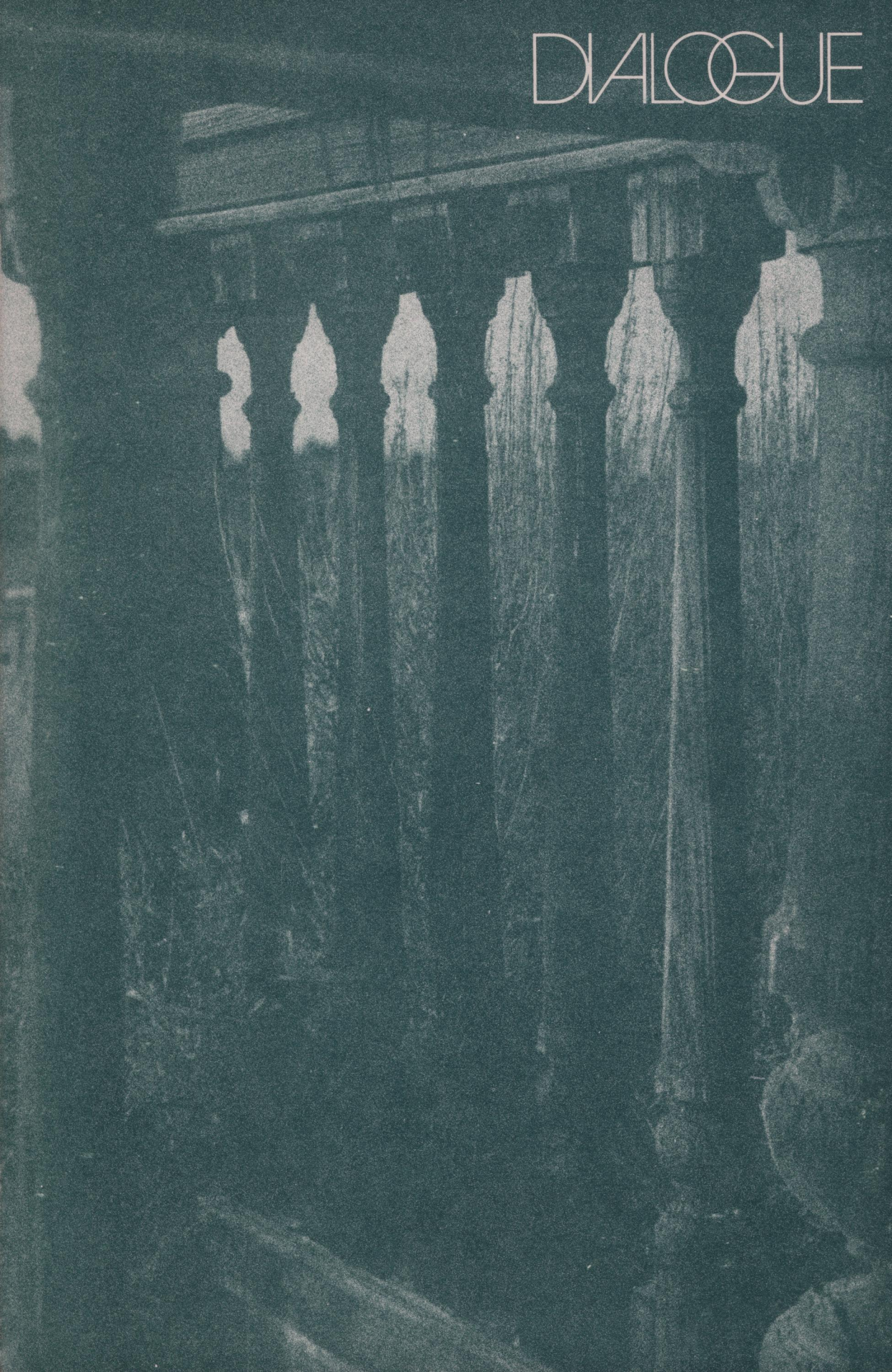


DIALOGUE





DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

is an independent quarterly established to express Mormon culture and to examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by Latter-day Saints who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with the larger stream of Christian thought and 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 ensure accurate scholarship and responsible judgment, the views expressed are those of the individual authors and are not necessarily those of the Mormon Church or of the editors.

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LETTERS

Hutchinson Challenged

Anthony Hutchinson, in his article, "LDS Approaches to the Holy Bible" (Summer 1982) describes and comments on four interpretive positions he sees among Latter-day Saint exegetes, asking us to give more serious consideration to one of those groups.

Group 1 he calls the "harmonizing hermeneutic" position. It contains the majority of those who write about scriptures in the Church. They are unfamiliar with biblical languages, subscribe to a propositional model of revelation, and rely upon conservative Protestant commentaries.

Group 2 he says is the "critically modified corrective hermeneutic" position. Those in this group also sound "a clear, dogmatic, apologetic tone"—but they show "more *a posteriori* thought, more dialectic between faith, experience, and evidence." James Talmage and B. H. Roberts are examples of writers in this group.

Group 3's approach is "critical hermeneutic with corrective tendencies." Hugh Nibley is probably the best known of this group. Its members generally know biblical languages, but "despite the general tendency towards free critical thought unpressured by dogmatic concern, there are occasional harmonizing patches in the writings of these authors."

Group 4, the group which he finally recommends, takes a position described as "critical historical and philological hermeneutic This group is characterized by familiarity with and acceptance of the mainstream of non-LDS biblical criticism."

I find several strengths in Hutchinson's article, but there are many points I find questionable. No more than a handful of

Latter-day Saints publically interpret the scriptures. Even if we can agree that Hutchinson's categories are clear and make sense, it seems quite difficult to confidently decide who goes in what group, especially when distinguishing between Groups 1 and 2.

A significant problem is that he claims each group has strengths and weaknesses but describes Group 1's strengths in language calculated to show them as weaknesses. He also glosses over Group 4's most significant weakness—that it doesn't give us a religion for human beings rather than scholars; Group 4's religion is not a religion of worship.

In addition, scholarly and devotional exegesis often overlap but they aren't necessarily the same thing. Hutchinson, however, assumes all the writers are doing the same thing. Some, Group 1 especially, might well be doing primarily devotional exegesis, regardless of appearances.

He criticizes Group 2 because it lacks credibility among those who do not share its view of the scriptures. But why is that a weakness? After all, Group 4 also lacks credibility in the eyes of those (namely Group 1) who don't share *its* view. From the point of view of Group 4, isn't that a strength? Perhaps Hutchinson is using some other criterion; if so, he ought to make it explicit.

Also, Hutchinson takes Group 3's failure to produce biblical commentaries or introductions as a weakness, without explaining why. Unless the failure is a consequence of the approach itself rather than of the audience, the publishers' policies, etc., it may well be unfortunate but it can't be a weakness. In addition, Hutchin-

son doesn't point out that both Group 4 and Group 1 generally have little knowledge of the languages involved, and rely heavily on authority, though each invokes a different authority.

The most significant difference, however, between Group 4 and the others is that Group 4 doesn't subscribe to "the harmonizing principle." My biggest objection to Hutchinson's article is his definition and use of this principle.

According to him, belief in the unity of the scriptures reveals a presupposition of inerrancy, and that, he implies, limits or prohibits honest textual evaluation. This claim and his implication are fundamental to Hutchinson's thesis; and since they are dubious at best, he ought to have argued them clearly rather than buried them in a footnote.

It isn't at all obvious that belief in a fundamental scriptural unity is necessarily belief in the absolute inerrancy of the relevant documents, doctrines, or interpretations, nor is Hutchinson's description of the harmonizing principle obviously accurate. One might mean many possible things by saying that the scriptures harmonize. There are probably even many ways in which one could believe the scriptures are inerrant.

Hutchinson, however, neglects the difficult but crucial questions of what it means to believe that the scriptures are in harmony, and he consistently uses only the most dogmatic, narrow definition of both harmony and inerrancy in describing the three categories with which he finds fault. As a result, according to the picture he paints, each of these three is merely a variation of a dogmatic, anti-intellectual theme rather than what is more likely — an entirely different view of the matter.

Since the scriptures are, by definition, the revelations of God's relation to humans, we should expect a great deal of diversity in them. Such revelations are, after all, given to diverse people in diverse conditions, cultures and times. But since one element, God, is the same in every case, we should expect harmony as well as

diversity. And since God is perfect, it is also quite reasonable to expect inerrancy. A position which rejects either harmony or inerrancy outright would seem to be one which necessarily drops God from the relation revealed, giving up revelation altogether and no longer viewing the scriptures as God's word.

Those who either tacitly or explicitly accept a harmonizing principle by definition believe that the texts are divine. Consequently they are committed to a belief that the scriptures are, in some sense, both inerrant and always the same. They do not, however, necessarily agree about what either "inerrant" or "the same" mean. Discussions of what it means for the scriptures to be the same throughout time could vary widely, from the naive to the dense and difficult, perhaps like the sameness in Hegel's *Logic* or Martin Heidegger's *Identity and Difference*. LDS exegetes could be expected to take a wide variety of implicit positions on the matter, some consistent, some contradictory, some naive, some sophisticated. Contrary to what Hutchinson has assumed, harmonizing can come in a myriad of forms, and whether one or another is illegitimate is a matter which must be carefully considered.

Hutchinson's overly simplistic views about the harmonizing principle are behind every judgment he makes about LDS scriptural interpretation, including his advocacy of Group 4, despite their inability to make the texts available for religious purposes or, in some cases, their own lack of religious commitment. Some in Group 4, such as Sterling McMurrin, have taken the same route as a good many Protestant and some Catholic intellectuals: they have abandoned particular religion, religion that opposes the claims of other religions. I doubt that such an abandonment can be pulled off without losing religion altogether.

Reduced to self-fulfillment, life affirmation, love, or somesuch, a religion is no longer a religion, it is an ethical system, a "philosophy of life." A religion cannot be reduced to an ethic. Neither can it be

reduced to profound experience or psychological phenomena, as important as these too may be. The content of an experience cannot be separated from the experience. My religious experience as a Latter-day Saint must be different from that of a Muslim because the content of the religions which we experience is different: I experience the truth of the Restoration; he/she experiences submission to Allah. Thus, removing a religion's doctrinal and, at least in the case of Christianity and Mormonism, historical content would annihilate it as surely as would removing its ethical content. An ethical system or a system for having some kind of profound experience might remain, but a religion would not and the ethical system would no longer be the same as the one found in the religion.

Among the Latter-day Saints, some Hutchinson locates in Group 3 have shown that it isn't necessary to give up particular religion in order to do honest, scholarly work. Hutchinson mentions Kent Brown of Brigham Young University as an example. Steven Robinson of Lycoming College, though Hutchinson doesn't seem to know him, is another. Edward Schillebeeckx and Raymond Brown are Catholic examples of genuinely religious and well-grounded exegetes. Such genuinely religious scholars exist among most if not all major religions, subscribing to some form of the harmonizing principle which Hutchinson would like us to abandon. It isn't necessary to give up particular religion or the harmonizing principle to do good scholarly work with the scriptures, even though to give up the harmonizing principle properly described is probably to give up genuine religion.

Hutchinson's careless use of the harmonizing principle results, I think, from his ignorance of contemporary hermeneutics. Modern hermeneutics is not just the study of exegetical methods or the actual making of interpretations. It is the study of the theory of human understanding in general and of textual exegesis in

particular. I have no reason to doubt his knowledge of biblical languages or of the scholarship of biblical exegesis. But the way he discusses the issues and the explanations he gives of hermeneutics in his notes and glossary show a definite lack of understanding of the issues and positions as they presently bear on the questions he addresses. For example, he agrees there can be no presuppositionless interpretation and, at the same time, castigates Barlow for saying that if our claims are genuine they must make a difference in our interpretations. But such a position is perfectly in line with almost every position taken in contemporary discussions of interpretation theory (hermeneutics). Brown's commentaries on the Gospel of John, for example, are masterful, insightful, and useful to anyone trying to understand the text. They are also obviously Catholic. His faith makes a difference to his interpretation. Anyone's faith must. Those are simply the exegetical facts of life.

Hutchinson also invokes historicity and its claims on the text's meaning, mentioning the *New Mormon History* as a good example of how we can lay hold of our history without unnecessary presuppositions. But hermeneutics is very suspicious of things like the *New Mormon History* (as Martin Marty made clear at the Mormon History Association meetings in Omaha in May, 1983). Whether history has an objective content, much less whether we can express that content, are hotly debated issues in hermeneutics. The consensus presently seems to be that history has no objective content. Thus, neither does an ancient text. Scholarly, honest work which results in valid interpretations is still possible according to most who take this view, but it isn't nearly as simple—even in principle—as Hutchinson would have us believe.

Hutchinson says that those who accept the principle of harmony seek agreement with our present understanding while good scholars seek agreement with the original form and sense of the text. Given the

debate which has raged in hermeneutics for at least fifteen years about the plausibility of that distinction (a distinction based on the presupposition of objective historical content), I must conclude that Hutchinson is unfamiliar with hermeneutical issues and positions. That's all right. Most people, even biblical exegetes, rightfully don't care much about the broader, theoretical questions in contemporary hermeneutics. But he shouldn't write about these issues or take up positions which require coming to grips with them unless he knows about them.

Finally, despite its importance, the primary issue in hermeneutics is not, as Hutchinson asserts, authorial intent, though that is an important issue. In addition to the question of history's objective content, the primary question is, what roles, positive and negative, do our presuppositions play in our interpretations? Hutchinson has quite blithely made all sorts of judgments about how the presupposition of harmony affects the exegesis of Latter-day Saints. He has not, however, been willing to consider how Group 4's presuppositions affect their interpretations or what role his own presuppositions play.

Hutchinson's call for care and scholarship in interpreting scriptures is long overdue for most Latter-day Saints. It is a call no thoughtful person could quarrel with. I suspect few who attend LDS Sunday Schools would quarrel with it. But his way of getting to that call is badly founded on badly thought-out ideas.

In fact, insofar as it might influence some to wrongly choose between harmonizing and scholarship, consequently rejecting either scholarship or a belief in the revealedness of the scripture, it is probably quite dangerous. In spite of his obvious and admirable desires to the contrary, anyone taking Hutchinson's article seriously might logically move to an amorphous, contentless religion or, in reaction become dogmatic, naive and ignorant. Thus, his recognition that Latter-day Saint scriptural study is in a sad state comes in such a way

that it is unlikely to do anything to make it better — and it could make it worse.

James E. Faulconer
Provo, Utah

The Only True Note Form

Among the many delights of spring this year was the discovery that *DIALOGUE* had, as part of the "restoration of all things," returned to the true *footnote* rather than the endnote format. Though its "apostate" interlude was understandably financial, it is inspiring to see that faith is once again found on the earth. May it be nurtured by our works, *i.e.* \$\$ donations.

Grant Underwood
Los Angeles, California

Unsettling Implications

After finishing George Smith's recent informative essay, "Isaiah Updated" (Summer 1983), I distinctly felt something was missing. His review of the scholarly, historical interpretations of Isaiac prophecy was fairly straightforward; however, I sensed Smith really wanted to discuss what he felt to be interpretative abuses of Isaiac prophecy by Mormon theologians. Although Smith raised a very important issue, he failed totally to develop this theme and its unsettling implications.

One of these implications concerns the validity of the LDS belief that the Book of Mormon is a literal history of ancient American civilizations. Assuming the concept of multiple authors composing the now-canonized book of Isaiah is valid and that chapters 40–66 were composed after Lehi departed into the wilderness, the inclusion of portions of these later chapters in the Book of Mormon clearly suggests that this 1830 publication was a latter-day amalgamation and not an historical compilation as many have purported.

Another issue hinted at by Smith concerns not only the nature of prophecy in

scripture but, more pointedly, the ability of both ancient and modern prophets to correctly interpret ancient prophecy. If his analysis is correct, Mormon prophets have been less than accurate in extrapolating upon ancient prophecy. How should Latter-day Saints then consider authoritarian pronouncements by modern church leaders in other areas of concern?

In response to Smith's closing question, "How should students of religion consider the effect of Mormon writings to 'update' Isaiah's words into a context foreign to the man, his message, his country, and his time?" I would have to reply, "Perplexed."

David John Buerger
Campbell, California

McMurrin Correction

In my review of Sterling M. McMurrin's book, *Religion, Reason and Truth*, the following quote should be understood as referring to orthodox religionists or fundamentalists and *not* liberals: "The fundamentalist is 'not genuinely interested in the truth; that his concern, rather, is simply to minister to his emotional life or possibly to promote the tyranny of a sacred book, perpetuate an antique theological tradition, or encourage submission to ecclesiastical authority.'"

Blake Ostler
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dollar Magnitude

The paper by David Whittaker was most interesting, but failed to give any clue to the dollar magnitude of the Church's money making.

Ward's Directory of 55,000 Largest Corporations (1981; published by Baldwin H. Ward, Box 380, Petaluma, Calif. 94953) lists religious organizations (pp. C-244, B-263.) The Corporation of the

President is listed with sales totaling \$750,000,000 and 10,500 employees. The LDS Church is listed as the number one organization for making money. No. 2 is the "Church Univ. Trimp" Calabasas, California, with sales of \$650 million and 400 employees; No. 3 is "General Council ASSE," Springfield, Missouri, with sales of \$72 million and 900 employees; and No. 4 is Herbert Armstrong's "Worldwide Church" with sales of \$62 million and 1000 employees.

While the Corporation of the President is not listed among the profit-making other companies, it does rank high on the list as one of the largest companies in the U.S., exceeding in sales such giants as San Diego Gas & Electric, Coors Adolph Co., National Semiconductor, Western Union, General Instruments, Lipton Tea, and Quaker State Oil.

One must wonder about the nature of a Church that is so profit motivated and involved in so many enterprises, including direct competition with private enterprise. Was Jesus (or Joseph Smith's) message make money?

R. Dean Terry
San Clemente, California

Greatest Thing Since Book of Mormon

I would like to subscribe to DIALOGUE but I was robbed last month and my disability check doesn't go far. I am sixty-five, born 12 September 1918. If you'll trust me I'll make it right. Do you have a back issue which contains anything on the Word of Wisdom, Sonia Johnson and the ERA, or any other back issues? I am convinced DIALOGUE is the greatest thing that has happened to Church since Joseph Smith and brethren published the Book of Mormon and I pray to God we shall shortly prove it.

Woodrow Clark
Price, Utah

Refining the Definitions

I think Poll is basically correct when he states the fundamental difference between Iron Rods and Liahonas to be their "responses to religious authoritarianism" (Summer 1982, p. 72). Iron Rods obey; Liahonas question.

Expressed less negatively (from the Liahona viewpoint) the distinction is one of "personal responsibility" for the use of one's free will.

Liahonas acquiesce in authoritative pronouncements only if they independently feel the pronouncement to be true. Iron Rods acquiesce even without independent evaluation thereof.

Liahonas reserve to themselves all personal decision making, accepting responsibility (good or bad) for each decision. Iron Rods avoid individual decision making by patterned obedience to all authoritative pronouncements. They hope to eschew individual responsibility by being "hundred percenters" — always obedient even at the cost of understanding.

In a nutshell the difference is one of a critical *vs.* a faithful frame of mind. Liahonas analyze and criticize; Iron Rods analyze but do not criticize.

Criticism (of policies, programs, persons, conduct) is "evil-speaking of the Lord's anointed" when Liahonas do it of those in authority. When Iron Rods do it, it's called priesthood correlation.

Gerry L. Ensley
Los Alamitos, California

Semi-Sainthood

Please find enclosed a cheque to cover my subscription to *DIALOGUE*. Many thanks for a remarkable journal I find frank, refreshing, and informative. I felt very near the thoughts of Jan Shipps (Spring 1982) being myself a non-Mormon but very much Mormon sympathizer. (Indeed, there must exist somewhere a special claim of semi-sainthood for people like us!) I have studied Mormonism for the past twelve to

eighteen years and I particularly enjoy the historical aspects and development of the Church. I leave all theological questions to those who understand them.

I apply to my life some (even many) Mormon health principles: I eat simply, I drink no coffee or tea. At home, though, I drink my wine or beer or even (oh, horror!!) a wee bit of whiskey.

I do not join the church, as I feel that I shall lose all magic and beauty of Mormonism if I did so. So, I stay as I am. I enjoy meeting Mormons, especially all those bright-eyed and eager missionaries who are so much surprised to find that I know so much about Mormonism, and they cannot possibly understand me when I say that I do not join the Church because I love it so much. I wish them well, nevertheless.

Stathis Papstathopoulos
Bruxelles, Belgium

The DIALOGUE Tradition

Accept my hearty congratulations for the way you are continuing the *DIALOGUE* tradition.

DIALOGUE has made a significant contribution through the years to the Church by serving as an outlet for historical and doctrinal insights which might not have had as much circulation otherwise. I know many of us are deeply appreciative of the careful research and sensitive perspectives which, for the most part, have appeared over the years in *DIALOGUE*. Such insights have deepened my own gratitude for membership in the Church, strengthened my resolve to learn and grow in the gospel, broadened my understanding and empathy for others, historical and contemporary, who have and are struggling with self and service, and opened new and exciting vistas of exploration and testimony in seeing myself reflected in the lives and challenges of other figures then and now.

Exposure to the sensitivity and perspective of many others helps us to under-

stand other's viewpoints, and while exposing the reality of disunity and apparent conflict in approach and ideas, I believe we are brought to a more mature realization of our own peccadillos and consequently closer to a real unity of the faith. Keep us in *DIALOGUE*.

Roger S. Porter
Pocatello, Idaho

Unconcerned Agnostics

Richard D. Poll quoted President Harold B. Lee to say that "a liberal in the Church is merely one that does not have a testimony." Was Increase Mather wrong when he said, "Ignorance is the mother, not of devotion, but of heresy"?

Doubting professors are not so threatening to our Church as unbelieving iron-rod authoritarians, obsessed with administration and position. It is this type that is the real enemy of the doubting professors, not Joseph Fielding Smith and Bruce R. McConkie.

By contrast, the agnostic authoritarian isn't very interested in what we might loosely call "gospel questions." Nevertheless his/her conventionality is easily mistaken for virtue. For insulation against the doubting professors he/she packs around his/her anti-intellectual pseudo-scholars who, like himself/herself (to borrow from Shaw) are more opinionated than educated.

The doubting professors, who search for the truth, and the true believers, who know it, should drive the unconcerned agnostics out of the temple with whips. Otherwise the drift of our Church toward historical obscurity will continue.

Joseph H. Jepson
Woodside, California

Powerful But Painful Story

Where but in *DIALOGUE* magazine could one find a powerful but painful story

like "The Renovation of Marsha Fletcher?" (Michael Fillerup, Summer 1983)

Everything to do with the traditional woman's role was exposed from brain-washing, marriage, mothering, patriarchy, priesthood, philandering, physical deterioration, to aloneness. The whole bloody mess was there!

Perhaps it was best summed up with one of the protagonist's statements: "If the body was indeed a temple, then women — Mormon women especially—had permitted desecration."

I wondered, as did others, how Fillerup had such keen insights about women as well as the social behavior patterns of men. He must have excellent feminine and masculine perceptions in order to provoke writings of that caliber.

I found myself going back to the story more than once.

Loneta Murphy
Provo, Utah

Cover Pleasures

What more could I ask for? As usual the Summer issue of *DIALOGUE* has provided me with much good reading but to find as much pleasure in just looking at the outer cover is a bit unreal. Would you please send me a list of Jenni Christensen's prints.

Keep up the great work! You are partially responsible for my genuine activity at church.

Susan K. Randall
Martinez, California

Note on Anointing

Hurray again for David John Buerger! His "second anointing" article (Spring 1983) was exceptionally forthright and well-covered. He intelligently handled the deep doctrinal questions in a way that does not arouse fear of inquiry. Thanks to him and to you for printing it.

One fascinating area just touched upon in the piece was the anointing of the husband by the wife. Most Mormons have never read the entry in Heber C. Kimball's "Strange Events" notation in his journal. I include them here for those who might like to pursue the matter a little deeper:

"June 1842 I was anointed into the ancient order was washed and anointed and sealed and ordained a Preast and soforth in company with nine others, viz. Joseph Smith Hiram Smith, Wm. Law Wm. Marks Judge Adams, Brigham Young Willard Richards George Miller, N. K. Whitney.

"January 1844 my wife Vilate and my female was received in to the Holy order, and was washed and anointed by Emma

"February the first 1844 I, Heber C. Kimball received the washing of my feet, and was anointed by my wife Vilate for my burial, that is my feet head stomach, Even as Mary did Jesus, that she might have a claim on him in the Resurrection in the City of Nauvoo

"In 1845 I received the washing of my feet by I Vilate Kimball do hereby certify

that on the first day of April 1844 I attended to washing and anointing the head stomach and feet of my dear companion Heber C Kimball, that I may have claim upon him in the morning of the first Resurrection. Vilate Kimball"

The doctrinal implications of this entry are important:

1. Jesus Christ was married. (John 2)
2. He was married polygamously (Inferred from John 12)
3. Mary, sister of Lazarus and Martha, was one of his wives and anointed Jesus with ointment for his burial. (John 12: 2-8)
4. Because of this anointing Mary would have claim upon Jesus in the resurrection. (John 12:7)
5. Jesus appeared unto this wife, Mary, before anyone else when rising from the tomb.

For modern Mormons, many of whom are new members of five or ten years tenure, these must appear as "Strange Events" indeed.

Merle H. Graffam
Palm Desert, California

Leaders to Managers: The Fatal Shift

Hugh Nibley

TWENTY-THREE YEARS AGO on this same occasion I gave the opening prayer in which I said: “We have met here today clothed in the black robes of a false priesthood . . .” Many have asked me since whether I really said such a shocking thing, but nobody has ever asked what I meant by it. Why not? Well, some knew the answer already; and as for the rest, we do not question things at BYU. But for my own relief, I welcome this opportunity to explain.

Why a *priesthood*? Because these robes originally denoted those who had taken clerical orders; and a college was a “mystery” with all the rites, secrets, oaths, degrees, tests, feasts, and solemnities that go with initiation into higher knowledge.

But why *false*? Because it is borrowed finery, coming down to us through a long line of unauthorized imitators. It was not until 1893 that “an intercollegiate commission was formed to draft a uniform code for caps, gowns, and hoods,” in the United States.¹ Before that there were no rules. You could design your own; and that liberty goes as far back as these fixings can be traced. The late Roman emperors, as we learn from the infallible Ducange, marked each step in the decline of their power and glory by the addition of some new ornament to the resplendent vestments that proclaimed their sacred office and dominion. Branching off from them, the kings of the tribes who inherited the lands and the claims of the empire, vied with each other in imitating the Roman masters, determined to surpass even them in the theatrical variety and richness of caps and gowns.

HUGH NIBLEY, professor emeritus of ancient scriptures at Brigham Young University, delivered this speech at its commencement ceremonies, 19 August 1983, after he had received an honorary doctor of letters degree.

¹ *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1963, 8: 49.

One of the four crowns worn by the Emperor was the mortarboard. The French kings got it from Charlemagne, the model and founder of their royal lines. To quote Ducange:

When the French kings quitted the palace at Paris to erect a Temple of Justice, at the same time they conferred their royal adornments on those who would preside therein, so that the judgments that came from their mouths would have more weight and authority with the people, as if they were coming from the mouth of the Prince himself. [That's the idea of the robe of the prophet, conferring his glory on his successor.] It is to these concessions that the mortar-boards and the scarlet and ermine robes of the Chancellors of France and the Presidents of Parlement are to be traced. Their gowns or *epitogia* [the loose robe thrown over the rest of the clothing, to produce the well-known green-house effect] are still made in the ancient fashion The name "mortar-board" is given to the diadem because it is shaped like the mortar-board which serves for mixing plaster, and is bigger on top than on the bottom.²

But where did the Roman Emperors get it? For one thing, the mortarboard was called a *Justinianeion*, because of its use by the Emperor Justinian, who got his court trappings and protocol from the monarchs of Asia, in particular the Great Shah, from whom it can be traced to the khans of the steppes and the Mongol emperors, who wore the golden button of all wisdom on the top of the cap even as I do now; the shamans of the North also had it and among the Laplanders it is still called "the Cap of the Four Winds." The four-square headpiece topped by the golden tassel — the emergent Flame of the Fully Enlightened — also figures in some Buddhist and Lamist representations. But you get the idea — this Prospero suit is pretty strong medicine — "rough magic" indeed!

There is another type of robe and headdress described in Exodus and Leviticus and the 3rd Book of Josephus' *Antiquities*, i.e. the white robe and linen cap of the Hebrew priesthood, which have close resemblance to some Egyptian vestments. They were given up entirely however, with the passing of the temple and were never even imitated after that by the Jews. Both their basic white and their peculiar design, especially as shown in the latest studies from Israel, are much like our own temple garments. This is not the time or the place to pursue a subject in which Brother Packer wisely recommends a judicious restraint. I bring it up only to ask myself, "What if I appeared for an endowment session in the temple dressed in this outfit I'm wearing now?" There would be something incongruous about it, of course, even comical. But why should that be so? The original idea behind both garments is the same — to provide a clothing more fitting to another ambience, action, and frame of mind than that of the warehouse, office, or farm. The 109th section of the Doctrine and Covenants describes the function and purpose of the temple as much the same as those of a university: A house where all seek learning by study and faith, by discriminating search among the best books (no official list is given — you must search them out), and by constant discussion — dili-

² Charles du Fresne DuCange, *Glossarium medise et infinite Latinitatis* (Paris: Didot, 1840–50); see essay on crowns in the supplement.

gently teaching “*one another* words of wisdom”; everybody seeking greater light and knowledge as all things come to be “gathered in one” — hence *university*. (D&C 109:7, 14; 42:9; italics added).

Both the black and the white robes proclaim a primary concern for things of the mind and the spirit, sobriety of life, and concentration of purpose removed from the largely mindless, mechanical routines of your everyday world. Cap and gown announced that the wearer had accepted certain rules of living and been tested in special kinds of knowledge.

What is wrong, then, with the flowing robes? For one thing, they are somewhat theatrical and too easily incline the wearer, beguiled by their splendor, to masquerade and affectation. In the time of Socrates, the Sophists were making a big thing of their special manner of dress and delivery. It was all for show, of course, but it was “dressing for success” with a vengeance, for the whole purpose of the rhetorical brand of education which they inaugurated and sold at top prices to the ambitious youth was to make the student successful as a paid advocate in the law courts, a commanding figure in the public assemblies, or a successful promoter of daring business enterprises by mastering those then irresistible techniques of persuasion and salesmanship which the Sophists had to offer.

That was the classical education which Christianity embraced at the urging of the great Saint Augustine. He had learned by hard experience that you can’t trust revelation because you can’t control it — the Spirit bloweth where *it listeth*, and what the church needed was something more available and reliable than that, something, he says, *commodior et multitudini tutior* — “handier and more reliable for the public” — than revelation or even reason, and that is exactly what the rhetorical education had to offer.

At the beginning of this century, scholars were strenuously debating the momentous transition from *Geist* to *Amt*, from spirit to office, from inspiration to ceremony in the leadership of the early church, when the inspired leader, Peter, was replaced by the typical city bishop, an appointed and elected official — ambitious, jealous, calculating, power-seeking, authoritarian, an able politician and a master of public relations. We have an immense literature on this in the *Patrologia*. This was Saint Augustine’s trained rhetorician. At the same time the charismatic gifts, not to be trusted, were replaced by rites and ceremonies that could be timed and controlled, all following the Roman Imperial model, as Alfoeldi has shown, including the caps and gowns.

And down through the centuries the robes have never failed to keep the public at a respectful distance, inspire a decent awe for the professions, and impart an air of solemnity and mystery that has been as good as money in the bank. The four faculties of theology, philosophy, medicine, and law have been the perennial seedbeds, not only of professional wisdom, but of the quackery and venality so generously exposed to public view by Plato, Rabelais, Molière, Swift, Gibbon, A. E. Housman, H. L. Mencken, and others.

What took place in the Greco-Roman as in the Christian world was that fatal shift from leadership to management that marks the decline and fall of civilizations.

