Ms. Boyd is experimental and creative; I hope in the future that she tries harder to penetrate the surfaces.

Emma Lou Thayne's book has been selling well. One friend said, "I bought it because I can understand it. The ideas are good." It's the same old plague. We do not always understand that an inspiring subject does not a poem make, nor does simple sincerity, not even just deep feeling. If the poet's voice is not distinctively his own, sounding through the craft, the reader would do better to invest in sermons.

I believe that Ms. Thayne's book is successful not simply because the emotions are those many of us share, but because her *motions* are well-realized. The quiet voice, the exact phrase combine to make us aware of the art, deeply aware of the images. There is in her work, too, the underlying paradox of life, as in "Heretic:" "Indulge / my searching / my unsteady voice: / You share / the blame; / it's You / who gave me / choice." And "The Middle" which is described as a "brink place" and a "safe place" "where one unbalanced move / could catapult determined limbo / into living."

There is a nice attention to detail, a variety of forms, which do not call attention to themselves. She experiments some by arranging short poems to fill a whole page, uses large spaces between words, in the manner of James Dickey, none of which can be shown here. The sonnet is well-represented too.

Her feeling for nature is evident in such poems as "Pruning the Sage," and in a group about Lake Powell, showing a penchant for Western scenery which she manages to internalize. The simple cutting of sage from a privet reveals the terror of a snake, finally put to rout by "four violets in bloom."

The book ends with a long poem describing the death of a seventeen-year-old boy, sustained by dialogue between students who knew him. The young survivors' first brush with death emerges as "caves too deep to look at in the sun." It is a narrative poem which builds to a climax.

Ms. Thayne's faith in God and in life lives in these poems, but she never preaches. She simply "shows" us her heart, which is how all good poetry should serve the faithful.

Lives to Inspire

GARY L. SHUMWAY

No More Strangers. By Hartman and Connie Rector. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1971. 168 pp. $3.50. *Win If You Will.* By Paul H. Dunn. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1972. 257 pp. $4.50.

Both of these books are composed of a number of short autobiographical accounts of L.D.S. Church members who have achieved success in important personal quests. *Win If You Will,* like a series of good Priest's Quorum Meet-

Some books belong to all times and places. They are the rivers, mountains, seas and continents of our intellectual and moral world. They tell us where we are and how far we have still to go. They are, in short, our landmarks.

—Maynard Mack

ings, presents outstanding athletes, scientists, businessmen and others who describe the self-discipline, persistence and allegiance to Gospel principles that led them to secular success. *No More Strangers* is like a Fast and Testimony Meeting in which a number of converts describe their spiritual path to the Kingdom.

In both works, the autobiographies included are of persons who fit the objectives of the book and who have a special appeal to Church members. The two books make a solid contribution towards overcoming the rather narrow focus on the Church elite that has characterized the writing of most L.D.S. authors. While none of the autobiographers included are common men or women, as demonstrated by the depth of talent and motivation they have manifested, neither are most of them General Authorities, descendents of Hyrum Smith, or even descendants of the Pioneer Band of 1847. Furthermore, these individuals with few exceptions emerge as believable people who have dealt successfully with disbelief, failure and even acclaim.

Another common strength is the autobiographical format of the two books. Such an approach risks degenerating into apology, giving too little credit to other persons, or omitting important detail. The two books were not entirely free from these and similar problems, but most of the respondents were markedly successful in presenting cogent, well written narratives that packed a great deal of detail into a short space.

Quite successful in achieving their general objectives, both books have weaknesses. *Win If You Will,* though slightly the stronger in regards to overall quality, has the more noticeable deficiencies. In presenting heroes for young people to use as examples, Elder Dunn selects six athletes, three scientists, two businessmen, one military hero and a token educator. The emphasis upon athletes perpetuates a type that has been overworked already. Furthermore, since the book is dedicated to the youth of the Church in general, it should have been possible to find at least a token female worthy of adulation. The message of the title *Win If You Will* is somewhat misleading also. Despite the modest assurances of thirteen gifted persons that anyone can succeed since they did, there is a strong likelihood that most children born with cerebral

palsy will never become football quarterbacks, and tone deaf students will rarely become virtuoso musicians. Besides, if everyone were committed to denying every other facet of their lives in order to be able to throw a discus 198'8", or design lunar landing components or medical computers, this world would soon lose the variety that makes it enjoyable. On the other hand, there is little danger that most of us are going to over-exert ourselves, and this book's pulsing message of dedication, self-denial and discipline is timely for a permissive generation.

No More Strangers has better balance in the selection of respondents and succeeds well in conveying its message. However, there is something almost pathetic in the compulsion felt by a number of these converts to convince the reader of their conversion experience, as if this were seventeenth-century New England, and each of these a Michael Wigglesworth being given a hearing by the Puritan fathers to determine worthiness for admission as a full Church member. This need to feel that they are in fact "no more strangers" is probably better understood by the convert than by those comfortable Saints who trace all of their ancestors back to Nauvoo.

A noticeable defect in the style of *No More Strangers* is the tendency for the editor's introduction to each autobiography to give too much of the respondent's story. This book (and for that matter, *Win If You Will* also) would have been strengthened by having an introduction at the beginning that briefly discussed each informant, followed by the autobiographies presented without editorial comment as separate chapters.

In dwelling on the slight defects of these two works, which are bound to be more noticeable to the hyper-critical reviewer than to the gentle reader, there is the danger of downplaying their quality. Both have a worthwhile message and convey it in a highly interesting manner. Both are sufficiently successful in presenting the experiences of modern day builders of the Kingdom that they will be well received by Church members.

Joe Hill's Governor

F. Alan Coombs

William Spry: Man of Firmness, Governor of Utah. By William L. Roper and Leonard J. Arrington. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press for the Utah State Historical Society, 1971. 224 pp. $6.50.

Let us begin by accentuating the positive, even if it proves impossible to eliminate the negative in discussing William Roper's and Leonard Arrington's biographical study of William Spry, Utah's Governor during the period from 1909 to 1917. The first full-scale study of Spry's life and contribution to the history of the Beehive State, it helps to fill a void that has heretofore existed.

Spry's story is worth re-telling. Born in England in early 1864 of artisan stock, he immigrated to Utah with his parents when he was eleven years old, shortly after the family had converted to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-

day Saints. Young William's formal education ended when he was thirteen as he left school to accept employment as a stable boy for the wealthy Salt Lake City entrepreneur William Jennings. Spry's subsequent rise to prominence clearly followed the outlines of the Horatio Alger tradition. After working as a section hand for the railroad and a "striker" in a blacksmith shop, he was ready to undertake a mission for his church to the Southern States Mission. It was an era when anti-Mormon feeling ran high in the South and mob violence was a constant possibility. Apparently Spry performed his duties with skill and courage, for he was called to assume the position of mission president in 1888. After devoting nearly six years of his early manhood to missionary service, he returned to Utah to settle down.

On July 10, 1890, Spry and his bride, Mary Alice Wrathall, were sealed "for time and all eternity" in a ceremony at the Logan L.D.S. temple. He procured employment at Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution until the Panic of 1893 forced the department store to cut back its labor force. Then, after trying his hand at stockraising, Spry successfully sought his first public office, being elected Tax Collector for Tooele County in 1894. Membership on the Grantsville City Council and the school board followed and in 1903 Tooele County sent him to the State Legislature. After a short term, he was named President of the State Land Board in 1905. By that time he had also been chosen Chairman of the Republican State Committee and was obviously one of the most promising young men in Utah politics. Under the friendly auspices of Senator Reed Smoot and the "Federal Bunch," Spry was appointed United States Marshal for Utah by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1906.

It was from that position that William Spry was picked to become the G.O.P. gubernatorial candidate in 1908; the "Federal Bunch" was concerned over the challenge it faced from the American party in the Salt Lake City area and had decided that Spry, already noted as a conciliator, would be a more popular nominee than incumbent Governor John C. Cutler. Elected handily over his opponents in November, Spry commenced a period of eight years as Governor, highlighted by three issues of paramount importance: (1) liquor control, concerning which his firm stand on behalf of local option may finally have cost him his job; (2) the construction of a beautiful new state capitol building; and (3) the "Joe Hill" murder case and execution. But in 1916 he found himself shunted aside by the political powers in his party in a manner strongly reminiscent of their treatment of Governor Cutler. Two years later Spry bid unsuccessfully for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives and was not to return to public office until 1921, when the new Republican President, Warren G. Harding, tapped him to become Commissioner of the General Land Office. Once again he went about his duty with industry and rigorous honesty, notwithstanding the wrongdoing that sometimes infected the highest echelons of the Interior Department. Spry finally fell victim to a paralytic stroke in December, 1928, and died after a second attack the following spring.

This is not a difficult book to read and it is remarkably free from typographical errors. The University of Utah Press is to be complimented for a handsome job of printing and binding. The ample illustrations add to the overall attractiveness of the volume. Unfortunately, a reviewer cannot fully discharge his responsibilities by limiting his comments to such superficial praise.

The reader should heed the information given in the Preface that "this

biography of William Spry was initiated and solely financed by the governor's eldest daughter . . . and her husband." Such a method of financing research and publication is not automatically a sign of either bad biography or bad historical evaluation, but in this instance one has to wonder if it is not partly responsible for the almost total absence of any critical edge. Having been shown a nearly faultless William Spry, we are left to suppose that the only possible explanation for his failure even to recapture the Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1916 was to be found in the treachery of his party associates and the general perversity of an unthinking electorate. It is hard to say if Will Spry, like Ben Franklin, would have wanted his portrait done "warts and all;" it is hard to say because the Will Spry presented in this volume is *so* perfect he scarcely becomes a real, flesh-and-blood human being.

It is not that the authors did not try to add human interest and personality to their account. Indeed, in so doing they fell headlong into the trap that waits to ensnare every biographer — the trap that might be labeled "personal irrelevancy." One sign of this difficulty is the unbalanced character of the narrative. Roughly eight chapters are devoted to Spry's early life for which "hard evidence" is necessarily sketchy and the authors, too often uncritically, have relied on family lore and anecdotes to plug the gaps.

Then, when more solid documentary evidence for the early period of Spry's life is available, the authors can hardly resist the temptation to include it in the story, regardless of its importance. Is it really vital that the *S. S. Wyoming* that brought the Sprys to this country in 1875 was 366 feet long and 43 feet across the beam or that three elders on board (but, so far as we know, not William Spry) sighted an iceberg during the crossing? One might suppose the important point is that the Sprys got here. Does it reveal some otherwise undecipherable trait in the Governor's character to report that in 1920 he purchased a Premier automobile "with a magnetic, semi-automatic gearshift, that kept Salt Lake garage mechanics busy. . . . ?" To a biographer who has become totally involved with his subject, such detail has a fatal fascination and it can be assumed that Spry's descendants will also find it interesting. But for the ordinary reader, it may seem at best unnecessary and at worst the kind of intrusive antiquarianism that obscures the more historically significant points to be made about Spry and his career.

A certain amount of detail, of course, is both necessary and desirable, *if* it serves a larger purpose. Even occasional irrelevancies can be excused *if* they are counterbalanced by thorough treatment of crucial questions. In this volume, however, there are few glimpses into the inner workings of Utah politics in the Progressive Era and for the most part even the examination of Spry's record of legislative and executive accomplishment is cursory. Probably most disappointing is the discovery that the authors have devoted fewer than ten pages to the eight years Spry served as Commissioner of the General Land Office during a turbulent era in the development of public lands policy.

The one event in Spry's career that is treated at length is the famous (or infamous) Joe Hill case. Approximately one-third of the text is directed toward a reconsideration of that episode. One must sympathize with Governor Spry in this instance; no man enjoys being misrepresented, much less having scores of threats made on his life and the lives of other members of his family. One can also conclude, as the authors do, that Joseph Hillstrom (or Joel Hägglund)

probably did shoot and kill that Salt Lake grocer and his son and that the I.W.W. did cynically exploit Hillstrom's execution in order to make him a martyr and strike a blow at the "system" they abhorred. What troubled this reviewer, however, was the failure on the part of the authors to recognize that just as important as the question of Joe Hill's guilt or innocence was the question of whether he received an absolutely fair trial or whether, partly because of anti-Wobbly sentiment in the area, certain of his civil liberties were violated and his guilt was not *proven* beyond a reasonable doubt. The student of this dramatic episode in Utah history should ask himself if, with the same elements of objective circumstantial evidence against him, a hypothetical son of a member of the L.D.S. Council of Twelve would ever have faced the firing squad. Instead, the insensitivity of the authors to the deeper implications of this case for the cause of Justice and their obvious resentment of the Wobblies and all they stood for unintentionally give the reader some insight into the mood that must have prevailed in the Salt Lake Valley in 1915.