At the present time, that grand old lady Captain Grace Hopper, the oldest commissioned officer in the Navy, is calling our attention to the contrasting and conflicting natures of management and leadership. No one, she says, ever managed men into battle. She wants more emphasis in teaching leadership. But leadership can no more be taught than creativity or how to be a genius. The *Generalstab* tried desperately for a hundred years to train up a generation of leaders for the German army; but it never worked, because the men who delighted their superiors, *i.e.*, the managers, got the high commands, while the men who delighted the lower ranks, *i.e.* the leaders, got reprimands.

Leaders are movers and shakers, original, inventive, unpredictable, imaginative, full of surprises that discomfit the enemy in war and the main office in peace. For the managers are safe, conservative, predictable, conforming organizational men and team players, dedicated to the establishment.

The leader, for example, has a passion for equality. We think of great generals from David and Alexander on down, sharing their beans or *maza* with their men, calling them by their first names, marching along with them in the heat, sleeping on the ground, and being first over the wall. A famous ode (35–55) by a long-suffering Greek soldier, Archilochus, reminds us that the men in the ranks are not fooled for an instant by the executive type who thinks he is a leader.

For the manager, on the other hand, the idea of equality is repugnant and indeed counter-productive. Where promotion, perks, privilege, and power are the name of the game, awe and reverence for rank is everything, the inspiration and motivation of all good men. Where would management be without the inflexible paper processing, dress standards, attention to proper social, political, and religious affiliation, vigilant watch over habits and attitudes, etc., that gratify the stock-holders and satisfy Security?

“If you love me,” said the greatest of all leaders, “you will keep my commandments.” “If you know what is good for you,” says the manager, “you will keep *my* commandments and not make waves.” That is why the rise of management always marks the decline, alas, of culture. If the management does not go for Bach, very well, there will be no Bach in the meeting. If management favors vile sentimental doggerel verse extolling the qualities that make for success, young people everywhere will be spouting long trade-journal jingles from the stand. If the management’s taste in art is what will sell — trite, insipid, folksy kitsch — that is what we will get. If management finds maudlin, saccharine commercials appealing, that is what the public will get. If management must reflect the corporate image in tasteless, trendy new buildings, down come the fine old pioneer monuments.

To Parkinson’s Law, which shows how management gobbles up everything else, he added what he calls the “Law of Injelitance”: Managers do not promote individuals whose competence might threaten their own position; and so as the power of management spreads ever wider, the quality deteriorates, if that is possible. In short, while management shuns equality, it feeds on mediocrity.

On the other hand, leadership is an escape from mediocrity. All the great deposits of art, science, and literature from the past on which all civilization has been nourished come to us from a mere handful of leaders. For the qualities of leadership are the same in all fields, the leader being simply the one who sets the highest example; and to do that and open the way to greater light and knowledge, the leader must break the mold. “A ship in port is safe,” says Captain Hopper speaking of management, “but that is not what ships were built for,” she adds, calling for leadership.

To quote one of the greatest of leaders, founder of this institution, “There is too much of a sameness among our people . . . I do not like stereotyped Mormons — away with stereotyped Mormons!”³ True leaders are inspiring because they are inspired, caught up in a higher purpose, devoid of personal ambition, idealistic, and incorruptible.

There is necessarily some of the manager in every leader (what better example than Brigham Young himself?), as there should be some of the leader in every manager. Speaking in the temple to the temple management, the scribes and pharisees all in their official robes, the Lord chided them for one-sidedness: They kept careful accounts of the most trivial sums brought into the temple; but in their dealings they neglected fair play, compassion, and good faith, which happen to be the prime qualities of leadership.

The Lord insisted that both states of mind are necessary, and that is important: “These ought ye to have done” [speaking of the bookkeeping], but “not to leave the other undone.” But it is the blind leading the blind, he continues, who reverse priorities, who “strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.” (Matt. 23:23–24). So vast is the discrepancy between management and leadership that only a blind man would get them backwards. Yet that is what we do. In that same chapter of Matthew, the Lord tells the same men that they do not really take the temple seriously while business contracts registered in the temple they take very seriously indeed (Matt. 23:16–18). I am told of a meeting of very big businessmen in a distant place, who happened also to be the heads of stakes, where they addressed the problem of “How to stay awake in the temple.” For them what is done in the house of the Lord is mere quota-filling until they can get back to the real work of the world.

History abounds in dramatic confrontations between the two types, but none is more stirring than the epic story of the collision between Moroni and Amalickiah, the one the most charismatic leader, the other the most skillful manager, in the Book of Mormon. We are often reminded that Moroni “did not delight in the shedding of blood” and would do anything to avoid it, repeatedly urging his people to make covenants of peace and to preserve them by faith and prayer. He refused to talk about “the enemy.” For him they were always “our brethren,” misled by the traditions of their fathers. He fought them only with heavy reluctance, and he *never* invaded their lands, even when they threatened intimate invasion of his own. He never felt threatened, since he trusted absolutely in the Lord. At the slightest sign of weaken-

³ *Journal of Discourses* 13:153–55.

ing by an enemy in battle Moroni would instantly propose a discussion to put an end to the fighting. The idea of total victory was alien to him—no revenge, no punishment, no reprisals, no reparations, even for an aggressor who had ravaged his country. He would send the beaten enemy home after the battle, accepting their word for good behavior or inviting them to settle on Nephite lands, even when he knew he was taking a risk. Even his countrymen who fought against him lost their lives only while opposing him on the field of battle. There were no firing-squads, and former conspirators and traitors had only to agree to support his popular army to be reinstated. With Alma, he insisted that conscientious objectors keep their oaths and not go to war even when he desperately needed their help. Always concerned to do the decent thing, he would never take what he called unfair advantage of an enemy. Devoid of personal ambition, the moment the war was over he “yielded up the command of his armies . . . and he retired to his own house . . . in peace.” (Alma 62:43), though as the national hero he could have had any office or honor. For his motto was, “I seek not for power,” and as to rank he thought of himself only as one of the despised and outcast of Israel. If all this sounds a bit too idealistic, may I remind you that there really have been such men in history, hard as that is to imagine today.

Above all, Moroni was the charismatic leader, personally going about to rally the people, who came running together spontaneously to his Title of Liberty, the banner of the poor and downtrodden of Israel. He had little patience with management. He let himself get carried away and wrote tactless and angry letters to the big men sitting on their “thrones in a state of thoughtless stupor” back in the capital (Alma 60:7). And when it was necessary he bypassed the whole system, “altering the *management* of the affairs of the Nephites,” to counter Amalickiah’s own managerial skill (Alma 49:11; italics added). Yet he could apologize handsomely when he learned that he had been wrong, led by his generous impulses into an exaggerated contempt for management; and he gladly shared with Pahoran the glory of the final victory, one thing that ambitious generals jealously reserve for themselves.

But if Moroni hated war so much, why was he such a dedicated general? He leaves us in no doubt on that head—he took up the sword only as a last resort. “I seek not for power, but to pull it down” (Alma 60:36). He was determined “to pull down the pride and nobility” of those groups who were trying to take things over. The “Lamanite brethren” he fought were the reluctant auxiliaries of Zoramites and Amalickiahites, his own countrymen. They “grew proud . . . because of their exceeding great riches,” and sought to seize power for themselves (Alma 45:24). Enlisting the aid of “those who were in favor of kings . . . those of high birth . . . supported by those who sought power and authority over the people” (Alma 51:8), they were further joined by important “judges who had many friends and kindreds” (the right connections are everything) plus “almost all the lawyers and high priests,” to which were added “the lower judges of the land, and they were seeking for power” (Alma 46:4).

All these Amalickiah welded together with immense managerial skill to form a single ultraconservative coalition who agreed to “support him and establish him to be their king,” expecting that “he would make them rulers over the people” (Alma 46:5). Many in the church were also won over by Amalickiah’s skillful oratory, for he was a charming (“flattering” is the Book of Mormon word) and persuasive communicator. He made war the cornerstone of his policy and power, using a systematic and carefully planned communications system of towers and trained speakers to stir up the people to fight for their rights, meaning Amalickiah’s career. For while Moroni had kind feelings for the enemy, Amalickiah “did care not for the blood of his [own] people” (Alma 49:10). His object in life was to become king of both the Nephites and Lamanites, using the one to subdue the other (Alma 46:5). He was a master of dirty tricks, to which he owed some of his most brilliant achievements as he maintained his upward mobility by clever murders, high-powered public relations, and great executive ability. His competitive spirit was such that he swore to drink the blood of Alma, who stood in his way. In short, he was “one very wicked man” (Alma 46:9), who stood for everything that Moroni loathed.

It is at this time in Book of Mormon history that the word *management* makes its only appearances (three of them) in all the scriptures. First there was that time when Moroni on his own “altered the management of affairs among the Nephites” (Alma 49:11) during a crisis. Then there was Korihor, the ideological spokesman for the Zoramites and Amalickiahites, who preached that “every man fared in this life according to the *management* of the creature; therefore every man prospered according to his genius [ability, talent, brains, etc.] and . . . conquered according to his strength; and whatsoever a man did was no crime” (Alma 30:17). He raged against the government for taking people’s property, that “they durst not . . . enjoy their rights and privileges, Yea they durst not make use of that which [was] their own” (Alma 30:27–28). Finally, as soon as Moroni disappeared from the scene the old coalition “did obtain sole *management* of the government,” and immediately did “turn their backs on the poor” (Hel. 6:39; italics added), while they appointed judges to the bench who displayed the spirit of cooperation by “letting the guilty and the wicked go unpunished because of their money.” (Hel. 7:5).

Such was the management that Moroni opposed. By all means, brethren, let us take Captain Moroni for our model, and never forget what he fought for — the poor, outcast, and despised — and what he fought against — pride, power, wealth, and ambition — or *how* he fought, as the generous, considerate and magnanimous foe, a leader in every sense.

Even at the risk of running overtime I must pause and remind you that this story of which I have given just a few small excerpts is supposed to have been cooked up back in the 1820s and somewhere in the backwoods by some abysmally ignorant, disgustingly lazy, and shockingly unprincipled hayseed. And aside from a light mitigation of those epithets, that is the only alternative

to believing that the story is *true*; for the situation is equally fantastic no matter what kind of author you choose to invent.

That Joseph Smith is beyond compare the greatest leader of modern times is a proposition that needs no comment. Brigham Young recalled that many of the brethren considered themselves better managers than Joseph and were often upset by his economic naivete. Brigham was certainly a better manager than the Prophet (or anybody else, for that matter), and he knew it; yet he always deferred to and unflinchingly followed Brother Joseph all the way while urging others to do the same, because he knew only too well how small is the wisdom of men compared with the wisdom of God.

Moroni scolded the management for their "love of glory and the vain things of the world" (Alma 60:32), and *we* have been warned against the things of this world as recently as the last general conference. But exactly what are the things of the world? An easy and infallible test has been given us in the well-known maxim, "You can have anything in this world for money." If a thing is of this world you can have it for money; if you cannot have it for money, it does not belong to this world. That is what makes the whole thing *manageable* — money is pure number. By converting all values to numbers, everything can be fed into the computer and handled with ease and efficiency. "How much?" becomes the only question we need to ask. The manager "knows the price of everything and the value of nothing," because for him the value *is* the price.

Look around you here. Do you see anything that cannot be had for money? Is there anything here you couldn't have if you were rich enough? Well, for one thing you may think you detect intelligence, integrity, sobriety, zeal, character, and other such noble qualities. Don't the caps and gowns prove that? But hold on! I have always been taught that those are the very things that managers are looking for. They bring top prices in the marketplace.

Does their value in this world mean, then, that they have no value in the other world? It means exactly that. Such things have no price and command no salary in Zion; you cannot bargain with them because they are as common as the once-pure air around us; they are not negotiable in the kingdom because there everybody possesses all of them in full measure, and it would make as much sense to demand pay for having bones or skin as it would to collect a bonus for honesty or sobriety. It is only in our world that they are valued for their scarcity. "Thy money perish with thee," said Peter to a gowned quack (Simon Mangus) who sought to include "the gift of God" in a business transaction.

The group leader of my high priests' quorum is a solid and stalwart Latter-day Saint who was recently visited by a young returned missionary who came to sell him some insurance. Cashing in on his training in the mission field, the fellow assured the brother that he knew that he had the right policy for him just as he knew the gospel was true. Whereupon my friend, without further ado, ordered him out of the house. For one with a testimony should hold it

sacred and not sell it for money. The early Christians called *Christemporoi* those who made merchandise of spiritual gifts or church connections. The things of the world and the things of eternity cannot be thus conveniently conjoined; and it is because many people are finding this out today that I am constrained at this time to speak on this unpopular theme.

For the past year I have been assailed by a steady stream of visitors, phone calls, and letters from people agonizing over what might be called a change of majors. Heretofore the trouble has been the repugnance the student (usually a graduate) has felt at entering one line of work while he or she would greatly prefer another. But what can they do? "If you leave my employ," says the manager, "what will become of you?" But today it is not boredom or disillusionment, but conscience that raises the problem. To seek ye first financial independence and all other things shall be added, is recognized as a rank perversion of the Scriptures and an immoral inversion of values.

To question that sovrain maxim, one need only consider what strenuous efforts of wit, will, and imagination have been required to defend it. I have never heard, for example, of artists, astronomers, naturalists, poets, athletes, musicians, scholars, or even politicians coming together in high-priced institutes, therapy groups, lecture series, outreach programs, or clinics to get themselves psyched up by GO!GO!GO! slogans, moralizing cliches, or the spiritual exercises of a careful dialectic, to give themselves what is called a "wealth mindset" with the assurance that (in the words of Korihor) "whatsoever a man does is no crime." Nor do those ancient disciplines lean upon lawyers, those managers of managers, to prove to the world that they are not cheating. Those who have something to give to humanity revel in their work, and do not have to rationalize, advertise, or evangelize to make themselves feel good about what they are doing. It is only when their art and their science become business oriented that problems of ethics ever arise. Look at TV. Behind the dirty work is always money. There'd be no crime on Hill Street if people didn't have to have money. Paul was absolutely right: The drive for money is "the root of all evil" (1 Tim. 6:10); and he's quoting, incidentally, the old book of Enoch.

In my latest class a graduating honors student in business management wrote this — the assignment was to compare one's self with some character in the Pearl of Great Price and he quite seriously chose Cain:

Many times I wonder if many of my desires are too self-centered. Cain was after personal gain. He knew the impact of his decision to kill Abel. Now, I do not ignore God and make murderous pacts with Satan; however, I desire to get gain. Unfortunately, my desire to succeed in business is not necessarily to help the Lord's kingdom grow [a refreshing bit of honesty]. Maybe I am pessimistic, but I feel that few businessmen have actually dedicated themselves to the furthering of the Church without first desiring personal gratification. As a business major, I wonder about the ethics of business — "charge as much as possible for a product which was made by someone else who was paid as little as possible. You live on the difference." As a businessman will I be living on someone's industry and not my own? Will I be contributing to society or will I receive something for nothing, as did Cain? While being honest, these are difficult questions for me.

They have been made difficult by the rhetoric of our times. The Church was full of men in Paul's day teaching that gain is godliness and making others believe it. Today the black robe puts the official stamp of approval on that very proposition. But don't blame the College of Commerce! The Sophists, those shrewd businessmen and showmen, started that game 2500 years ago, and you can't blame others for wanting to get in on something so profitable. The learned doctors and masters have always known which side their bread was buttered on and have taken their place in the line. Business and "Independent Studies," the latest of the late-comers have filled the last gaps; and today, no matter what your bag, you can put in for a cap and gown. And be not alarmed that management is running the show — they always have.

Most of you are here today only because you believe that this charade will help you ahead in the world. But in the last few years things have got out of hand. The Economy, once the most important thing in our materialistic lives, has become the *only* thing. We have been swept up in a total dedication to the Economy which, like the massive mud-slides of our Wasatch Front, is rapidly engulfing and suffocating everything. If President Kimball is "frightened and appalled" by what he sees, I can do no better than to conclude with his words: "We must leave off the worship of modern-day idols and a reliance on the 'arm of flesh,' for the Lord has said to all the world in our day, 'I will not spare any that remain in Babylon.' " ⁴ And Babylon is where we are.

In a forgotten time, before the Spirit was exchanged for the office and inspired leadership for ambitious management, these robes were designed to represent withdrawal from the things of this world — as the temple robes *still* do. That we may become more fully aware of the real significance of both is my prayer.

⁴ Spencer W. Kimball, "The False Gods We Worship," *Ensign* 6 (June 1976) : 6.

“Moonbeams from a Larger Lunacy”: Poetry in the Reorganization

Paul M. Edwards

IT WAS STEFAN KANFER, I BELIEVE, who suggested that “inside every man there is a poet who died young.” Many in the Restoration have felt this urge to express an emotion, to describe a scene, or to acknowledge a love and have done so in verse. Some perhaps even in poetry. Within the Mormon movement the attempt to express one’s feelings has produced hundreds of pieces of poetry. Even when limiting our view to the Reorganization, there has been a significant amount of work done, though this has not necessarily produced any significant poetry.

This study addresses poetry within the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and defines an RLDS poet as someone who belongs to the RLDS church and who has published poetry in some form or other. While these may appear to be large parameters, they include a rather select — if not necessarily superior — group of persons. In defining poetry I shall revert to the words of an old first sergeant: “It is what they say it is!” Thus, if something has been published as poetry I have not chosen to argue. These definitions are both too inclusive and too exclusive, but the simple fact of determining that there is an RLDS literary tradition of some kind makes any other definition awesome.¹

While any generalization I might make about style would be unfair to some authors and too kind to others, a major difficulty with most RLDS poetry is that it is poor poetry. The critic, as most of you know, is like the eunuchs in a harem; they know how it is done, they’ve seen it done every day, but they are unable to do it themselves. While feeling this impotence, I nevertheless re-

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¹ It should be noted that I have not considered the rather large body of unpublished materials that I personally know exists among some RLDS authors.

member John Ciardi's definition of a bad poem as one that "either misplaces its human sympathies" or has such gross "technical incompetencies" as to be unacceptable. Herein lies the problem. Some of our poetry is technically well done, or is at least experimentally interesting. Some makes a significant effort to deal with the human empathy. But in the main, it has failed to do either.

Most is written in traditional verse forms, often in syllabic rhyme with emphasis on visual rather than assonantal schemes, as this poem by Joseph Dewsnap, Sr., shows:

Help my rejoicing soul to reach
 The bliss of her supreme desire
 To know and tell thy wonderous love
 'Tis human hearts with joy shall move.

I feel myself unworthy, Lord
 Of thy dear love and sacred trust;
 Yet, as thy holy breath and word
 called man immortal from the dust.²

RLDS authors, like the majority of English-speaking authors, have formalized the two-ascent foot and produced what is often an adulterated iambic octameter, pentameter, tetrameter, or trimeter — often in the same poem. David Smith, one of the more formal and technically correct of the RLDS poets wrote primarily in iambic octameter as did his son and fellow poet, Elbert A. Smith. Briefly in the 1940s unmetaphoric forays into Imagism were popular. Most post-1960 poetry is in iambic octameter, pentameter, or blank verse even though there have been some experiments in haiku, li, and other specialized forms. What is often identified as blank verse by authors and editors is usually free verse having no meter whatsoever.

False rhyme schemes are quite common and have little of the musical quality that I would prefer. There was (and is) a great respect in the later years for short pithy poems with very uncomplicated subjects; longer and more complicated attempts, when found, lack the thematic structure one finds in much great poetry. There are few attempts at more classical forms; and only occasional use of blank verse with little experimental work of the "word jazz" variety.

The primary exception to these comments appeared during the 1960s in *Stride*, a magazine for youth, where some excellent beginning poetry was published. This medium ceased publication in the 1970s, cutting off an important outlet.

On the other hand, RLDS poetry does not generally identify with Ciardi's human sympathies. This may be a case of the blackness of the kettle irritating the pot. Yet, I feel words — so often chosen for the sake of the implicit mes-

² Jasper Dewsnap, Sr., "Prayer," *Autumn Leaves* 1 (Jan. 1888) : 68.

sage — are without muscle or history and as such stand stark, embarrassed by their simplicity. Note this 1954 poem from *Saints' Herald*:

There was no chancel for the white-robed choir,
 No cushioned pews nor windows of stained glass;
 But angels sang an anthem from the skies
 To wondering shepherds seated on the grass.

There was no bassinet with bows of blue,
 No silken pillow for his small dark head;
 But Mary wrapped a king in swaddling clothes
 And laid him gently in a manger bed.³

Words are used both rhetorically, in order to avoid passion; and reflectively, in order to create relationships between the fact and the image. We limit the ability of the language to speak when the overtones of association fail to be developed by the factual, rather than the intuitional, nature of their use.

Symbols in RLDS poetry rarely get beyond their own static presentation to achieve a new emphasis, particularly when they are measured to fit into lines or to accomplish a rhyme, and are full of weak adverbs and adjectives or, as is often the case, completed with accents designed to create instant dialect for the sake of meter. They reflect the tendency to perform in poetry rather than to relate through it.

Most of us use metaphor fairly routinely to define and express our feelings. Such use creates a bridge between two unlike, yet related, aspects of the metaphor itself. This is the essence of what is often called Platonic love. The tension created allows us to inject something new into what was understood separately before, and in doing so, to acknowledge something which was not before. More than this, the metaphor is a statement about our understanding of our existing world, our immediate environment. It is, as well, the mark of our willingness to venture away from the ultimate, the concrete, for (as Ann-Janini Morey-Gaines states in her beautiful review of *Gyn/Ecology*) "metaphor is the language of invention and process, not finality and ultimate destination. We rehearse our alternatives in story and myth, and our stories are our conversations about our choices, not only what we desire but also what we fear; the things before and the things behind. Without our stories, metaphors are the critical continuities with which we explore experience."⁴

For what is apparent in this attempt to expand on understanding, to go more than one way at a time in our thinking, is that the point from which we speak metaphorically is over-defined. There is no reaching out in the sense that

³ Berde Rooney, "Royalty," *Saints Herald* 101 (20 Dec. 1954): 16.

⁴ Ann-Janini Morey-Gaines, review of Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology: The Matathesis of Radical Feminism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978), in *Soundings* 65 (1982): 340-51. For the reader interested in the use of metaphor as cultural tool this is a very significant article. This should not overshadow, however, the impact of Mary Daly's work on the nature of feminism.

Morey-Gaines has suggested; the vast majority of our metaphoric usage is limited to comparison. There is no new comprehension for either the reader or for the poet, no point at which we can read back into the metaphor a new understanding of the place from which we left. Often what we write is superior verse; but lacking this metaphoric sense, it is not good poetry.

I suspect there are many excellent and practicing poets who will serve as living proof of the limitations of my comments. But I accept Paul Valery's assumption that one line of a poem is given to the poet by God, or by nature, or even by experience, but the rest he/she has to discover alone. Most RLDS poetry in publication reads as if the authors wanted to write a poem, not that they had a poem — or a line — to be written. They do not acknowledge the image before the thought, failing to recognize that in the writing we must live our "way through the imaged experience of all these ideas."⁵ Such an experience in writing poetry requires an abstraction, an imagination. But more than that, it requires a life-time of watching, of waiting, of seeing normally unseen things and hearing in the silence of one's wondering the words that not only recall but regenerate the experience. It requires that the poet be the kind of person who sees and feels simultaneously so that he/she might think with his/her body and feel with his/her mind.

Much of the poetry of the RLDS does not reflect this sort of poet. Much of the problem can be attributed to the amateur nature of both poets and editors. Every poetic effort appears to be accepted as a valid one. Certainly a poet must practice, but I am leery of the tendency to publish every exercise. These practice efforts are often clever, sometimes amusing, and once in awhile edifying and true. But they leave nothing for the limitless world of consideration. The vast majority of published authors within the RLDS tradition have had fewer than five works published, with the largest percentage having only one. Thus, many of the published works are first poems — often only poems — without the selectivity that is brought about by experience, critics, competition, and a literary tradition.

One reason for this, I believe, is the "presentational nature" of what is written. I refer to the emotional shorthand used to describe an event, recapture a mood, or celebrate an occasion. Note this response to the opening of a new church building.

A church is more than wood and brick,
block and mortar, steel and stone . . .
they are the shell but not the soul
a church is more than these alone.

Mute walls cannot respond to prayers
of dedication; neither can
they take the good news to the world
of God's enduring love for man.

⁵ Paul Valery, *The Art of Poetry* (New York: Vintage Book, 1916), p. 41.

So let this dedication be
of mind and sinew, heart and nerve
of all who enter — that each one
may come to worship . . . leave to serve.⁶

This “light verse turned sober” tends to be very limited in scope, it has as a theme something pragmatic rather than abstract, it has few if any timeless or enduring qualities, and more than not it is limited to the existence of an emotion, not a response to the emotion. Often it is simply what Emma Lou Thayne has called “metered moralizing.”⁷

Writing prose is often more testimonial, of the prayer meeting variety, composed of an outpouring of the warm consideration of the grace of God and the love of the Saints. But writing poetry is more than testimonial, it involves a great deal of hard work, and it hinges on the author’s willingness to risk self-exposure in an effort to expose the reader. It is hard to read poetry, and I would venture that most poetry printed by the RLDS is not read, primarily because it says nothing new and its rewards are not worth the effort of understanding.

The other side of this, of course, is that poets are not used. Many promising poets whose work appeared at one time in *Stride* have failed to continue writing, or at least to submit work for publication.⁸ Some have gone on to become accomplished poets but few either write about, or for, the Reorganization. This is true in part because neither the reader nor the editors have been able to grow with the poet’s professionalism.

Thus there are few RLDS markets for insightful and demanding poetry. In the first place there are not enough knowledgeable readers to create a demand. In the second place the market has been greatly restricted by both editorial and official reaction as to what poetry should be.⁹ It has not been used by committed and concerned people, by leaders or dissenters, for inquiry, for dissent, or for a means to push on the frontiers of our beings. Once again we seem to present poetry to fill empty spaces, not empty hearts and minds.

II

The majority of RLDS poetry, particularly since 1900, does not relate to the Reorganization, the Restoration, or to the institutional church. Certainly

⁶ Naomi Lou Russell, *Discovery: A Collection of Poetry* (Independence: Russell, 1976), p. 73.

⁷ Emma Lou Thayne, “The Chiaroscuro of Poetry” in Thomas Alexander, ed., *The Mormon People: Their Character and Tradition*, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History #10 (Provo: BYU Press, 1980), p. 34.

⁸ There were a dozen or so showing great promise: Twyla Jones, Gary Wick, Elaine Cook, Gaye West, Beth Higdon, Vere Jamison (Evan Shute), Pam Lents, Rosemary Yankers, Barbara Hiles, Billi Jo Maples, and Bruce Koehler, to name but a few.

⁹ William Russell in his response to this paper in its original form provided an excellent illustration to this point when he reported that an RLDS poet had sent a poem to the *Herald* only to be told by the then-managing editor that it was a good poem, but “can’t you write it in prose?”

it does not characterize the unique nature of the movement or any of its peculiar beliefs. For a quick quantitative look at this point I surveyed four major works in the RLDS tradition and issues of *Stride* from 1957 to 1969.

*Poetic Voices of the Restoration*¹⁰ published 244 poems by RLDS authors covering over ninety years and yet only twenty-one of these dealt with distinctively RLDS topics. In *Hesperis*, written by the theologically minded David H. Smith and Elbert A. Smith,¹¹ fewer than twenty of the approximately fifty poems dealt with the church, its history, or theology. *Discovery*, a small work by Naomi Russell, produced only two RLDS verses of the forty-eight. In *That Ye Love*,¹² a collection of works by Evelyn Maples, deals with distinctive RLDS concepts in only eight or so of her ninety-four poems. In *Stride*, which during the editorship of William D. Russell published a large amount of poetry written by youth, fewer than thirty of the more than 150 pieces had anything to do with the special nature of the movement.

I imagine there are many reasons for this, the most obvious being that there is very little about the RLDS movement distinctly unique, and what there is, is more historical and scriptural and does not seem to inspire poetic commentary. This is not to suggest that the Church does not have a significant heritage and message, but only to point out that it is not being stated in published poetry. A second reason is the "autobiographical and confessional" nature of our literature.¹³ This might be illustrated by the fairly common topic and style shown in the following poem published in the *Herald* in 1945.

I chanced to meet a friend one day
As I was going on my way.
In our exchange of thoughts and views
I had a chance to speak the news
Of gospel truth brought back to earth
To give to men the soul's rebirth,
To tell him how God speaks once more
Just as he did in days of yore;
But no — I just forgot to say
The words I should have said that day.¹⁴

The Mormon movement as a whole is prone to such poetic lapses since the nature of our story is told in the lives of those who have sensed the message and

¹⁰ Frances Hartman, *Poetic Voices of the Restoration* (Independence: Herald House, 1960).

¹¹ David H. Smith and Elbert A. Smith, *Hesperis or Poems by Father and Son* (Lamoni, Ia.: Herald Publishing House, 1911).

¹² Evelyn Maples, *In That Ye Love* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1971).

¹³ Suggested by Eugene England in his review of Richard Cracraft and Neal Lambert, *A Believing People: Literature of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1974) in *BYU Studies* 15, no. 3 (1975).

¹⁴ Melvin Knussmann, "Last Opportunity," *Saints Herald* 92 (1 Dec. 1945): 2.

lived the life. It is easier — perhaps for our purposes better — to explain the nature of the life so affected than it is to try and capture the effect.

One of the more enlightening works on Mormon literature is Eugene England's essay, "The Dawning of a Brighter Day."¹⁵ In it he states that most literature has missed the Mormon view of the search for self. While I think the pragmatic nature of this search is far less significant for the RLDS than the LDS, I would agree with him that the search is most often an individual one, often associated with God but rarely with the institutional church. This may or may not be a significant factor, but it does explain a good deal about the lack of passion that is found for exemplifying the Church through poetry.

In identifying what this means about our people, however, wisdom suggests that I be guided by the words of David H. Smith, early RLDS leader, who wrote of his craft in "The Poet's Story":

And do not think that he has passed
through every scene he pictures forth
think of the poet least and last
and take his song for what 'tis worth.¹⁶

It is my contention that so far the singer is more expressive than the song.

In a second comment made by England, this time in his review of Cracroft and Lambert's *A Believing People*, he states that America's great literature "has almost invariably grown out of the religious failure of a group" Thus, he suggests, we ought perhaps to be "pleased to have been spared such greatness."¹⁷ Surely he writes in jest. There is always a chance that the LDS may have missed such problems; but in the RLDS, failure is not unknown, we are not pleased by our inability to find expression in poetry, nor — as he suggests for the LDS — have we "been too busy doing more important things."¹⁸ If he is even reasonably serious, then I feel he has miscalculated the significance of poetry in the religious expressions of a people. I would think this would be even more true within the LDS tradition because of its uniqueness, while the RLDS find some of their literary expression in the larger and less unique field of Christian and Protestant literature.

Whatever the reason, however, it is observable that RLDS poetry — either officially or privately published — has, as a rule, not reflected the doctrine, theology, or history of the movement.

III

At the risk of sounding overly dramatic let me suggest that the poetry of the RLDS tradition is too free from discomfort and/or joy. I am reluctant to

¹⁵ Eugene England, "The Dawning of a Brighter Day: Mormon Literature after 150 years," *BYU Studies* 22 (Spring 1982): 131.

¹⁶ David H. Smith, *Hesperis*, p. 99.

¹⁷ England, *A Believing People*, p. 365.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

use the word tragedy, as some suggest, and I do not want to argue that poetry is only born out of the pain of human existence. There is a point at which a people, however, have been blessed (or damned) with an abundance of mediocrity. We have not had the advantage of harassment, for relatively small attacks have befallen the Reorganization; we have not had the advantage of wilderness, for it is our effort which has placed us in the mainstream of Christianity; we have suffered neither isolation nor persecution as did our forefathers in the Restoration. We have not even had the advantages that our Utah friends had of exile, for we rarely separate ourselves physically or psychologically from midlands America that is our home. And few great periods of joy, limited mountain-top experiences, or contemporary miracles are around to inspire.

Lack of institutional awareness of either the joy or pain of humankind leaves us unrepresentative of the people to whom we speak. Not that we have not ourselves suffered our own personal difficulties or that in the framework of the church we do not feel broken and alone, but there is no continuing institutional assumption of the essential nature of human suffering. More and more as we reach out to other countries, as we become aware of the pain and suffering of the less fortunate, when we are willing to die our deaths on the crosses of other persons' needs, we may begin the understanding of institutional expression.

In the meantime we have not really learned ourselves. We have not paid the price of knowing where our hearts are. We have not dealt with the existential loneliness we feel, or feel we should feel, as a peculiar people. While I believe that many of our people have become existentially sound as persons, they still have not been willing to view the dark side of religious experience. While they revel in the conversion they do not understand the loss that each conversion recalls. Religious poetry suggests aid in the lonely struggle (or undertakes to explain the death of loneliness through God), the togetherness of our human struggle, or the details of our partnership with God. We are reluctant to express the dark side of the church — as David Smith did the dark side of his soul¹⁹ — and in so doing identify only the progression and the power. But as such we have provided nothing equal to a "Hound of Heaven."

I need to state a bias here, for I feel there is something within the nature of the movement which makes poetic expression difficult, if not nearly impossible. I start by affirming that our poetry is, to quote Gabriel Marcel, "not in tune with the deepest notes of our personal experience."²⁰ He suggests an "onto-

¹⁹ David H. Smith wrote the following in the midst of his early troubles with mental illness:

I turn unto my task with weary hands,
Grieving with sadness, knowing not the cause;
Before my face a desert path expands,
I will not falter in the toil, nor pause;
Only, my spirit somehow understands
This mournful truth — I am not what I was.

Hesperis, p. 102-3.

²⁰ Gabriel Marcel, quoted in Ralph Harper, *Nostalgia* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1965), p. 31.

logical hunger” which reflects on our ability to express ourselves about our experience. Karl Keller touched on it when he suggested that we have denied ourselves a literature because “we have learned to love the Word of God but not the words of Joseph Smith.”²¹ This is unlike the Jews for whom the words of the prophets produced a love of the words themselves, and thus a lively literary tradition.

But it goes deeper than this. The RLDS tradition, as well as its theological implications, give rise to a literature — at least a poetry — of narration rather than expression. This is a public rather than a private response. The paradox of the sacred and profane worlds has been well stated by others and needs no comment here. But the implications of this conflict within the RLDS community can be seen in the restrictive nature of a poetry that is public rather than private.

The immediate experience of sacred power in the life of a person is vastly different from the commitment of one who finds dedication in a religious community through the process of socialization. Often our most definitive character is formed in the social process of our religious understanding. But that is not where the power of our conversion lies. The assumption that our religious expression is the narration of this social process is a key to explaining the lack of animation in RLDS poetry. It lacks the power expressed by one who, making a sacred and personal decision, has literally been trapped in the meaningfulness of this pivotal communication with the divine.

As a generalization I believe that RLDS poetry lacks evidence of phenomenological reverberations from experience. To produce religious poetry — or any poetry for that matter — one must go beyond the sentimental vibrations that one feels. These repercussions must be allowed to spread out, mingling immediate experience with universal experience to create reverberations. The human capacity for reflection is the ability to transform information into knowledge, to alter understanding from “the sphere of being” into the “sphere of coming into being.”²² In the vibrations our literary efforts mimic experience. But in the reverberations such experience becomes our own. RLDS poetry often appears to have bounced off the authors, but the work never seems to have possessed the authors.

Readers, even less involved and looking for the warm verification of previous convictions, will have found the collected works perhaps more easily identifiable but no more rewarding.

IV

Finally, I would suggest that our poetry has generally provided neither “an escape from dullness” nor “freedom from the known.” The first term, borrowed from Ezra Pound, suggests that poetry must begin with the call to experi-

²¹ Karl Keller, “On Words and the Word of God: The Delusions of Mormon Literature,” *DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT* 4 (Autumn 1969): 13.

²² These terms are not mine but result from a source read so long ago that I cannot identify it. To the author I express my gratitude.

ence, but that such a call must create unaccustomed understanding, must uncover the non-discovered, must live with the spontaneity of a new affection. The partial power of poetry is that it calls us to see again that which has grown old with recognition, to find in metaphor a resemblance that is new, in allegory a new tale from an old story, in simile a new identification for a familiar form, in imagery a total sensory suggestion, and in symbolism a look in several directions at once. Can anyone avoid the freshness aroused in Wadsworth's description of a painting:

I held unconscious intercourse with beauty
Old as creation . . .²³

or wonder at the motivation of another poet who observes the obvious:

We see the wintertime draw near
The harvest fields are white.²⁴

I have gone to Krishnamurti for my comment about "freedom from the known."²⁵ In reading RLDS poetry I call to mind the failure to remove it from the restriction of old emotions. There is a point, I believe, when the dictates of our search as persons, as well as our presentation of our thoughts about persons, call us to ask questions and to stand silently awaiting answers. These answers come not in observation but in the maturation of persons confronting their world. I have always called this frame of mind philosophical; others call it poetic. Both recognize that life is often lived in a manner which does not include that thing which makes it significant. It is that thing we search for, both in cognition and in expression. We call it God and love and peace. But we do not know enough of what it is to speak about it, or to it, other than in the language of our intellects. Those that know me know that I am not speaking against reason, or scholarship, or even logic, but against the assumption that all that is to be known is cognitive. Our poetry is evidence of our limited ability to share what we seek, and what we feel about what we have found.

Is it possible to find what we seek, or is it like the breeze that we crave on a hot summer evening? We cannot provide it, but we can open the window of our lives for it to enter. Such "waiting," if that is what it is, is not passive, it is passionate, passionate in the sense of urgency and intensity. It is also frightening. Such passion will lead us to places that we have not been before. If we are to seek what has not been found, then we must discover how to leave what we have. This is what we seek though we do not know it or like it. This freedom from the known then is the passion, not of knowledge, but of rejection, of moving away, of cutting off the limitations of yesterday's sensations. It is the open-

²³ Ernest de Selincourt, ed., *The Prelude* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 1:562.

²⁴ Minnie McBain, "The Gospel's Autumn," *Poetic Voices of the Restoration*, p. 126.

²⁵ J. Krishnamurti, *Freedom from the Known* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1969).

ness to new sounds that makes us listen, like the love of love makes us loving. We seek to be silent and to love, yet if we achieve both we are not aware of being either.

To suggest that the poetry of the RLDS movement lacks passion, then, is to suggest that it is too conscious of what it is. It is not risk, it is not the leap from that which is known to accept without recognition that which is unknown. The idea of losing one's life in order to have life has been pronounced theologically, religiously and philosophically, with little avail to most of us. But it is the nature of poetry in its most meaningful form. It is the point at which poetry and religion become as one. The weakness of our poetry is the weakness of our poets. They feel passionate about what they have learned but have yet to learn to be passionate about their awesomeness. The concern is there, the love is there, the interest in expression and perhaps the gnawing desire to express is there, but we have not yet been good enough listeners.

The 1981 RLDS Hymnal: Songs More Brightly Sung

Karen Lynn

ANY DENOMINATION WILL PERIODICALLY OUTGROW the hymnal it has been using. Hymns that no longer fill a need for members of the church, or that no longer reflect the church's attitudes and goals, must make way for new materials. About ten years ago the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints decided that its 1956 hymnal was already becoming out of date. An RLDS Hymnal Committee was commissioned to begin work on a new volume, and the result, *Hymns of the Saints*, was published in 1981. *Hymns of the Saints* is more than just a revision or reediting of the 1956 hymnal; out of 501 hymns and responses, more than a third are new to this collection.

Why did the RLDS Church feel the need for a new hymnal after such a relatively short time? Three major motives seem to have been behind the undertaking. First, the Church wished to move ahead with the times. Roger A. Revell, Commissioner of the Worship Commission at the RLDS World Headquarters, stated, "The late sixties were a period of tremendous theological exploration for RLDSism; many of the texts [in the 1956 hymnal] simply didn't reflect the church's posture."¹ Especially strong was the feeling that the old hymnal did not do justice to the growing sense of mission as a world church. The new hymnal deletes "The Star-Spangled Banner," for example, and many of the added hymns specifically address the issue of expansion and

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¹ Roger A. Revell to Karen Lynn, 29 Dec. 1982. Roger Revell's book *Hymns in Worship: A guide to Hymns of the Saints* (Independence: Herald House, 1982) gives a great deal of useful information about this new hymnal and about the teaching and use of Hymns in general. A second useful resource is *Concordance to the Hymns of the Saints* (Independence: Herald House, 1983), believed to be the only denominational hymnal concordance available to the general public.

worldwide fellowship. One such hymn uses Sibelius's *Finlandia* as its musical setting:

This is my song, O God of all the nations,
 A song of peace for lands afar and mine.
 My land is home, the country where my heart is:
 A land of hopes, of dreams, of grand design;
 But other hearts in other lands are beating
 With hopes and dreams as true and high as mine.
 (Hymn 315; text by Lloyd Stone and Georgia Harkness)

A second important purpose was to select new hymns, or revise old ones, so that the language was more inclusive or more doctrinally acceptable. For example, the Hymnal Committee attempted to resolve problems of sexist language whenever possible. The changes are not extreme — “Father in Heaven” is still “Father” — but the texts in the new volume avoid terms that seem to exclude women: “mankind,” “brothers,” “sons.” In most cases these substitutions are fairly easy and straightforward; and if the existing language could possibly give offense to anyone, it seems foolish *not* to make the revision. For example, “God who gives to man his freedom” retains its rhythm and poetic force when the new hymnal changes the line to “God who gives to us our freedom” (no. 184). In a more familiar hymn the changes may seem a little startling at first, but I would guess that after a few Christmases have passed, an RLDS congregation will feel quite comfortable singing a couple of altered lines in “Hark, the Herald Angels Sing”: “Born that we no more may die,/ Born to raise each child of earth,” instead of “Born that man no more may die,/ Born to raise the sons of earth” (no. 252).

Other language changes were intended to eliminate other kinds of divisiveness or exclusiveness. In this hymnal, “We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet” no longer concludes with the smug assurance that “The wicked who fight against Zion/Will surely be smitten at last.” Instead these lines have become “The Saints who will labor for Zion/Will surely be blessed at last” (no. 307). In “Come Thou, O King of Kings,” Parley P. Pratt’s vision that “all the chosen race/Their Lord and Savior own” is changed to “Saints of ev’ry race” (no. 206).²

Besides enabling the RLDS Church to reflect its worldwide commitment and to make some important language changes for social and theological reasons, the new hymnal provided the opportunity to include new materials, many of them by RLDS composers, authors, and arrangers. A very satisfying text by Geoffrey Spencer, written as a closing hymn, exemplifies the new RLDS contributions:

Now let our hearts within us burn
 As with a cleansing fire.
 Your gracious Word has stirred in us
 A surge of new desire.

² I cite only a few of the changes here. For a much more complete listing, see Richard P. Howard, “Language Development in Latter Day Saint Hymnody,” *Saints Herald*, Jan. 1982, pp. 13–17.

Should vision fail and courage yield
 To careless compromise,
 Then redirect our falt'ring steps
 To braver enterprise.

As in another time and place,
 Along a forlorn road,
 The Lord's renewing grace prevailed
 Till newborn courage glowed;
 Our worship here has lifted us
 From self-indulgent care
 And strengthened us to incarnate
 The priceless hope we share.

How can we now deny that voice
 That calls us from within,
 Or blindly claim we need not bear
 Another's pain and sin?
 In hearts that beat exultantly
 Renew your perfect will;
 And send us forth, restored again,
 Our mission to fulfill. (no. 495)

No matter what the merits of a new hymnal may be, a few members of any congregation will always find it difficult to believe that the old hymn book they have learned to know and love should not be with them through the eternities. The acceptance of this new hymnal was aided by two factors. First, RLDS President Wallace B. Smith provided a tape recording explaining and introducing the new hymnal. This message helped remove some of the inertia among those who were reluctant to make the change. Second, the RLDS Worship Service format allows time to learn and practice hymns, so that the music director can insure that the congregation will explore the new hymnal and learn new hymns. A few of the new items have already become favorites.

With the LDS hymnal as a convenient reference point, it is possible to make a few comparative and descriptive points to give an overview of a few of the most noteworthy features of *Hymns of the Saints*.

The hymnal is wonderfully eclectic: Lutheran, African, Episcopalian, Russian hymns, and many others are mixed with Restoration contributions; folk hymns are printed side by side with medieval settings. This eclecticism does not extend to hymns from the westward movement, however. *Hymns of the Saints* includes texts by Eliza R. Snow, William W. Phelps, and Parley P. Pratt, but these are writers who figured prominently on the Nauvoo scene before the historical split. None of the early Salt Lake City composers so important to the LDS hymnal — George Careless, Ebenezer Beesley, and Evan Stephens, for example — are represented. And although “Come, Come Ye Saints” was part of the first printing of the 1956 hymnal, it was omitted from subsequent reprintings by a vote of the 1958 RLDS World Conference and does not appear in *Hymns of the Saints*. A member of the LDS church will find an overlap of about seventy hymns between *Hymns of the Saints* and the

current LDS hymnal, but this overlap is not because *Hymns of the Saints* includes the uniquely Mormon favorite restoration hymns. Rather these overlapping hymns could be found in almost any Protestant hymnal: "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," "O God, Our Help In Ages Past," the familiar Christmas carols, and so forth.

The hymnal includes eleven contributions from the Christian tradition of the Southern United States, a tradition that the LDS Church has not been receptive to up to this point. These include "Amazing Grace," "I Wonder As I Wander," "There Is A Balm In Gilead," and eight others. Eighteen hymns are in a minor key, as opposed to three in the LDS hymnal. Fifteen hymns include chord symbols for guitar or autoharp accompaniment.

And one interesting contrast is that a large number of the hymns, or the settings in which they appear, would likely be dismissed by the LDS General Music Committee for possible inclusion in a new LDS hymnal because they would be seen as much too difficult. Some of the hymns in *Hymns of the Saints* have no time signatures, some have a descant, some expect the singers to understand *Da Capo* and *Dal Segno* repeat markings, or they are written to be sung in canon, or they are just tricky tunes. Yet the feeling of the RLDS Hymnal Committee was that every hymn might serve as a resource for some need, and that to segregate hymns into special sections — choir, men's voices, women's voices, children's hymns — might limit the potential usefulness of some hymn. It is up to each congregation to decide what use — if any — it will make of any hymn.

The indexes of *Hymns of the Saints* are one of its strongest features. We have all the usual indexes: an author index and a composer index, with Restoration contributors marked with a special symbol; a metrical index, so that texts can be interchanged among appropriate tunes; a topical index, and a first line index. But most interesting of all is the scriptural index. For example, if a lesson or talk focused on the book of Mosiah, then one could look up Mosiah in the scriptural index and find thirty-seven hymns with messages correlating with various chapters of Mosiah.

The 1956 hymnal had a section called Historical Hymns which Roger Revell describes as "a way for the 1956 committee to include hymns about which they felt musically or theologically uncertain. Most of the hymns in that section got there because their music did not meet the committee's standards; they hoped these hymns would be seen as something apart from the main body of hymnody."³ The committee for the new hymnal decided, however, that each hymn would have to be either in or out; if a hymn qualified for the hymnal, it would have to do so without apology or special tags. For this reason, the new hymnal omits all but one of the hymns previously consigned to the Historical Hymns section. The one remaining hymn — and Mr. Revell claims he voted against its inclusion with both hands raised — has as its tune "Aloha Oe" (no. 472).

³ Revell to Lynn, 29 Dec. 1982.

But any mention of lapses in taste should acknowledge some compelling practicalities. Easy though it may be for a highly trained committee to invoke coldly objective standards and point out the artistic failings of a text or tune, the fact is that a hymn may have significance that transcends its aesthetic qualities. If a hymn holds a secure place in the hearts of the members, then it probably deserves a place in the hymnal as well. Of course it would be a mistake to decide the content of a hymnal by popular vote among the church membership, and yet Mr. Revell himself comments that he has had “life-enriching experiences” with hymns that he previously categorized as musically inadequate. So the Hymnal Committee did bend. For example, a hymn called “There’s an Old, Old Path” comes right under “Aloha Oe” on my list of five or six hymns that seem to me without question to fall below a minimum aesthetic standard. The first stanza is

There’s an old, old path
Where the sun shines through
Life’s dark storm clouds
From its home of blue,
In this old, old path made strangely sweet
By the touch divine of blessed feet. (no. 158)

Yet it is much loved — an RLDS friend tells me that it is especially popular for funerals — and Mr. Revell simply remarks that “less stringent standards” applied to “things that are part of our heritage,” even though “if ‘There’s an old, old path’ had been submitted as a previously unpublished hymn, it would not have made it into the book.”⁴

The other hymns on my lapse-in-taste list are set to dotted-rhythm, fundamentalist tunes in the gospel hymn tradition. In the work of the Hymnal Committee, a hymn *text* had to qualify first; the text and its message were paramount. Only if a text passed muster could a tune or alternative tunes be considered. Yet no tune could salvage a stanza like

You may sing of the beauty of mountain and dale,
Of the silvery streamlet and flowers of the vale,
But the place most delightful the earth can afford
Is the place of devotion, the house of the Lord. (no. 8)

Yet when we note that the author of this text is David Hyrum Smith, the youngest son of Joseph Smith, we have a clue as to why the historical, emotional, or nostalgic values of a hymn may outweigh other considerations.

Many Latter-day Saints who see this new hymnal will have to suppress a good-sized twinge of envy. After all, we’d like to see work on *our* new hymnal get underway, too, yet at this point, ours exists only in hope, while theirs exists in substance. But anyone who turns to *Hymns of the Saints* expecting great numbers of hymns referring specifically to Mormon history and culture is going to be disappointed. When I saw the title “O Young and Fearless Prophet” (no. 210), I turned eagerly to see this hymn about Joseph Smith

⁴ Ibid.

only to discover that the entire first line was “O young and fearless prophet of ancient Galilee.” This incident may tell more about my LDS upbringing than about the hymnal, but the fact remains that virtually all the hymns, those from outside sources as well as those by RLDS contributors, tend toward a generalized religious subject matter acceptable in a wide Christian context. (One of the few exceptions is no. 296, reproduced below.) The trade-off is obvious: if the Book of Mormon, the Joseph Smith story and so forth are downplayed — and there are very few references to such matters in the hymns — then the gain in universality and acceptance means that a certain price has been paid in terms of historical and doctrinal uniqueness. On the one hand it is admirable, as a gesture toward universality and ecumenism, that a Methodist or a Presbyterian would be comfortable with almost all of the *Hymns of the Saints*. But on the other hand, it is irresistible to ponder what might have happened if authors and editors had decided as one of their explicit goals to exemplify distinctive RLDS history, doctrine, scriptures, and institutions in their new hymnal.

The three selections reprinted here from *Hymns of the Saints*, are for illustrative purposes only and are reprinted by permission. Requests for subsequent reprinting of any hymn should be directed to Worship Commission, Box 1059, Independence, Missouri 64051. The first, “Let All the World in Every Corner Sing,” combines a text by the English Renaissance poet George Herbert with music by RLDS composer Franklyn Weddle. (Note the listing of correlating scriptural passages under the left-hand side of the title. The word PRAISE, in the upper right-hand corner, indicates the topical division in which this hymn is located; other divisions have such names as “Christ,” “Challenge,” “Zion and the Kingdom,” “The Lord’s Supper.” The designation LIVINGSTON, below the hymn number, is the title of the hymn tune; the numbers that follow give the hymn’s metrical pattern.) The second hymn, “Afar in Old Judea,” offers an interesting text by RLDS writer Roy Cheville, and is one of the few references to the Book of Mormon in any of the texts. Both text and tune of the third hymn, “Go Now Forth into the World,” are by RLDS contributors. The “Witness” and “Benediction and Sending Forth” sections of the hymnal include many such hymns in praise of missionary work. No doubt that is one of the reasons that the loss of “It May Not Be on the Mountain Height,” first relegated to the Historical Hymns section of the 1956 hymnal and then omitted entirely in 1981, was not felt too keenly; new materials had indeed filled the gap so that a traditional hymn that was aesthetically deficient could be dropped.

Let All the World in Every Corner Sing

30

Psalm 149:1, 2
II Nephi 9:136, 137

LIVINGSTON 10.4.6.6.6.6.10.4.

1. Let all the world in ev - ery cor - ner sing, My God and King!
2. Let all the world in ev - ery cor - ner sing, My God and King!

The heavens are not too high, His praise may thith - er fly;
The Church with psalms must shout; No door can keep them out,

The earth is not too low, His prais - es there may grow.
But, a - bove all, the heart Must bear the long - est part.

Let all the world in ev - ery cor - ner sing, My God and King!
Let all the world in ev - ery cor - ner sing, My God and King!

Text: George Herbert, 1593-1632.

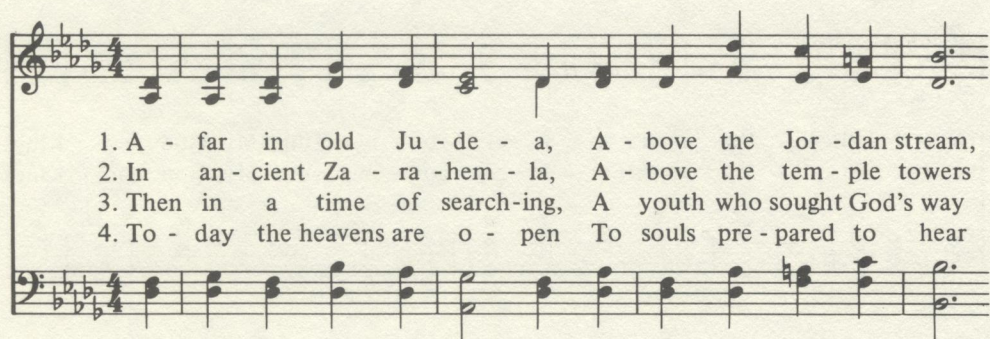
Tune: Franklyn S. Weddle, 1905- . Copyright 1956 by Herald Publishing House.

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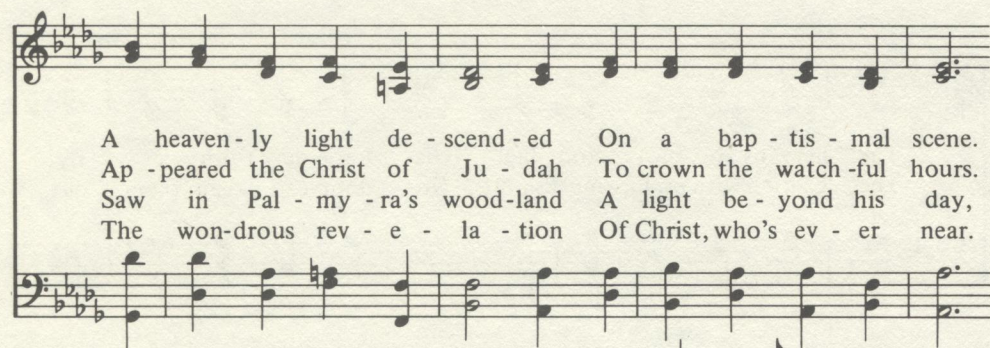
Matthew 17:4 (5)
D. and C. 4:1a-c

Afar in Old Judea

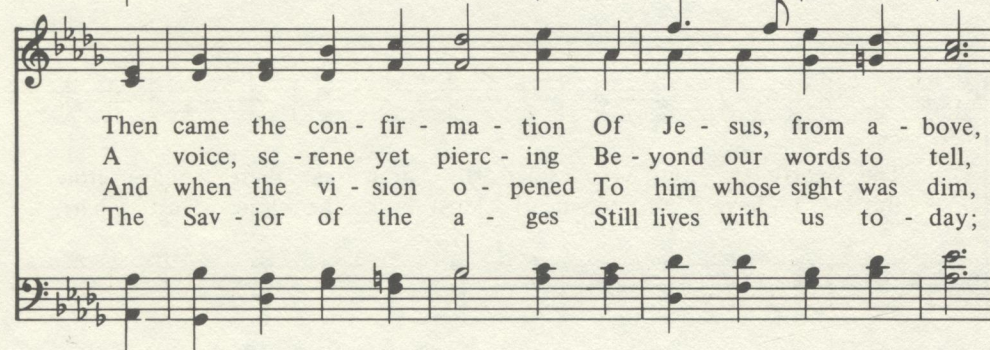
EWING 7.6.7.6.D.



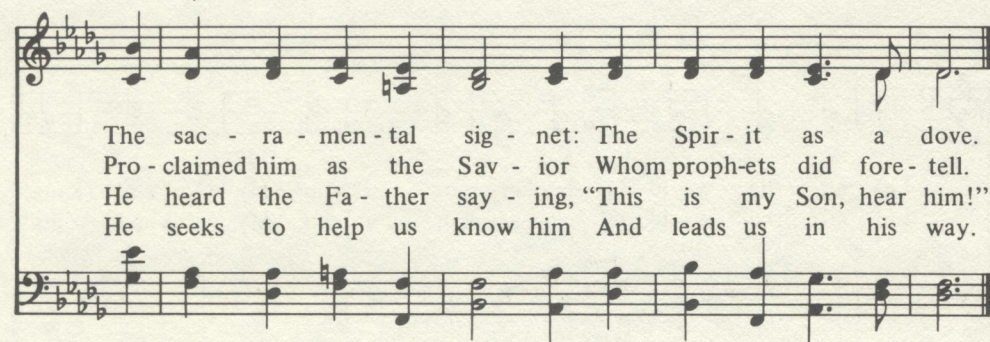
1. A - far in old Ju - de - a, A - bove the Jor - dan stream,
2. In an - cient Za - ra - hem - la, A - bove the tem - ple towers
3. Then in a time of search - ing, A youth who sought God's way
4. To - day the heavens are o - pen To souls pre - pared to hear



A heaven - ly light de - scend - ed On a bap - tis - mal scene.
Ap - peared the Christ of Ju - dah To crown the watch - ful hours.
Saw in Pal - my - ra's wood - land A light be - yond his day,
The won - drous rev - e - la - tion Of Christ, who's ev - er near.



Then came the con - fir - ma - tion Of Je - sus, from a - bove,
A voice, se - rene yet pierc - ing Be - yond our words to tell,
And when the vi - sion o - pened To him whose sight was dim,
The Sav - ior of the a - ges Still lives with us to - day;



The sac - ra - men - tal sig - net: The Spir - it as a dove.
Pro - claimed him as the Sav - ior Whom proph - ets did fore - tell.
He heard the Fa - ther say - ing, "This is my Son, hear him!"
He seeks to help us know him And leads us in his way.

Go Now Forth into the World

436

D. and C. 12:2
Matthew 20:26-28

EMERALD 7.6.7.6.7.7.7.7.7.

1. Go now forth in - to the world; Of your-selves be giv - ing.
2. Grant us wis - dom for the task; Give us broad - er vi - sion

Make dis - ci - ples of all lands; Tell them Christ is liv - ing.
Of the king - dom - build - ing plan And the Great Com - mis - sion.

Share the news that Christ makes whole Bat - tered lives and
We give praise for lives that feel God's great power, through

wea - ry souls— That his lov - ing grace up - holds All who
Christ made real. In all acts, may we re - veal Hearts a -

seek him— young and old, All who seek him— young and old.
live with mis - sion zeal, Hearts a - live with mis - sion zeal.

Text: Kenneth L. McLaughlin, 1951 - ; copyright 1980 Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.
Tune: Mark H. Forscutt, 1834-1903.

Missiology and Mormon Missions

Tancred I. King

MISSIOLOGY IS THE SCHOLARLY STUDY of missions. In an attempt to explain religious interactions, missiology uses an interdisciplinary approach, drawing upon fields such as theology, sociology, anthropology, history, geography, communications, and statistics. Missiology, of necessity, is a dynamic discipline, as religion in its various expressions is an extremely difficult subject to treat scientifically. In the context of Christianity, numerous centers attached to seminaries, churches, institutes, and ecumenical bodies work specifically with missiology.

The foundation for all missiological research is mission theory, the explanatory frameworks or models that propose assumptions and beliefs on the role of mission, and deduce the methodology of approaching target religions.

Mormon missiological research is an emerging field. Almost no Mormon scholars have published in the non-sectarian missiological journals.¹ Despite the huge Mormon missionary network, claiming between 19 percent and 25 percent of the total Christian missionary force,² Mormons lack substantial representation in the discipline. The Mormon Church has never declared an "official" mission theory. Church leaders, however, have advocated various themes indicating identifiable elements of Mormon missiology.

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¹ The only work published by a Mormon scholar in a non-sectarian journal oriented towards missiology is R. Lanier Britsch, "Mormon Missions, an Introduction to the LDS Mission System," *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* 3 (Jan. 1979): 22-27.

² Statistics calculated in R. Lanier Britsch, "Mormon Missions in a World Christian Context," a lecture to the religion faculty at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1980. He mentions that there are 30,000 full-time LDS missionaries contrasted to an estimated 125,000 non-LDS Christian missionaries. Typescript in possession of the author.

Mormonism emphasizes that conversion is ultimately made by the Holy Ghost, not by the missionary. The missionary is primarily a conduit, responsible for cultivating a reverent atmosphere, describing gospel principles, calling the Spirit to bear witness to his/her testimony, and challenging the potential convert to make new commitments and life changes. As such, the missionary must understand the concepts and doctrines he/she teaches. The investigator too must understand these crucial concepts of which the Spirit bears witness.

Often, the investigator is a member of a different faith, a citizen of a different country, and a person with differing ethics, morals, and cultural background. Mission theory is an analytic tool which can be empirically employed and tested in a continuing search for a more effective method of understanding religious interaction.

This article is an overview of the primary schools or positions of missiological theory, a subject to which volumes have been devoted. The footnote references are a good starting point for those interested in the detailed tenets and structure of these missiological theories.

EXCLUSION AND ABSOLUTISM

The exclusivist position is the oldest, most prominent, and most persistent missiological theory. It's a recurring theme in the theology and history of Christianity and a position long espoused in Mormonism, with its claims that it is the sole, divinely chosen carrier of the restored truth, that other Christian churches have apostatized from truth, and that non-Christian religions have distorted truths; the full restoration of priesthood authority, the sole plan of salvation, and divine revelation are found only in Mormonism.

Mormon exclusion is described as the "diffusion theory" by Spencer J. Palmer of Brigham Young University's Religious Studies Center. He summarizes it: "Adam, the first man, was taught the fullness of the gospel. In turn, he taught it to others. But men, yielding to the temptations of the evil one, sinned and departed from the truth. The original true doctrines were changed and warped to fit the appetites of evil, ambitious men. Thus the principles of the gospel have appeared in more or less perverted form in the religious beliefs of mankind."³

This belief is translated into a missionary mandate to supplant devil-distorted doctrines with the absolute, restored truth.

In a broader Christian context, exclusivists believe in the ultimate supremacy of Christ as described in the New Testament. Christ is far above all rule, all authority, power, dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that to come. (Eph. 1:21). All other religions, philosophies, and teachings are false.

Exclusivists also claim that the missionary message is for all mankind. In most exclusivist religions, proselyting is the top priority: "A chief purpose of the Christian mission is to proclaim Jesus Christ as divine and the only Savior

³ "Mormon Views of Religious Resemblance," in F. Lamond Tullis, ed., *Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1978), pp. 185-207.

and to persuade men to become his disciples and responsible members of his church.”⁴ Sometimes, in fundamentalist religions, the Second Coming figures as a reason for urgent evangelism.

Exclusivists are intolerant of other religions, and Christianity as a whole could be characterized as exclusivistic for the first seventeen centuries of church history.⁵ Missionary work stamped out what it perceived as paganism and did not stop at “holy wars.” Charlemagne offered “baptism or the sword.” The Protestant Dutch in seventeenth-century Ceylon used bribery and oppression to win a half million converts, many of whom abandoned Christianity when Dutch rule ended.⁶

Today, exclusivists are more moderate, proclaiming the truth strongly, inviting people to come to Christ, and using mass media appeals. Whether the means be war or rhetoric, however, all exclusivist missiologies deny outright the validity of competing truth claims and stress active gospel proselyting.