Other shortcomings could be noted. Footnoting and documentation is not as thorough as it should be for what purports to be a serious work. One wonders why, if Woodrow Wilson's intercession in the Joe Hill case aroused the wrath of Utahns to such a degree, Wilson carried the state with ease a year later while Spry was being retired to private life. But there is no need to dwell on minor defects. While the suspicion lingers that few people outside of Governor Spry's own family will want to read this volume from cover to cover, it can be of limited use to the research scholar. Moreover, if the sources available on Spry's career are as uneven and often unrevealing as this treatment would suggest, the job of providing him with a biography will probably never have to be done again.

Our Uncle Will

THOMAS E. CHENEY

Uncle Will Tells His Story. By Juanita Brooks. Salt Lake City: Taggert and Company, Inc., 1970. 249 pp. $12.50.

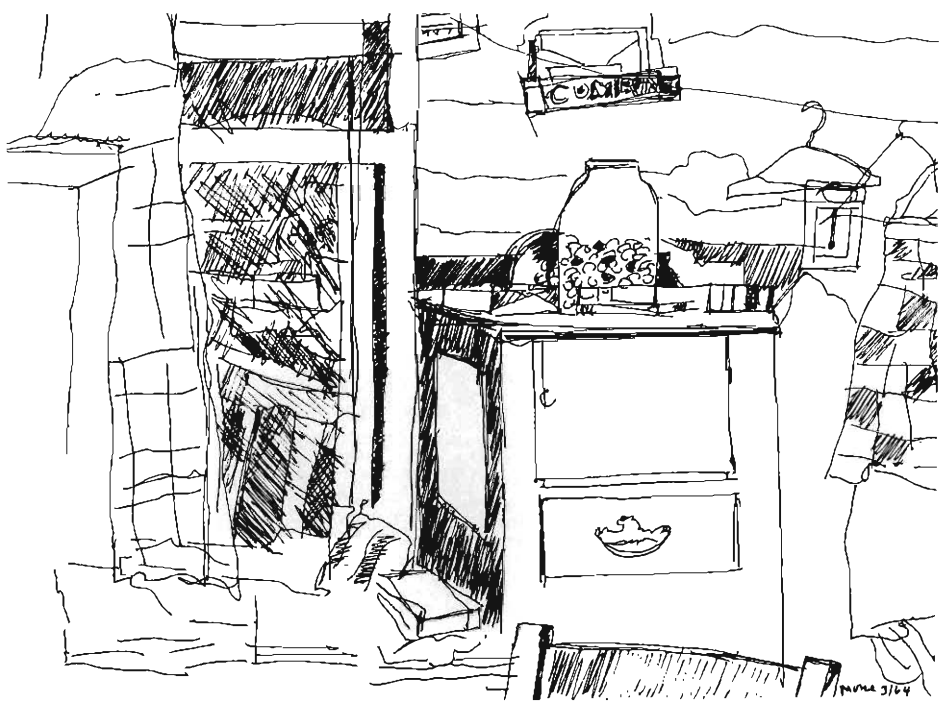
In the final chapter of this book appear the words:

> Someone has said that writing a man's life is like sending a bucket into a deep well and drawing it out full, then dipping a cup into this, spilling some in the process, and drinking the bit that is left. It is so with this summary, for each chapter leaves more unsaid than it records. I read it over and think, 'why should anyone be interested enough to read this?' Except for my immediate family and friends perhaps no one else should care. I have never become famous; I never have become even moderately wealthy. I have a large family and many friends. My wealth lies mostly in my descendents.

The book is surely of more interest to the immediate family and friends of Will Brooks than to others. Yet the work is, as A. R. Mortensen says in the Forward, "the epitome of all of us whose roots go deep into the isolated and

empty spaces of the great West." If a man with a good memory and a talent for experience drinks up the very spirit of Mormon frontier country as a laborer, student, store clerk, rancher, farmer, storekeeper, sheriff, and postmaster and lives to be emeritus to them all; and if he has a gifted wife, those talent for experience is even greater, who can amplify his memory with her own and record it all interestingly and skillfully — their product is good, the folk history of the race, the lore of the people.

For writing this book Juanita Brooks received first place award from the Utah State Institute of Fine Arts creative writing competition for autobiography in 1969. In this award, however, is a dichotomy, for Juanita, not Will, prepared the book. From the Introduction the reader learns that Will Brooks taped his recollections. Juanita used these tapes to record her husband's story. But those of us who know Juanita see in the book Juanita's own story as well as her husband's, told simply, beautifully, and honestly, in her own lucid style, revealing her own attitudes. Whose autobiography is it? Uncle Will Brooks', of course. It is also, in part, Juanita's. Here is the recorded proof of two in marriage becoming one.



Four years before his death Will Brooks was made an honorary member of the Dixie High School Pep Club. Students gave him their love, honorary seating at their functions, and gifts, the most prized of which was a quilted lap robe to use at football games. It was a lovely thing, patterned with a huge white D on a background of blue and in the center white letters, "Our Uncle Will." He was Uncle Will to the people of St. George.

The autobiography covers the life of the man from birth to death, 1881 to 1970. Born in St. George, William Brooks was dyed with the red of the hills,

filled with the grit of the dry earth, fed with the clean air of the wide spaces of the Southwest. Although he doesn't say it, his land, his earth, allows no interpolation other than wholesomeness. Yet neither Juanita as writer nor Will as informant weaken nostalgic reflections with didacticism or sentimentalism, as is so commonly done in family autobiographies. Some present day cynics may condemn the work; they may say Uncle Will and Juanita are too good, the revelation of character too ideal. Yet the early West with its sparse population produced thousands of people who, like the Brookses, emanated kindness in every act.

Sheriff Brooks provided home-like help for people in trouble with the law. Instead of arresting a boy for theft he talked the youth into returning the tithing money he had stolen. When two boys, 12 and 13, stole a car in Las Vegas and drove it to St. George where the Sheriff caught them, he took them home. Juanita washed them, fed them, and as the Sheriff put them to bed, he asked them if they wanted to say their prayers. Both boys knelt by the bed, one crossed himself and both lips moved as they whispered prayers.

The most exciting story of the book, a perfect unit in itself, is that of Lew Fife and Jack Weston. Weston, a professional thief, completed his final robbery with the help of his common-law wife, Daisy Butler, just before he was apprehended and fatally shot by the Sheriff of Iron County, Lew Fife. The stirring story of Fife's courage and ingenuity is too long to tell in detail here. Though left handcuffed to a tree, he escaped and survived. But the thief, who operated only in rural areas, died of wounds and was buried in a shallow grave by his accomplice. Then Sheriff Brooks captured Daisy Butler and put her in the St. George jail. It was Juanita who searched her, gave her articles of clothing, felt sorry for her, and led her to confess, to tell her whole story and pay her debt to society.

Local color strengthens the book. The reader sees the barrel of water by the house, refilled each day for household use, the two outdoor toilets behind the courthouse, used by the courthouse clientele as well as the school children, the brass band gathered as part of a celebration to welcome home Dr. Higgins after he served a prison term for polygamous cohabitation.

The folklorist finds interest in the revelation of customs. For example, the Indian wedding, the prisoner released for a half day to attend L.D.S. quarterly conference, the man who was said to have died of exposure after they gave him a bath and removed layers of dirt.

The publisher did a commendable job of makeup. This is a book to put on the stand by the bed in the guest room. The photographic display of folk artifacts amplifies its historical value.

The potpourri of folklore, folk history, folk characterization, local color, and family history is indeed a tasty dish. Even though it contains some triviality and items of family interest only, these are few and become lost in the whole so that they neither add nor subtract from the entire offering.

Readers who finish the book will come away better informed and, moved by the tone of the book, feeling that life is full of a number of good things, interesting and good people, and happy experiences. They will come away knowing that Uncle Will had courage, good judgment, and charisma, that he was truly the kind who never had a teacher he didn't like, that he held no ill will toward any man.

From Gadfly to Watchdog

JEAN B. WHITE

The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune, 1871-1971. By O. N. Malmquist. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1971. 454 pp. $8.00.

For every serious student of Utah's history, there is a first time to visit the dusty archives or the microfilm files of the *Salt Lake Tribune* of half a century or more ago.

Two impressions usually emerge. One is of a newspaper filled with vitriolic, anti-Mormon diatribes, each day's outpouring more bitter than the last, each likely to provide grounds for a dozen libel suits. Another impression is of a lively journal fighting to stay alive in a competitive market by vigorously tackling a variety of controversial issues. By comparison, today's *Salt Lake Tribune* — and most other metropolitan dailies — offers bland fare. No one would want to go back to the *Tribune's* anti-Mormon period, but it may be fair to ask why today's "responsible" journalism often succeeds in being dull.

The great virtue of this long-awaited book by the former political editor of the *Tribune*, O. N. Malmquist, is that it brings back the turbulent years when no one could call the *Tribune* dull. The reporting was often exciting, the writing vivid, the editorial point of view apparent to the most obtuse reader. The chapters devoted to these years will add to an understanding of Utah's territorial history and will be welcomed by those who like their history with a bit of journalistic color.

Those who felt this book might be a "house history" whitewashing the *Tribune* were mistaken. In fact, the publishers of the *Tribune*, until about 1911, are perhaps too frequently portrayed as opportunistic and petty. The fact that Church leaders did have the means of controlling political decisions within the territory is acknowledged only obliquely. The fact that ballots were not secret and that groups like the Council of Fifty played an important role in Utah political affairs may have had something to do with the *Tribune's* frequent outbursts against "ecclesiastical control of politics."

Malmquist makes no effort to mask the economic motives behind the newspaper's editorial policies. Founded as the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Utah Mining Gazette* in 1871 by a group of excommunicated Godbeite or "New Movement" members, the newspaper started out as an instrument of moderation but soon moved into direct conflict with the economic and political policies of Brigham Young. The publishers, William S. Godbe and E. L. T. Harrison, soon found that "the irrepressible pressures of the times were in the direction of a gloves-off fight on ecclesiastical as well as economic, political, and social issues. . . ." There were not enough moderate gentiles and Mormons to make a moderate, independently critical newspaper economically viable.

Soon the Church leaders and the *Tribune* — under a succession of different owners — became locked into opposite positions centering around the "irrepressible conflict" — the struggle over polygamy and Church domination of territorial and local elections. This furnishes a central theme for much of the book. Malmquist skillfully traces the history of Mormon-Gentile hostility, the years of accommodation following the 1890 Manifesto, the drive for statehood, and the early years of statehood.

The chapters on Thomas Kearns, the colorful mining entrepreneur and owner (after 1901) of the *Tribune*, will give many readers a more flattering portrait of this man than they may have had before; his lack of formal education and misuse of the English language have generated a body of folklore depicting him as a one-dimensional, rich, ignorant millionaire. Although Malmquist does not add a great deal of previously unknown information about Kearns' political career, he does improve Kearns' image.

The story of the key figure in the newspaper's later history, J. F. Fitzpatrick, is told as perhaps only Malmquist could tell it. This man, whose passion for anonymity was his trademark, was a key figure in the "power structure" of Salt Lake City and Utah for many years. His role as close friend and confidant of Church presidents Heber J. Grant, George Albert Smith, and David O. McKay is recounted. (Heber J. Grant once told Malmquist, "One of my best friends, inside or outside the Church, is your publisher, John Fitzpatrick.") It is clear that Fitzpatrick set the newspaper firmly on the only sensible course it could pursue in the long run, turning it away from issues that divided Mormons and non-Mormons and strengthening it for the years when many newspapers across the nation had to combine or die.