DISCONTINUITY

The Third World Missionary Conference at Tambaran (Madras, India) in 1938 produced a book by Hendrick Kraemer, the famous Protestant missiologist, which “caused more profound thinking on the very bases of the missionary enterprise than any book written for many years.”⁷ Kraemer identified a new missiological theory, the discontinuous position, which has gained considerable currency in the ensuing forty-five years.

Kraemer maintained: “There is no true religion. If one looks at the thing honestly, there are only religions which present, though in no doubt various ways, interwoven threads of truth and error that is impossible to disentangle.” Indeed, Christianity “is not even in all aspects the best religion, if by that we mean the . . . best and noblest way of expressing religious truth and experience. During these parts of my life spent amidst other religions, it has been many a time that certain religious attitudes and emotions are more finely expressed in those religions than in Christianity. That is plain for any fair minded man to see; and one has a duty to say so and to give honour where honour is due.”⁸

Thus, if Christianity is not the only true or even the best of the true, it is still unique. Though all religions have divine-human linkages, non-Christian religions are basically human achievements, while Christianity is a direct mani-

⁴ Donald McGavran, ed., *The Conciliar-Evangelical Debate: The Crucial Documents 1964-1976* (California: William Carey Library, 1977), p. 56.

⁵ E. C. Dewick, *The Christian Attitude to Other Religions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 159.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁷ Carl F. Hallencreutz, *New Approaches to Men of Other Faiths* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1970), p. 23.

⁸ Hendrick E. Kraemer, *Why Christianity of All Religions* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962), p. 110; Carl F. Hallencreutz, *Kraemer Towards Tambaran* (Sweden: Almqvist & Wiskells, 1966), p. 278.

festation from God in the form of Jesus Christ. Put simply, Christianity is truth revealed in Christ, while the other religions are truths discovered by man.⁹

Since the origin of truth in Christianity is different than others, Christianity is discontinuous with other religions. In the encounter with other religions, it does not share a common origin, even though all religions have some elements of divine truth.

The discontinuous school, sympathetic to other religions, does not in its methodology seek to combat falsehood, as much as to stress the discontinuity between Christianity and other religions. Cooperation with other religions, however, is impossible. Kraemer states: "I am quite sure that as we really get acquainted with one another and really begin to communicate in a forthright manner, we shall come to understand better than we do that the differences between the various religions are unbridgeable, and irreconcilable."¹⁰

Kraemer's book, already a classic, for almost two generations has provided the basis for a tolerant, understanding attitude, even while evangelical activities continue to receive a high priority.

Mormonism's belief in one true religion identifies it with absolutism. If other religions have different doctrines, both cannot be true. It has never acknowledged that all religions could have both truth and falsehood while Christianity has a unique divine-human "bridge" or vantage point.

FULFILLMENT

R. C. Zaehner, a Catholic theologian who wrote prolifically on Roman Catholic tradition and comparative religions, was invited to deliver the 1967 Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion in Saint Andrews, Scotland. These lectures, later published as *Concordant Discord* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1970), became the foundation document in a popular missionary movement called the fulfillment school.

Fulfillment believes all great religions have parallel aspects and themes. Zaehner states that "the common ground between the great religions is that they are all concerned with eternity," and explores the possibility of "whether there is any system into which the fundamental tenets of all great religions can be made to fit."¹¹ Christian and non-Christian religions, therefore, have many concordant elements.

Discordant elements are differing beliefs and creeds. Theravada Buddhism, for instance, does not even recognize a supernatural God. Zaehner urges a recognition of this "concordant discord" rather than forcing more concord than actually exists.

Christianity's contribution is that it fulfills, comprehends, and consummates the non-Christian religions. If non-Christian traditions are "broken

⁹ Dewick, *The Christian Attitude*, p. 44. This philosophy evolved from concepts in writings of Barth and Kierkegaard.

¹⁰ Kraemer, *Why Christianity*, p. 122.

¹¹ R. C. Zaehner, *The Comparison of Religions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), pp. 18, 19.

lights," Christianity is the "full radiance" of God's glory, with Christ as fulfillment, not only of the Jewish law and prophets, but as fulfillment of the laws and prophets of all religions.¹² Other faiths are not untruths or discontinuous, but rather unfulfilled truths.

The fulfillment school's positive approach appeals to missionaries. Fulfillment begins with similar truths and leads to the higher Christian truth. Missionaries can encounter other religions seeking "to understand them from within and try to grasp how they, too, seek to penetrate the mystery of our being and eternal destiny."¹³ Thus, the missionary studies other religions, "not only with a view to criticize them and to learn how to destroy them more quickly, but [with] the expectation of finding in them things good and true," even though he/she will "affirm with undiminished confidence that Christianity is the one and only perfect religion for the whole of mankind."¹⁴

Some statements by Latter-day Saint leaders are fulfillment oriented, viewing other religions as God-inspired rather than devil-inspired.

A First Presidency message on 15 February 1978 stated: "The great religious leaders of the world such as Mohammed, Confucius and the reformers, as well as philosophers including Socrates, Plato and others, received a portion of God's light. Moral truths were given to them by God to enlighten whole nations and to bring a higher level of understanding to individuals."¹⁵ B. H. Roberts, in *Defense of the Faith and the Saints* (1907), asserted:

While the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is established for the instruction of men; and is one of God's instrumentalities for making known the truth, yet God is not limited to that institution for such purposes, neither in time nor place. He raises up wise men and prophets here and there among the children of men, of their own tongue and nationality, speaking to them through means that they can comprehend; not always giving a fullness of the truth such as may be found in the fullness of the gospel of Jesus Christ, but always giving that measure of truth that people are prepared to receive. Mormonism holds, then, that all the great teachers are servants of God among all nations and in all ages. They are inspired men, appointed to instruct God's children according to the conditions in the midst of which he finds them.¹⁶

Such statements present the view that the gospel message is a greater truth, with the Church not the only bearer of truth but simply the bearer of the greater truth.

COOPERATIVE

At Tambaran in 1938, Kraemer proposed that the greatest danger facing Christianity was the revival of pagan "human" religions. This attitude was in direct opposition to the thought of William Ernest Hocking, a Harvard pro-

¹² Dewick, *The Christian Attitude*, p. 48; Zaehner, *The Comparison of Religions*, p. 80.

¹³ R. C. Zaehner, *Christianity and Other Religions* (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1964), p. 8.

¹⁴ Dewick, *The Christian Attitude*, p. 48.

¹⁵ As quoted in Spencer J. Palmer, *The Expanding Church* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1978), p. v.

¹⁶ 2 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1907), 1:512-513.

fessor of philosophy, who spearheaded a view called the cooperative school. His 1940 *Living Religions and a World Faith* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1940) is the primary canon of the cooperativists, an ecumenical World Church Movement with whom Mormonism has no official sympathy.

Hocking's theory defines religion as "a passion for righteousness, and for the spread of righteousness, conceived as a cosmic demand. It arises in a universal human craving directed to an equally universal object. The passion for righteousness is not a capacity of special men or races . . . It is the response of human nature everywhere, as it faces its finite situation in the great world." Hocking further postulates that religion is also particular, influenced regionally by language, values, and culture in answering social and ethical concerns. "The particular and local element in religion may be no more mere historical accident, but is essential to religion itself." Furthermore, "no universal canopy of religion could cancel the need for the local functions of religion and its local histories." Replacing other traditions with Christianity increases rivalry and animosity when instead, religions should cooperate as "brothers in a common quest . . . The first step is to recognize it, and disarm ourselves of our prejudices."¹⁷

Hocking uses, as an example, the historical Middle Eastern interface between Judaism, Islam, and Zoroastrianism that caused these religions to borrow different religious concepts. He foresees a world faith emerging, as universally applicable as scientific or physical laws. These universal spiritual "laws," however, must retain the particular elements of society. Hocking argues that "no religion can become a religion for Asia which does not fuse the spiritual genius of Asia with that of Western Christianity," and "evidently, if one and only one religion could succeed in absorbing into its own essence the meaning of all the others, that religion would attract the free suffrage of mankind to itself."¹⁸

Cooperativists feel that the best candidate for a true world faith is Christianity if it will "develop a certain acceptance of religious variety, not by dropping the postulate that religion must be universal, but by increased sympathy with the growing pains of religious change and a deepened appreciation of the preciousness of the local roots."¹⁹

Hocking asserts that missionary zeal actually causes missionaries to lose their grasp of what Christianity means. Christianity cannot be handed on as a finished doctrine, but is only perceived through the individual "cosmic demand of righteousness." Cooperativist missionaries should spread the meaningful substance of Christianity, not a name or what it is called.

The cooperativist missionary, therefore, cooperates with local elements. Missionaries understand "the necessity that the modern missions make a positive effort, first of all to know and understand the religions around it, then to

¹⁷ William Earnest Hocking, *Living Religions and a World Faith* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1940), pp. 2, 31, 25, 263; William Earnest Hocking, *Re-Thinking Missions* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1932), p. 31.

¹⁸ Hocking, *Living Religions*, pp. 185, 200.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 185, 213.

recognize and associate itself with whatever kindred elements there are in them.”²⁰ For example, Christianity can gain from Islam a heightened awareness of the majesty, the grandeur, and the absoluteness of God. From Hinduism, Christianity can gain greater respect for meditation and reflectiveness. From Buddhism, Christians can understand the impersonal side of ultimate truth. The Confucianism emphasis on humanism, social order, and filial piety can enhance Christian life. From Taoism and Shintoism, the Christian can more fully realize the sacredness of nature. Hocking’s cooperativist school would incorporate and synthesize these faiths into a world church with universal understanding of the common spiritual laws.

DIALOGUE

Dialogue theories are the newest frontier of missiological research. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, a Harvard-trained advocate of dialogue, has influenced the development of this school greatly, and dialogical theories, though numerous, are best represented through his writings.

Smith purposely avoids using the connotation-laden term *religion* in favor of *faith* and “cumulative tradition.” Faith is a human experience with the supernatural, the fundamental issue of religion, while cumulative tradition is the doctrines, church practices, and all historical phenomena relating to religion — an expression of faith. Religion can exist without tradition. Indeed, throughout history people “have been able to be religious without the assistance of a special term, without the intellectual analysis that the term implies.”²¹

As inner experiential faith is the center of religion, it follows that the best missionary action should be a phenomenological understanding of religion, rather than the static transmission of a particular tradition. This understanding is best accomplished in dialogue, dialogue being “not simply our experience, but equally the experience shared with us, of those of other faiths.”²²

For dialogue to take place, the participants must rid themselves of prejudice and try to truly understand and experience the religious life of another. It is impossible for the teacher to maintain that his/her own religion is superior.

How can anyone expect that the person who is listening to him should be ready in principle to change his life and way of thinking if he, the evangelist, is not emotionally prepared to submit to the same discipline? This is the dangerous aspect of [dialogical] evangelization: namely, that the evangelist risks his own faith in the course of evangelization. Evangelists who evangelize from a fixed and unalterable position cannot seek support in the New Testament. They are propagandists and not evangelists.²³

²⁰ Hocking, *Re-Thinking Missions*, p. 33.

²¹ Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1963), pp. 183, 19.

²² Stanley J. Samartha, ed., *Dialogue Between Men of Living Faiths* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1971), p. 6.

²³ Norbert Greinacher and Alois Muller, eds., *Evangelization in the World Today* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1979), p. 41.

Mormon missions tolerate little dialogue of this sort. Missionaries present doctrinal concepts from a pre-set lesson plan with the primary goal of baptism. Although missionaries are urged to teach by a prompting of the Spirit, two-way sharing and a mutual testing of religious ideals is discouraged.

THE ANONYMOUS CHRISTIAN

Anonymous Christianity was developed by Karl Rahner, a Jesuit priest trained in philosophy and theology. His concept of Christian grace set within a world context is a complex and subtle one, but in broad outline he holds that God's grace, the "supernatural existential element," is within all people. Rahner asserts: "I know of no religion of any kind in which the grace of God is not present, however suppressed or depraved it may be in its expression."²⁴ God's supernatural, transcendent relationship permeates all humankind, all history. It is universally applicable, and he wills the salvation of all, regardless of their spiritual state. "This supernatural will for salvation means for all men at all times — because of Jesus Christ — the offer of supernatural grace (as an interior really existing factor in the individual and collective history of the human mind), no matter whether this grace is accepted or rejected."²⁵

If the grace of God and God's will for salvation are present in all men, then a Christian is no closer to salvation than an atheist, pagan, or agnostic. An attitude of love, hope, and other so-called "Christian principles" is what bring men to salvation.

As a result, Rahner firmly believes that "authentic Christianity, whether explicit or anonymous, will manifest itself in human experience. Christians will see its expression not only in the life of the church but in the lives of those who will probably never explicitly accept the Christian Faith."²⁶ Thousands of souls are Christians in how they live or think. These souls, by God's will, also have access to salvation.

Mormonism agrees that many people share Christian values through the light of Christ, an original spiritual constituent of all mortals. Also, part of the Mormon missionary effort is to bring this intrinsic quality to completion in extrinsic acceptance of Christ and his Church, and access to salvation depends on strict adherence to ordinances and principles of the gospel. Anonymous Christian mission theory has limited application to Mormon missions.

A common reaction to Anonymous Christianity is to challenge the necessity of organized churches and missionary efforts. Rahner sees missions and the churches as giving anonymous Christians a greater chance to express inner Christianity, a greater fullness of truth, and better opportunity for salvation. Intrinsic Christians should become explicit Christians. Missionaries do not

²⁴ As quoted in Karl-Heinz Weger, *Karl Rahner: An Introduction to His Theology* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1980), p. 6.

²⁵ As quoted in Herbert Vorgrimler, *Karl Rahner: His Life, Thoughts and Works* (Glen Rock, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1965), p. 59.

²⁶ As quoted in Anne Carr, *The Theological Method of Karl Rahner* (Chicago: Scholars Press, 1977), p. 206.

gather people or reject the unworthy, but encourage them to express Christianity through church structure and function.

CONCLUSION

This theoretical survey can be seen as a continuum with the conservative exclusivist position as one pole, and the liberal anonymous Christian position as the other pole.

At present, Mormon missiology seems to be a partial synthesis of the exclusive and fulfillment positions. The partial exclusivist position retains integrity of doctrine and purity of teaching. The partial fulfillment position allows the Church to approach non-Christians with a positive, unvindictive message, recognizing and using the unfulfilled truth in other religions. This unique theoretical synthesis is certainly one reason for the Mormon missionary success story.

As the Mormon Church considers a world context for its message, perhaps missionaries could be trained to recognize specific unfulfilled truths in target cultures and use these truths as stepping stones towards the restored gospel. A harshly critical approach that disregards an investigator's deeply embedded religious convictions is unproductive.

Another possibility is that of teaching missionaries to use open-minded dialogue as a tool for conversion, rather than memorized lessons. Would not the truth reveal itself, emerging victorious from the phenomenological crucible? In such a case, not only would conversion be complete, but the missionary would have the strongest form of reassurance that truth is truth.

The Mormon Church could be on the threshold of unprecedented growth. Perhaps an entirely new, far more effective theory will emerge as the Mormon mission perspectives unfold.

Magic and the Supernatural in Utah Folklore

Wayland D. Hand

NO BRANCH OF STUDY, academic or popular, penetrates as deeply into man's intuitive life or mirrors his contemplative self as clearly as folklore. Folklore lays bare man's myriad fears and anxieties, while at the same time in full counterpoint it reveals his whimsy, his visions, and his flights of fancy that ennoble and exalt. It is for these reasons, and particularly because of its heavy component of magic and the supernatural, that psychologists from Wundt and Freud to Jung and his modern disciples have found in folklore a veritable seed-bed for their work. The materials for a study of popular culture in Utah are gradually being assembled. As one can expect, they bear the impress of the common American culture of which they were born, yet many of these products of the popular mind exhibit features of their Rocky Mountain habitat and of their Mormon religious legacy as well.

Utah folklore, like Joseph's coat of many colors, contains patterns and strands from divers sources, foreign as well as domestic. These sturdy fibers were either woven into the basic fabric of folklore during the Utah period, or were cultural importations so basic and widespread as to have helped shape Mormon folklore from the beginning. Thus before the midnineteenth century the early fabric of Mormon folklore included the hardy homespun cultural goods of New England and New York strongly webbed with the basic English and Dutch folklore of the people who had colonized these states. The movement of the Mormons across the gateway states of Pennsylvania and Ohio brought ethnic reinforcement, principally German and Pennsylvania Dutch. The first infiltration of rich southern folklore into these states had come after

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1774 with Scottish and English settlers from the coastal plain and piedmont areas of Eastern Appalachia moving westward through the Cumberland Gap by way of the Great Wilderness Road through the mountains. Thus by the 1840s when the Mormon migration had reached Iowa and the western staging ground of Missouri, the folklore from the northeast had been qualified by southern folklore moving westward to these outposts over three or four decades.¹ By this time, French folklore had also reached these pivotal states by slow penetration across the northern woods from the Saint Lawrence River basin and, following a more direct route, northward from the lower Mississippi. In fact, French river towns and settlements had been established in Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa decades before the Mormons arrived. Finally, the Mormon Battalion's brief incursion into Mexico at the very time the Mormons were engaged in their epochal migration to their new homeland resulted in the earliest borrowings, slight and sporadic though they were, of Hispanic and Latin-American folklore into Mormon repertoires.²

Before delving into specific examples, some preliminary observations should be made regarding the current influence of folk belief and superstition in Utah. In modern society's welter of conflicting ideas on religion, politics, education, and the practical matters of daily life, it is difficult to find even neighbors up and down the same street who will agree on much of anything at all. Certainly, in this time of waning religious conviction, and particularly in the face of sweeping scientific advances, it is unlikely that any moral suasion or folk wisdom would, as it did in the past, keep a woman from baking at the time of a new moon — if indeed she bakes at all anymore — simply because it is said to be a bad omen.³ Nor could she be prevented from canning and preserving food, (Cannon, no. 5823) or making pickles or sauerkraut during her menses, (Cannon, no. 5830; cf. no. 5831) however often she may have heard these old taboos. Similarly, it would be surprising to learn that modern ranchers wean, castrate, brand, and butcher their stock according to the phases of the moon (Cannon, nos. 12755, 12759 ff., 12763 f.) or that their fertilizing, plowing, planting, harvesting, and pruning are carried out in keeping with time-tested folk practices (Cannon, nos. 12962, 12956, 12963 ff., *passim*, 13122 ff., *passim*).

It seems a safe conjecture that the availability of scientific information on these matters has materially weakened traditional views in rural American folk-life. The late William R. Bascom found folklore a motivating and even coercive

¹ Folklorists have not paid sufficient attention to the geographical factors influencing the dissemination of folklore to different parts of the country. I have sketched these problems, at least for the western part of the country, in a recent article, "Folklore at the Crossroads of the West," *Kansas Quarterly*, 13 (1981): 7-15.

² See Bernard DeVoto, *The Year of Decision, 1846* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943).

³ Anthon S. Cannon, et al., *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, forthcoming), no. 5794. Hereinafter cited parenthetically in text by author and item number.

force.⁴ This assertion of social control, possible in rigidly structured primitive societies, cannot be made in contemporary European and American cultures. In such societies, perhaps the best examples of what Bascom had in mind come from situations in which man is confronted by imponderable forces. In terrible thunderstorms, people reacting in panic may crawl under a feather bed for protection or sit on a down-filled pillow if such tales have been part of their folklore (Cannon, no. 11377). By the same token they will avoid standing under a tree during a lightning storm (Cannon, no. 11392) or rush to a doorframe during an earthquake (Cannon, no. 11499).

Perusal of folklore collections suggests that folk beliefs and superstitions arise naturally out of situations of hazard and doom.⁵ Consider, for example, the fabric of odd beliefs attached to such hazardous occupations as mining, the sea, lumbering, steel works, dams, and high voltage electricity: the ghosts of dead miners haunting the spot in the mines where they were killed; sailors placing a silver coin at the base of the mast to assure adequate wind; lumberjacks, upon going to bed, pointing their shoes in the direction of another lumbering camp where they hope to find better working conditions; workers dreading the appearance of a woman in the steel mills and the bad luck that is sure to follow; workmen throwing coins into the first concrete poured in dams or other construction jobs to prevent accidents, etc.

Physical hazard is bad enough; far worse, however, are pursuits fraught with psychological hazard such as the stage, stock market operations, gambling, and sports: actors opening a play in a dirty shirt and refusing to put on a clean one until the success of the run is assured; stock market investors consulting mediums for favorable auspices; gamblers turning their hat or coat to change their luck; batters going through a set routine to continue a hitting streak, etc.

⁴ In the almost thirty years since the appearance of William R. Bascom's famous article, "Four Functions of Folklore," *Journal of American Folklore* 67 (1954): 333-49, much has been written on the various functions of folklore. Unfortunately much of it has been doctrinaire and subject to current trends. The ideas of generations of earlier workers have been thoughtlessly swept away. A moderate and wise approach is Barre Toelken *The Dynamics of Folklore* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977). This work has broken new ground in the treatment of structuralism, matrix and context, performance and function, social validation and control, communication and lexical values, and numerous other subjects emphasized in the "new folklore."

Social control is a complex topic. In many European cultures spinning, weaving, and sewing can be undertaken only at prescribed times for fear of offending the Virgin Mary who presides over the distaff. This body of folklore in America (Cannon, no. 6640) has created an almost universal taboo against sewing on Sunday. Utah variations include removing the sewn stitches with one's nose on Monday or, in the afterlife, often with a double ratio of stitches to be removed to every one sewn (Cannon, no. 6566).

These consequences seem harsh, particularly in earlier periods of American history when a woman would customarily sew and entertain guests simultaneously, Sundays included. One is hard put to believe these folk punishments were taken with more than a smile, even though many women doubtless forewent sewing on the Sabbath day out of religious principle.

⁵ See prefatory discussion in *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from North Carolina*, ed. Wayland D. Hand, as vols. 6-7 (1961-64) of *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, 7 vols. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1952-1964), no. 6329 (Oklahoma and Texas references), hereinafter cited as Brown Collection.

Illegal activity, where exposure and arrest are continuous threats, has spawned underworld folk beliefs and superstitions, unfortunately little collected in Utah. However, in more mundane circumstances, folk beliefs and superstitions usually influence our thoughts and actions peripherally, although a belief in the supernatural will increase the influence of superstition and folklore.

In any religious community, the extension of belief beyond strictly ecclesiastical boundaries is facilitated by the ease with which sacred and profane elements of folklore mingle. This occurs because both realms, despite important differences, offer essentially analogous perceptions of a supernatural power that governs the universe and controls the destiny of man himself. What makes it difficult to distinguish whether the source of power is either beneficent or diabolical is the awe supernatural force evokes. Even distinctions between white and black magic are unavailing, since the sorcerer often employs religious symbolism or Christian formulae, and even invokes the name of God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints.⁶

Further confusion arises from the fact that Mormons, and Christians in general, not knowing much about conjury, do not regard it as an importation from Africa and the Caribbean but have seen it as originating almost exclusively in the Christian devil. Church-goers have been taught to shun Satan's enticings and to beware of him who can quote scripture, if need be, to deceive the very elect. The devil's central role in the Christian polarity of good and evil explains the ready confusion of the profane with the sacred in folklore and in popular theology.

"Speak of the devil, and he is bound to appear." The best source for a study of Mormon popular traditions regarding the devil is Austin and Alta Fife's classic *Saints of Sage and Saddle*, now happily back in print.⁷ Joseph Smith's casting out the devil in the celebrated case of Newel Knight dates from the earliest period of the church. Newel, after retiring to a secluded grove for private prayer,

was seized by an unseen power which bound his tongue. He returned home and was again seized by this terrible power. He fell to the floor, his face and limbs twisting and turning in strange contortions, until finally his entire body was caught up and tossed about the room.

⁶ In some areas of the country, as the late Harry Middleton Hyatt's magnificent five-volume work, *Hoodoo, Conjuraton, Witchcraft, Rootwork* (Quincy, Ill.: Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation, 1970-78), clearly demonstrates, the syncretism of sacred and secular is so complete as to be almost impossible to disentangle. This interplay has its limits. Although devotees of the black art are eager to invest their rituals with a patina of Christian faith and symbolism, there is no give and take on the other side. Christian practitioners and workers of white magic reject out of hand religious or magical forms that are believed to stem in any way from the evil one or what they vaguely think of as the powers of darkness. Many believe that even a healing from the wrong source will inevitably prove to be a curse.

⁷ Austin E. Fife and Alta S. Fife, *Saints of Sage and Saddle: Folklore of the Mormons* (1956; reprint ed., SLC: University of Utah Press, 1980), hereinafter cited parenthetically in text as Fife by item number.

The family was in a panic, a crowd assembled, and Joseph was sent for. As the Prophet entered the room, Newel managed to tell him that he was possessed of some evil spirit and begged him to rebuke it (Fife, p. 28).

Joseph did so, commanding the spirit, in the name of Jesus Christ, to depart. The spirit of the Lord then visited Newel and "lifted him from the bed in which he had been placed until his head and shoulders touched the ceiling" (Fife, pp. 28-29).

The Prophet Joseph himself had suffered a similar diabolic visitation soon after he received the golden plates:

No sooner had the angel delivered the plates to Joseph than a satanic personage made a desperate attempt to wrest them from him. But the Prophet, who was a man of great strength and prowess in the art of wrestling, engaged his spirit-adversary in a hand-to-hand struggle which lasted for several hours. Joseph's father went to his rescue — and just in time, too, for, having grown exasperated with the stubborn persistence of the Prophet, the devil had conjured up a whirlwind which was throwing tree trunks and branches wildly about. Belabored soundly by the blows of his opponent, Joseph had fallen to the ground with a severe bruise on his side. His father took him home fatigued and injured but still in triumphant possession of the golden plates. A variant of this story says that Joseph's adversaries were three strangers whose blows he was able to ward off unaided, although he arrived home in a complete state of exhaustion and with his golden scriptures intact (Fife, pp. 37-38).

The appearance of the devil in the form of a whirlwind squares well with the folklore that command of the elements — wind, lightning and thunder, tempests, hail, etc., — is standard in the devil's repertory; so, also, is jostling, pummeling, throttling, and other kinds of physical abuse.⁸ The Mormon phrase, "turned over to the buffetings of Satan," is no figurative phrase in folk belief. The devil controls the waters (Cannon, no. 10164); he also has power after midnight (Cannon, no. 10166). Furthermore, a goat on a bridge at night is possessed of the devil (Cannon, no. 10197). If it rains while a man is dying or if lightning strikes near his house, the devil has come for his soul (Cannon, no. 10206). If you open a door to the wind, you're inviting the devil in (Cannon, no. 10223), and to whistle in the house also invites the devil to enter (Cannon, no. 10221) because of his known proclivity for dancing. Furthermore, if you whistle, you are providing music for the devil to dance to (Cannon, no. 10222).

These last two items are examples of cautionary beliefs used to inculcate good manners, in which the devil has been lumped with bogey figures to enforce proper social conduct and decorum.⁹ In the interplay between religious

⁸ For a reference to the devil's riding in whirlwinds, see the reference to "dust devils" in the Brown Collection, 7: 256, no. 6329. See also Abraham Warkentin, *Die Gestalt des Teufels in der deutschen Volkssage* (Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago, 1937; privately printed, Bethel, Kansas, 1937). Cf. Fife, p. 138 and Cannon et al., "Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah."

⁹ John D. A. Widdowson, *If You Don't be Good: Verbal Social Control in Newfoundland*, Social and Economic Studies, No. 21 (St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977).

and worldly values, the Christian church has sometimes found it convenient to use the devil to punish offenders. Folktales warn card players of dangers for those who desecrate the Sabbath by dancing: they may have a face-to-face showdown with the devil, seeing his cloven hoof and smelling his sulfurous stench (Cannon, no. 10202).

An interesting Mormon distinction is differentiating angels. Joseph Smith announced a revelation in 1843 specifying that when asked to identify himself an angelic messenger will extend a tangible hand in greeting. If the visitor is the devil posing as an angel, he will extend his hand, but the questioner will not be able to feel it.¹⁰ Popular tradition records a colloquium with the spirit or ghost and a direct question: "What in the name of the Lord do you want with me?"¹¹ At this question, the demonic visitor retires without further parley from a superior power.

Formal pacts with the devil are rare in Utah tradition, and I have not seen published accounts of the more plebeian exchange of one's soul for learning to play the fiddle, casting the magically accurate bullet, sewing the seamless seam, procuring great wealth, gaining the favors of beautiful women, and so on. There is in the making, however, a cycle of missionary stories wherein the missionary seeks to learn the power of the devil as part of learning of the existence of God. The seeker usually dies a violent death. These accounts are reminiscent of the Faust legend and the fatal end of his search for hidden knowledge.

The Utah tradition, however, contains accounts derived from the "devil-outwitted" cycle of legends.¹² In exchange for building a bridge or some public edifice — most often a church — the devil bargains for the first living thing to cross the portal. He plans on a human soul, but he is tricked with an animal or barnyard fowl sent in ahead of the first human entrant. More systematic collecting, especially among people with European roots, would doubtless yield more contests of wit with the devil and also formal Faustian pacts. Of course, gaining wealth, position, and the favors of women with demonic assistance are common but rarely include a formal pact (Cannon, no. 10219). Almost invariably in Utah folklore, the sinner comes under the devil's power by sin or other lack of moral vigilance.

Witchcraft is less well documented in Utah than devil lore, even though witches derive their powers from the devil and do his bidding. However, the one account of a witch among backsliding Mormons in Providence, just outside of Logan, is a classic.

One evening a boy who had been recovering from a long illness suddenly began to cry and couldn't be quieted. It was discovered that an old renegade was standing out-

¹⁰ D&C 129:4–8. Cf. Cannon, no. 10593, no. 10250, where the devil is identified with an evil spirit, and M. Hamlin Cannon, "Angels and Spirits in Mormon Doctrine," *California Folklore Quarterly*, 4 (1954): 343–50.

¹¹ Brown Collection, 7:142–143, no. 5725.

¹² Cannon, no. 10207, Fife, p. 219, *passim*, for an account of the devil obstructing the building of the Nauvoo Temple. For a general treatment of legends of the devil outwitted, see August Wünsche, *Der Sagenkreis vom geprellten Teufel* (Leipzig und Wien: Akademischer Verlag, 1905).

side the window in his temple robes. When they chased him away the sick boy became quiet. It was known that the wife of this man did not dare to pass under steel. Once during a rainstorm she stopped at a neighbor's home. While she was drying herself, a knitting needle was slipped into the rafter over her head. Her clothes suddenly began to steam and she was in agony until the needle was removed. On another occasion neighbors, seeing her approach, hastily put a paring knife in the cranny above the door. Maliciously they invited her in. Although she tried several times, she could not cross the sill. Later several young men decided to do away with her. She was lured into the hills and stoned to death. (Fife, pp. 261-262)

Profanation of temple garments, the use of steel knitting needles as an apotropaic, the witch being consumed by her own bodily heat, the inability to cross a charmed door sill, and the stoning of the witch by irate townspeople are all standard elements of witchcraft lore. Although there are few such stories in print, many doubtless persist in oral tradition. The entries on witchcraft in the Cannon Utah collection, though fewer than a hundred, are rich and varied enough to show that the repertory in Utah is much larger than the published record indicates.

Putting on a dress or stockings inside out to ward off witchery and other kinds of magical harm is common (Cannon, nos. 10075f.) but the even more prevalent magical practice of turning the pockets inside out has apparently not found its way into the Utah collection, except when one is passing a haunted spot (Cannon, no. 10648). However, urinating in the fireplace to drive off witches, a method little known outside Utah, is documented from localities as widely separated from each other as Providence and St. George (Fife, p. 262; Cannon, no. 10082). In both reports, a child performs this warding act as an agent of innocence.¹³

¹³ Wayland D. Hand, *Magical Medicine: The Folkloric Component of Medicine in the Folk Belief, Custom, and Ritual of the Peoples of Europe and America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 48-49). Witches in the Cannon Utah collection show classic attributes, functions, and such familiars as cats, rats, wolves, and owls. Owls were associated with witches from Chaldean times, an association that is particularly strong in Italy and Spain, from which it ultimately found its way to Mexico where both owls and witches are referred to as *tecolotes*.

The attributes and functions of witches, many borrowed from *dr̥* shared with other creatures of lower mythology, are found throughout the Utah corpus. A witch cannot weep, has a hidden birthmark, casts no shadow, has eyebrows that meet, never looks you in the face, fears water and cannot cross it, dresses in black, may be a redhead, and may rove at midnight, particularly when the moon is full (Cannon, nos. 10031-32, 10045-53).

They are associated with brooms and sweeping (10030, 10034, 10047, 10069) use eggshells as boats (10038) (prudent housewives crush shells), harass humans with bad luck, sickness, and witch-riding — in which the victim is saddled, bridled, and ridden all night to exhaustion (10057, 10067). The working of evil (the *maleficium*) extends also to barnyard animals, particularly to cows (Cannon, no. 12766 [legend]), and to butter and milk products (5889 *passim*, 12766, 12799, 12803). In fact, magical influences in the dairy are the single most common feature of witchcraft in America.

Protection against witchcraft is essentially magical but with frequent resort to religious prayers and other offices, to sacred objects and utensils and churchyard dirt (10056, 10077). Perhaps because belief in old wives' tales was often discouraged in Utah, to my knowledge, Mormon elders have never been called in to perform an exorcism, as they have to cast out the devil and evil spirits. However, the elders may simply not have been needed. Horseshoes, a silver pen, and other iron or steel objects will put witches to flight as will knives, shears, or scissors which, when opened, gain the added power of the Christian cross (10067, 254,

Both conjury and the casting of spells are fairly well represented in Utah folklore, another area where the sacred and the profane have crossbred. Magical elements shared between witchcraft and conjury in the Cannon Utah collection include the contrasexual transfer of magical power, the abuse of witch dolls and puppets, and the vicarious affliction of a victim through the use of images or pictures (Cannon 10092, 10099–10108). The use of hair, nail parings, excrement, and blood, however, would appear to have infiltrated witchcraft from the more primitive ideas of conjury (Cannon, nos. 10110–10116).¹⁴ Clothing and personal belongings also can be fashioned into conjure bags or “hands” and “tricken bags” to be manipulated against the intended victim (Cannon, nos. 10117ff.).

Regarding the casting of spells, Scottish, Greek, Italian, and other European informants have given the Utah Collection a fairly respectable body of lore dealing with the evil eye. Compliments, or fulsome praise, often engendered by envy,¹⁵ can bring on sickness and even death to those on whom the baleful glance is cast (Cannon, nos. 10143, 10145f.). This evil stare can afflict animals, plants, food, and coveted objects (Cannon, nos. 10143–47). An unusual way to abate the evil eye and turn the evil back on the perpetrator is to wear a charm resembling an eye, reported in 1964 by two independent Salt Lake informants of different generations, neither one originating in a country where belief in the evil eye is prevalent.¹⁶ There are no beliefs and practices about the

10080). Salt and brooms are also effective (10060, 10069–70). Changelings can be prevented by placing the blade of an axe under the crib, and labor pains can be eased (244, 252, 267, 306). The most spectacular use of metal is casting a silver bullet to shoot a homemade witch effigy through the heart (10083). Of a wide variety of apotropaic plants, I find only the use of garlic and hawthorn in witchcraft proper (10150, 10234, 10295, 10072f.), but asafetida, mistletoe, pepper, red pepper, and various other herbs are used to combat evil and other kinds of magical harm (10133f., 10150, 10293–97, 10072f.).

Burning witches is a legacy from the Inquisition, and not a folk tradition (10054f., 10081, 10088). It comes as a surprise, therefore, to hear of the burning of a supposed witch's shack in Provo Canyon, time not given, as reported by a young informant from Logan in 1970. The witch woke up too late to escape and was consumed in the flames. “If you go up there now,” the girl reported, “you can hear her screaming” (10089). In another account, a woman suspected of witchcraft was taken into the mountains by townspeople to be burned. Before she was put to the torch, she cursed the settlement of Mendon and the tree against which she was tied. The male informant, age nineteen, claims that Mendon has not prospered and that the tree stands alone and forbidding (10058). A witch, before her alleged beheading at River Heights — no date — vowed she would return. Various people claim to have seen her head on the stake, locally known as “Bloody Stake,” laughing and jeering at passers-by (10085). One German informant in Salt Lake City in 1938 claimed witches die with the falling of a star (9586, 10039) — a syncretism of Christian and pagan ideas. For fuller documentation on witches see Brown Collection, 7:115–18, nos. 5606–5608, 439–43, nos. 7531–7552, *passim*, 134–35, nos. 5691, 5697–98.

¹⁴ For the problem of African origins see Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1941), Newbell Niles Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1926), and Tom Peete Cross, “Witchcraft in North Carolina,” *Studies in Philology* 16 (1919): 217–87.

¹⁵ George M. Foster, “The Anatomy of Envy: A Study in Symbolic Behavior,” *Current Anthropology*, 13 (1972): 165–202, esp. p. 174 *passim*.

¹⁶ S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Aberglaubens aller Zeiten und Völker*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Hermann Barsdorf Verlag, 1910).

evil eye in Mormon religious tradition comparable to those of Utah Catholic and Greek Orthodox congregations.

A more significant wedding of folklore with Mormon religious traditions has occurred in the area of mining and treasure-hunting. Dowsing for precious metal in Utah was carried out earlier according to established procedures and rituals practiced elsewhere in the West with the customary variety of wooden dowsing rods, conventional mineral rods, and so-called doodlebugs.¹⁷ (Water witching seems to have been associated with magnetism, sympathetic attraction, and other natural principles more than with magic.) Seeking buried treasure was somewhat suspect, since it involved conjury and pitted the seeker against supernatural guardians of buried treasure. In the earliest period of Mormon history, Joseph, Sr. and his sons, occasionally employed to dig wells, acquired a reputation for being water wizards, able to locate water with a forked stick. Later, far more fabulous stories arose concerning the young Joseph's power to locate buried treasure with a peepstone in which he reportedly saw "gold, buried coins and treasures, salt, water, lost animals, future events, and other remarkable things." Stories conflict whether he was "a superstitious bumpkin or, even less to his credit, a scurrilous hoaxer, using the seerstone to dupe investors" (Fife, pp. 110-14).¹⁸

These New England and Pennsylvanian treasure tales recall a body of material familiar in German and European folklore. As I searched contemporary American traditions chronicled by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers, I found tales of the *Erdspiegel* (earth mirror), a device for divining what lies beneath the surface of the earth, which has been used for generations, and is still found in the folklore of the Pennsylvania-German country.¹⁹

The use of peepstones in Utah is reported, so far as I know, only in the Logan area, but may have been known in other parts of the state. The woman who used the peepstone in Cache Valley recovered lost items and located straying livestock but was not involved in treasure seeking (Cannon, nos. 10666, 10433, 12801). According to the Fifes, this fabled stone also revealed two "peepstone brides," beautiful twins destined for plural marriage (Fife, pp. 166-67).

In my earliest writings on the folklore of western mining I became interested in dream mines and, in 1940, after reading about Jesse Knight's Humbug Mine in the Tintic district, sought out Bishop John Koyle to learn more about

¹⁷ Wayland D. Hand, "Folklore from Utah's Silver Mining Camps," *Journal of American Folklore* 54 (1941): 132-61, esp. pp. 135-37; hereinafter cited *JAF*; and Wayland D. Hand, "California Miners' Folklore: Above Ground," *California Folklore Quarterly* 1 (1942): 24-46, esp. 34-36.

¹⁸ See also Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd ed., rev. and enlarged (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), pp. 16-33, and Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Joseph Smith & Money Digging* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Company, 1970).

¹⁹ Ann Hark, "Erdspiegel Mystery," *American-German Review* 7 (June 1941): 9-11, and Wayland D. Hand, "The Quest for Buried Treasure: A Chapter in American Folk Legendry," in *Folklore on Two Continents: Essays in Honor of Linda Degh*, ed. Nikolai Burlakoff and Carl Lindahl (Bloomington, Ind.: Trickster Press, 1980), pp. 112-19.

the Salem Dream Mine. Most memorable of all the things I heard from him, from people who had worked in the mine and from reading Norman C. Pierce's unpublished history of the mine was the presence of supposed chambers deep in the recesses of the earth filled with precious metals by Nephite miners. According to the bishop, this treasure would remain inviolate until the Church was financially imperiled as had been the case during the panic of 1907 when Jesse Knight reportedly saved the Church from bankruptcy with his mine. The subterranean treasure hall accords with the well-known European mountain caverns piled high with jewels and precious metals and guarded by dwarfs.²⁰ However, Brigham Young, more than sixty years before Bishop Koyle's time, had spoken of buried treasures moving about "according to the good pleasure of Him who made them and owns them" within the earth, a theme probably inspired by Book of Mormon accounts.²¹ Martin Harris, perhaps from the same source, had attributed the sinking of the golden plates back into Hill Cumorah to "slippage."²²

Spirits who guard buried treasures, night digging by moonlight, strict demands for secrecy and silence, and the theories of sinking treasure, slippage, and movement within the earth, are part of treasure lore handed down from ancient times in Europe and brought to America early.²³ However, Mormon lore assigns beneficent guardians to the earth's treasures and divine purposes to their movements. This view is a radical departure from the usual association of treasure with the devil and other creatures of lower mythology.

Before pursuing the infusion of nonreligious lore into Mormon popular theology further, we should mention the purely Mormon cycle of legends dealing with the Three Nephites, one of the most prolific genres of religious folk-

²⁰ See Hand, "Utah Silver Mining," pp. 137-40, esp. 138-39, and *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, eds., Eduard von Hoffmann-Krayer and Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, 10 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1927-1942, 7:1004-5, s.v. *Schatz*. Hereinafter cited as *HDA*.

²¹ Brigham Young, address at Farmington, Utah, 17 June 1877, *Journal of Discourses*, 19:36-39, as cited in Hand, "Treasure," p. 116; from Tanner and Tanner, *Joseph Smith & Money Digging*, pp. 2-3; *Hel.* 13:34-36.

²² As cited in Hand, "Treasure," p. 115-116; from Tanner and Tanner, *Joseph Smith & Money Digging*, p. 2; cf. *HDA* 7:1008-9.

²³ Hand, "Treasure," p. 115; *HDA* 7:1004-7, 1:1079, 1080, s.v. *Berggeister*. See also Byrd Howell Granger, *A Motif Index for Lost Mines and Treasures Applied to Redaction of Arizona Legends, and to Lost Mine and Treasure Legends Exterior to Arizona*, Folklore Fellows Communications, No. 218 (Helsinki, Finland, and Tucson, Ariz.: University of Arizona Press, 1977), pp. 220-25, motif g. (This is a reasonably complete survey of the guardians of treasure, from all kinds of humans, including ghosts, to various animal creatures, including dragons and snakes, supernatural creatures of all kinds, etc.) See also motif h 1.5 (night); h 1.6.2 (full moon); motif h 3.1, h 4.6 (ways to keep treasure from moving or changing), and Cannon, no. 10462.

Carefully collecting folk beliefs from Mormon converts from the British Isles, Germany, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, etc., would have altered the picture appreciably. People from these countries have come to Utah for a century and a quarter. Their folklore would certainly help fill the gaps and we have barely tapped this prime source of information. Recent collecting of lore from Italy and Slavic and Balkan Europe in Utah's mining and smelting towns is at best a beginning.

lore in America today. Collection did not begin until 1938; but thanks to the work of the Fifes, Hector Lee, and William A. Wilson, scores of texts have been put on the record, with Wilson's unpublished collection running to over a thousand entries.²⁴ According to the Book of Mormon, the resurrected Christ visited the Americas, chose twelve disciples, and offered them the blessing of their choice before his departure. Three chose to continue their ministry until their master's second coming (3 Ne. 28: 1–12).

In their modern-day ministrations, especially prior to 1940, the Three Nephites reportedly were kindly, sainted ministrants, clothed in flowing white robes or other unusual garb, who possessed superhuman speed, appeared suddenly and, after giving help or advice, left as mysteriously as they had arrived. Typical events include miraculous rescues, food supplied to the starving, aid to missionaries, crucial genealogical information, various advice, and prophetic messages. These motifs have endured throughout several generations of religious narratives. More recent cycles of stories since the 1950s and 1960s have emphasized the necessity of following Church counsel to store food. Sometimes these accounts have a prophetic and even apocalyptic ring and seem related to stories of the vanishing hitchhiker linked to the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago.²⁵

Although the Nephite stories belong to the genre of folk narratives rather than folk beliefs, the Cannon Utah collection contains three somewhat unusual variants. In the first, a serious cave-in in the Park City mines in the 1880s traps several miners. A form in a yellow slicker appears and leads them to safety. As the last miner crawls out, they turn to thank their benefactor, but he has disappeared (Cannon, no. 9960). Features of the dire need, of the help given, and of the sudden disappearance are normal, but the yellow slicker — standard miner's garb for wet mineworks — is an exceptional adaptation, and perhaps a bid for credibility.

The next account may not be a Nephite story at all, even though it tells of an unknown ministrant arriving at a time of need, providing help, and leaving unceremoniously. The circumstances are unusual: the visitor is a woman who arrives mysteriously to help a plural wife who is giving birth hiding in a barn while her husband is in prison (Cannon, no. 261).

²⁴ See Wayland D. Hand, "The Three Nephites in Popular Tradition," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 2 (1938): 123–29, A. E. Fife, "The Legend of the Three Nephites Among the Mormons," *JAF* 53 (1940): 1–49; Austin E. Fife, "Popular Legends of the Mormons," *California Folklore Quarterly* 1 (1942): 122–25; Fife and Fife, pp. 233–249; Hector Lee, *The Three Nephites: The Substance and Significance of the Legend in Folklore*, University of New Mexico Publications in Language and Literature, no. 2 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949); William A. Wilson, "Mormon Legends of the Three Nephites Collected at Indiana University," *Indiana Folklore* 2 (1969): 3–35; and his "The Vanishing Hitchhiker among the Mormons," *Indiana Folklore* 8 (1975): 79–97.

²⁵ Richard K. Beardsley and Rosalie Hankey, "The Vanishing Hitchhiker," *California Folklore Quarterly* 1 (1942): 303–35. Wayland D. Hand, "The Three Nephites," *American Notes and Queries* 2 (1942–43): 56–57 shows the affinities of the Nephite stories to the legend of the vanishing hitchhiker. See also Wilson, "Vanishing Hitchhiker."

The third example, even less clearly a Nephite story, may best be a classic example of substitution, adaptation, and associative thinking. The account dates from 1945, and no locality is mentioned; but the story itself deals with people living in a rural settlement at a much earlier date. At conference time, a woman whose husband was away on a mission awakes to find that Indians have stolen all her horses but a lame one. The family resolutely sets out but only gets partway there. The mother assures the frightened children that the Lord will provide. At once a white horse appears out of nowhere and they proceed to town. As soon as the animal is unhitched, "it just disappeared" (Cannon, no. 9956). Once again, the desperate need for help, the mysterious appearance, and then the equally mysterious disappearance accord with the Nephite paradigm.²⁶ The horse's color would likely echo the white attire of the Nephites current in the versions circulating at the time the event took place. An added folkloric dimension, of course, is the white horse as a symbol of good luck or magic, dating from Indo-European times.²⁷

What does this sketch of Utah folklore tell us about the moral sanctions and ethical considerations of its people? First, of course, we must appreciate that Utah's folklore distinctly reflects its non-Mormon cultural roots even though present-day religious proscriptions and taboos generally stem from earliest biblical times. Accounts in the Utah corpus range from the punishment that comes from taking God's name in vain (Cannon, no. 9656), blatant challenges to God's commandments and profanations of holy ordinances, to lesser moral offenses and personal sins and transgressions. The graver offenses exist almost exclusively in oral tradition. The most prominent of these deals with the brother of an apostle supposedly struck dumb around the turn of the century when he tried to anoint and bless a fence post, a story I first heard from my father in the 1920s (Cannon, no. 2690). A local legend circulating in the East Mill Creek section of Salt Lake County concerns an apostate woman's being trampled to death in a violent electrical storm when she goes to the barn to quieten the terror-stricken horses, a tradition in my ex-wife's family (cf. Cannon, no. 11389). Memorates of this kind, where reasonable information control is maintained within families and extended family groups over considerable periods of time, can no doubt be multiplied from all Mormon communities in Utah and surrounding states. The widespread Latin-American legend of *El Mal Hijo* (*Hija*), well known throughout the Spanish Southwest, has also been recovered in Utah. An evil child who raises its arm against its parents is cursed.²⁸ In the Utah variant, the sinner is swallowed up in the earth for

²⁶ For the phenomenon of animals leading people to safety see Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends*, 6 vols. (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1955-58, B151.1.1 (horse determines road to be taken). See also Alexander Haggerty Krappe, "Guiding Animals," *JAF*, 55 (1942): 228-46.

²⁷ See my extended treatment of these matters in Brown Collection, 6:xxiv-xxvi.

²⁸ T. M. Pearce, "The Bad Son (*El Mal Hijo*) in Southwestern Spanish Folklore," *Western Folklore* 9 (1950): 295-301, cf. Cannon, no. 9845.

the sacrilegious offense of dancing in a church (Cannon, no. 8621).²⁹

Lesser offenses include not only infractions of religious precepts, but also violations of nature: a person killing a lizard invokes the death penalty on himself, disaster will overtake anyone killing a mocking bird, and a person breaking an owl's wings must himself suffer broken limbs, a Utah variant of the well-known penalty for killing a wren (Cannon 9515, 12274, 3500).³⁰

The range of punishments for personal transgressions is somewhat less severe. Liars are punished by blisters, cankers, or perhaps styes (Cannon, nos. 3027, 3141, 4086). (The more frequent explanation of these pesky eye infections, however, is that one has heeded nature's call on the road or in some other public place or is an inveterate bedwetter (Cannon, nos. 4087–89).³¹ Clearly, many of these admonitory folk beliefs are akin to the bogeymen figures used to threaten young children.

Sexual matters call forth a wide range of punishments. The most extreme case is the biblical doctrine that one's children and their descendants will be punished as well. Sterility, for example, attaches to children born out of wedlock and to those who masturbate, practice onanism, or use contraceptives (Cannon, nos. 35–39).³² Mental deficiencies, too, may result from sexual excesses and be transmitted to an illegitimate child (Cannon, nos. 1009, 1011). Health prescriptions against a pregnant woman's using alcohol and tobacco are reinforced by folk notions that such indulgence produces feeble-minded offspring (Cannon, nos. 999, 1000).

Whether these punishments are, or ever were, more than idle threats is a matter that deserves a special study. In most matters not involving sins, capital offenses, or open defiance of the constituted authority, — all matters in which society has other mechanisms of enforcement — widespread social control through folklore is fairly unlikely. Conformity, however, can be powerfully encouraged by genres of ancient folklore that flourished until rather recently — fables, exemplary literature, legends, jokes, proverbs, and facetiae. With remarkable insight into human nature, Petrus Alphonsi, one of the earliest redactors of European folktales, pointed out in the *Disciplina clericalis* (ca. 1110) that the painful predicaments resulting from pride and venality are an excellent way to teach more reasoned choices.

By contrast, this paper has focused on folk belief and superstition as seen in the important *einfache Form*. This genre of folklore, one of the most basic and pervasive, brushes aside all indirect literary approaches and symbolic rep-

²⁹ The Norwegian provenience of this item would argue for a general acceptance of sinking into the earth as a curse. See Franz Schmarsel, *Die Sage von der untergegangenen Stadt*, Litterarhistorische Forschungen, No. 53 (Berlin 1913).

³⁰ Brown Collection, no. 814, 7239.

³¹ See Wayland D. Hand, "Padepissers and Wekschissers: A Folk Medical Inquiry into the Cause of Styes," in the author's *Magical Medicine*, pp. 261–72.

³² See Widdowson, *If You Don't Be Good*, esp. ch. 4; for a general treatise on this subject see my article, "Deformity, Disease, and Physical Ailment as Divine Retribution," in *Magical Medicine*, pp. 57–68.

resentations. Folk belief, as opposed to folk literature, usually lays out in stark relief what kinds of results follow ill-conceived acts of volition. There are few gray areas. All is black and white. However, since this type of folk belief rarely involves moral or ethical choices, the present-day influence of folklore is almost certainly not as great as folklorists are wont to believe.

One must be cautious, then, in assessing the prevalence of belief in magic and the supernatural in the folklore of Utah — or anywhere else.³³ Folklore can indeed throw light on many subjects, but most tellingly it does so on what eighteenth-century writers referred to as the shadowy sides of human nature. Rather than regarding folk belief as a significant moral and social force, then, one could more profitably and properly investigate it as a guide to people's perceptions of nature and of life, their fantasies and whims, their emotional and spiritual needs, their aesthetic sensibilities and their feeling for the indwelling forces that bind man to nature. At even deeper levels of experience, folklore caters to man's sense of the mystery that underlies life and veils the inscrutable forces of nature. It is in the realm of the spirit, then, that folklore finds its most useful applications. Popular beliefs and customs in Utah urgently invite a more thorough collection of field data and deeper psycho-sociological analysis by folklorists, behavioral scientists, and cultural historians.

³³ An example of excessive claims for folklore is the Pre-Romantic German poet Gottfried August Bürger, speaking in 1776 of the power of folk poetry. He said that poetry should once more become what God who made it had intended, namely, the living breath of God that wafts over the hearts and minds of the elect, awakening the sleeping and the dead, making the blind to see, the deaf to hear, the lame to walk, and cleansing lepers — this all to the salvation and blessing of the generations of people in this valley of travail. Bürger, writing under the pseudonym of Daniel Wunderlich, in "Aus Daniel Wunderlichs Buch," *Deutsches Museum* [Leipzig] 1 (1776): 448. See *Bürgers sämtlich Werke*, hrsg. August Wilhelm Bohtz (Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1835), p. 321, my free translation.



Faithful History/Secular Faith

Melvin T. Smith

I READILY ADMIT that the topic of “faithful history” may gain more by praying for the demise of the debate than by trying to provide life-extending arguments or by seeking to resurrect it. However, I feel there are yet valuable points to be made for those believers who see themselves as Mormon historians and as serious students of Mormon history.

Two factors relate directly to the argument for continued dialogue on this topic. The first is that believers possess special insights into the faith and feelings of the people they write about. These insights permit important nuances of understanding and explication of their people’s histories not readily achievable by nonbelievers.

Second, the believers’ sympathetic posture allows them to use the whole substance of their historical witnesses’ testimonies or statements. That is, believers assume that basically their witnesses told the truth. Such an attitude permits scholars to reach for insights and understanding at the extended limits of historical witnesses’ statements.

If my meaning is not clear, let me express it from the position of the nonbeliever. Historians who do not believe in God or in divine involvement in human activity will not take seriously Joseph’s claim to communication with God. Furthermore, they cut themselves off from the historical aspects of human experiences that claim some kind of transcendent qualities.

Understanding this rationale is not the solution to our “faithful history” problems; but hopefully, it can be a useful perspective from which to discuss them. I am suggesting that the faithful historian’s search for truth is best served by keeping history and faith separate during the processes of research and investigation, so that each discipline can determine what it knows. Then, after the data are processed, useful evaluations and syntheses can be made.

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I hope to argue persuasively three points: one, history is a finite discipline incapable of revealing divine nature or will; two, only God can witness to divine faith or to the infinite; and three, finding a meaningful religion or faith or theology will not be easy for believers; however, the rewards of such efforts will be greater if undertaken after the facts of history and the evidences of faith are in the believers' possession.

This paper hopes to suggest a useful rationale for believing Mormons and Latter Day Saints who desire to be professional historians and serious students of the Restoration movement. Such individuals generally agree that objectivity is a critical quality of good history and that such quality is very difficult to come by, even for very competent scholars and even when the issues are ordinary, human issues. When the debate involves the divine and perceptions of final truths, objectivity is almost impossible. What can be done to help, since believers are always involved emotionally on these basic issues and life values? I am suggesting a two-pronged answer: desensitizing history and accepting the nonhistorical elements and existence of faith. Hopefully, with such an approach, believers will be able to bring to their scholarly research both historical objectivity and their unique insights and understanding.

Let me next discuss some of the other problems I see for scholars in Mormon history. Nonbelievers tend *not* to believe their historic witnesses, at least on those very critical issues relating to faith. Nonbelievers possess biases that often work against their historical studies. Scholars who do not believe Joseph Smith actually had the supernatural experiences he claimed do not seriously consider investigating the historicity of transcendent phenomena. Instead, they try to deal with the matter by saying that Joseph Smith *claimed* he talked with God, which is accurate, but not complete, or they claim that his followers believe and accept as fact that he talked with God. Again accurate but not the whole issue. If historians assume that Joseph Smith did not talk with God because there is no God or some such other absolute, they then face the problem of deciding the essence of Joseph's historic witness about both history and the faith. He said he saw divine beings. By what historic methodology do historians discredit that claim? I raise the question again, why shouldn't he be believed?

We hear many irrelevant answers: "There is no god." "Joseph Smith was a liar." "God would not speak to such a person," etc. But can honest historians be selective in how they listen to their witness or in what they allow witnesses to testify of? How do historians know what their witnesses experienced? Can a serious historian claim that his/her witness could not have had such an experience, simply because the historian cannot comprehend it? I think not. So there remains for these scholars not just the issue of credibility in the historic witness but credibility in their own methodology as well.

On the other side of this coin we find the faithful, seeking through history to prove that Joseph Smith was God's prophet. When asked, "How do they know that fact?" we hear such answers as: "Through Joseph's own story," "the Book of Mormon," "three and eight witnesses," etc. Again, irrelevant answers. If someone should produce the plates from which the Book of Mor-

mon was translated, would that prove the contents are divine or that Joseph was a prophet? Admittedly, it would do a great deal to prove the historicity of the Gold Plates.

We have now arrived at the heart of the “faithful history” dilemma but also to its resolution, at least in part. Faithful history is not history written about a faith but rather history which in some way attempts to prove or disprove the things of God. On one hand Mormons have Joseph Fielding Smith’s *Essentials in Church History*, certainly intended as a faithful witness. On the other are the writings of Gerald and Sandra Tanner, viewed by the Tanners as equally faithful witnesses. And in between are a plethora of faithful histories and commentaries by faithful brothers and sisters. I suggest here that history may be seen as a finite tool with which we sculpt an understanding of humanity. It is not a divine instrument through which we tune in eternity.

When we look at Joseph Smith’s own experiences, we see the problems clearly. In his case, his historical witnesses have been challenged continually: his own story in all its variations, the Book of Mormon with textual changes, differing methods of translation, and challenges to its historicity; and his own life and character. An even more substantive point on the limits of faithful history can be made. In Joseph Smith’s own story of God’s speaking to him, it should be noted that only God’s witness to Joseph could have been divine. Joseph’s message to both historians and to the faithful is historical. What they scrutinize is the message’s historicity, not its divinity. Thus historians can worry less about the faithfulness of their histories, and more about their accuracy.

If we desensitize our histories, historians are free to discover and to measure what they can about people, and to report unabashedly what they find without fear that their discoveries may be offensive to God. An open avenue to learning is absolutely essential to good history, and to all inquiry. Faithful historians must feel no restraints in their quest for knowledge and comprehension of all there is to know about humankind, about our mortal world and its terrestrial life. When scholars perceive all of this as a part of history, they open treasures of knowledge even greater than they are able to receive. I suggest that the most challenging fields of study and discovery today are not in faithful history, but rather in the sciences, with truly exciting new concepts, many of which are directly applicable to history, even faithful history. Students of history need to know what history (broadly defined as all of man’s learning) can tell them. I suggest a few “for examples,” which I believe have relevance to the Mormon history scholars.

For example, Adam Smith in *Powers of Mind* (1975) suggests that we measure knowledge through logical paradigms and syllogisms, but the mind has powers not subject to such rational scrutiny and harnessing. He cites the placebo impact of medicine or drugs or other expectations. We have all experienced reaching the top or bottom of a stairway, only to learn there was not another step there. The body, instructed by the mind to respond a certain way, does so, despite the reality of the physical situation. Perhaps these phenomena can enlighten us on some religious happenings.

Carl Sagan in *Broca's Brain* (1974) traces the history of science with its limitations and its self-correcting methodology. He notes its incredible achievements in discovering the universe we live in. He demonstrates that growth in human understanding requires relinquishing errors and shows how frequently scientific research has discovered unsoundness and false claims in religion. Both Richard Leakey in *People of the Lake* (1978) and Donald Johanson in *Lucy* (1981) use fossil remains uncovered in Africa to postulate explanations about the hominid ancestors of modern humans. Their methodology is complex, their conclusions tenuous but provocative. They raise questions of what makes us human? And what is basic human nature after all? These issues are debated by Robert Ardrey in *The Territorial Imperative* (1966) and Desmond Morris in *The Naked Ape* (1967). Admittedly these are not necessarily the most recent nor best authorities in the field. Most of us are familiar with David Attenborough's *Life on Earth* (1979), also a T.V. series. What is man? Not only a basic question for historians but always a fundamental issue for believers.

Morton Hunt in *The Universe Within* (1982) suggests that the human brain is the creature of the evolutionary process where the fundamental rule of life is survival. Thus, the brain has evolved not only with incredible capacities but with great sensitivity to qualities of order and predictability, both important qualities for survival. Hunt also suggests that the human brain may possess a sense of interdependence and cooperation. Some might see religious implications in these cerebral makeups.

Julian Jaynes in *The Origins of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind* (1977) suggests that with the development of language humans possessed a cultural data bank which fed information into the brain's independently structured right and left hemispheres, which processed separately those data and sensory information. As a result, answers from the different sides of the brain might not be the same. Jaynes postulates that in bicameral man during times of severe stress, messages may have passed from the normally silent right hemisphere of the brain to the "conscious self," where it was heard in the person's mind as verbal language, even as the "voices of the gods."

James Lewis Brain in *The Last Taboo, Sex and The Fear of Death* (1979) also sees language as the cultural data bank which imposes the biases, the memories and knowledge of previous generations onto each new one. Since most of these values relating to sex are very early imposed, they tend to become a part of the person's unexamined cultural baggage, and that baggage varies as widely as do the values and cultures of the people throughout the world.

I agree that my examples of "human learning" are inadequate and my syntheses limited. However, my purpose is to suggest the tremendous wealth of information available to us in our study of humankind if we are free to explore it. It is well to remind ourselves that most of the knowledge we bring to our scrutiny of life, of history, of our faith, comes from human sources characterized by human biases, human wisdom, and human ignorance, no matter whether we are believers or nonbelievers.

The professional historians' challenge is to examine as much of the human experience as possible and to produce objective and insightful histories. The better the product the historian provides, the more useful it is. It is by providing quality service that one reaches the status of professional historian.

I return now to my second point, namely, that only God can witness to the divine. I do not intend to tell you how to study or know divinity. My objective is to unburden believing historians who may still try to be witnesses to the faith.

If history is indeed only a secular or finite tool, then it is at best only a finite witness. However, when it is viewed as God's witness capable of witnessing to divine nature, it then provides a distorted basis or image from which believers, who look to history as the primary witness, build their faith. As a result, their faith is built on the tenuous truths and the shifting sands of history. This factor might be construed as the "arm of flesh" as it were; and when "faithful histories" are discredited, testimonies crumble and great is the fall thereof. Also, those who presume to reveal "God's purposes" with history may be creating the infinite in their secular historical images, which could be viewed as a way of "taking the name of God in vain."

Perhaps even more serious is the fact that having "faith" in history misleads faithful adherents, who then have historically biased images of God and his prophets that may not correspond to what the divine or infinite is like at all. Believers who use history to meet their religious yearnings may, in short, be on a dead-end street. For example, believers assume that scriptures are God's words and that the prophets are inspired; yet their own historical biases probably distort the meanings of these so-called "divine" messages. I am suggesting there are dividends for faith in trying to get the "divine" message as directly and untainted by history as possible.

Believers readily recognize scriptures that suggest such an approach: "There is a Spirit in Man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding (Job 32:8)." "For what man knoweth the things of man save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God (1 Cor. 2:11)." "No man knoweth . . . who the Father is but the Son and he to whom the Son will reveal Him (Luke 10:22)." "For the testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of prophecy (Rev. 19:10)." "Ask God and He will manifest the truth of it unto you by the power of the Holy Ghost (Moro. 10:4)." And even, "Be still and know that I am God (Ps. 46:10)," (hardly the theme of MHA).