The chapters on the latter decades of the *Tribune's* life are filled with the struggle for survival. They are valuable for their history of the rivalry between the *Deseret News* and the *Tribune*, as well as for accounts of the rise and fall of several now long-departed Salt Lake dailies. These chapters may be a bit controversial for those who regret the establishment of a joint publishing agency and who see the *Tribune* publishers' involvements in other business enterprises as a mixed blessing for the community.

For the past sixty years, Malmquist observes, the *Tribune* has sought "to accept the responsibilities of public watchdog but to avoid the role of public gadfly." One can approve the transformation of the *Tribune* into a watchdog while at the same time regretting, in some ways, the passing of the gadfly.

Symbolic Jawbone

JOHN B. HARRIS

The Jawbone of an Ass. By Glenna Wood, New York: Vantage Press, 1970. 396 pp. $6.50.

To pass public judgment upon a work after a relatively cursory perusal seems, at best, a bit unfair, for each work, to the author, is more than the final product; and perhaps the reader can only comprehend and appreciate a given work after he too has partaken of some of the anguish that lies behind the final publication. Unfortunately, such empathetic participation is impossible, and author and reader are forced to view a work from separate vantage points.

Then, too, regardless of the ease or the difficulty of the artistic birth process, a book is written to be read. In the final analysis, it is only the reading that really counts. No matter what the author's intentions, the real question always is, how does the book reach the reader? Is it stimulating and convincing? Does it have within it an *élan* that makes the reading an important part of the reader's

life? Only when a book meets these requirements can it be considered successful. There are a few books that come very close to being completely successful. Many books fail utterly. Most books — good books — both fail and succeed.

Such is the case with Glena Wood's *The Jawbone of an Ass.* As the author herself admits, the book was doomed to partial failure at the outset because she had tried to do too much, to cover too much ground. Ms. Wood makes the reader conscious of too much history and geography and theology and psychology and symbolism and sociology and so on and so on. Her effort and desire are more than praiseworthy: surely we have too many Mormon authors who are content to tell little homelitic tales in saccarin prose, and it is refreshing to find a writer like Ms. Wood who wants to produce something of greater emotional, artistic, and intellectual significance. She warns the reader of her intent at the outset: the title page of the novel reads: *The Jawbone of an Ass: A Symbolic Novel with an Historical Setting.* I would have been happier had it read (and had the novel followed this pattern): *The Jawbone of an Ass — A Story with Symbolic and Historical Overtones.* In other words, I think that the symbolism and history and theology and all other such things that Ms. Wood brings into the novel too often get in the way of a basically good story. The plot, the characterization, the action all suffer in varying degrees because they seem to be dependent upon a symbolic and historic core rather than vice versa. In my opinion, these intellectual elements were naturally — even unavoidably — a part of the story Ms. Wood had to tell, and she did not need to raise them to the dominance that she did. After all, a novel set in a Mormon colony in Arizona at the end of the last century, a novel which deals with the inner and outer conflicts of a young girl struggling to adjust her life and conscience to the conflicting demands and attractions of her religion, her acting career, and her gentile boy friend could hardly avoid these intellectual questions. But they could have been presented in a lower key, in a lesser light, if you please, and they would then have fused with the story more happily.

All critics are not heralds of the new. Some are elegant connoisseurs of that which has arrived, and when they approve of something it is likely to be long past its creative period. Like Hermes conducting the souls of the dead to Hades, they usher ideas and art forms into the mausoleums of 'the accepted.'

— JOHN GARDNER

Do I mean, then, that Ms. Wood's novel is a fiasco? By no means. But it would have been better had the author not made the reader so constantly and bluntly aware of the symbolism and history. Perhaps there are other readers who will welcome the aid that this emphasis offers. If so, then Ms. Wood has accomplished her task better than I have judged.

In spite of my objection to the structure of the book, I find *The Jawbone of an Ass* an interesting novel. For a first novel it is a remarkably ambitious effort. What pleases me most, however, is not the novel itself, but what it is leading to, for Ms. Wood excitedly claims that writing it taught her a great deal about technique and that in her forthcoming sequels (*The Jawbone of an Ass* is really volume one of a tetralogy) she has narrowed her scope a great deal and focused more intensely on characterization and events. It seems to me that that approach can only make for a more thoroughly successful product next time.

Modern Biblical Scholarship

Leslie No'el Swaney

The Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. I: *From the Beginnings to Jerome.* Edited by P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970. 649 pp. $14.50.

With the publication of this volume, the three-part *Cambridge History of the Bible* is now complete. That this volume, the first in the chronological sequence, should be the final number published is a testimony both to the importance and to the complexity of this crucial initial phase in the formation and delimitation of Holy Scripture.

The eighteen articles which make up this work provide ample evidence of the vitality of biblical scholarship in Great Britain — only two contributors, Shemaryahu Talmon of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and R. M. Grant of the University of Chicago, are from non-British schools. The depth of scholarly investigation is enhanced by the wide latitude used in defining the topic. The five sections of the volume — Language and Script, Books in the Ancient World, The Old Testament, The New Testament, and the Bible in the Early Church — cover such diverse topics as the development of Hebrew script and the use of the Bible in the liturgy of the early church. Its breadth makes this work far more than merely a study in textual problems. Indeed, it provides a unique insight into the history of the Jewish and Christian religions in late antiquity.

Written primarily for the scholar, these articles should provide a sound starting point for much future investigation. The articles by Talmon, "The Old Testament Text," and Evans, "The New Testament in the Making," are especially useful for their surveys of the scholarly controversies and trends in these areas. The contribution of J. N. Birdsall, "The New Testament Text," provides an interesting example of the use of codicology and rational criticism as tools of biblical scholarship. Throughout the volume, authors continuously point to areas where either exploratory work or fresh rethinking is needed.

While the tone of the volume betrays its character as a basic reference work

directed at an audience of biblical scholars, there are several portions of the work which should be of considerable interest to anyone concerned about the basic sources of his faith. The study by C. H. Roberts, "Books in the Greco-Roman World and the New Testament," offers a stimulating analysis of the importance of the written word in the early church and of the different manners in which Christians, Jews, and gentiles reacted to the concept of a holy writ. The articles by G. W. Anderson, "Canonical and Non-Canonical," and Grant, "The New Testament Canon," contain important and lucid discussions on the process of the formation of the concept of canonical writings and of the definition of the contents of such collections. Ackroyd, "The Old Testament in the Making," presents a clear analysis of the role of various historical and theological crises in the evolution of the Old Testament. R. P. C. Hanson, "Biblical Exegesis in the Early Church," points out the importance of heretical groups, especially the Gnostics, in the development of Christian attitudes toward and uses of Holy Scripture. Throughout many of the articles runs an emphasis on the diversity of the early church in several spheres — oral and written traditions, textual traditions, local and national cultures, and approaches to biblical interpretation. Perhaps this emphasis may serve as a balance to current trends toward biblical fundamentalism and unitarian ecumenism.

The sections dealing with exegetical principles and practices, while of considerable interest, seem more an appendix than an integral part of the work. However, they do serve to indicate the need for more work in this rich and crucial field.

Taken as a whole, this volume is more valuable as an encyclopedic summary of current problems, new research methods, and present states of knowledge than as a source of new interpretations or fresh insights. Its value is enhanced by twenty-five well-selected plates and by extremely useful indices of scriptural and patristic literature. The most disappointing aspect of the work is its bibliography, which is far too brief for a major reference work. Despite its limitations, this volume should be of value to the expert, should serve as an introduction to the student, and should be of interest to the concerned and intelligent Christian.

AMONG THE MORMONS
A SURVEY OF CURRENT LITERATURE

EDITED BY RALPH W. HANSEN

I have ever gained the most profit, and the most pleasure also, from the books which have made me think the most.

J. C. & A. W. HARE, *Guesses at Truth*

Without books God is silent, justice dormant, natural science at a stand, philosophy lame, letters dumb, and all things involved in Cimmerian darkness.

THOMAS BARTHOLIN, *De Libris Legendis*

"Among the Mormons" is *Dialogue's* ongoing effort to keep its readers abreast of Mormon bibliography. Three times a year we present bibliographical listings containing, in separate columns, theses and dissertations, books and related publications, and periodical articles. This issue's listing contains books, pamphlets and records that have come to our attention during 1971 and 1972.

In the last issue of *Dialogue* this column dealt with periodicals and periodical literature. Since then several new periodical items have come to our attention and rather than hold them for a year, brief notes are herewith presented. The Utah State Historical Society has released the first issue of its proposed semi-annual *Utah History Research Bulletin.* The object of the Research Bulletin is to help state and local historians keep abreast of what's going on in Utah (and therefore often Mormon) history. The *Bulletin* lists research projects now in progress or recently completed and makes suggestions for research in areas relatively untouched by scholars. Also in the first issue is information on sources of research, announcements of awards, and a calendar of upcoming meetings of interest to Utah historians, genealogists, folklorist and so forth. If you have a contribution or wish to receive this publication (free), write Glen M. Leonard, Utah State Historical Society, 603 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah 84102.

Another new periodical recently received is *The Family Group Sheet* (24847 Jim Bridge Road, Calabasas, California). Similar in style to *The Olive Leaf* (*Dialogue*, Winter 1970, p. 115), *The Family Group Sheet* is not a dry genealogist organ but rather a sort of underground L.D.S. newspaper. Dittographed in Southern California, *The Family Group Sheet* speaks to the younger generation. I hope somebody in Salt Lake City is reading it.

The following listing of books of L.D.S. interest is selective. The editor assumes full responsibility for the selections which are arbitrarily made on

the basis of supposed reader interest. Fuller bibliographical listings of books and periodicals may be found in *Mormon Americana* (limited distribution) and the new *Mormonia, A Quarterly Bibliography of Works on Mormonism* ($5 a year, Box 54, Williamsville, New York 14221). Following the bibliographical listing are two reports of two new acquisitions of the University of Utah Library.

SELECTED WORKS OF MORMON INTEREST

A Gift to Share. Arizona: 1972. Poems written by L.D.S. women in the Eager and Springerville Wards, St. Johns Stake, Arizona. For more information contact: Aldrice E. Burk, P.O. Box 8, Springerville, Arizona 85938.

Anderson, Richard Lloyd. *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1971. $4.95.

Arrington, Leonard J. *Kate Field and J. H. Beadle: Manipulators of the Mormon Past.* Salt Lake City: Center for Studies of the American West, University of Utah, 1971. $1.00. American West Lecture. Copies available from publisher: University of Utah, Annex 2167, Salt Lake City, Utah 84112.

Bailey, Paul. *Polygamy Was Better Than Monotony.* Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1972. $7.95 Story of author's two grandfathers and their five wives.

Bell, Archie F. *Holy People.* N.p., 1971. 16 unnumbered pp. about the Church of Christ (Temple Lot).

Bishop, Lynn L. and Bishop, Steven L. *The Keys of the Priesthood Illustrated.* Draper, Utah: Review and Preview Publishers, P.O. Box 368, Draper, Utah 84020, 1971. $9.95. Examines Fundamentalist claim to priesthood keys via the Council of Friends.

The Truth About John W. and Lorin C. Wolley and the Council of Friends. Draper, Utah: Review and Preview Publishers, P.O. Box 368, Draper, Utah 84020, 1972.

Bradford, Reed H. *A Teacher's Quest.* Provo, Utah: 1971. $1.95.

Brunvand, Jan Harold. *A Guide for Collectors of Folklore in Utah.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971. $6.50.

Carter, Kate B. *Our Pioneer Heritage,* Vol. 14. Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1971. $10.00.

Casper, Billy. *My Million-Dollar Shots.* New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1970. Casper is a convert to the L.D.S. Church.

Cheney, Thomas E., ed. *Lore of Faith and Folly.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971. $15.00. History of Utah folklore.

The Coming of the Mormons. New York: Enrichment Materials, Inc., 1972. $5.95. Long-playing recording. Order from Enrichment Materials, Inc., 50 W. 44th Street, New York, New York 10036.

Crowther, Duane S. *God and His Church.* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1971.

Crowther, Duane S. *The Plan of Salvation and the Future in Prophecy.* Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1971.