My argument holds that the pursuit of faithful witnesses to divine nature is valid and desirable. I am suggesting also that the chances of success in obtaining that divine witness may be greater if believers carry as few historical biases and distortions into their quest as possible. Too often those who claim divine evidence of God's handiwork simply have drawn rational deductions from a priori assumptions that are wholly unsubstantiated. We see it in such arguments as: Joseph Smith was a prophet; therefore, the Book of Mormon is true. Or the Book of Mormon is true; therefore, Joseph Smith was a prophet.

Or, the Book of Mormon tells of Hebrew traditions and Joseph Smith was a nineteenth-century American; therefore, Joseph Smith could not have written the Book of Mormon.

Now what kind of spiritual witness is that? Compare it with a visit from Jesus Christ himself, promising the faithful they are sealed up unto “eternal life” (D&C 131:5, 130:5, 88:3–4; John 14:23). It may be well to remind ourselves again that even church leaders who demand faith-promoting histories do not claim that Saints become sons of perdition by denying the witness of history. (I suspect they do not claim that one gets eternal life by believing it either.)

Again, I am not trying to propound a religious position; rather I hope to call attention to problems of faith that may exist for the believers because they have been using history as the basis of their faith. In any case, if God is missing, it is not the historians’ fault. And while there are many other areas and examples that might be explored in depth, hopefully these few will illustrate the point successfully.

Let me now turn to my final point, the need for evaluation and analysis of the evidences obtained from both history and faith. Since believing historians are both historian and believer in one, it is easy to lose track of the fact that there are always *two* kinds of data to evaluate. Such people must continually check their position by asking, “How do I know that fact? From history? Through faith? Or through conclusions from a synthesis of those two kinds of evidences?” For these people those processes occur almost automatically. Carl Becker noted that every man was his own historian. We could extend the analogy to: every believer his own theologian. What is important to the serious student is that interpretation and uses of data/facts follow their acquisition. Historians should not have the big answers before they have the evidences for them. Nor should believers have the big answers before they know the questions.

My concern here is not for Mormon theology but for Mormon history and historians. Somehow these scholars must find a means for satisfying their need to synthesize the data they have as believing historians. Historically the Mormon movement has not supported and encouraged the development of a Mormon theology. This condition is especially true for Utah Mormons. As a result, when believing historians arrive at the stage of serious data analysis and synthesis, they have had little help and certainly no tradition established by which their syntheses can proceed. I believe important changes in this area are now beginning.

An impact of this historical condition for Mormon historians has been to draw them into the vacuum where they begin to function as theologians or quasi-theologians at least. My observations are in no way a criticism but are intended to provide some insight into why the dilemma of faithful history takes its special forms in Mormon history. *DIALOGUE*, *Sunstone* and *MHA* are all, at least in part, responses to unfilled theological needs among believers, particularly among those of the scholarly community.

It might be useful if there were more trained theologians helping us wrestle with the angel of faith and the human of history. Yet while theological efforts can help, they are only a partial answer for faithful historians to whom the struggle is ever present and very personal. These scholars will have to decide finally how badly they want to be professional historians and how much they want to be and can be believers. Their chances for success will be greater if they do not try to use the broad gate and wide way of history as the means to enter the narrow gate and straight way of faith. Also, the chances for truly significant insights and contributions to both Mormon history and faith will be better.

No doubt these faithful historians' struggles will at times be similar to those of Oliver Cowdery, who wished to translate but was not prepared to give to the process the sustained energy that would bring him understanding. I hope faithful historians will provide that kind of commitment. Both Mormon history and faith need it, for as yet I do not see how the promise of life and the hope of eternity can be as easy as history or as ephemeral as the witness of faith only.



New Light on Old Egyptiana:

Stanley B. Kimball

IN 1966 ELEVEN PIECES OF EGYPTIAN POPYRI, known to have been part of a small collection of four mummies and some papyri owned by a certain Michael Chandler which Joseph Smith acquired in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835, were discovered in New York City. It was a find that created considerable excitement.

This paper attempts to throw some new light on the history of this Mormon-connected Egyptiana since 1848 (the close of the Mormon era in Nauvoo) and to suggest how and where more of these antiquities might be found. The search moves through four locales: Saint Louis, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Western Illinois. Though hardly crowned with new finds, collectively, these four locales represent one of the most fascinating and frustrating research adventures of my career as well as a substantial body of negative evidence.

On 14 August 1856, Wyman's Saint Louis Museum advertised in the Saint Louis *Missouri Democrat* that "two mummies from the Catacombs of Egypt" were on exhibit. Fifteen years later, on 19 July 1863, the Saint Louis *Missouri Republican* reported "The museum . . . will close next Saturday and remove to Chicago." These two accounts bracket what is known about two of the four Mormon mummies and some papyri which were exhibited in Saint Louis during the midnineteenth century.

Thanks to the seminal work of James R. Clark, and later efforts of Walter Whipple and Jay Todd, the story of how these two mummies and some of the papyri found with the mummies got to Edward Wyman's Saint Louis Museum is fairly well understood.¹ In general, we also know what happened to these

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¹ James R. Clark, *The Story of the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1955); Walter L. Whipple, "The St. Louis Museum of the 1850s and the Two Egyptian Mummies and Papyri," *BYU Studies*, 10 (Autumn 1969): 57-64; Jay M. Todd, *The Saga of the Book of Abraham* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1969).



Mormon Mummies 1848-71

antiquities while they remained in Saint Louis until sold to Chicago in 1863.

Since I live in St. Louis County, I have for years, off and on — mainly off — addressed myself to the task of finding out more about the mummies/papyri during their Saint Louis sojourn of eight years.

J. P. Bates, Wyman's curator-agent-collector, probably effected the purchase in 1856, but little is known of him. City directories identify him as a naturalist and preparer of birds during this period and his reputation was that of "the enamoured naturalist, not the adroit showman." He accompanied the collection to Chicago in 1863.²

Looking into the career of Edward Wyman, founder of Wyman's Hall which housed the Saint Louis Museum, is only slightly more rewarding. He was an educator from the East who came to Illinois in 1836 and to Saint Louis in 1843 where he established an English and classical high school. Since his school contained an excellent auditorium, it was frequently booked for local and traveling exhibits and performances, including that of Jenny Lind and Tom Thumb. Apparently catching show business fever from such exhibitors, especially from P. T. Barnum, who accompanied Jenny Lind in 1851, Wyman turned his school first into a theater and then added a museum. He was, however, not a good showman — too serious and honest and he went into debt, lost control of his building, returned to academic life, and died in Alton, Illinois, in 1888. Available papers, including those from his estate, turned up no references to the mummies.

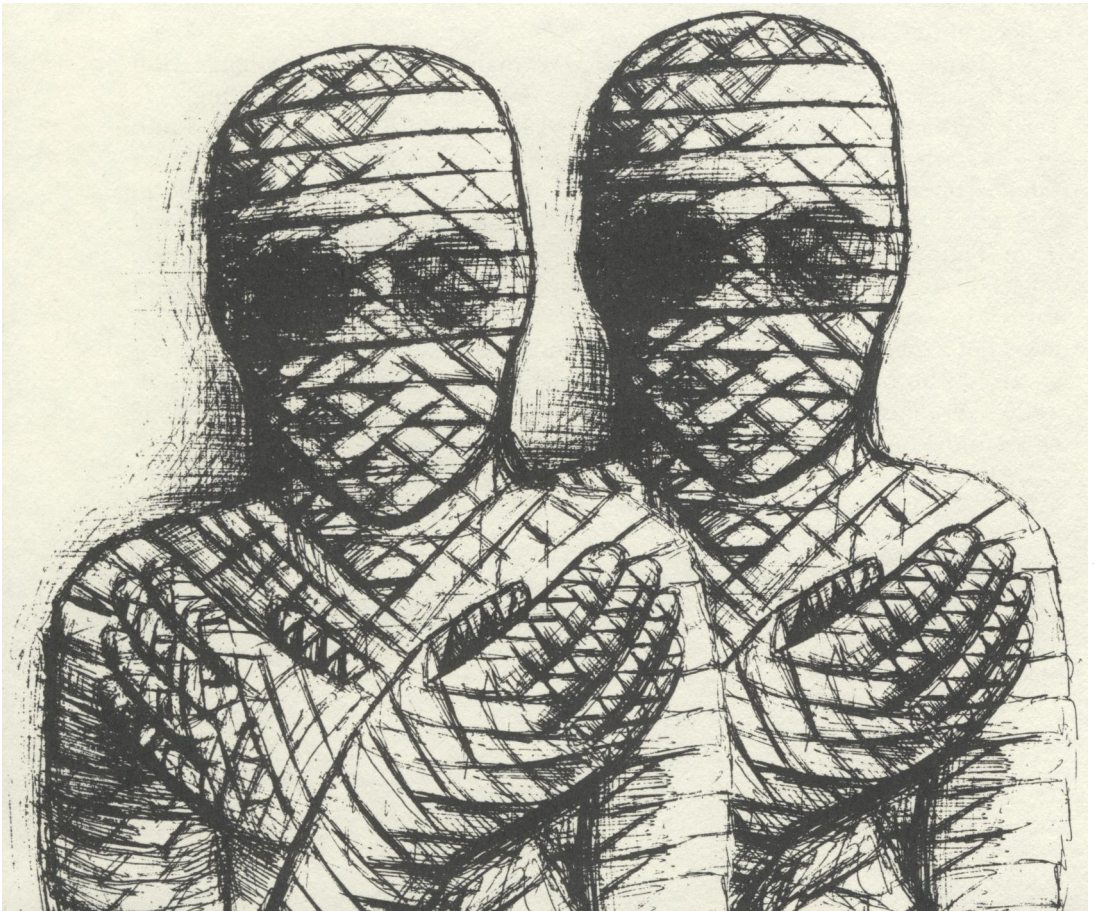
About a month after the mummies/papyri went on exhibit in Saint Louis, a local scholar visited them, Professor Gustaf Seyffarth, a controversial Egyp-

² *Missouri-Democrat*, 22 Jan. 1857. The article specifically adds that he was "no Barnum." The 1863 *Guide to the Chicago Museum* declares that Bates "has devoted his life, with the enthusiasm of an artist, to this branch of [natural] science and now stands without fear of rivalry, at least in America, . . . He has made frequent journeys to Europe, South America and the tropical regions, in order to obtain the best and rarest birds and quadrupeds which these continents afford." *A Guide to the Chicago Museum* (Chicago, Ill.: 1863), p. 3.

tologist from Leipzig, then visiting professor at the Concordia Seminary of the Lutheran Synod in Saint Louis County. His observations appeared in the *St. Louis Evening Pilot* 13 September 1856: "Visitors will find also some large fragments of Egyptian papyrus scrolls, with pieratic [hieratic] (priestly) inscriptions, and drawings representing the judgment of the dead, many Egyptian gods and sacred animals, with certain chapters from the old Egyptian sacred books." Seyffarth is quoted in the 1859 catalog of the Saint Louis Museum as saying that "the papyrus roll is not a record, but an invocation to the Deity Osiris . . . and a picture of the attendant spirits, introducing the dead to the Judge, Osiris." Unfortunately much research into the life and papers of Seyffarth turned up nothing further regarding his opinion of the Mormon mummies.³

I had more success in the Saint Louis press. The mummies, we learned in 1966–67, were sold in Nauvoo 26 May 1856, but when did they come to Saint Louis? On 13 July 1856, the Sunday *St. Louis Republican* referred to "Egyp-

³ Seyffarth's *Nachlässe* are at the Concordia Seminary, Saint Louis, and in the Brooklyn Museum in New York City. His lectures on Egypt appeared in the *St. Louis Leader*, 26 Nov. 1856; *Evening News*, 29 Nov. 1856; *The Missouri Democrat*, 29 Nov. 1856; and the *Saint Louiser Volksblatt*, 23, 25, 29 Nov. 1856, and 27 Feb. 1857. Although Seyffarth published at least twelve articles in the *Transactions of the Academy of St. Louis* between 1857 and 1860 on astronomy, inscriptions, an Assyrian brick, a mummy in Paris, a papyrus scroll in Massachusetts, and related topics, he never again referred to the Egyptiana in Saint Louis.



tian antiquities” in Wyman’s Saint Louis Museum, but it does not necessarily refer to the Mormon antiquities. The *Daily Missouri Democrat* of 14 August 1856, however, specifies that the exhibit is of “two mummies from the catacombs of Egypt, which have been unrolled, presenting a full view of the records enclosed, and of the bodies which are in a remarkable state of preservation.” The same issue of that paper contains a second notice of the “new attraction.”

On 13 May 1857, almost a year later, the *Daily Missouri Democrat* headlines a short account: Jo. Smith’s Mummies. It noted that these mummies had been purchased in 1856 and added, “Some of the brethren have had the hardness to deny that these were the patriarchal manuscripts and relics. But an unanswerable confirmation of the fact has lately occurred; certain plates issued by the elders as facsimiles of the original having fallen into Mr. Wyman’s hands, which plates are also facsimiles of the hieroglyphics in the museum.”

The “brethren” and “elders” seem to refer to the discomfort of some Saint Louis Mormons with Wyman’s identifying his mummies as those connected with the book of Abraham. They were probably offended as well with Wyman’s 1856 catalog announcement that “Joe Smith, the Mormon Prophet,” had originally bought them on account of the writings “found in the chest of one of them, which he pretended to translate.”⁴

The “certain plates issued by the elders as facsimiles of the original” can only refer to a reproduction of what we know today as the current Pearl of Great Price’s Facsimiles 1, 2, and 3. In fact, the first (1851) edition of the Pearl of Great Price or the book of Abraham publication in the *Times and Seasons* in Nauvoo, Illinois, of 1 and 15 March and 16 May 1842 are the most likely candidates.

When we combine what Seyffarth wrote in 1856 about the “judgment of the dead” and in 1859 about “an invocation to the Deity Osiris” with the story in the *Missouri Democrat* it seems quite clear, as Jay Todd pointed out in 1969, that Seyffarth may well have been looking at what have since been labeled the Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri “IIIA. and IIIB. Court of Osiris,” or perhaps Facsimile No. 3 in the Book of Abraham.

If Seyffarth had indeed been looking at the Court of Osiris fragments in 1856, it means that these fragments survived the Chicago fire of 1871, to be rediscovered in 1966, suggesting that the two mummies and other pieces of papyri once in Saint Louis and Chicago may also have survived the fire. However, from the *Missouri Democrat* description Seyffarth was likely examining

⁴ The 1856 catalogue of the Saint Louis Museum states: “These Mummies were obtained in the Catacombs of Egypt, sixty feet below the surface of the earth, for the Antiquarian Society of Paris, forwarded to New York, and there purchased, in the year 1835, by Joe Smith, the Mormon Prophet, on account of the writings found in the chest of one of them, and which he pretended to translate, as stating them to belong to the family of the Pharaohs. . . . They were kept by the Prophet’s mother, until her death, when the heirs sold them. *Catalog of The Saint Louis Museum* (Saint Louis, Mo.: 1856) n.p. Copy in Missouri Historical Society, Saint Louis, Missouri. I have found no contemporary reference to the mummies in the journals of many Mormons who passed through Saint Louis on their way west or who lived there during the 1850s. The Saint Louis Church records of that time are equally barren as is the Mormon newspaper, *The St. Louis Illuminator* of 1854–57.

the original of Facsimile No. 3, which, as far as is known, did not survive the Chicago fire.

The *Democrat* ended its account by chiding the local Mormons: "Let them, all of Mormon faith go to the museum, and contemplate the veritable handwriting of the patriarch Abraham. Who knows that the patriarch himself, 'and Sarah his wife,' are not in the museum?"

Apparently this story did not completely satisfy some of the "brethren" who seemed to have found it very difficult (as do some Mormons today) to accept the idea that Brigham Young would go west without these presumed sources of the *Book of Abraham* and that the antiquities would ever be permitted to pass out of church ownership and put on public exhibition in Saint Louis as money making curiosities. (Although "Mother Smith" exhibited them for years in Nauvoo for a fee.) So the same paper printed a second article on 12 June, "The Mormon Prophet's Mummies," noting, "Doubts still being expressed that they were the prophet's mummies, etc., . . . we now append the certificate with which the sale of them to Mr. Combs was accomplished." The paper then printed in full a document which would not see the light of day again for over a century — namely the 26 May 1856 bill of sale which came to light in 1966 in New York City. Its publication in 1856 proves beyond any doubt that the Saint Louis Museum indeed exhibited the Mormon antiquities and that an A. Combs was the middle man.

There were certainly other mummies in Saint Louis before and after the Mormon ones. At least five museums predated Wyman's. Albert Koch's (1832–41) exhibited "an Egyptian Mummy, together with the Sarcophagus or Coffin, which is supposed to be more than three thousand years old," according to a 27 January 1836 story in the *Missouri Republican*. In 1841 Koch sold his collection to a museum in New Orleans and nothing more is known of this particular mummy.⁵ (If I may be permitted to enter the realm of speculation for just a moment, I could hypothesize, rather wildly, that Koch's mummy might have been one of the seven mummies Michael Chandler sold before he disposed of his remaining four to Joseph Smith in Kirtland in 1835.)

While the Mormon mummies were on exhibit in Saint Louis at least one other Egyptian antiquity was exhibited briefly in that city. The *Missouri Democrat* of August 1856 notes that the famous steamboat, *Floating Palace*, was "at the Steamboat landing with 100,000 curiosities" including "ancient relics from Egypt, Rome, Pompeii, and Herculaneum." The *Missouri Democrat* of 22 September 1857 also reported that the Saint Louis Museum was

⁵ See *Daily Evening Gazette*, 7 March 1844; John Thomas Scharf, *History of St. Louis and County* (Philadelphia, Penn.: L. H. Everts, 1883), pp. 982–83; John Francis McDermott, "Museums in Early St. Louis," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin*, 4 (Jan. 1948): 129–38; and his "Dr. Koch's Wonderful Fossils," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* (July 1948): 233–56. Dr. Joseph N. McDowell of Saint Louis added a small collection of curiosities to his medical college; and while he exhibited no Egyptiana, he did possess another Mormon-related item, the infamous Kinderhook Plates which Joseph Smith was supposed to have translated. See my "Kinderhook Plates," *Ensign* 10 (August 1981): 66–74.

negotiating to buy Peal's Baltimore Museum collection, which included one Egyptian mummy. There is no evidence, however, that this ever happened.

Although several museums operated in Saint Louis after the collection of the Saint Louis Museum was sold to Chicago in 1863, there is no evidence of Egyptian antiquities in the city until about 1896 when Charles Parsons donated two mummies to Washington University. One is currently housed at the Saint Louis Museum of Science and the other is located at the Saint Louis Art Museum. In 1928 Washington University acquired a third mummy from the Smithsonian Institution, currently on exhibit in the Museum of the Department of Anatomy of the School of Medicine of Washington University.

Another mummy was briefly in Saint Louis during the 1904 World Fair as part of the Egyptian exhibit, afterwards acquired by the Louisville, Kentucky, Museum. Unfortunately there is not a shred of evidence that any of these mummies is connected in any way with the Mormon ones. While these first two mummies are very richly appointed and in beautiful sarcophagi — therefore most assuredly not “our mummies” — the third one in the School of Medicine is a blackened, ugly object. About 1955 a certain E. De Mar Anderson, M.D., of Seattle Stake, saw it, decided that the blackness was a result of the Chicago fire, and reported that it indeed was “our mummy.” The blackness of the mummy, of course, is simply the result of the embalming process.⁶

Why and when was the Wyman collection sold to Chicago in 1863? During July 1858, Wyman failed to settle a debt of \$12,000, losing his hall and collection to a Saint Louis businessman, Henry Whitmore.⁷ Five years later two businessmen in Chicago bought out a certain Thomas Lawson who had bought out Whitmore. The *Missouri Republican* notes on 3 July 1863 that the Saint Louis Museum “will shortly be removed elsewhere.” On July 9 it announced that the museum “will close next Saturday [July 12] and remove to Chicago.” And so it did.

II

The Chicago story is less well known than the Saint Louis one. After months of work and grief, reading all the extant Chicago papers for the proper period, I unraveled the details of the sale of the Saint Louis Museum, its removal to Chicago, and its history until the fateful night of 8 October 1871 when downtown Chicago was incinerated. That intermediate history is very sparse. In one way or another the collection passed through the hands of at least twenty owners, managers, and exhibitors, not one of whom left any papers I could find in Chicago or Springfield, Illinois.

⁶ Correspondence with the Department of Anatomy, School of Medicine of Washington University at Saint Louis, 14 Sept. 1972; Saint Louis Art Museum; also the Saint Louis Museum of Science, and Washington University Gallery of Art, 24 Aug. 1972.

⁷ The Academy of Science in Saint Louis, just the year before Wyman lost his museum, had tried in vain to raise \$10,000 to buy Wyman out. Had they succeeded, perhaps the mummies and papyri would still be in Saint Louis. Disappointingly, the archives of the Saint Louis Academy shed no further light on the Mormon mummies.

There are, however, a few more details in the early years. On 6 July 1863 the *Chicago Tribune* announced "with pleasure that through the liberality of two of our worthy and public spirited citizens [John Mullen and John M. Weston] the Saint Louis Museum has been purchased, and will soon be removed, and permanently located in this city. This museum is much the largest in the West, and in several features the choicest one in the United States."

This new Chicago Museum was housed in what was then known as Kingsbury Hall at 111–117 Randolph Street. The new owners quickly printed a *Guide to the Chicago Museum*; the entry on the mummies simply reprints what had appeared in the 1859 catalog of the Saint Louis Museum.

During August other stories informed Chicagoans of the new museum.⁸ On August 10 the *Chicago Times* noted, "There are the two mummies which in the hands of Joe Smith were made to give a revelation and still they bear the original tablets with the cabalistic or coptic characters thereon." This reference to a "revelation," while not common, had been made several times before by non-Mormons. A possibly more significant statement, however, is the reference to tablets, probably "mummy tablets" which were usually attached to the toes of mummies as a means of identification after embalming and wrapping. They were widely used, were usually about two by six inches in size, were made of wood, stone, ivory, or even marble, and usually bore the name and title of the deceased, and a short prayer.⁹ Since they generally date from the second or third century B.C., their presence on the Mormon mummies reinforces the few other specifics we have regarding their tomb in suggesting that the mummies are not of Abraham's day.

On September 3, the *Chicago Times* published a rather funny, but informative article, titled, "What an Old Lady Thought About Mummies."

An old lady at the Museum a day or so ago, coming suddenly upon a case containing two Egyptian mummies was extremely horrified at their exhibition without clothing of any kind, and showed symptoms of an intention to hold her nose until assured that, notwithstanding the long interval since their decease, no disagreeable odor was emitted. She was not long in betraying still greater ignorance by remarking to the young girl who accompanied her,

"Sairy them critters is of African descent true as preachin, and that accounts for their not being burried like white folks and Christians."

"These are mummies, madam," remarked a gentleman who stood nearby, endeavoring to control his inclination to laugh heartily at the old lady's speech.

⁸ On August 8 the *Chicago Evening Journal* added that "it contained over 50,000 rare specimens of beasts, birds, reptiles, insects, fossils, etc." The *Chicago Evening Journal* of 7 July and the *Chicago Times* of 8 July made similar statements. The Chicago press published only about two more stories in 1863 and none, as far as I can tell, thereafter. Interest continued in Egyptian antiquities. On 8 April 1865, for example, the *Chicago Times* announced, "A free lecture on Ancient Egypt will be given in Unity Church," and on 9 Nov. 1870, the *Chicago Evening Journal* reported that a mummy was being exhibited in the Crystal Palace in London. There was no reference to the mummies in Chicago or references to these mummies in the many contemporary guides and directories in Chicago still extant.

⁹ See E. Boswinkel and P. W. Pestman, *Textes Grecs, Demotiques et Bilingues* (Holland, E. J. Brill, 1978), pp. 232–59, plus plates. The Oriental Institute of Chicago has five mummy tablets.

"Wall," returned she with renewed indignation, "I don't keer whose mummies they be, its a tarnal shame to have human being dug up and made a show of, even if they be niggers. But its just like them poky southerners to beat their colored brothers to death and then stick them in the ground with nary stitch of clothing on to hide their nakedness."

This account tells us, at least, that the two mummies were displayed side by side in a glass topped case, not in sarcophagi or even coffins; it does not suggest that papyri or accoutrements of any kind were displayed with the mummies.

More than a month later the last known newspaper reference to the mummies in the Chicago museum appeared on October 26 in the *Chicago Times*: "There, too, are the mummies, horribly shriveled things. . . ." Both these accounts reinforce many other accounts that the missing Mormon mummies are hardly objects of art, hardly likely to be prominently displayed anywhere today should they still be in existence.

As Wyman in Saint Louis did not maintain possession of the mummies for long, neither did the original Chicago buyers. By January 1864, they had sold out to the flamboyant Joseph H. Wood, the "P. T. Barnum of the West." While Bates and Wyman in Saint Louis had been serious museum operators, Wood was strictly a showman, not above hokum and sensationalism.

Although Wood was generally in possession of the mummies from 1863 to 1871, little is known of him.¹⁰ Apparently he got his start in show business in Cincinnati in 1850 when he opened "Wood's Cincinnati Museum."¹¹ After his museum burned in 1851, Wood commenced touring with a collection of human curiosities. In Saint Louis in 1853, the *Missouri Democrat* of May 13 recorded his "serious intention of coming back to open a museum." Instead, he opened a museum in 1854 on Dearborn Street in Chicago. He continued touring, however, returning to Saint Louis in 1856, '57, and '58. After Wood acquired the Chicago Museum he changed its name to Wood's Museum and quickly expanded the collection, later claiming 300,000, even 500,000 curiosities. The Mormon mummies were increasingly overshadowed by more interesting exhibits and their presence is mentioned only three times. One is a Joseph

¹⁰ See Allen Cooper, "Colonel Wood's Museum: A Study in the Development of the Early Chicago Stage" (M.A. thesis, Roosevelt University, Chicago, 1974); Robert L. Sherman, "Chicago Stage" (Chicago, Ill.: Robert L. Sherman, 1947); *Chicago: A Strangers and Tourists Guide* (Chicago: Religious Philosophical Publishing Association, 1866), pp. 98-99; A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago: A. J. Andreas, 1884), pp. 607-609. William S. Walker, *The Chicago Stage* (Chicago, Ill.: William S. Walker, 1871), pp. 50-51. See also the extensive collection of handbills and theater programs at the Chicago Historical Society, and Joseph Jackson, *Encyclopaedia of Philadelphia* (Harrisburg, 1932), p. 917 and an 1873 handbill in the Theatre Collection of the Library of Philadelphia pertaining to Wood's Museum.

During most of this eight-year period the museum was known as Wood's Museum, but when one of Wood's actors assumed its direction, it was known as Aiken's Museum from October 1867 to March 1869 and from October 1869 to May 1871. Some sources refer to Aiken's Museum as if it were a different museum altogether, which it was not.

¹¹ *Knoxville (Ill.) Journal*, The Public Library of Cincinnati to Stanley B. Kimball, 13 May 1851, 27 May 1852; and James F. Dunlap, "Sophisticates and Dupes: Cincinnati Audiences, 1851," *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophy Society of Ohio*, 13 (April 1955): 87-97.

Smith III letter stating he “saw two of the mummies and part of the records in Wood’s museum in Chicago where they were destroyed by the fire of 1871.”¹² The other is the 1869 *Salt Lake City Directory* which referred to Colonel Wood’s Museum and “the mummies around which the papyrus . . . on which the Book of Abraham was inscribed, from a collection as specimens worthy of the attention of all.”¹³ Charles W. Penrose, enroute to a mission in England saw the “papyrus rolls” in the “Chicago Museum in 1865 . . . along with a statement by Chandler [from whom the Mormons acquired the mummies in 1835].”¹⁴ Apparently the two mummies and whatever papyri were with them lay for years in an out of the way cabinet of Wood’s Museum, perhaps even in storage, until Sunday, 8 October 1871.

The fire, which broke out at 8:45 p.m. on the west side of Chicago had reached and jumped the Chicago River by midnight. Ninety minutes later, at 1:30 a.m., the fire lapped at Wood’s Museum and reduced it to brick and ash. According to the October 19 issue of the *Chicago Tribune*, “The only article spared from the immense collection of curiosities which were stored in Wood’s Museum is a silver mounted revolver. . . .” With a showman’s jaunty resilience, Wood placed a sign on his smoldering building, “Col. Wood’s Museum, Standing Room Only.”¹⁵

Everything points to the fact that the two mummies and papyri were incinerated shortly after midnight on 9/10 October 1871. But many, including myself, hope that providence would not have permitted that to have happened. What alternatives are there? Not many. A close study of maps of the 2,124 acres and 17,450 buildings burned by the fire suggests strongly that almost any other logical place the mummies could have been was also destroyed by the fire.

Wood might conceivably have sold or lent some of his Mormon Egyptiana to the Chicago Historical Society located at Ontario and Dearborn Streets; but according to the *Chicago Strangers and Tourists Guide* of 1866 this society possessed about 80,000 books, manuscripts, letters, documents, charts, maps, medals, and photographs, but no Egyptian items. In any event this collection

¹² Joseph Smith III to Heman C. Smith, 24 Oct. 1898, *Saint’s Herald* 46 (11 Jan. 1899): 18.

¹³ E. L. Sloan, compiler, *Salt Lake City Directory and Business Guide* for 1869 (Salt Lake City, Utah: 1869).

¹⁴ *Bikuben*, 28 July, 1910. I wish to thank Richard Jensen for drawing this reference in a Utah-published Danish newspaper to my attention.

¹⁵ With the showman’s instinct for survival, Wood immediately leased the Globe Theater, the only theater in Chicago left after the fire, and reopened the theater part of his operation in less than a week. About two years later, in 1873, however, he moved to Philadelphia and opened Col. Wood’s Museum Gallery of Fine Arts and Temple of Wonders. Another museum bearing the name of Wood reopened in Chicago in 1875 at 75 Monroe Street, but lasted only to 1877. Wood may have been managing it long distance for a *Chicago City Directory of 1876* lists him along with the museum but noted he resided in Philadelphia. In 1884 Wood returned to Chicago, opened another museum on the same site as the old one, but sold it within the year to a Mr. Slanhope, who renamed the collection the Dime Museum. Wood is listed in Chicago directories until 1902.

was burned in 1871. Wood might also have sold something to the Chicago Academy of Science (founded 1878 and later the Field Museum) at LaSalle and Randolph Streets. The same *Guide*, however, informs us that the academy had over 40,000 specimens of natural science but mentions no mummies. It too was destroyed by the Chicago fire.

But suppose they were not destroyed. Why is there no reference to these mummies ever again in Chicago? Surely Wood would have put them back on exhibit. Alas, a study of mummies mentioned in Chicago between 1871 and 1982 reveals no Mormon connection.

To begin with, there is no evidence of mummies prior to 1863. In fact, there may have been no museums in Chicago before 1863 except for a short-lived Western Museum in 1845, and then the museums of Wood in 1854 and 1859. The *Chicago Times* of 22 August 1863 reported, "The establishment of a museum in Chicago has long been talked about, but has heretofore been thought impossible." Between the Great Fire and 1892 there were several museums in Chicago. The most important were apparently the Libby Prison Museum, the Eden Museum, Epstein's New Dime Museum, Kohl & Middleton's South Side Museum, Kohl & Middleton's West Side Museum, the W. C. Coup and Uffner's Museum, and the Great Chicago Museum which housed the Worth collection. This latter museum is the only one that seems to have exhibited an Egyptian mummy. Its 1885 catalog claims "the only stripped mummy on the continent, the wrapping, some hundred yards of linen, being entirely removed. In this specimen the hair, eye-lashes, teeth and nails are remarkably perfect. The scarabee or beetle placed over the left eye of the mummy by its owner contains the name Amon. . . ." ¹⁶

The hoopla about the "stripped" condition of the mummy strikes one as hokum to disguise the lack of interesting or expensive accoutrements. The very plainness may remind one of the Mormon mummies, but the scarab suggests that it was not.