De Hoyos, Arturo. *The Old and the Modern Lamanite.* Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1970.

Dusenberry, Robert K. *Warren Newton Dusenberry: Prominent Utah Pioneer, Educator, Judge, and Public Servant, 1836-1915.* Provo, Utah: 1971. Available from author: Route 2, Box 513-A, Provo, Utah 84601.

Ellsworth, S. George. *Utah's Heritage.* Salt Lake City: Peregrine Press, July, 1972. Available from Peregrine Press, P.O. Box 8084, Salt Lake City, Utah 84108.

Fitzgerald, John D. *Me and My Little Brain.* New York: Dial Press, 1972. $4.95. Children's novel with 1890 Utah as its background.

Fletcher, Daisy Whiting. *Alpheus Cutler and the Church of Jesus Christ.* N.p.: by the author (819 South Cottage Street, Independence, Mo. 64050, $1.25), 1970. 56 pp. Traces development of Cutler's church (an L.D.S. sect) to 1970. The author is the wife of present leader.

Gay, John D. *The Geography of Religion in England.* London: Duckworth and Company, Ltd., 1971. $10.95. Mormons included.

Hall, Douglas Kent. *On the Way to the Sky.* New York: McCall Books, 1972. $5.95. Mormon novel.

Harrington, Virginia S. and Harrington, J. C. *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple.* Salt Lake City: Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., 1971. Paperback, $1.75, hardback, $3.50. Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., 10 South Main, Salt Lake City, Utah 84101.

Heslop, J. M. and Van Orden, Dell R. *Joseph Fielding Smith: A Prophet Among the People.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1971. $3.95.

Horne, J. Arthur. *Latter-day Saints in the Great Northwest.* Seattle, Washington; Graphic Art Press, c1968. $2.95. Available from John Biehl, 11338 23rd Avenue, N.E., Seattle, Washington 98125.

Hunter, Rodello. *A Daughter of Zion.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972. $6.95.

Jones, Garth N. *Monastery Model of Development: Towards a Strategy of Large Scale Planned Change.* Water Management Technical Report, No. 14. Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado, 1971. Dr. Jones uses Mormons as one of his historical examples.

Kelley, Dean M. *Why Conservative Churches Are Growing.* New York: Harper & Row, 1972. Includes L.D.S. Church.

Kelley, William. *Presidency and Priesthood.* Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1972. $5.50.

Larson, Andrew Karl. *Erastus Snow: The Life of a Missionary and Pioneer for the Early Mormon Church.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971. $14.95.

Larson, Gustive O. *The Americanization of Utah for Statehood.* San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1971. $7.50.

Law, Reuben D. *The Founding and Early Development of the Church College of Hawaii.* St. George, Utah: Dixie College Press, 1972. Author's address: 456 South 400 East, St. George, Utah.

McKiernan, F. Mark. *The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer, 1793-1876.* Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1972. $7.50. Order from Coronado Press, Box 3232, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

Madsen, Truman. *Four Essays on Love.* Provo, Utah: Communications Workshop, 1971. $2.95.

Malmquist, O. N. *The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune 1871-1971.* Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah State Historical Society, 1971. $24.00.

Martin, Wynetta Willis. *A Black Mormon Tells Her Story.* Salt Lake City, Utah: Hawkes Publications, 1972. $2.00.

Merrill, W. Earl. *One Hundred Steps Down Mesa's Past.* Mesa, Arizona. [Printed by Lofgreen Print Co.] 1970.

The Most Holy Principle, Vol. 1-3. Murray, Utah: Gems Publishing Co., 1970. $10.00 per volume. Three volume documentary history of the establishment of the Mormon plural marriage system. Publisher's address: P.O. Box 7434, Murray, Utah 84107. Available at Zion's Bookstore.

Pearson, Carol Lynn. *The Order is Love.* Provo, Utah: Trilogy Arts, 1971. $1.95.

Peterson, Charles S., *et al. Mormon Battalion Trail Guide.* Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah State Historical Society, 1972. $3.00 for members of USHS, $3.50 for non-members.

Riedel, Albert. *Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Missionen der Kirche Jesu Christi der Heiligen der Letzten Tage.* Salt Lake City, Utah: 1971. $5.95. History of the German Mission. Five more volumes will be added. Available at Deseret Book Company.

Rugoff, Milton. *Prudery and Passion: Sexuality in Victorian America.* New York: Putnam's Sons, c1971. $8.95. Mormons included.

Skinner, Charles M. *Myths and Legends of our Own Land.* Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1969. $20.00 a set. Includes "The Prophet of Palmyra."

Skousen, Max B. *The Temple Endowment.* Montrose, California: 1971. $10.00. Available from author: Box 115, Montrose, California 91020.

Stout, Wayne. *History of Utah, 1930-1970,* Vol. 3. Salt Lake City, Utah: 1971. $17.85. Available from author: 228 South 3rd East, Salt Lake City, Utah 84111.

Strang, James J. *The Prophetic Controversy.* Mount Pleasant, Michigan: John Cumming, 1969.

Taggart, Stephen G. *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1972. $2.50.

Tanner, Jerald and Sandra. *Falsification of Joseph Smith's History.* Salt Lake City, Utah: Modern Microfilms Co. $1.50.

_____. *Joseph Smith's 1826 Trial.* Salt Lake City, Utah: Modern Microfilm Co., 1971. $.50.

_____. *The Mormon Kingdom,* Vol. 2. Salt Lake City, Utah: Modern Microfilms, 1971. $2.95.

Tanner, Sandra. *The Bible and Mormon Doctrine.* Salt Lake City, Utah: Modern Microfilm Company, 1971. $.75.

Taylor, Samuel W. *Nightfall at Nauvoo.* New York: Macmillan Company, c1971. $8.95. Novel.

Thomsen, Russel J. *Latter-day Saints and the Sabbath.* Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, c1971. Pacific Press is a Seventh Day Adventist organization.

Toponce, Alexander. *Reminiscences of Alexander Toponce.* Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971. $4.95.

War, Conscription, Conscience, and Mormonism. Edited by Gordon C. Thomasson. Santa Barbara, California: Mormon Heritage, 1971; second printing, 1972. Available from Mormon Heritage, P.O. Box 15230, Santa Barbara, California 93107.

Weeks, Robert Percy. *King Strang.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: Five Wives Press, 1971.

Witt, Hugo W. *The Word of Wisdom: Is it a Commandment or Isn't it?* Midvale, Utah: Kogon Publishers, 1971. $1.00.

REPRINTS

The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. New York: Greenwood Press, 1971 [1880]. $15.50. Reprint of 1880 (1879?) edition originally edited by O. Pratt.

Dwyer, Robert Joseph. *The Gentile Comes to Utah.* Salt Lake City, Utah: Western Epics, 1971. $7.50.

Green, N. W. *Mormonism: Its Rise, Progress, and Present Condition.* New York: AMS Press, 1971. $19.50.

Hamblin, Jacob. *Jacob Hamblin, a Narrative of his Personal Experience . . .* Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971. Reprint of the 1881 edition.

Hickman, Bill. *Brigham's Destroying Angel, Being the Life, Confession, and Startling Disclosures of the Notorious Bill Hickman, the Danite Chief of Utah (1904).* Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971. $11.50.

Meyer, Eduard. *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormoner. Mit Exkursen über die Anfänge des Islâms und des Christentums.* Hildesheim, New York, G. Olms, 1970.

Smith, Lucy Mack. *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith The Prophet and his Progenitors for Many Generations.* New York: Arno Press, 1971. $9.50. Reprint of 1853 edition.

Stenhouse, T. B. H. *Tell it All: The Tyranny of Mormonism, or an Englishwoman in Utah.* New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971. $29.50. Reprint of 1880 edition.

Stegner, Wallace. *Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971. $3.50. (Paperback edition of earlier work).

THE FREDERICK KESLER COLLECTION

During the past several months, a number of important manuscript collections have been acquired by the Special Collections Division of the J. Willard Marriott Library of the University of Utah.

One of the most significant for the student of Mormon history is that of Frederick Kesler. Kesler was a resident of Augusta, Iowa, when the Mormons arrived at Nauvoo, a millwright who built mills for the Mormons from Iowa and Nebraska to Utah, a major in the Nauvoo Legion, and for forty-three years a bishop of the Sixteenth Ward in Salt Lake City.

The Kesler Collection consists of fifteen Day Books and Account Books dating from 1840, missionary journals of the 1840ş, twelve diaries dating

from April 11, 1857 to June 12, 1899, correspondence (1837-1897) and photographs of family and close associates — including Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, and considerable memorabilia of Frederick Kesler and his family. Also in the collection are numerous pamphlets, broadsides, and other printed material, some of which may be unique.

A few of the more unusual items are two different invitations to the "Pic-Nic Party at Big Cottonwood Canyon," July 24, 1857; a revelation of Orson Hyde in Nauvoo directed against James J. Strang (1846); a revelation of John Taylor (October 13, 1882); General Joseph Smith's *Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States* (Nauvoo, 1844); an address of Brigham Young, *A Series of Instructions and Remarks . . . at a Special Council,* March 24, 1858; *Fast Day Proclamation* (1889).

Of all the items in the Kesler Collection, however, the prize would have to be a manuscript page of the Book of Mormon in the handwriting of David Witmer. The page is 1st Nephi Chapter 14. In a signed statement, Bishop Kesler relates how he acquired the document. According to him, it was removed from the cornerstone of the Nauvoo House in 1882 by Lewis Bilamon, second husband of Emma Smith, and presented to Joseph Summerhays on October 3, 1884. Some time later the manuscript was obtained from Summerhays by Kesler. It remained in his possession and that of his heirs until the gift to the University of Utah Library. (For further details on the manuscript of the Book of Mormon, see Dean C. Jessee, "The Original Book of Mormon Manuscript," *B.Y.U. Studies* [Spring, 1970].)

When the Library acquired the Kesler Collection, the page was photographed, and then carried to the W. J. Barrow Laboratory in Richmond, Virginia, for deacidification and lamination. Photocopies are available from the Special Collections of the Library.

The Sterling M. McMurrin Papers

L. G. Brown

Dr. Sterling Moss McMurrin needs no introduction to *Dialogue* readers. He is one of the Church's most outstanding scholars, and is a nationally recognized administrator, educator, and philosopher. He has been a member of the University of Utah faculty since 1948, except for a period in 1961-1962 during which he served as United States Commissioner of Education. At the University of Utah he has held appointments as Professor of Philosophy, Dean of the College of Letters and Sciences, Academic Vice President, and Provost. Currently Dr. McMurrin is the E. E. Ericksen Distinguished Professor, Professor of History, and Dean of the Graduate School.

Early in 1971 Dr. McMurrin deposited his personal papers in the Western Americana Department of the University of Utah Libraries. The papers, extending over fifty linear feet of shelving, are a truly significant addition to the manuscript holdings of the Library. Dr. McMurrin has placed no limiting restrictions on the papers, except that they be used for scholarly research.

Currently the manuscripts staff is preparing a register to the papers, which will be published and made available to scholars in the near future.

The papers include a wide variety of materials from correspondence to magnetic tape recordings. The correspondence, dating from 1941 to 1970, includes letters from many prominent religious leaders, educators, philosophers, government officials, and businessmen. There is a complete file of Dr. McMurrin's writings, publications, and transcribed speeches. Some of these works exist in multiple draft form, showing the progressive refinement of his thought. Twenty-four large ring-binders contain scrapbook memorabilia. Also included are two HEW commission files: The Mountain States Regional Manpower Committee, and the Federal Commission on Instructional Technology.

Of particular interest to *Dialogue* readers are the L.D.S. Church related materials. Dr. McMurrin corresponded with three Church presidents: George Albert Smith, David O. McKay, and Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr. Letters from General Authorities include Hugh B. Brown, Marion D. Hanks, Levi Edgar Young, Albert E. Bowen, and Harold B. Lee. Represented among the correspondents are Hugh Nibley, Truman G. Madsen, Heber C. Snell, Richard P. Condie, Lowell M. Bennion, G. Homer Durham, Leonard J. Arrington, and George T. Boyd.