Unfortunately, the Chicago Historical Society has been unable to discover any further information about the provenance or later disposition of Worth's mummy. Worth himself seems to have been a wealthy dilettante with a collecting mania. The Great Chicago Museum was not listed in Flinn's 1891 *The Standard Guide to Chicago*.

After 1892 quite a few Egyptian antiquities appear in Chicago. The Field Museum opened in 1893 and now houses thirty-four mummies and other Egyptian antiquities obtained between 1893 and 1924. Almost all of them, according to their accession records, were purchased in Egypt. In 1894 the Oriental Institute was founded and by the 1920s had six mummies and other Egyptian antiquities. In 1923 the Art Institute of Chicago acquired one female mummy, three coffins, one mummy case, one limestone head, three mummy and four canopic jars, most of which were later sold to the Oriental Institute.

¹⁶ *Great Chicago Museum Catalogue* (Chicago: Blakely Marsh Printing Company, 1855), p. 20. Copy in the Chicago Historical Society.

During the 1920s, a certain John Guenther of Chicago owned a mummy, and during the 1850s, Garrett Seminary had one or more Egyptian coffins of the Roman period, but no longer.¹⁷ According to all available information, especially accession records, none of these antiquities have any connection with those once owned by Joseph Smith.

If Wood had sold, traded, or leased his two mummies to someone outside Chicago before the fire, where might they be? By 1871 there were at least seventy-six recognized museums in the United States and dozens of private collections. To date I have discovered no link between such collections and Wood's.

III

Let us now turn our attention to Philadelphia. At least thirty years ago someone, possibly James Haggerty or James R. Clark, noticed a story in the *San Francisco Bulletin* of 25 September 1857: "About a year since, Mr. Wyman of the Philadelphia Museum, purchased two mummies: one of each sex, from a gentleman who had purchased them directly from the widow of Joe Smith. . . ." This story, attributed to the *Philadelphia Sun*, has wasted the time of a generation of Mormon scholars in a vain search for Wyman. I am only the last in a long line to have chased this wild goose.

To explain this alleged Philadelphia connection, let me refer again to the *Missouri Democrat* story of 13 May 1857 describing the facsimiles. This Saint Louis story is identical in every detail with the *San Francisco Bulletin*, except for the addition of the words "of the Philadelphia Museum." The San Francisco editor or reporter apparently confused the origin of the story, crediting the report to Philadelphia rather than Saint Louis. Many, including myself, have searched the *Philadelphia Sun* in vain for "Jo. Smith's Mummies." We have not found it for the very good reason that it never was there. There was, in fact, no Philadelphia Museum in 1856 or 1857 and only six Wymans. The only one possibly connected with some museum was John Wyman, artist and ventriloquist. The Mormon mummies were indeed in Philadelphia but in 1833, a fact of no value to this study.¹⁸

What other mummies have been in Philadelphia? There have been museums in Philadelphia since at least Charles Wilson Peal's in 1784, but very few exhibited mummies. Perhaps the first to do so was George R. Gliddon's Chinese Museum in the early 1850s, whose "Panorama of the Nile" had some Egyptian mummies. This museum had burned by 1856.¹⁹ In 1858, the Euro-

¹⁷ This information comes from many private conversations in the Chicago area.

¹⁸ Prof. H. Donal Peterson of BYU has had a skull of one of these mummies in his office for some time. See the *Newsletter and Proceedings of the Society of Early Historic Archaeology*, May 1981, pp. 6-7. For some new, related research on the mummy problem see H. Donal Peterson, "Mummies and Manuscripts: An Update on the Lebolo-Chandler Story," Eighth Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, Jan. 1980), pp. 280-92.

¹⁹ Phillip Lapansky of The Library Company of Philadelphia to Stanley B. Kimball, 2 Feb. 1982; *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, 9 July 1856.

pean Museum which had one "hydrocephalic" female mummy,²⁰ and P. T. Barnum himself operated a museum in Philadelphia from 1842 until it burned in December 1851.

In more recent times there have been other mummies in Philadelphia. When Colonel Wood moved from Chicago to Philadelphia in 1873 and opened his museum at the corner of Ninth and Arch Streets he advertised "Mummies, Petrified Human Body," among other curiosities.²¹ Since the mummies in Saint Louis and Chicago were always identified as Egyptian, Wood's Philadelphia mummies may have been Indian. At least there is no further evidence he exhibited any from Egypt.

Egyptian mummies have also been exhibited in Philadelphia at the Academy of Natural Science, the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, and at the University of Pennsylvania museum; but there is no indication of any connection between these mummies and those once owned by the Mormons.

One additional bit of fascinating Philadelphia esoterica is the 1977 discovery at the Academy of Natural Science of two lost and forgotten mummies behind a false wall. As of 1982, no one at the academy has a clear idea of the provenance or the date of acquisition of these two mummies although there is a vague impression that the museum acquired them in 1856. However, 1856 is the crucial year. If the agent, A. Combs, who bought the mummies in Nauvoo on 26 May 1856, and sold two in August of the same year in Saint Louis, continued down the Mississippi and up the Ohio he might very well have eventually reached Philadelphia and sold the remaining two to the Academy.

However, it is not a likely hypothesis. Photographs of the mummies show them well wrapped and in rich sarcophagi.²² It is my equally unsupported hypothesis that the story involving 1856 was generated by Mormon students, like Whipple and myself, pestering the Academy for evidence to back up the story incorrectly attributed to the *Philadelphia Sun*.

IV

Ransacking Saint Louis and Chicago turned up little, and I have just shot down the Philadelphia Story. Somehow this alone did not seem important enough for publication. So, having struck out like everyone else in the post 1856 period, I decided to busy myself in the pre-1856 world looking for some hints which might give rise to some fresh ideas regarding the missing Mormon Mummy Mystery. In so doing I quickly entered the murkiest chapter in all Mormon history, namely "Illinois Mormons, 1846-60."

²⁰ *Descriptive Catalogue of the European Museum* (Philadelphia, Penn.: European Museum, n.d.), p. 12, a xerox copy of which was sent to me by The College of Physicians of Philadelphia.

²¹ "Col. Wood's Museum," 9 June 1873. Museum Flyer, Theater Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.

²² This appeared as a brief notice in *Frontiers* (Summer 1977), p. 50, published by the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia.

Let us go back to 26 May 1856, and work backwards. The bill of sale, discovered with the eleven pieces of Mormon Egyptian papyri in the Metropolitan Museum in New York City in 1966, reads:

Nauvoo City May 25/56

This certifies that we have sold to; Mr. A Combs four Egyptian Mummies with the records of them. These Mummies were obtained from the catacombs of Egypt sixty feet below the surface of the Earth, by the antiquarian society of Paris & forwarded to New York & purchased by the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith at the price of twenty four hundred dollars in the year Eighteen hundred thirty-five they were highly prized by Mr. Smith on account of the importance which attached to the records which were accidentally found enclosed in the breast of one of the Mummies. From translation by Mr. Smith of the Records these Mummies were found to be the family of Pharo King of Egypt. They were kept exclusively by Mr. Smith until his death & since by the Mother of Mr. Smith notwithstanding we have had repeated offers to purchase which have invariably been refused until her death which occurred on the fourteenth of this month.

Nauvoo
Hancock Co. Ill May 26

L.C. Bidamon
Emma Bidamon: former wife of Jos. Smith

The fact that this bill of sale had been published by the *Daily Missouri Democrat* in June 1857 suggests that Combs gave copies of his original bill of sale to whomever purchased his Mormon Egyptiana. If researchers could ever turn up another reprinting of this bill of sale, we would know what happened to the two mummies and papyri Combs did not sell in Saint Louis.²³

The Prophet's mother, Lucy Mack Smith, earned a modest sum exhibiting the Egyptian antiquities during the Illinois period of Church history up until September 1846 when most of the Smith family quit Nauvoo for safety's sake. Lucy went with her daughter Lucy Smith Milikan north to Knox County taking the mummies and papyri with her. There is no evidence that she possessed or exhibited the mummies after she left Knox County during the spring of 1847, eventually returning to Nauvoo to live with her daughter-in-law, Emma Smith Bidamon.²⁴ An equally careful search of Emma's life for the same period

²³ During this same crucial year, Wood was exhibiting "the Greatest Curiosities in the World" in Philadelphia during October 1856. One could fantasize that Wood purchased the two remaining mummies from Combs or that a chance meeting with Combs in 1856 in Philadelphia encouraged Wood to buy the mummies when he found them on exhibit in Chicago in 1863. Unfortunately there is absolutely no evidence to support such conjectures. What we do know is that Wood was then only exhibiting "human phenomena [sic]" — living giants, midgets, fat ladies, and a baby with whiskers. *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, 8, 9, and 13 Oct. 1856. This bill of sale is the source for the description of the mummies and papyri which appeared in the Saint Louis and Chicago museum catalogs, thus the solution to another minor mystery.

²⁴ There are many accounts of Mormon and non-Mormons visiting Lucy Mack Smith between 1839 and 1845 to view the mummies and the papyri. The latest reference to "Mother Smith" keeping the mummies in Nauvoo which I have found comes from the *Warsaw Signal*, 10 Sept. 1845. In all the miles of microfilmed western and northern Illinois newspaper I read, the only reference to Lucy was a brief note of her death in May 1856. I found absolutely nothing in the press about her or anyone else exhibiting the mummies outside Nauvoo.

has turned up no hard evidence that the Mormon antiquities returned to Nauvoo prior to their sale in 1856.²⁵

However, another member of the Smith family, the Prophet's brother William, is more important to the issue. Also, tracking William around Illinois and elsewhere between the flight of September 1846 and 1856, corresponding with scores of scholars and institutions, visiting court houses, and reading miles of newspapers on microfilm was a bit more rewarding. During this period he seems to have been quite unstable, conducting unsuccessful attempts to establish himself as either his brother's successor, or as an apostle or patriarch with one faction or another. (Only years later did he finally ally himself with his nephew, Joseph Smith, III in the Reorganization.)²⁶ He may have been the last person to have possessed the mummies and papyri before their sale in 1856 and seemed to think the mummies would strengthen his claim to leadership among the Mormons who did not follow Brigham Young west.

He apparently exhibited them for prestige and profit. In a letter to Brigham Young, written from Nauvoo, 31 January 1848, for example, Almon W. Babbitt wrote, "William has got the mummies from Mother Smith and refuses to give them up."²⁷ Prior to acquiring the mummies from his mother by unknown means, William had on 2 December 1846, written James J. Strang, one of several who claimed the "mantle of Joseph," that "the mummies and records [papyri] are safe." Later that same month, on December 19, William informed Strang "the mummies and records are with us and will be of benefit to the Church [when?] we can get them to Voree, [Wisconsin]."²⁸

The evidence that William traveled and exhibited the mummies is tantalizingly vague and slender. I assumed that the local press of western and northern

²⁵ There is very little available on the life of Emma Smith between September 1846 and 1856 pending the publication of the biography by Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery. Richard L. Anderson has "about two dozen" reports of people visiting Emma in Nauvoo during this period but they contain no reference to the mummies. Richard L. Anderson to Stanley B. Kimball, 4 March 1980.

If we can trust some very late after the fact memories, Jerusha Walker Blanchard reported that as a child she played "hide and seek" with Emma's sons and hid among the mummies in the Mansion House after Emma returned to Nauvoo, suggesting the mummies might have returned to Nauvoo for a season. Jerusha Walker Blanchard, as told to Nellie Stary Bean, "Reminiscence of the Grand-daughter of Hyrum Smith," *The Relief Society Magazine*, Jan. 1922, pp. 8–9. I thank Irene Bates and Linda King Newell for drawing this to my attention.

²⁶ Sources on the life of William between 1846 and 1856 are about as scanty as those of his mother and sister-in-law. One should start with Calvin P. Rudd, "William Smith: Brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973.) Especially valuable is Irene M. Bates, "William Smith, 1811–93, Problematic Patriarch," *DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT* 16 (Spring 1983): 11–22.

²⁷ *Journal History*, 31 Jan. 1848, Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives.

²⁸ Copies of these letters in the Milo M. Quaife Collection of the University of Utah Library were kindly provided by Richard L. Anderson of BYU. See also related letters in the *Voree Herald*, 11 March and 11 May 1846, *Zion's Reveille*, 10 Feb. 1847, the *Chronicles of Voree*, 6 April 1847, and Milo M. Quaife, *The Kingdom of St. James . . .* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1930), p. 30.

Illinois would have surely picked up and reported on anything as outré as the brother of the martyred Mormon Prophet, Joseph Smith, exhibiting mummies and papyri. I read every extant issue of every newspaper published between 1846 and 1856 in thirty-four counties of western and northern Illinois, and found no reference to the mummies, even though mummies made esoteric fillers and we learn, for example, from the 1848 *Aurora Beacon* that there were mummies in Mexico, from the 1853 *Quincy Herald* that Arabs used them for firewood, and from the 1856 Dekalb County *Republican Sentinel* that Egyptians used them for fuel.

Although neglect in the press was total, Newton Bateman's *History of Kendall County* gives the "Recollections" of George M. Hollenback, born in 1831, who had met Mormon Missionaries in his father's house:

Emma Smith, the widow of Prophet Smith, had. . . four Egyptian mummies and the papyrus manuscript that accompanied them. These manuscripts were preserved in the cabinet of drawers covered with glass. The mummies were placed in oblong boxes, a little longer than the height of a person near six feet. A curtain from about the middle of each extended to the feet and was secured so that it would not fall. Mrs. Smith's nephew, by the name of Bennett, procured these specimens of Egyptian civilization of some thousands of years ago for the purpose of exhibiting them, I presume, for money. As he had stopped at my father's house a few times in passing back and forth, he stopped again with his grewsome [sic] load. As it was nearly noon, he was persuaded to bring his "goods" into the house and set them in the spare room. He consented that the school children from the school house near by could come in and view the "remains," which they all did, boys and girls, and it did not cost them a cent. From that day to this we have never heard a single word from Bennett and his mummies. I have neglected to state in its proper connection, that each mummy was encased or swathed in very many yards of the finest linen.²⁹

His description of the cabinet of drawers and oblong boxes adds a little to what we already knew from other sources, and the reference to stopping "a few times in passing back and forth" suggests more than one exhibition tour. The reference to Mrs. Smith's nephew Bennett seems to be a mistake for William, and Hollenback's statement that the mummies were swathed does not match other accounts describing the mummies as unwrapped. Certainly by the time two of these mummies were exhibited in Saint Louis and Chicago they were no longer swathed.

This recollection is hardly the complete story, but William, who moved around a great deal in the 1850s, probably stored or hid the antiquities for

²⁹ I wish to thank Mrs. Richard Wildermuth of Plano, Ill., for drawing this unique find to my attention. Illinois newspaper editors for the period 1847–56 showed a healthy interest in the Mormons in Utah, Iowa, Saint Louis, New Orleans, New York City, Kansas, Texas, California, England, France, Norway, Denmark, Ireland, Prussia, the Sandwich Islands, and Calcutta. They printed reports on Mormon government in the West, attempts to achieve territorial government and statehood, emigration, the Mormon Trail, the Perpetual Emigration Fund, Indians, missionaries, Mormons who left Utah and returned to the East, the Salt Lake Temple, the Deseret Alphabet, Mormon publications, grasshoppers, polygamy, Brigham Young, and "female life among the Mormons."

But they seem not to have recognized as Mormons those Saints who did not go west, and ran only a few stories about the Nauvoo Temple, William Smith, James J. Strang, the Icarians, and one story about the destruction of some property once belonging to Joseph Smith.

some future use. William was seldom gainfully employed, was often in financial straits, and owned very little. For example, when he was fined \$25 in an 1848 assault case, the Lee County sheriff reported to the court his inability to find “any goods or chattels of the said William Smith whereof I may by distress and sale levy the sum of twenty-five dollars fine.”³⁰

Furthermore during 1849 and 1854, while residing in or near what would later be Amboy, Lee County, William was also involved in a lurid divorce case with Roxey Ann Grant Smith, and indicted for adultery, fornication with Rosa Hook, bastardy, and rape as well.³¹ Although the cases of assault, rape, and fornication were eventually dismissed and the bastardy (or paternity) case was moved to another court on an order for a change of venue, his legal expenses for defense were considerable.³² Moreover, the court granted Roxey Ann the divorce on grounds of desertion and William had to pay all court fees and expenses.³³ In addition to all these expenses he was required in 1854 to post \$1,000.00 bail on the rape charge.

During these dark days of spring 1854, William jumped bail and fled to “somewhere on the Illinois River.” From there he wrote asking legal help from a lawyer friend in Lee County. The lawyer required a retainer of \$50 which William could not raise.³⁴ William continued his flight to Saint Louis where

³⁰ Lee County Criminal Court Records, Court House, Dixon, Illinois, General number 111, Term 1849, Record B, p. 82. In the Court documents filed by William and Roxey Ann Grant Smith, Roxey describes his property as “an old leather trunk” which “contained a few old books such as an ‘old blessing book’ used by the father of the said complainant, an old dictionary, some old Hymn books, a memorandum book kept by said complainant of some of his public acts, and a few old weekly newspapers, a letter from a female in St. Louis requesting the said complainant to send her the money he had promised, and two or three other letters from females in the East . . . written in a very endearing language.” William Smith and Roxey Ann Smith; Defendant’s answer, filed 11 May 1852, April Term, Knox County Circuit Court, 1852.

William described his property as “a trunk containing a large quantity of books, & the records, journals and proceedings of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints . . . which said records, books and journals & proceedings belonged in part to said Church . . . the value of which . . . amounted to at least the sum of five thousand dollars.” Bills of Divorcement, William Smith vs. Roxey Ann Smith, filed 20 Nov. 1850, April Term, Lee County Circuit Court, 1850. Since the Mormons almost always referred to the papyri as “the records,” they may have been included in this old trunk.

³¹ See the following Lee County Circuit Court Records at Dixon, Illinois. The Chancery File records of these cases are in the Lee County Circuit Court Clerk’s office and the Criminal File records are at the Illinois Regional Archives, Dekalb, Ill. April Term, 1853, Chancery Book A, pp. 11, 21; Chancery Book B, p. 246; Criminal Book B, p. 348; Sept. Term, 1853, Criminal Book B, p. 388; April Term, 1854, Criminal Book B, pp. 459–60; Sept. Term, 1854, Criminal Book B, p. 466. See also the *Dixon Telegraph*, 9 April 1853, 30 April 1853, and 9 March 1854.

³² I have been unable to determine the court to which this case was moved.

³³ Final Decree, Bill of Divorce, Roxey Ann Smith vs. William Smith, 26 April 1853, April Term, Knox County Circuit Court Record, Galesburg, Ill. Most of William’s troubles at this time seem to have stemmed from his involvement in polygamy and from vindictive parties in various Mormon factions. Several letters appeared in the *Dixon Telegraph* in defense of William. On 30 April 1853 Rosa A. Hook signed a statement clearing William of wrongdoing and Aaron Hook claimed that a “girl was induced to slander William for money.” On 7 May 1853 an unprinted “letter from Cincinnati” was said to defend William.

³⁴ *Dixon Telegraph*, 9 March 1854.

he was apprehended, returned to Dixon, and jailed.³⁵ Lee County rumor had it that William had gone to Saint Louis en route to asylum in Utah.³⁶

The relevance of William's personal life at this point is the question of money. If he could not raise even \$50 for his own defense, by the spring of 1854, where did he secure the money to live on after jumping bail, the money to go to Saint Louis, and to even allegedly contemplate going to Utah? I hypothesize that during these trying times William sold or leased the Egyptian antiquities, possibly while a fugitive on the Illinois River. To whom could William have sold or leased mummies and papyri? The strange world of showmen, hokum, showboats, exhibitors, popular museums, and the circus offers intriguing possibilities. Apparently it was a small world. The few men in this select fraternity all exhibited mummies at one time or another and seemed to have associated with each other. Barnum visited Wyman in 1851 and Wood in 1866; Wood was in Philadelphia and probably visited Wyman in Saint Louis during the mid-1850s; Koch lectured for Wood in Chicago in 1863. The "Mormon mummies" may well have been the subject of conversation. William may have sold or leased the antiquities to one of the many circuses playing along the Illinois River. The local press included 134 references to twenty-eight different circuses playing this area of Illinois during 1848–56, some featuring "Museums of Wonder."³⁷

Thus, I tentatively conclude that A. Combs, who bought and sold the Mormon Egyptiana was much more likely to have been associated with circus people than to have been a freelance buyer of curiosities for museums and collectors. Since some of these circuses which toured the upper Mississippi and Illinois rivers also played Saint Louis, this could explain how two of the mummies ended up in Saint Louis. The *Floating Palace*, which featured a reported "100,000 curiosities," some from Egypt, was the likely candidate to have purchased the mummies.³⁸

³⁵ Ibid., 4 May 1854. The *Missouri Republican* 26 April 1854, reported this arrest: "IMPORTANT ARREST. On last Tuesday the sheriff of Lee Co., Illinois arrived in this city in pursuit of William Smith, a fugitive from justice. Smith, it appears was committed to jail in Hancock Co., Illinois some time since, on a charge of highway robbery, and subsequently broke jail and went to Lee County where, after staying sometime, he became acquainted with two young ladies, sisters, and accomplished their ruin, after which he fled to this city. The sheriff, in the company of Officers Grant and Guion, after a search, arrested Smith yesterday at a house on Market St. between seventh and eighth, and he was taken back into custody of the sheriff. Smith is a large and powerfully built man, with good manners, and about 45 years of age."

The *St. Louis Daily Evening News*, the *St. Louis Intelligencer* and the *Belleville Tribune* repeated the story with minor variations. The charge of highway robbery is incorrect. Reference to William's faith is missing.

³⁶ *Dixon Telegraph*, 4 May 1854.

³⁷ Mummies had been exhibited since at least 1816 in Boston. In 1853 Barnum's traveling Museum of Wonders featured one.

³⁸ The famous *Floating Palace* (built Cincinnati, 1851), was towed by the *James Raymond* up and down the Allegheny, Wabash, Ohio, Illinois, and Mississippi rivers. Off the main circus area was a museum of "Curiosities and Wonders" exhibiting "100,000 curiosities," including some from Egypt. It sometimes played Saint Louis and we know from the

Meanwhile, A. Combs remains unidentified despite searches in Illinois newspapers, correspondence with circus scholars and circus museums all over the United States, the Saint Louis city directories, Missouri or Illinois census records, dozens of historical societies, and collections of the Utah Genealogy Society. I still don't even know his first name. This shadowy figure has surfaced nowhere.

There is a further question: How did Combs get a bill of sale from the Smiths in Nauvoo on 26 May 1856 if William had previously sold them elsewhere? A possible answer may be that William rented, leased, or sold all or part of the antiquities under circumstances that precluded concluding the transaction until the death of his mother to whom the mummies and papyri legally belonged. For the record, Combs arrived in Nauvoo only ten days after her demise. Furthermore, in 1898 William's nephew, Joseph Smith III, stated in a letter:

We learned that while living near Galesburg [Knox County], Uncle William undertook a lecturing tour, and secured the mummies and case of records, as the papyrus was called, as an exhibit and aid to making his lectures more attractive and lucrative. Uncle William became stranded somewhere along the Illinois River, and sold the mummies and the records with the understanding that he might repurchase them. This he never did . . . Uncle William never accounted for the sale he made, except to state that he was obliged to sell them, but fully intended to repurchase them, but he was never able. . . .³⁹

While this statement provides corroboration for my thesis, it raises the question of how Joseph Smith III, who in 1856 signed the bill of sale, could forty-two years later in 1898 state that his uncle had sold them prior to 1856? Was his memory faulty? Perhaps. I am not the first to wrestle with this problem. Let us take a closer look, however, at one word and one phrase in young Joseph's account. The word "obliged" seems to echo William's financial exigencies which and the phrase "with the understanding that he might repurchase them" clearly indicates that William's transaction, whatever it was, was not final. Could this phrase explain why Combs showed up in Nauvoo on 17 May 1856 to finalize this unusual deal with William, a deal somehow connected to the death of his mother, Lucy Mack, to formalize and legalize a sale which had already been effected two years previously?

There remains a final question. If perchance Providence saved the Egyptian, if the antiquities were not incinerated in Chicago, or in other fires (Barnum, who bought up hundreds of small collections, was burnt out in 1851, 1865, 1868, 1872, and 1887), if the mummies were not powdered into aphrodisiacs or shredded into paper pulp, where might they be today? In 1968 Walter Whipple eliminated over fifty museums. My own research has elimi-

St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican of 4 August 1856 that the *Floating Palace* was there about the time Combs was selling two mummies to Wyman's Museum.

³⁹ Joseph Smith III to Herman C. Smith, 24 Oct. 1898, in *Saint's Herald*, 46 (11 Jan. 1899): 18.

nated 150 additional art and historical institutions.⁴⁰ If they indeed exist, they are probably in storage, unknown, unidentified, and forgotten.

Would the papyri be with them? Probably not. The eleven pieces discovered in 1966 were separate. Nor would we be likely to recognize the missing papyri if we found them unless Facsimile No. 2 or 3 was among them. There are certainly rumors aplenty to check out — at one time someone is supposed to have offered the Mormon papyri to some school in Chicago and the Mormons were not “supposed to find out about it,” some minister in Texas is supposed to have some papyri which the “Mormons will never get,” in 1878 President John Taylor was supposed to have sent Orson Pratt and Joseph F. Smith to Chicago to obtain the antiquities from Wood if possible; there is also the allegation that the antiquities were divided into four portions. If so, William might have sold only one portion and apparently it was the same portion which was discovered in 1966. This rumor is linked to another supposition that when Lucy and Emma discovered that they did not have the Book of Abraham papyri they sold what they had for what they could get. Furthermore, as noted above, someone allegedly saw one of “our mummies” in Saint Louis in 1950, others claim to have seen them in Chicago in the 1860s.

The air is now heavy with one portentous question — “So what?” As one scholar wrote, “I find your paper an exhilarating tour-de-force . . . but why did you do it?”

A fair question and my brief answer is: For one thing I am a workaholic stuck in the Midwest, for another it was great fun, and maybe I narrowed the direction of future research efforts from 360 degrees to, say, 90 degrees, but most importantly, I am convinced that it is a good, though not very rewarding cause. Perhaps the best that can be said of it is that no one else ever needs to do it.

⁴⁰ Whipple was kind enough to lend me his entire file of his extensive research. I wrote to more than thirty universities and colleges founded before 1856, more than thirty museums which existed before 1859, more than thirty historical societies in nearby Iowa, sixteen museums in Philadelphia, seven circus museums, and forty-two historical societies in Illinois. I even ran a classified ad in the 1982 April issue of *Aviso*, the monthly newsletter of the American Association of Museums. From these societies I received no significant information and from the ad not one response.

Toward a More Perfect Order Within: Being the Confessions of an Unregenerate But Not Unrepentant Mistruster of Mormon Literature

Marden J. Clark

A TITLE LIKE THAT might indicate that I'm already half through. But it needed to be long to convey something of a lurid past that calls for "confessions." "More perfect order within" suggests both the problem and the promise that I see in Mormon literature. I have stolen (I can use the word since these are confessions) the phrase from I. A. Richards; it is part of his definition of "sincerity," itself a word that may suggest both problem and promise.

I grew up literarily when an accusation of provincialism was as much to be feared as a comment on China from Ronald Reagan or almost any comment by Interior Secretary Watts. English departments were just discovering that the creations of literature had not ended in 1789, and the mention of an American literature would send colleagues into gales of laughter or, if the suggestion seemed serious, into shocked or embarrassed silence. True, there was some condescending recognition of what were called regionalists in America, including a group that congregated around a little town called Concord. And somehow a couple of adventure stories of boys along the Mississippi were acknowledged as aberrant masterpieces for adolescents. But *Moby-Dick* had barely begun to surface. *Leaves of Grass* made only tinny rustles along the edge of literary consciousness. Bolts of melody had hardly flashed from their upstairs hiding place in Amherst. And few indeed were those who knew of any beast lurking in the jungle.

During those enlightened days, to confess that one was interested in — or even that there was such a thing as — Mormon literature would have immediately made one suspect. Long before Robert Thomas arrived at BYU, it was whispered in the halls that he had written a thesis on literary qualities in the Book of Mormon.

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I was among the suspicious. I had joined the department directly from my M.A. program at BYU, at a time when, to meet the waves of post-war freshmen pouring over the edges of University Hill, the university was taking almost any half-way qualified instructor. Even in my euphoria over my new position — that dirt farmer and truck driver from Morgan actually teaching English at BYU, teaching with P. A. Christensen and Karl Young and . . . — I must have realized how insecure my position was in the department. I don't remember ever consciously saying to myself, "I'm going to make sure I am not provincial." But in retrospect I can see that my fear helped dictate many of my choices in the next fifteen years and much of the way I would teach. It kept me from considering the University of Utah for my doctoral work, though I started immediately taking summer classes there. It probably helped me choose the University of Washington, hardly the most cosmopolitan of universities but cosmopolitan enough for me, especially since that most cosmopolitan friend Leonard Rice was just finishing his work there. It almost certainly determined my strong emphasis on literary theory and criticism at Washington. No one was going to accuse this farmer-trucker of slighting the tough stuff. It probably led me to Arnold Stein, reputedly the most demanding and most frightening of the graduate faculty. Paradoxically, it even helped aim me toward an emphasis in modern literature. I had already overcome my fear of the provincality of American literature: under the aegis and enthusiasm of Briant Jacobs I had gone diving for *Moby-Dick* as an M.A. thesis.

In retrospect, I can see that modern lit was something of the "in thing" at Washington. Heilman and Stein were both very much part of the New Criticism. Theodore Roethke was teaching creative writing. But it was a sense of daring that led me to Robert Penn Warren and his fiction. He was complex enough to be demanding, important enough to be respectable, and a personal friend of both Heilman and Stein. But the unconscious motivation, I suspect now, was the image of my colleagues back at BYU aghast at Clark doing a dissertation on a contemporary American novelist, and one who was important in the New Criticism, even then just barely finding its way into BYU.

One hardly needs a psychologist to tell him that such unconscious motivation is only an inversion of the fear of provincialism — that same provincialism that led me to respond condescendingly to my best friend at UW when he told me he was going to do a study of attitudes toward blacks in Countee Cullen, Gwendolyn Brooks, Eudora Welty, and others. Oh, I was interested and probably hid my real response well enough, but I remember with embarrassment watching him walk off through the pines for some of his bird watching: "Well that's all right for him — this going after sociological studies of minor figures. But it's not for me."

That attitude changed very little in the dozen years after I returned to BYU. I settled only too comfortably into teaching. But in 1969 something happened to jar both my complacency and my fear of provincialism. We held a convention of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association in Provo; a brief report did the jarring. It simply reported the results of some page

counting in the most popular anthologies: of some 37,000 total cumulative pages, twenty-seven pages total were devoted to black literature.

What this report did was jar me into the awareness that I had been teaching modern American literature for twelve years and had never once consciously introduced a work by a black writer into my classrooms. My tender conscience ached, enough to send me on a too-quick trip through black literature for essentially the first time. Oh, I had read *Native Son* years before and shuddered with its power. I had read *Invisible Man* and been intrigued. These were fine works — considering they were written by blacks. I reread *Invisible Man* and marveled; reread *Native Son* and shuddered again; *Black Boy* and rejoiced; anthologies of short stories and poems, and rejoiced. Rejoiced even in my shock: this was a substantial body of fine literature, a body that cut the whole base from under my condescension. I repented. I even thought of offering a course in black literature. But Bri Jacobs beat me to it. I did present a lecture sponsored by the Honors Program, which I entitled “Black Literature and the Mormon Dilemma.” I was so concerned about how it would be received that I told my wife to wait for me at the bottom of the stairs, went up to my office to get my materials, then went down a different set of stairs and was ten minutes into my lecture before I remembered my wife waiting there.