Among the publications file are the drafts to *The Philosophical Foundations of Mormon Theology,* and *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion.* Articles on Mormonism include "Brigham H. Roberts," "The Distinctive Character of Mormon Theology," "Mormonism and Existentialism," and "Latter-day Saints in Education in Southern California." Within the subject file are folders with such tantalizing headings as the "McMurrin-Widtsoe Cold War," "Snell-Smith Warm War," "Benson-McMurrin Fracus," and "Excommunication Hassle." An interesting file is a collection of letters received following Dr. McMurrin's 1968 speech before the Salt Lake City Chapter of the NAACP. Comments in the letters range from " . . . Ten thousand cheers for you, sir! I cannot tell you how grateful I am for what you have said and done . . ." to ". . . it is sickening to hear you advocate in the name of morality, that members of the Church should join in the genocide of the White minority race. . . ." Dr. McMurrin also collected an extensive newspaper clipping file of reactions to the speech across the nation.

Finally there are items dealing with the "Mormon Seminar" of the 1950's, which was an intellectual study group devoted to Mormon history, culture, and thought. There are also a few manuscripts submitted to Dr. McMurrin for a proposed, but never published, *Mormon Anthology.*

The above gives but a small indication of the magnitude of the papers of Dr. Sterling Moss McMurrin.

PERSONAL VOICES

Edited by Eugene England

Growing up Mormon

Going to Conference

EUGENE ENGLAND

KSL Radio reaches east barely twenty miles past Rock Springs, Wyoming. That's where we were first able to make out the words of Elder Spencer W. Kimball at 11:30 Friday morning, October 6. His voice roughened by static and the throat cancer he once barely survived, the new President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles was beginning the final address of the Solemn Assembly. It wasn't until that night on a rebroadcast that we knew the details of that unique ceremony where ten thousand priesthood leaders from all over the world, gathered in the Tabernacle, had sustained a new President of the Church and witnessed directly the prophetic mantle descending upon him. Elder Kimball was again, as he had done at the inauguration of President Joseph Fielding Smith, recounting firmly the process of succession to the presidency: calling by God to the apostleship, preparation by long training in that Quorum, and divine preservation until, by strict seniority, the mantle passes to the Lord's Anointed; he was putting to an end (perhaps) that awful speculation many of us felt as we grew up in the Church, founded on the persistent rumor that the Lord might choose anyone in the Church for his new prophet, even someone we knew, even one of us. There will never again for us be anything like watching for the white smoke from the Cardinals' mysterious meeting after the prolonged voting for a Pope. We know who the next Prophet will be — Elder Kimball, if he continues to be preserved, or else the next Apostle in line.

We had been driving all night from Minnesota — members of our Branch, including some young converts and two of my daughters (Charlotte, liberated by her position as District President, had flown ahead to Relief Society Conference). We heard this last speech and later listened to the afternoon session as we drove down through the crescendo of fall colors from Echo Canyon through Coalville (plumed with orange-gold cottonwoods), past the mountain back-drop above Snyderville (still spectacular though scarred by new ski runs), into Parley's Canyon, with its subtle mottling of scrub oak, shading from deep purple and wine through rusts and browns to grass yellow, accented with bright gold aspens and a few remaining florescent red maples.

The unfolding mountains and canyons and colors, together with the persistent voice of counsel and conviction from persons they had very recently come to accept as *Authorities*, men of God, were almost overwhelming for our young friends raised in crowded Brooklyn and flat Minnesota and schooled on secular relativism and Protestant skepticism. The choir seemed in collusion with some master plan and built a Handel chorus to a grand climax as we made the last turn out on Foothill Boulevard above the Valley. But then we were greeted with smog so thick it even obscured the buildings which now hide the temple we were all so anxious to see. (Our embarrassment was relieved somewhat when the skies cleared by Sunday in time for a clear and satisfactorily impressive view of the Valley and circling mountains before we left.)

On Saturday and Sunday we were able to get most of us into at least one session at the Tabernacle and watched the other sessions on T.V. For me, conference is an old song which brings a familiar spirit apart from the meanings of the words. For those with us the tune was not familiar and there were some struggles with the lyrics. A few of the more liberated females were appalled at some of the remarks on women and their place in the home (Charlotte counseled patience). Most of these first-timers found the setting too formal and impersonal — especially as it came over on T.V. — and in particular contrast with their limited Church experience in our small, personal and generally very informal (not to say chaotic) Branch. But they looked for and felt the power of the Prophet.

It was President Lee's conference. He was in charge from the first moment, conducting each session with a dignified assurance that paradoxically allowed him to be more spontaneous and personal than I remember President Smith or even President McKay. In four major addresses he set and modulated the tone and communicated a great range of specific direction and feeling. First there was the austerity of the formal voting at the beginning of the Solemn Assembly. President Tanner called each priesthood rank of the Church in order (First Presidency, Apostles, General Authorities, High Priests, etc., to Aaronic Priesthood and general assembly) to stand and sustain, if they would, the new Prophet, then each group again to stand in order and sustain the First Presidency, then the Quorum of the Twelve, with the new Apostle Bruce R. McConkie, then the other General Authorities. This standing and voting, the repetition for each group of whom they were voting for, took nearly forty minutes, but it was not boring, even to us listening over the radio to the rebroadcast; it was like a long formal preparation, a chastening of the emotions, and, according to Charlotte, who was there, the sense of building power was marvelously tangible even to a young nonmember friend sitting with her. Then President Lee spoke, bearing direct witness to what had happened to him, almost standing aside from himself and describing with awe the new emotions and powers being released within him — new sense of the reality of Christ, for the first time feeling what it means to love all mankind. The formality had stretched the united feelings of the assembly so that when President Lee's voice finally broke in an intense revelation of feeling, the hearts of thousands there responded. And Charlotte's bemused consciousness that almost all of those present were men was transcended by seeing so many of them in tears and, at the end of the session, by the way the General Authorities and others expressed their joy by freely embracing each other.

Since I find in myself tendencies toward both conservatism and liberalism, depending upon the issue and the context, it has been both unsettling and satisfying to find President Lee impartially roasting extremes in both tendencies. A year ago last spring, in his "iron rod" speech he harshly exposed the temporizing indulged in by some "liberals" in the Church. In this conference, both in his address Saturday morning and in the priesthood session Saturday evening, he leveled on the conservatives. He condemned any use of evil means in apparently good causes, such as going beyond the law and the Constitution in combating pornography or using non-church organizations or position in the Church in fighting against Communism in any way that turns brother against brother. Saturday evening he leaned over the pulpit and gave a prophetic tongue-lashing to the spiritualist gossips who spread rumors and write books on details concerning the last days that neither the Lord nor the prophets (nor common sense) have been moved to reveal. He told us to come down to earth — not to pass on rumors no matter how attractive (like the one going the rounds in Utah and California that had apparently most disturbed him: that his patriarchal blessing had promised he would be President when the Savior came). And he held the priesthood leadership responsible for putting a stop to this kind of speculation and gossip.

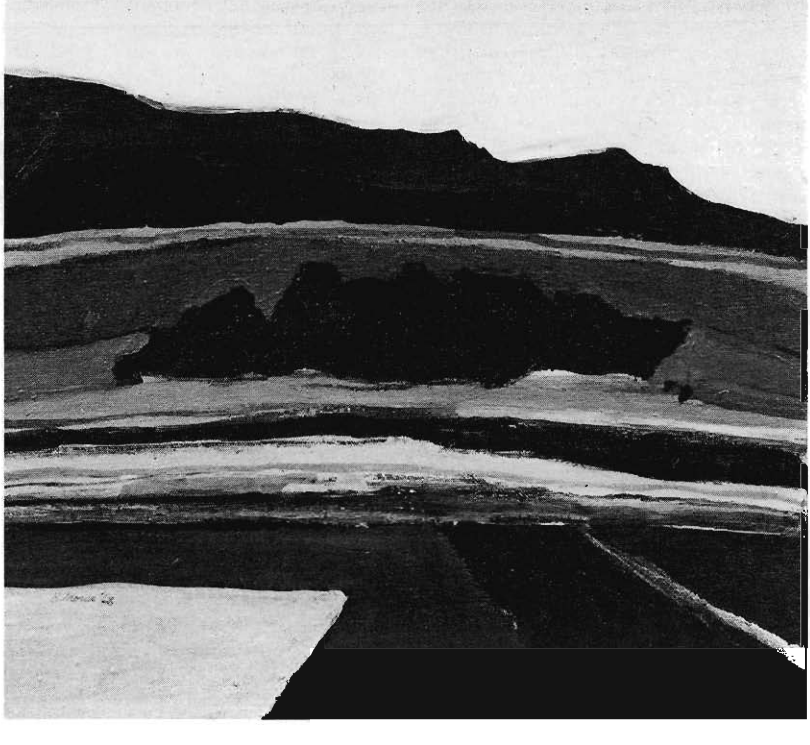
That steely chastisement was one indication of the authority and strength of the new prophet, of his freedom to assume full stature as President and call the Church to repentence. But the qualities revealed in him that impressed Charlotte and me most were quite different, though perhaps related, especially his humility and responsiveness. Throughout the conference his conducting was marked by warm and sensitive informality in his comments about individual speakers. There was the tone that should mark a good sacrament meeting, that reveals the kind of flexibility made possible through guidance by the Spirit. One example especially moving to me occurred Sunday morning when Elder Legrand Richards spoke. He remains one of the General Authorities who disdain the teleprompter (with its temptation to metronomic turning of the head and disconcertingly impassive recitation of everything, even personal experience and testimony). He gave a speech that was unprepared in the sense of being written out or memorized, but prepared for by a lifetime of enthusiastic missionary work. He stumbled over words, occasionally, fumbled in his pocket for quotes written on slips of paper, informed millions of our Christian brothers listening in that Christ had announced in 1820 that their creeds were an abomination in His sight and, after quoting one of their traditional creedal statements about the nature of God to them, allowed that that was one of the best descriptions of *nothing* he had ever heard. Elder Richards' voice rose in that characteristic crescendo that carried him beyond his denunciations to moving expression of his joy in the gospel and love for all men, transformed that stooped body and brought back the thrilling vibrancy I remember from twenty-five years ago. Then his testimony was completed and he shrunk back into a rather bent and aged man helping himself with his cane down the steps. In the silence President Lee rose, expressed personal gratitude for the spirit and testimony of a grand old missionary and asked the Lord to keep him long among us. I say Amen to that.

We had difficulty getting in the tabernacle even at 6:45 on Sunday morning because high

school and college students from Utah and Idaho had come in buses shortly after 5:00 that morning and filled the balconies where the only open seating was. They remained throughout the day and again it was unusually difficult to get into the afternoon session. About five minutes before the session was to start, as President Lee came out from the rooms underneath the choir seats and was greeting General Authorities' wives and Regional Representatives seated at the right of the stand, these young people, triggered by some small group of them, rose and sang "We Thank Thee, Oh God, for a Prophet." The rest of us joined in and I was able to see President Lee's response from where I stood near the front on the main floor. Rather than ascending the stand or turning to the audience to take the honor, he turned and faced at attention the place where all the Prophets who had preceded him from Brigham Young sat and stood and preached — and joined us in singing, honoring and teaching us to honor the role not the man.

Conference is a time for feeling more than for ideas, as President Lee reminded us in his last address. Those who go looking for dramatic new doctrine or new policy are apt to continue to be disappointed (I too have gone yearning, hoping to hear that announcement about the priesthood being extended to all). Those things will come in statements from the First Presidency day by day as the revelations come. Conference will continue to be a kind of rite, a shoring up of faith and confidence, of feelings of unity and achievement. It is a place to feel what I felt when I met on the grounds a group of saints from Samoa whom I had known as rather inept, struggling new members in badly organized, barely functioning branches fifteen years ago and who are now stalwart Stake Presidents and Bishops, Relief Society Presidents and teachers, and have converted nearly half the population of their islands. I embraced one young man whom I had taught English when he was twelve (we had read Frost's "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening" and there at the Equator tried to imagine together what snow could be); he is now a translator for the Church and later I was able to sit in the large section equipped with foreign language microphones and hear him translating into Samoan the words of President Lee.

This conference was a time for me to agree with the young soldier converted in Vietnam President Lee told about, who had come to feel, despite the great difficulties he would face on going home, "If the gospel's true, nothing else matters." At least not nearly as much. Going to conference made it possible for me to feel more strongly than ever that the great soul-satisfying truths of the gospel and my experiences of love and growth in the Church are much more important than the things that give me trouble.



A Handful With Quietness

The Christian Break

KARL KELLER

Christianity is a program for *revolution*. That's what I tell my more liberal, anarchic friends in and out of the Church. They never believe me, of course, because they stereotype religious orthodoxy as something rigid, settled, secure, and stony-hearted. When I tell the same thing to my more conservative friends (few as they are), they don't believe me either. They want to believe in something that will preserve values for them, save the past for them, keep body and soul together for them, and they read religion according to their personal insecurities. So I talk to myself about it. These are among my best conversations.

By "revolutionary," however, I don't mean what some others have meant: that Christianity gives a person a whole new way of life to live, or that it is progressive and stimulating, or that its rigidities result in creative rebelliousness, or even that it lifts one's perspective up to the level of the Utopian, the millenarian, the transcendental. Those are generalities that are hard to prove as unique to Christianity — even if such features are true — and "revolutionary" would most certainly be an excessive way of thinking of them anyway.

Where Christianity can most certainly be thought of as revolutionary, as I love to argue whenever I get a chance, is in the *breaks* that it encourages. Christianity has never proved itself very satisfactory as a politics (it fragments as much as it coheres a society) or as an esthetic (it often discourages the arts and distorts what it produces) or even as an ethic (it loves to dehumanize, either with its puritan rigidities or its bathetic emotionalism and sentimentalities). However, what Christianity has always produced, often to the dismay and anger of its own establishmentarians, is a method for change, for progress, for individuality, for revolt.

This method is usually without any leaders, without promoters, however, for it is destructive of the established, the promotable. One is not apt to find anyone on the inside writing about it much; no church teachers would dare say such things. Only the underdog, the outsider, the loner can speak about it, convincing me that perhaps true Christianity has always been mainly an underground movement, a quiet revolution, a private matter. Perhaps it survives best, not as an organization, not as an authority, not even as a theology, but in the form of individual hope — a hope encouraged by the fact that it knows how to break with the past and make a substantially different future. That is where it is effective.

What I mean by *break* is this: the past becomes the future unless in some present moment one initiates an alternative different in method and substance from what has been done already. The past is so phenomenal a burden on us, both individually and collectively, that it continues to dominate all thought and action until one knows a method of reversal, an alternative. Change of attitude, innovation, modification, reconstruction, reorganization, restoration, building onto — none of these is sufficient, for they grow out of what *has* been and only make its continuance more acceptable. The Christian break occurs then when one thinks and acts in reaction against what will be.

Let me illustrate. Repentance is a break with the past, forgiveness a break with one's own emotions, faith a break with fact, hope a break with the determined. Love breaks a pattern of mistrust or hate: if someone hurts you and you don't hurt him back, then the chain of hate is broken, but if you hurt him in return for hurt and he does the same, there is no end to the fighting and the injury. Mercy does the same thing: even if an injustice has been done you, there is no change in the injustice if justice is done in return, but only if one is, instead, merciful, kind, forgiving, sincere, loving. Then change is possible. Honesty breaks a pattern of corruption. Forgiveness breaks a pattern of mistrust. Kindliness breaks a pattern of oppression. Humility breaks a pattern of arrogance and ignorant pride. The genealogy of the world is an ugly pattern in which hate begets hate, war begets war, meanness begets meanness, oppression begets oppression. In the humbler Christian virtues is the power to break these. It is good for Christians to realize that about the only form of organization inherent to Christianity is *break, revolt, reversal*. It is the very opposite of program, organization, church. Robert Lowell has written these good lines:

> *Christ, also, our only king without a sword,*
> *turning the word forgiveness to a sword.*

These are easily exploitable virtues, however, and perhaps that is why political and religious leaders push them so hard. A nation (or a church membership, for that matter) that is humble, sincere, loyal, kindly, forgiving, meek, and faithful is a nation (or a church membership) under someone's thumb — or under someone's foot. But what the exploiter

may not know is that the person who lives by these virtues has often achieved a life separate from the exploiter and by them is free of him. In this way Christianity is liberating. That Christianity in which one conforms, submits, is loyal to commands, conforms to the established, is blindly faithful to the given, heeds authority, finds security in law and order, is another kind of Christianity altogether: it is a trap. Radical Christianity is different in that it makes anarchic breaks with the past, the status quo, the inevitable, and it does so, not by regarding these virtues passively merely, or intellectually merely, or sentimentally merely, but by using them to actually change things for the better. They are active principles for breaking up the world. The New Testament, like the Old, is a manual for revolution.

The conventional argument I have heard all my life against extensive personal use of The Christian Break that I am trying to describe is the self-serving position that kindliness and forgiveness get smashed, that nice people get hurt, that Christian nations get beat. The position is both right and wrong-headed, since revolutionary Christianity has much more to do with dignity than with survival. Of course it is axiomatic that if someone cuts off your hand you don't give him your other hand if you want to play the piano. You don't stop bludgeoning a nation to death when it insults you and kicks you in the shins if you want to go on controlling the world. But then Christianity never did have very much to do with survival or with power, only with the *quality* of one's survival, the *quality* of one's life. And there it is revolutionary. To survive in the world one may unfortunately find it necessary to compromise with the world, help continue its rotten patterns, embody its stink, but to give it some quality, some meaning, one may have to break with it, even with oneself — Christianly. What else works?

A Peculiar People

Out of Limbo.

SAMUEL W. TAYLOR

Particularly since he had been a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, loss of church membership was shattering to my father's professional, social and business affairs. One day John W. Taylor was revered as one of the Lord's anointed; the next, he found fair-weather friends crossing the street to avoid him. Business ventures collapsed; credit ceased. But what hurt most was that a man for whom the Church had been his entire life — he'd been an apostle since the age of twenty-five — now couldn't enter a chapel nor partake of the sacrament.

However, he made no complaints. In marrying plural wives after the Manifesto he had taken a calculated risk; he accepted without rancor the penalty for public exposure. And he remained serene about the ultimate verdict in the hereafter. "Things will be straightened out," he said, "over there."

Members of the family, however, were concerned about his status in limbo. Ten years after John W. Taylor's death my brother Raymond made inquiries as to what could be done to get him officially reinstated to Church membership. The reply offered the type of encouragement given by a doctor to someone with terminal cancer: there is always hope. Raymond received no intimation, however, that prospects for John W. Taylor's immortal soul to be delivered from Satan's buffetings could be realized in the forseeable future.

A concerted effort by members of the great family might have created momentum; but the six widows and swarm of progeny were all characterized by spirit, independence, and individuality. They could agree on nothing. (Even the simple matter of selecting a headstone involved a hassel that went on year after year while the temporary marker rotted away and it was distinctly possible that when the stone finally was placed it might be at the wrong grave).

One faction held firmly to the whispered rumor that John W. Taylor hadn't *really* been cut off at all (it was an empty form to appease the outside world). If this actually was the situation, Raymond felt it was high time for our father's name to be taken out of the shadows.

The ironical aspect of the whole thing was that John W. Taylor's troubles resulted from sheer bad luck. The matter of his plural wives became a *cause célèbre* during Senate hearings in the Smoot Investigation of 1904-1906. Except for this, he and his families would have lived quietly with nothing ever done about it. When I was a boy in Provo, everyone knew of plural families, the wives too young to have been married before the Manifesto; there were examples in every neighborhood. We knew the "old maids" who actually were secret plural wives. The Manifesto of 1890 had been interpreted in different ways. Actually there was not one but several, the last coming some fourteen years after the first. In 1910 the Salt Lake *Tribune* published a list of 220 men of standing in the Church who had taken wives after the 1890 date. John W. Taylor was only one of six members of the Quorum of the

Lives based on having are less free than lives based either on doing or on being.

— WILLIAM JAMES

Twelve on this list. Inasmuch as his fall was primarily a matter of bad luck, all the more reason to straighten things out.

Raymond never quit trying, and in the spring of 1965, thirty-nine years after he had begun the campaign, he wrote urging me to take up the matter of John W. Taylor's reinstatement with Church authorities. Now, he declared, the time was ripe. How he came by this conviction, I didn't know, nor why a letter from me would carry more klout than one from him. However, I wrote to Hugh B. Brown of the First Presidency, asking advice on steps that might be taken. Elder Brown phoned in reply, saying that President David O. McKay would like to talk to me on the matter. Since I was in Hollywood, I suggested that Raymond was nearby at Provo, available within the hour. "President McKay," Elder Brown said, "would like to talk to *you*."

At Salt Lake, I had a conference with Elder Brown, who advised me to make the interview brief because of the president's limited vitality; then in company with him and Nathan Eldon Tanner of the First Presidency I went to President McKay's office on the eighth floor of the Hotel Utah. The Prophet, Seer and Revelator was 91 years old, sitting tiny and frail at his desk with a plastic tube taped to a nostril while a pump throbbing by his chair supplied oxygen. The voice was a thin reed, but the mind was razor sharp. He even retained his sense of humor. When a nurse came in he said, "Looks like breakfast," as she rolled up his sleeve for a shot.

When she had gone, I was closeted with the First Presidency, and presented the case briefly.

"John W. Taylor was a good man," President McKay said. He remembered him well. "How do his wives feel about this?"

"It was my mother's greatest wish. She's gone, now. Only two of the wives are alive, May and Rhoda."

"Rhoda was one of the Welling girls, wasn't she? From up Centerville way."

"Yes, sir; Farmington. May lives in Los Angeles." Then I added, feeling that he'd like to know: "May is now just one hundred years old."

He nodded, smiling.

Elder Tanner quietly made a motion that my request for John W. Taylor's reinstatement be approved; this was done. "Write a letter for my signature," President McKay said. "I'm not as fast as I once was, but I'll sign it."

On a typewriter borrowed from Elder Brown's secretary I wrote the letter for approval by the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve. Ten days letter, 21 May 1965, Raymond stood proxy in the Salt Lake Temple while John W. Taylor's priesthood and blessings were restored.

But that wasn't the end of the story. It took almost two years from that time before complications of the case were ironed out. Soon after the reinstatement a member of the Twelve asked Raymond for the name of the man who had performed John W. Taylor's last three marriages. Raymond suggested he ask the living witness, Aunt Rhoda.

"Would you do this for me?"

Raymond visited Aunt Rhoda. As he began talking about her marriage, she put a finger to her lips and gestured to the open door. Beyond, her middle-aged daughter, Young Rhoda, was watching T.V. "Please close the door, Raymond. This is a private matter." Such things weren't even for the ears of her own daughter. With the door closed, Raymond explained that a member of the Twelve had asked him to find out who had performed her marriage ceremony.

Aunt Rhoda considered awhile, then shook her head. "Please tell him that I would rather not talk about it."

It had been more than sixty years ago, yet Aunt Rhoda, like my mother and the other plural wives, had never really emerged from

the underground.

Nearly a year after this, a two-page memo from the Genealogical Society to higher authority outlined some of the problems attending the reinstatement:

> Two living wives, twenty-eight living children and a host of grandchildren participating in the Priesthood Genealogical Programs will need to know their status in order to properly prepare their records.

It required eleven additional months of study before final determination of the case. The nub of the situation was this: While John W. Taylor had been forgiven, could the modern Church officially recognize the validity of marriages taken after 1890? Rather than "opening Pandora's Box," the decision was that,

> If the Lord should judge Brother Taylor in being justified in the last three marriages he then can adjust it in the realms beyond the grave . . .

This was exactly in accordance to my father's prediction in the matter.

Sounding Brass and Tinking Symbols

Wives Take Over

Victor B. Cline

Since previously exposing myself in a sometimes quite personal way in this column I have had the heady and maybe trying experience of having some readers wishing to engage in a dialogue with me via the written letter and even through personal interaction. Sometimes this has involved receiving messages of stern rebuke, kindly persuasion, and even occasional support.

Some of the letters have raised questions which might have some interest for many readers beyond the original writer. This sort of interaction or stimulus-response is often quite personal but a wider readership might find it stimulating and informative to "eavesdrop." So in this issue's column I'll share a letter or two (apparently from L.D.S. women) and my response.

READER'S QUESTION: "I find myself constantly depressed and often think of taking my life. No one knows the full extent of my feelings, not even my husband. If it weren't for my religion and my children I don't think I'd be alive today. It seems that I just barely manage to get through each day. Any help you might offer would be appreciated."

Ms. M. Los Angeles

You are not alone. There are many men and women living lives of quiet desperation. I sense from your letter that you have a number of frustrations and problems that are not getting solved. You've endured them for a long time and somehow they get worse rather than better. Even Mormons, who have the advantage of a great positive religious faith, can have emotional and mental problems and stress which require, at times, professional care. I would strongly suggest that you see a counselor. A clinical psychologist, psychiatrist, social worker, your Bishop, Stake President, L.D.S. Church Social Services — all might provide some assistance to you.

However in choosing a private practitioner (psychologist, etc.) I'd do a little home work rather than just look up a name in the phone book and make an appointment. Professional therapists vary in ability, skill, and competence just as in any other field. You could have a very bad experience if you went to a counselor who was not competent or possibly whose values were very different from yours. I'd first check through your friends' experience with therapists, professional associations' recommendations, your family physician's advice, etc.

This kind of help can be quite expensive (from $25 to $50 for a 50 minute session). And many problems are not resolved in three or four visits. You should check your family health insurance and see what it pays for psychotherapy. Some policies pay up to 80% and in some instances even 100% of the cost. Or rather than seeing a private therapist you might consider going to a community agency such as Family Service Society (focusing usually on marital problems) or a Community Mental Health Clinic (which treats the full spectrum of adolescent and adult problems at reduced fees). Usually their fees are adjusted to income so that anyone, no matter what his financial circumstances, can receive help. The occasional disadvantage with the community agency is that there is sometimes a wait of several weeks or months to get in and be seen and usually you do not have your choice of therapists. But for someone with limited income you can do no worse than try this.

In my experience the major concern many active faithful members of the church have about seeing a psychiatrist, psychologist or other mental health specialist is that this person may not understand their religious culture, the meaning of temple marriage, etc. In addition there are many suspicions about the morals and values of some professionals in these fields and concern that they might destroy Church members' faith, or that of their teen age children who might be brought in for treatment. These concerns are not without foundation. One should be just as cautious in choosing a psychotherapist as the surgeon one might have do open heart surgery on himself or his loved ones. Some therapists are very hostile to organized religious faiths. Some are very unorthodox in their views of sex — in, out of, and before marriage. Their values do influence their treatment strategies and the overt as well as covert messages given in therapy. But this doesn't mean that there aren't many remarkably competent therapists who also respect and don't interfere with the values of their patients. So if one has a problem, or someone in their family needs professional help and care in this area, it would be quite foolish not to seek it out, but the cautions mentioned above should be used in choosing an able practitioner.

READER'S QUESTION: "What do you think of the women's liberation movement? I think they've got some good points, yet some of the things they do confuse me. I have a quite happy marriage and have raised a fairly good family so far but maybe I'm naive and a little dumb. Maybe I ought to be marching in the streets, picketing, competing for some man's high paying job somewhere. The Church's thing about the Patriarchal Family seems to favor men, but this doesn't get me uptight particularly. But maybe I should be.
Ms. D. Washington D.C. area

Can any man give a truly unbiased response to this? But can any woman either? Even if I were unisex I don't think it would solve the problem, so all I can do is to give you my own very personal view. I'm very much in favor of women being liberated from feelings of inadequacy, self hatred, low self image and any kind of neurotic or emotional hang ups, of anything that keeps them from being full, complete people. Maslow has called this "self actualization." I think women should throw off the shackles of self doubt or those fears that interfere with their capacity to give and love. I think that whatever talents they have should be magnified. On the job their pay should reflect what they do, not what their sex is. But, if being liberated means being a "man," being hostile to their husbands, giving up their feminity, rejecting the chance to have children and create new life, being unisex, equating liberation with dominating their husbands or being equal with them on every issue, then I think they have made a very bad choice.

The women I know who are militantly leading the "liberationists," come from very disturbed family backgrounds and are themselves conflicted, often disturbed, individuals. One feels sympathy for their personal problems, but to accept their vision of the female role would be to trade good money (though perhaps devalued in some places) for a fraudulent currency. If some of the more militant of the women's liberationists were to really succeed, they would in my judgment do no less than destroy the family unit as we know it, which would be destructive to our society. Some of their arguments and points do make sense, but it would be dangerous and foolish to accept their whole thesis.

I must confess that I believe that the notion of the patriarchal family is a sound one psychologically. This is based on very practical considerations. No organization, community, business, or family can survive and be successful unless it is organized. There has to be someone with authority, a president, boss, leader — "someone in charge." For two people to be bishops of a ward, or for there to be two prophets running the church at the same time, for there to be two or three presidents of the country simultaneously could only lead to confusion. Even the hippie communes which "make it" have a leader. Those that don't just don't survive. The idea of a true equalitarian relationship in any group (including the family) is a noble myth but doesn't make sense in reality. If the family is to be effective there has to be a family government with an apportionment of responsibilities, duties, and authority.

Thus in marriage under the patriarchal order, the husband is designated the president of the family corporation. If he presides with wisdom, with concern for all, the family will prosper. If he becomes too autocratic, abuses his authority, or becomes too oppressive his family will suffer, but it will usually survive. If there is confusion about who is the president of the family, if the wife continually undercuts her husband's authority, the husband (in my family counseling experience) either "runs away" (works all hours, finds a girl friend, etc.) or there is a power struggle which leads to continual tension and conflict with the children caught in the middle.

Under the patriarchal family it is possible to have all sorts of arrangements and flexibility of roles. The wife may have an outstanding "money sense" and she may be appointed family treasurer. The husband loses none of his authority or masculinity if this occurs — nor the wife any of her femininity or opportunity of self-actualization.

When a wife attempts to subvert her hus-

band's position as "president of the home" it most often leads to conflict or emasculation. Some wives complain that they wish their husbands would in fact be "head of the household" rather than passive or disinterested. While perfection may not exist in such a man, the wife can still give him support and encouragement and do those things that might facilitate his growth rather than ridicule him to his face or in front of the children for his inadequacies.

Every marital relationship is a continually challenging association of two unique intellectual entities, with moments of pain and conflict. But this is the nature of the game. Marriage can be a great facilitator of growth — which comes often because of the pain and tension. After all, this is earth, not heaven. So, in summary, I see some very destructive aspects in the women's liberation movement. But also, at the same time, it has raised some very legitimate issues about women's role in marriage and society that need responding to.

Leaving Utah

Sweet Home

Mary L. Bradford

"I love to go home" said a recent speaker. We in the audience agreed that home should be a place that when you go there you are glad to be there, a place for renewing the spirit, reconstructing the soul, a place for laughter and for food of both kinds. In the back of my mind, though, I heard that old admonition: "Men should come home; women should be home," as if there were something in the genes of woman that just naturally cause her to love being inside, surrounded protectingly by four walls, and waving goodbye to those brave spirits who depart each day for the cruel world.

Whenever I return from a trip, I like to sit in my living room and refurbish myself by looking at some of the things I love: the curtains chosen for their light-giving qualities, poetry made by craftsmen I have met, colors chosen for their cheerful, dirt-repelling properties. Yes, I like to sit there and feel strength flowing back into me from the spirit of our home.

But certainly I would hate to sit there like that all day. Not even if I had some creative, soul-satisfying things to do like reading, writing, cooking and training children. I happen to think that men *and* women, boys *and* girls should like to *come* home and should like to *be* home at certain times. But, dare I be heretical enough to suggest that most of us are meant to *leave* home, too, to make some contribution to the crumbling world without?

Perhaps I am trying to suggest that home is a quality we carry around inside us, making us feel loving and secure with others, giving us the courage to reach out to those who may

never have known real homes. It would seem that closing our doors and glorifying what's inside may not be enough of a contribution. It may be the foundation, but the emphasis may be exaggerated — not in the world, perhaps, but in the Church.

Now what of women and all the dire things that are supposed to happen when they venture outdoors?

Most of the warnings seem directed at women who *work*, those actually leaving home for *pay*. Those who do this, either while the children are small, or who wait until they are in school, are seen as shirking their duties, and it is usually assumed that the children are being left to themselves. Other women who spend their time shopping, attending luncheons, doing clubwork or churchwork, and possibly leaving their children at a different spot every day, are seldom mentioned. In fact, it would almost seem women are encouraged in these pursuits with no questions as to how they manage.

I am acquainted with large numbers of women, in and out of the Church. I think I can say that except for brand-new mothers and poverty-stricken women with large families, *none of these women are home.* Does this come as a shock? My friends take classes, attend school functions, shop frenzily, attend Church; they may trade sitting with friends, leave their children in nursery schools, or drag them along. The only ones who ever seem at home are those with recent illnesses, or those who are recluses in the tradition of Emily Dickinson or the Hawthorne sisters.

And yet when I went to work part-time, taking a job which included travel, great was the shock in some circles. All my children were in school, and trustworthy Mormon couples were hired to replace me; yet it seemed somehow freaky for me to be accepting money for leaving home.

Were my children neglected? I don't know, but I do notice that they are able to get their own meals, and since I make enough to hire help with the housework, I have more time to spend just talking to them. They seem to enjoy conversing with a mother who can discuss something besides *them*, and my adolescent son has even owned up to loving me! I do not say that they won't suddenly go wrong next year, only that the cliche about quality over quantity still holds.

Of course, there isn't a one of us who wouldn't give up our own interests and activities to save any member of our family or to keep our houses from burning down. But I hope that applies to all members of the family, including father.

After observing the almost superhuman activities that some women, especially Mormon women, indulge in, I am reaching the conclusion that we women want to go where the need is. Sometimes the need is at home with little ones; sometimes it's at school or in the community; sometimes it involves us in paying work where we can use some of our expensive training. If we can be wise enough to time these pursuits, and lucky enough to be able to give ourselves to them freely without coercion from leaders or lovers, we need not destroy the foundations of home and hearth while yet contributing some of that much-vaunted "womenpower" to the world.

Faith and Reason

Religion and Morality

Lowell Bennion

In an open forum discussion on religion, a college student asked the panel: "Can an atheist be moral?" (He was using the word in its broad meaning to include all behavior deemed good or bad). One panelist answered, "No;" another said, "Yes."

Personally, I have known atheists whom I could trust to be honest and just. Religion is not always essential to the moral life, although it does inspire high moral living for many. I have also known both avowed atheists and professed believers whom I would not trust out of sight.

My interest here is not to discuss the morality of the non-believer, but to examine the role morality should play in the life of the believer, particularly in the daily living of a Latter-day Saint whose religion is grounded in the teachings of the Jews, early Christians, Nephites, and Latter-day prophets. How important is morality in the gospel? That is the question.

Morality is not the most distinctive element of religion. Looking across the centuries at many religions, whether in primitive or more developed faiths, one finds that the heart of religion is man's desire to feel at home in the universe, to find some meaning in his life, to cope with the unknown, to deal with uncertainty, to find answers to ultimate questions: Who am I? Does God exist? Why do men suffer?

Moral questions seem to be of secondary concern and grow out of these ultimate questions of belief. Morality reflects man's view of the character of God and man's place in the universe. This is illustrated in the Scriptures of the world religions over and over again. In the *Tao Teh King*, the classic scripture of Taoism, for example, the word "Tao" stands for Ultimate Reality or the underlying divine reason in the universe. This Tao is quiet, unassuming, humble, yet the source and servant of all things. The word "Teh," meaning virtue, represents the way of life or the morality one should follow to live in harmony with Tao. A virtuous Taoist, like "Tao" itself, is peaceable, humble and simple in his tastes and demands.

The morality of Israel reflects the Hebrew concept of Jehovah. "Ye shall be holy for I the Lord thy God am holy" introduces the significant moral exhortation in Leviticus, Chapters 19 through 26. The prophets of Israel, in turn, continued to teach a morality consistent with their conception of God.

Many Christians identify the morality of the Old Testament with "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" and contrast it unfavorably with the Christian teaching of love and forgiveness. In like manner, the God of the Old Testament is portrayed as a harsh, revengeful Being in contrast to Jesus' emphasis on the compassion of a benevolent Father. Such over-simplifications give birth to unfortunate misperceptions. Jesus, himself, had a profound regard for the Law of Moses and the teachings of the prophets, making repeated affirmative references to them. He was a Jew who knew and accepted the finest ethical standards of his people, often repeated in his own eloquent style.

Many of the moral teachings of the Law of Moses no longer apply to our day — diet and hygiene rules, even some concerning the treatment of slaves, wives, and children. The Law of Moses is the morality of a people fresh out of slavery, constantly tempted by idolatry. Because other tribes and nations threatened to undermine their faith and moral fiber, their leaders took drastic measures to preserve their integrity as a God-fearing people. Harshness and ethnocentricity have an understandable place in the Mosaic law and in the Old Testament narrative.

These shortcomings of a people in a particular historical setting ought not to obscure the great contributions of the Hebrew people to the moral legacy of mankind. The Law of Moses is wonderfully concrete and applicable to every aspect of daily life. It teaches one exactly what to do in human relations — not to bear false witness, or steal, or commit adultery; to honor father and mother, let the slave go free after seven years and then not empty-handed, and leave the corners of the field and the gleanings of the grapes for the poor and the stranger. A devout Jew could not be moral merely in the abstract as many "Christians" are, believing in general principles of goodness; he was compelled to weigh every deed thoughtfully before its execution.

There is also much humaneness and compassion in the Mosaic Law. The young bridegroom was not to go immediately to war but was to stay home and cheer up his wife for a year. A thief was to be whipped with forty stripes, but with no more lest he appear vile unto him who administered the punishment. Every seven years men were to glorify God by letting people who had lost legal right to their property redeem it.

The high point of moral teaching in the Old Testament is reached by the great literary prophets of the 8th to the 6th centuries B.C.: Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. They stress the moral character of God above everything else in religion. He is a person of unfailing justice who is equally concerned with rich and poor, and rulers and the ruled. He will not hear the prayers and hymns of praise nor accept the offerings of those who cheat their neighbors, who change fence lines, who bribe judges, who mix refuse with the wheat, who falsify weights and measures, who use the Sabbath to scheme against their brethren, who drink wine in bowls but are not concerned for the suffering of their fellow Israelites.

These Hebrew prophets make morality pre-eminent in religion. No other expression of faith — prayers, songs, offerings, sacrifices — is of any worth unless the people are also practising justice and mercy man to man. Hear the cry of Isaiah:

> To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand to tread my courts? (Read Isaiah 1:11-15)

What does God want of man?

> Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes: cease to do evil. Learn to do well: seek judgment [justice], relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widows. (Isaiah 1:16-17)

Micah, in a classic statement, asks what is acceptable religion. Note the importance of morality in his answer:

> Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with the thousand of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of

> oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?
>
> He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good: and what doth the Lord require of thee, *but to do justly, and to love mercy,* and to walk humbly with thy God. (Micah 6:6-8, italics added)

Jesus was a true disciple of the prophets; He quoted them affirmatively. In Mormon theology, it is believed that He inspired them as Jehovah, "Lord" of the Old Testament. Jesus had two basic loyalties: to his Father in heaven and to his fellowmen. He turned to his Father for strength and sustenance and then "went about doing good," healing the bodies, minds, and souls of his afflicted brethren.

One can examine the content of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt: 5-7) and see how much of it is spirituality, referring to man's relationship to God, and how much of it is morality, emphasizing man's relationship to his fellowman. This is not easy to do, because in Jesus' thought spirituality and morality merge into one another. Even so, note the moral emphasis in these sayings:

> Blessed are the merciful . . .
> Blessed are the peacemakers . . .
> Agree with thine adversary quickly . . .
> Whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her . . .
> Judge, not, that ye be not judged . . .
> All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them: for this is the law and the prophets, etc., etc.

The apostle Paul is known as a mystic and theologian who strongly influenced later theological systems, particularly those of Luther and Calvin. Paul did emphasize faith and worship and the spiritual aspects of religion because his central theme was man's redemption from death and sin through Jesus Christ. Despite this theological emphasis, which is often quite difficult to understand, in every epistle Paul also stresses the ethical life abundantly and concretely. In fact, he usually ends his epistles with one or more chapters exhorting the Saints to live righteously. A choice example of his moral emphasis is found in I Corinthians, Chapters 12, 13, and 14. Word had come to Paul that the Saints he had converted at Corinth were exercised about who among them possessed the greater spiritual gifts. Some envied those who could speak in tongues; others were boastful of their gifts. In response to this situation, Paul made it clear what is most important in the Christian religion with his renowned eulogy on love or "charity" as it is called in the King James translation.

> Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith so that I could remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing. (I Cor. 13:1-2, read the entire chapter).

The Latter-day Saint movement began in a search for the true church and the pristine gospel of Christ. It was born in an age of dispute over religious beliefs. It is only natural, therefore, that there should be a strong ecclesiastical and theological emphasis in the Restoration. Missionary work further emphasized the belief-dimension of the new religion. The thirteen *Articles of Faith* all begin with "We believe," yet a close examination of the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants reveals a very strong emphasis on morality.

The Book of Mormon is, above all else, a cry of repentance, a plea for both Nephites and Lamanites "to think of their brethren like unto themselves." It is predominantly a compassionate work which repeats the ethical emphasis of the Hebrew prophets at many points. One illustration of this is found in Alma 34. Amulek is persuading men to repent and to pray over their flocks and herds and households and then continues:

> Yea, and when you do not cry unto the Lord, let your hearts be full, drawn out in prayer unto him continually for your welfare, *and also for the welfare of those who are around you.* And now behold, my beloved brethren, *do not suppose that this is all;* for after ye have done all these things, if ye turn away the needy, and the naked, and visit not the sick and afflicted, and impart of the substance, if ye have, to those who stand in need, I say unto you, if ye do not any of these things, behold, your prayer is vain, and availeth you nothing, and ye are as hypocrites who do deny the faith. (Alma 34:28-29, italics added)

One of the most interesting aspects of the Restored Gospel is that each ordinance has a moral emphasis and purpose. Baptism is a witness of repentance and a determination to bear one another's burdens (Mosiah 18). In the confirmation, the Holy Ghost comes to one who is meek and lowly of heart and fills his soul with perfect love (Moroni 8:26-28). Partaking of the sacrament is man's witness that he takes upon him the name of Christ with all that represents in moral action (Moroni 4). Eternal marriage, to be efficacious, must be sanctified by the Holy Spirit of Promise (D. & C. 132). And the priesthood does not bless the holder if he uses it to

exercise unrighteous dominion (D. & C. 121: 34-46).

How then should a Latter-day Saint live his religion? What is important? A Latter-day Saint believes in God, has faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of God and the Redeemer of men from death and sin. A Latter-day Saint is active in the Church, doing his duty, serving his fellowmen through his various callings in the Church. He gives generously and gladly of his time and means to build the Kingdom of God.

But this is not all there is to the life of a Latter-day Saint. He is also honest in his dealings with fellowmen. He does not lie, cheat, or steal whether in school or in business. He pays his bills; he does an honest day's work. His word is as good as his bond.

A Latter-day Saint is merciful. He is kind to little children and to widows, orphans, the sick, afflicted, and the aged. He has compassion and empathy for the retarded and the mentally ill. He does not judge his neighbor or broadcast his weaknesses and sins. The Latter-day Saint does not stereotype minority groups. He is respectful of racial and religious minorities.

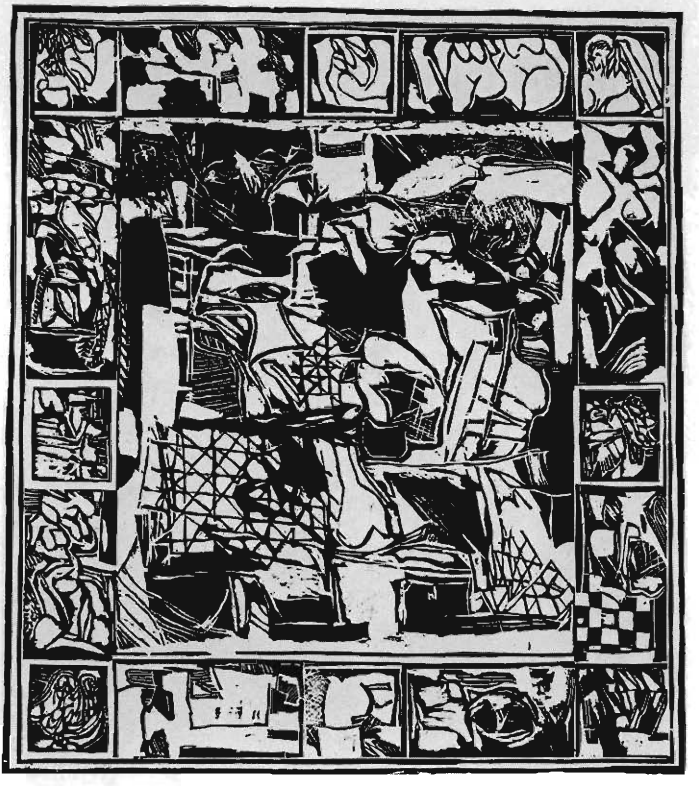
Though he may radically disagree with persons who live a different life-style than his own, he does not reject people who have objectionable standards. Like the Master, he can separate the deed from the doer.

The Latter-day Saint does not lay up for himself "treasures on earth." He does not live in luxury while at least a third of mankind goes to sleep hungry. If he has wealth, he uses it to provide opportunities and to relieve suffering.

A Latter-day Saint is not narrowly patriotic. He is loyal to his country but not in the spirit of "right or wrong my country first." His first and greatest loyalty is to God and to mankind. He looks beyond and across the borders of his own country. He is a world citizen. All men are his brothers.

In summary, a Latter-day Saint follows the admonition of Jesus, he seeks to love God with all his heart, his mind, and his soul and this motivates him to learn to love his neighbor as himself, for on these two commandments, as Jesus said, "hang" everything written in the law and the prophets, and, one might add, in all scripture.

How can the religious life *without morality* be aught but offensive to Him who came "that men might have life and have it more abundantly" and who died that men might have eternal life? Jesus loved God and men and beckons us to follow Him and do likewise.



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STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

(Act of August 12, 1970: Section 3685. Title 39. United States Code)

1. Title of publication: Dialogue — A Journal of Mormon Thought.

2. Date of filing: September 27, 1972.

3. Frequency of issue: Quarterly (4 times each year).

4. Location of known office of publication: 900 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, California 90024.

5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publication: 900 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, California 90024.

6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher: Brent Rushforth, 2827 Forrester Dr., West Los Angeles, California 90024. Editor: Robert A. Rees, 10316 Cheviot Drive, Los Angeles, California 90064. Manager Editor: Robert A. Rees, 10316 Cheviot Drive, Los Angeles, California 90064.

7. Owner: Dialogue Foundation (a Utah Foundation), 900 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, California 90024. A non-stock corporation.

8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: none.

9. (Not applicable).

10. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates (section 132.122, Postal Manual): The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have not changed during preceding 12 months.

11. Extent and nature of circulation:

	Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months	*Actual number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date*
A. Total No. copies printed (net press run)	6,633	6,599
B. Paid circulation		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and countersales	119	126
2. Mail subscriptions	5,257	5,871
C. Total paid circulation	5,376	5,997
D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means		
1. Samples, complimentary, and other free copies	75	30
2. Copies distributed to news agents, but not sold	1	1
E. Total distribution (*sum of C and D*)	5,452	6,028
F. Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	1,181	571
G. Total (sum of E & F — should equal net press run shown in A)	6,633	6,599

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

/s/ Robert A. Rees, editor

We look forward to the time when the Power of Love will replace the Love of Power. Then will our world know the blessings of Peace.

— William Gladstone