I suspect that all this was happening at about the time we were getting the first faint tremors from a project Neal Lambert and Richard Cracroft — two young turks in the department — were moving earth for. An anthology of Mormon literature for a possible class in Mormon literature! What next? But if Mormon literature were simply trivial, why the tremors? I can account for them only by our fear of being provincial — our whole department’s fear, not just mine. I don’t suppose we could have had any real fear that Neal and Richard would embarrass us by uncovering a significant body of literature that the rest of us had ignored.

At any rate, I escaped for a year to Finland. Now here was something both respectable and significant: I could teach American literature as a Fulbright (I love the name) professor at “the northernmost university in the world.”

I came back to an English Department in trouble, like so many other departments in the country, because the market for English teachers had collapsed. (I use that commercial term advisedly, because I fear that was the way we were seeing our profession at the time.) The year before leaving for Finland I had worked vigorously for a Ph.D. program for our department, an over-riding consideration being that we needed to help supply the market. I came back to no market. While the rest of us worked at that problem — which we finally solved for us by putting our Ph.D. program in mothballs — Neal and Richard were not so quietly working away at their project. When *A Believing People* was published in 1974, we had to face it: a substantial body of Mormon literature that the rest of us had largely ignored.

I don’t know to what extent the publication of *A Believing People* is responsible for the existence of an Association for Mormon Letters. In retro-

spect one can see quite a few forces all moving toward its development. The launching of *BYU Studies* in 1959 suggested that the university was ready to give its scholars a medium and accept something of its responsibility for Mormon scholarship. Clinton Larson moved more and more to avowedly religious, Mormon poetry and drama in his own creative work, and also vigorously promoted the writing of poetry among his students. The Mormon History Association had already made historical studies of Mormonism respectable. *The Carpenter* had made its short-lived but groundbreaking appearance on the scene. The young editors of *DIALOGUE* had recognized a real need for an independent journal of Mormon thought and had begun, rather daringly, to publish speculative and scholarly discussions of Mormonism. *Sunstone* and *Exponent II* helped fill this need.

It should be some comfort that I did not regard these efforts with a sophisticatedly cynical eye. I had essays in the first issue of *Studies* and the fourth issue of *DIALOGUE*. I wrote introductions to Larson's first book of poems, *The Lord of Experience*, and to his first published plays, *Coriantumr* and *Moroni*. I published what I think is the first essay on Larson's poems, an explication of that remarkably dense and fine sequence, "The Conversions of God," which end with Larson's version of the Mormon God. I had even started writing poems myself that I sensed as unabashedly Mormon in many of their emphases.

I can hardly claim, however, that I burned with a conviction of the significance of an established body of Mormon literature. Rather, I sensed the paucity of Mormon literature even while I desired to promote such a literature. My desire to promote was thus at war with my fear of provinciality. Or perhaps it was just another expression of that fear: I wanted a literature that I would not have to feel apologetic about because of its provinciality. I have to confess that I still felt a bit condescending about *A Believing People*. But I couldn't show it openly: People were paying too much attention to the book.

In 1976 I spent a remarkable six weeks in the first annual session of the School of Criticism and Theory at the University of California, Irvine. In many ways it was sharply stimulating. I worked with some of the finest critics and theorists in the profession: Rene Girard, Frank Kermode, Murray Krieger, Hazzard Adams, Edward Said. And I was surrounded by brilliant young professors and Ph.D. candidates — among them Jim Ford, who taught at BYU-Hawaii and is now at the University of Nebraska. In spite of all my years of teaching criticism at BYU, I felt during the first three weeks like a run-down old jogger suddenly thrown into the sprinting events of the NCAA. What bothered me most was an exotic new critical vocabulary: *deconstruct*, *reify*, *hermeneutics*, *sacralize*, *devalorize*, and many more of these — along with that four-letter word which flattens any work of literature into a *text*. I finally got some control over that vocabulary and over the new ideas that were crackling around me, and I came home renewed as professional development leaves are supposed to renew. But after some of the immediacy of the experience had passed and I was able to look at it with some objectivity, I became more and more troubled by that exotic vocabulary and those ideas and approaches that

had so intrigued me. What troubled me was the remoteness of both vocabulary and method from most of what I wanted students to get from literature, even the remoteness from my own most significant experiences with literature. We seemed to be theorizing and vocabularizing ourselves right out of touch with both readers and literature. Was this the end toward which all my interest in criticism and theory — my teaching of criticism — had been leading? Where in all this was the sense of literature as something to experience, as extender and expander of life, as profound exploration into meanings, even as significant form? Through it all, I began to hear, first faintly, then louder, P. A. Christensen's resonant voice talking of "depth of human experience," echoing Matthew Arnold's concerns with "the best that has been thought and said in the world," with literature as a "criticism of life."

I want to be fair with both my Irvine critics and myself. They were, of course, concerned with many of these issues, simply looking at them from new and sometimes very revealing viewpoints. They were intensely involved in literature, and most of them loved it. Whatever else, they helped me to know again, and know more deeply, how radically linguistic our lives are, how much of our experience is defined by, even determined by, language, hence how deep at the core of our experience language really is. And I myself had never really gotten as far away as I have been suggesting from the concerns I've outlined.

Even so, I could not rid myself of the suspicion in retrospect that much of what we were hearing and doing at Irvine was moving toward an esoteric criticism and theorizing so specialized that it could have little meaning for any but the most advanced students and scholars, that is, for the critics and theorizers themselves, at worst toward a kind of critical bankruptcy.

And what has all this to do with my confessions, with my attitude toward Mormon literature? Well, my experiences at Irvine defined an extreme moment in how far one can go in theorizing about language and literature. My real literary loves have always been poetry, fiction, drama. But I had always argued that one could not understand modern American literature, which I have taught regularly, without understanding Puritan literature. And it doesn't take much acuteness to recognize that one has to approach early Mormon literature with something of the attitude one approaches early American literature. But not with condescension of "this is fine, given the situation they were in, fine, given the struggle for survival and growth in a new land." Why not simply, "Fine"? Fine expressions of that struggle. Fine explorations of it. That is what I recognized Puritan literature to be, even if a bit condescendingly. That is what I now recognize early Mormon literature to be. And without any condescension except, perhaps, for some of the wilder flights or barren stretches of Orson Whitney or some of the less happy moments in Eliza R. Snow. (I have never been able to figure out the grammar of "Truth reflects upon our senses, Gospel light reveals to some . . ." Though I do have irreverent fun with the stern theological message of the next two lines set to a lilting waltz: "If there still should be offenses, / Woe to them by whom they

come.”) We hardly have to affirm that everything we find back then is great, or even good. What we can affirm, without apology or condescension, is that there is much that speaks to profound levels of our spiritual, moral, and esthetic senses, much that defines movingly what the restored gospel meant to those early Mormons, much that is fine indeed.

And that is quite a ways for a confirmed mistruster of Mormon literature to have come. It takes care of the last, or whimsical part, of my ponderous title. But I want to come still farther. After a long discussion of the pitfalls of judging literature according to the usual senses of “sincerity,” I. A. Richards sums up his own sense of it as “obedience to that tendency which ‘seeks’ a more perfect order within the mind.” That definition comes in the chapter called “Doctrine in Poetry,” in which Richard tries to understand why “most readers, and nearly all good readers, are very little disturbed by even a direct opposition between their own beliefs and beliefs of the poet.” I am not so sure that most readers, especially Mormon readers, are, in fact, so undisturbed. I have seen even good readers rather violently disturbed by such opposition. But when I reflect on how few of my students have been disturbed — though many have been bored — by, say, the deterministic philosophy of Dreiser’s *American Tragedy*, I suspect that Richards may be right.

In one form or another, sincerity is always with us as a measure of literary worth. It focuses primary attention on the author rather than the work itself or the reader’s response or any idea or system of meanings behind the work or embodied in it. It has strong roots in romantic attitudes and theory. And it is tricky. It can be used to justify the most arrant sentimentality — “Can’t you just *feel* his sincerity!” — or to explore the depths of the author’s mind and feelings. Like all tonal questions, it often resolves itself into formal questions, simply because the work itself is often the only evidence we have of the author’s sincerity or lack of it. Sentimentality, the primary expression of artistic insincerity, nearly always betrays itself in shoddy technique. This kind of sincerity, sincere feelings expressed in insincere forms, we have always with us in the Church.

The second use, to recognize and explore the author’s mind and emotions, is a much more valuable approach to Mormon literature. In a more general sense than Richards had in mind, it is worthwhile to apply sincerity as a measure of much of that early Mormon literature. Arthur Henry King has told us that the eloquent sincerity of Joseph Smith’s story of the First Vision convinced him of the restored gospel. Even in its consciously archaic, quasi-biblical language, one finds the specificity of detail, the sense of total conviction that itself convinces. Or test for sincerity the journal of Mary Goble Pay, by now recognized as a minor Mormon classic. The directness of style, the sharpness of detail, the simple factuality, even the unpolished grammar all confirm our sense of genuineness. We could work through much of the early literature for the same confirming sense of sincerity. But that is not really my point.

At least one of my points is that our literature grows out of — perhaps not a seeking for but a responding to — a more perfect order within the mind.

That order, of course, was the restored gospel, which gave its early writers at least a fuller sense of order than they had known before. And the excitement of that new fullness carries through nearly everything they wrote. Even when it was written in pain and suffering, even when it carries deep questioning or some sense of rebellion, the writing is informed with that sense of new-found order and the excitement it generates. Listen to two or three excerpts from the journal of my grandmother, Annie Waldron Clark, who married Charles R. Clark as a second wife in the Logan temple, November, 1886, in deep secrecy because of the persecution of polygamists. First her response to the ceremony itself:

It seemed as if the holy angels were witnessing the proceeding in there and we knew they were, for no other spirit, only the spirit of God could wield such an influence. How I appreciate the opportunity of receiving my washing and anointing and making covenants with my Father in Heaven — so solemn and beautiful, and I knew that I was taking a course that the Lord was pleased to acknowledge if I could only endure the sacrifice, for such it certainly was, with fortitude, which I had fully resolved to try to do.

Six months later she prepares to leave home, some four months pregnant:

He came according to appointment, and I knew I had seen the sun sink behind the western hills in Weber the last time for a long time. Imagine my feelings. It was not like leaving home to take up my abode with my husband. It is written “We shall leave parents and home and cleave to our husbands,” but this is not what I knew I had to do for I had to be severed from him and how many hills and valleys would divide us I knew not

After a day’s travel from Morgan to Farmington, “The Brother met us as expected, and I had to go with a stranger to a strange place.” The “brother” was the father of Grandpa Charley’s first wife, Emma Woolley, and here was my grandmother going to live with Emma’s family — and, except for the parents, not even the family she was living with could know that she was Charley’s wife. Her first son, my father, was born October 6, while Grandpa Charley was at general conference. He stopped for a few minutes on the way; but before that, Grandmother had not seen him for over two months. He was there, as she says, at seed time and harvest. One last excerpt. She is now living with Charley’s family, but no one except Father and Mother Clark and Mary Lissie, the oldest daughter, know who she is. She cannot even attend the wedding of her brother, but “such is the sacrifice I make to live the law of God. . . . I do not have the privilege of going to meetings and Sunday Schools nor any of these things. After having been a regular attender all my life, it is hard to see them all preparing to go but myself.”

Well, this may all be much more moving to me than it is to you. It’s hardly great prose by most standards. But it has the obvious authenticity of deatil and feeling that we associate with great writing. I honor her for it and for what she experienced that produced it. I honor her that she experienced deeply enough and cared enough about those experiences to leave the record.

Let me remind you again of Richards' definition of sincerity: "Obedience to that tendency which 'seeks' a more perfect order within the mind." The phrase is richly ambiguous, suggesting an already existing order to be sought and found in the mind but also suggesting that the seeking is, or can be, a kind of creating of that more perfect order. The phrase is especially rich for Mormons. If we really are sons and daughters of God and if our destiny is to move somehow toward his condition, then we must have at least latent in our mind the totality of order that he knows and is. The very least we can demand of our Mormon writers, I would say, is the kind of sincerity that seeks to know and reflect and embody this more perfect order and that seeks an even more difficult end — to create from, and in, that matter unorganized a new and more perfect order.

This is hardly a new charge to writers. Until the last fifteen or twenty years nearly all writers of and about literature have seen literature primarily as both means and result of the struggle to bring order and significance to an often chaotic world. None has been more insistent nor more effective in his insistence than Wallace Stevens. As his young lady walks along the shore at Key West, that archetypal and seminal meeting place of land and ocean, she sings not the song of the "veritable ocean" but the song she makes. At once poet and muse, she sings, apparently, because her imagination has been impregnated in this setting and helps her make the song, which stirs the imagination of the poet and his companion, who then see the harbor lights as "ordering" the bay. But the "blessed age for order" does not stop there. The poet, his imagination thus stirred, goes on to create "The Idea of Order at Key West," which should in turn stir us — to what end we alone can determine. For Stevens the poet is "the impossible possible philosophers' man . . . Who in a million diamonds sums us up," the man who replaces the "obsolete fiction" of religion and trivialized mythology.

Like Matthew Arnold, Stevens saw a high destiny for the poet: He would replace a dying or dead Christianity, a dying or dead faith in religion of any kind, with a new mythology, a new life of the imagination, a new order created by that imagination, summed up by Arnold in *Culture*. We Mormons feel no need to replace a dying Christianity. It has already been given new life in the restored gospel.

Who knows the destiny of the writer in eternal perspectives, the perspectives of the gospel? The Mormon poet may have a real advantage over the Stevens poet, at least theoretically, simply because the order within the mind of the Mormon poet has, or should have deeper roots. He has all the image-making, order-making capacity of the Stevens poet plus the capacity that comes from the order of the gospel, the order of the priesthood, the order of the Holy Spirit.

But the advantages do not stop simply with the order within the mind. Within the mind, yes. But within everything that the Mormon poet feels himself or herself part of. The gospel, the priesthood, the Holy Spirit are all within the poet. But they are also outside, universal in some literal sense, and yet

encompassed within the Church, as the Church tries to encompass all truth. I use the word *encompass* with real intent, since many of us carry a constant reminder that, among other things, all truth can be circumscribed into one great whole.

Within the mind, then, but the mind sustained and nourished by all that I have been suggesting. But also within the Church, within that great whole the compass circumscribes. These are the sources of order toward which our sincerity should lead us. If we experience the Church as less than perfect, the members we know as less than perfect, even our own minds as less than perfect, then the nice ambiguity of Richards' phrase suggests that part of our task is to help each of these seek the more perfect order — either to discover it there or to help create it there or both. If we experience these as perfect already, we can do so only by looking at the gospel, the priesthood, and the Holy Spirit in their ideality, not by looking at the Church or people or ourselves and our minds as expressions of it. If we experience these as perfect, then our sincerity should lead us to make real in literary forms that perfect order, to catch and define that sublimity, to make available to others our sublime vision.

For it is sublime, I hardly need to tell you, this vision of God as Father and Creator, this vision of us as his sons and daughters, this sublime vision of family, this vision of all truth circumscribed in one great whole. It should feed our imaginations as no other vision has ever fed. We may fall short, we may never get our imagination to rise to the vision. But that won't be the fault of the vision.

We all sense the beginnings, perhaps more in music and art than in literature: in LeRoy Robertson's "The Lord's Prayer," for me the finest setting of that jewel in all music; in Robert Cundick's *Redeemer*, in some of Trevor Southey's works with acrylic sheets, in several of Hagen Haltern's drawings and in sculptures by Warren Wilson, Franz Johansen, and Dennis Smith. But in literature also. In many of Clinton Larson's lyrics, in many parts of Emma Lou Thayne's *Once in Israel*, in parts of Paul Cracraft's *A Certain Testimony*, in Ed Hart's "To Utah" sequence, in the exquisite agony Douglas Thayer catches in "Greg" of a young priesthood holder who has slipped into sin and now must face his bishop, in the lyric by Allie Howe that Ed and I chose as the first poem in the sesquicentennial volume we were asked to edit for the College of Humanities:

TIMES OF REFRESHING: 1820

Alice E. Howe

A wisp of the new morning
 Washes across his face
 And turns him to wooded temples.

The way along
 Winged harbingers lighten above
 Through among, back and before,
 And unstartled anxious buds
 Await nativities.
 Under his boot and on
 Dark leaf-mold, dew-dampened, patient,
 A teeming earth secures.

Hearing his step,
 The stone beside quickens
 To its rolling,
 And the showered-clean air,
 Ecstatic,
 Freshens millennia past,
 Whispers everlastings.

Ancient-in-days, the awakening earth
 Lifts
 Against his supplicant knees,
 And a breath above,
 Reigning all the space around,
 The Holiest of Holies
 Unveil

And Joseph sups from Their Presence . . .

You could hardly help feeling the vibrancy of all nature, especially the miracle of awakening earth lifting "against his supplicant knees," in anticipation of the coming vision. In this, in other things from the same commemorative volume, in much else that is happening all around us, we see the beginnings, beginnings that I trust will bring to full fruit the promise of those earlier beginnings that I now repent of mistrusting.

If I am unregenerate still, it is because I have not done my share, because I want the higher fulfillment, the higher destiny for Mormon writers, the destiny that President Kimball and other leaders have held out to us time after time, the destiny that I have been trying to define. Finally I do not believe it a lesser destiny than that envisioned by Arnold and Stevens. Theirs was after all a substitute destiny in a world bereft of Christianity. Ours is a complementary destiny in a world destined for Christianity.

In good Mormon fashion, I leave the challenge that that destiny imposes upon us: that we fulfill it; that we have the sincerity, which I would now hope would become the intensity and energy and imagination, that will lead us to seek, to create, and to create from that more perfect order within our minds, within the Church, within the gospel of Jesus Christ, and within that one great whole into which the compass circumscribes all truth.

The Golden Chain

Michael R. Collings

Paradise pendant from a golden chain
opal pendant paradise
swirling blue and green
through white cloud streaks:
golden chain gleaming on the breast of God.

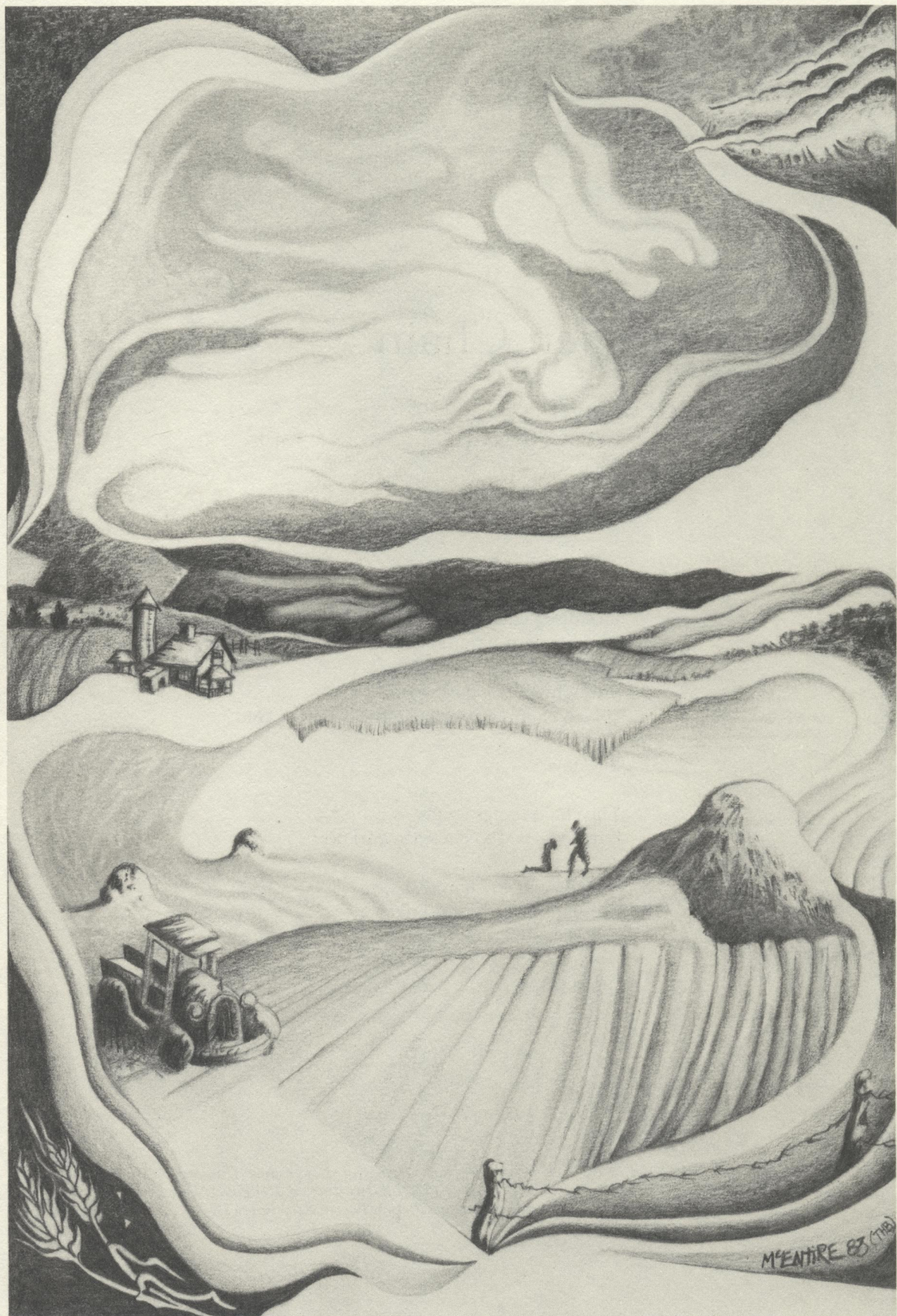
But now

The chain hangs empty
Earth has fled to embrace darkness

and the golden chain
long-line smooth, sun-linked
and heavy with eternity

hangs empty

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Enduring

Eugene England

Edgar to Gloucester in *King Lear*:

Men must endure

Their going hence, even as their coming hither.

June 1982

I GREW UP IN A SAFE VALLEY. The years five through twelve, when we are most sensuously attached to the landscape and when, I think, the foundations of identity are firmly laid, I lived in gardens and wheatfields. They had been claimed a generation before from desert knolls and sagebrush flats but were now constantly fruitful, watered by canals or sufficient rain for dryland grains and surrounded by low mountains that were protective, inviting, never fearful. We hiked into the mountains for deer and trout to supplement our meat, eaten sparingly from the pigs butchered each fall, or sometimes we rode out to look for horses that had strayed and, once a year, on the Sabbath nearest the 24th of July, with all the Sunday School, we went in cars to have classes out of doors and eat a picnic together and explore those safe canyons of Cherry Creek or Nine Mile that brought us our water.

Even when I found a perfect flint arrowhead and a large flawed spearhead on one of those picnics, I did not imagine the blood. Instead I thought about coming there to live in a rock cave I had found high in the canyon — perhaps with Dee Christiansen, my companion in Saturday-long Tarzan adventures, perhaps with Margene Ware, my first serious love (moral and practical details absolutely did not intrude into such fantasies).

I wanted safe and secret places even within that safe valley. And I found or made them. The canal was one. It moved slowly along the east side of the

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valley, no more than two feet deep except at “The Diversion,” where a falls as the canal divided created a spice of danger. Submerged in the rich muddy water with a straw for air or lying on the farm road bridge while it seemed to move backward over the surface flowing just a few feet below, my mind would flow to a safe world inside me.

There was the vacant lot across from Grandma Hartvigsen’s that grew pepper weeds three feet high, dense and fragrant, perfect for making trails and hidden nests. The cottonwood that stood right at the corner of Grandpa’s barn and could be reached from the roof had a large cup where the first branches separated. And there was a little grove of fruit trees, part of the old homestead out on what we still called the Coffin place. My father relentlessly consolidated those early 160-acre holdings, each with log cabin, a well, outbuildings, and trees, into large, uninterrupted fields to fit the economies of the shift from horses to tractors. This grove was not leveled partly because it was watered, along with a lovely line of cottonwoods, by overflow from the town reservoir, built on our northern boundary to hold the stream from Nine Mile. Dad kept Peter Coffin’s old house and barn to store machinery in and we always parked the truck there and ate our lunch in those trees on that fresh, grassy bank, adding watercress from the little overflow stream and sometimes plums or apples from the neglected grove.

The subtlest bliss from such safe and cozy places came each spring. It was a bliss mostly of the mind because I could only be in such a place occasionally and briefly — but my heart yearned, on early May mornings, when the brisk Southern Idaho wind still moved the tops of sagebrush along our fencelines and I could look down as we passed in the truck and see, among the clumps of sage, small patches of last year’s dead grasses with just a scatter of new blades and a few small flowers coming through. I knew those places were warm and fragrant, humming with tentative insect life.

When I would sometimes, on a Saturday, walk out to the “ranch” (as we called it, though any livestock that might justify that name were gone), carrying an extra dessert for Dad’s lunch or a hoe to work at the potato patch we planted during the war by a spring in the lower 320, I could sometimes stop and hide for a time under the sagebrush out of the wind. I could crush the small gray-green, velvet leaves from the strangely dead-looking branches until the air was sharp with sage or hold my fingers close until the smell went back into my throat. There would be one or two mild yellow buttercups, with five waxed petals, concavely shaped as if still ready to close quickly around the orange center. And by late May a few wild honeysuckles, the blossoms washed pink and detachable, made to be plucked off delicately and delicately set between the lips so the tube under the blossom could be sucked for the smallest, most delicate taste, deep on the tongue.

But most of all I was drawn to secret places I made, like the huge lilac clump at Dee’s grandmother’s, where we had cut out the inner branches for our hiding place and could strip to our shorts, creep out and run wild across the lawn and garden, through the barns, and even sneak into her cellar for a

can of tuna fish and retreat through branches to lie still as she walked by, calling Dee. Or the places I fashioned at the back of our woodpile where I could be completely hidden and watch crazy old Brother Nelson do his chores, mumbling passages of scripture to himself, and where I hid the revolver a friend, who had stolen it from home, gave me to keep. I would nestle in among the logs and boards, hold the gun in both hands and think about using it to kill deer when I took my mate off to Cherry Creek. One day it was gone.

Our valley began just outside the rim of the Great Basin, at the point we called Red Rock, where the waters of ancient Lake Bonneville had once worn through the Nugget sandstone formation and drained out into what became the Portneuf and Snake rivers, leaving a mile-wide scar and finally a slough moving slowly through cattailed bottom lands that gave us our name, Marsh Valley. The slough provided poor fishing — mostly chubs and suckers — but attracted great flights of geese in the fall that swept up to our stubble fields to feed at night and moved to the north in huge, constantly reforming wedges. I may have sensed from them that our valley was part of something larger, but surely I knew so when my parents suddenly went off forty miles to Pocatello late one night in Grandpa's new hump-backed Mercury, leaving me in Grandma's care, and came back after a week with my baby sister. Or when I sat in Grandpa's lap, playing with his gold watch chain and listening to the strange, emphatic voices emerging from the static of his Philco. Prophets, I was told, at general conference in Salt Lake City. But even the Second World War seemed far away, unconnected, intruding only for moments when I rushed outside at a sudden roar one overcast morning to see a strange, double-bodied, P-38 fighter plane just passing over our house, hedgehopping down the valley toward Pocatello under the low clouds. Or when the oldest Bickmore boy was shot through the chest by a sniper on Okinawa and came home to tell about it in Sacrament Meeting.

Hamlet to his friend:

*There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.
But come —*

My father knew of larger things than our valley, and he included me easily. He had left home at seventeen, learned to paint the fine interiors of Union Pacific passenger cars, and lived alone, rising early to read the Book of Mormon and *The Discourses of Brigham Young*. When he spoke of Nephi and Alma and Moroni or of Joseph and Brigham and Heber I felt his love for me. When he said Christ had appeared to him in a dream and told him the Book of Mormon was true, I knew it had happened. And as I rode with him to do his share on the Church's welfare farm or to the store or the wheat elevator or the machinery shop or from neighbor to neighbor, to borrow and return, to ask for help and give, to buy and sell, I saw him doing the truth and felt safe.

One June dawn we drove toward the reservoir farm for a day of weeding the fallow ground. He would drive the tractor. I was old enough to ride the twenty-four-foot rod weeders, jumping off to tromp away stubble as it accumulated around the goosenecks and rods. That morning, as he often did, he stopped the truck and took me to see how the wheat was heading out in that lower 320. We kept our feet between the rows as we walked out on a ridge, I just learning how to imitate his motion of plucking a stalk to examine critically its forming kernels. He asked me to kneel with him, and he spoke, I thought to Christ, about the wheat. He pledged again, as I had heard him at home, to give all the crop, all beyond our bare needs, to build the kingdom, and he claimed protection from drought and hail and wind. I felt, beside and in me, something, a person, it seemed, something more real than the wheat or the ridge or the sun, something warm like the sun but warm inside my head and chest and bones, someone like us but strange, thrilling, fearful but safe.

How is it then that sometime in those years I first felt my own deepest, most hopeless, fear, the fear of being itself? It is a fear I have never been able to write about until now nor imagined anyone else knew about or could understand, a fear so fundamental and overwhelming that I feel I must literally shake myself from it when it comes or go mad. And yet I felt it as a child in that safe valley. I've forgotten, perhaps blocked away, the time it first came. Probably it was during one of those long summer evenings when Bert Wilson and I would sleep out on our large open front lawn and watch the stars come. The stars in that unpolluted sky were warm and close and dense and, as I began to learn from my father, who taught early morning seminary, about the worlds without number God had created and that we had always existed and always would, destined to explore and create forever in that infinite universe, it was exciting, deeply moving at times, to look into those friendly fires that formed patterns in the night and stretched away beyond my comprehension.

But one evening there began to come moments when I could feel moving into my mind, like a physical presence, the conviction that all was quite absurd. It made no sense at all that anything should exist. Something like nausea, but deeper and frightening, would grow in my stomach and chest but also at the core of my spirit, progressing like vertigo until in desperation I must jump up or talk suddenly of trivial things to break the spell and regain balance. And since that time I am always aware that that feeling, that extreme awareness of the better claim of nothingness, lies just beyond the barriers of my busy mind and will intrude when I let it.

Much later, of course, I learned about existential anxiety and the Christian sense of total dependence, of contingency, and I heard about the question Paul Tillich's daughter asked him, "Why is there something and not nothing?" But I believe these are quite different things from what I feel. My own deep fear seems unique, precisely because of those unique Mormon beliefs that have given me my greatest joy and security. It is one thing to wonder, as traditional Christians do, why an absolute, perfectly self-sufficient God would bother to create me and this strange, painful universe out of nothing, to feel the proxi-

mate mysteries of this “vale of tears” but also an utter dependence on an ultimate being who can indeed reduce me and the universe to nothingness and thus painlessness again — or to feel Albert Camus’s desperate bitterness about a universe that has produced beings like us, with our constant yearning for meaning and permanence, but which seems to answer with absurdity and annihilation.

My own experience with God and this universe has produced not only dependence but identity. I have felt confirmed in my own separate, necessary, and unquenchable being. I had no beginning, not even in God. And the restored gospel provides the best answers — the most adventuresome and joyful — to the basic questions about how I came to be here and about my present and future possibilities. But there finally is no answer to the question of why and how I exist in my essential being. I just always have, and that is where my mind balks in horror, perhaps at its own limitations. I just cannot imagine how it could come to be that there is existence *or* essence — how there could be something instead of nothing. And the answer of Joseph Smith, that it did not come to be but simply always was, is marvelous — until I let the horror intrude.

Joseph Smith to the family of King Follett:

*All the minds and spirits that God ever sent
into the world are susceptible of enlargement.*

I know a young couple whose two-year old boy, because of cerebral palsy, is a spastic quadriplegic, apparently blind and deaf. His twin brother is perfectly healthy. As a new high councilman, I gave a sacrament meeting sermon at my assigned ward on the grace of Christ, his unconditional love for sinners. Susan, the mother, came up, grateful for what I’d said and wanting to talk more about how she could cope with her struggles and feelings, her guilt about her son. What neglect had caused the fever in the hospital that produced the palsy? Or, if a genetic “accident” was to blame, why had God allowed — or caused — it? Why had priesthood blessings that promised recovery not yet been fulfilled? How could she go on holding Allyn almost twenty-four hours a day to keep him from bracing back and choking? How could she be forgiven for her anger at him, striking him, sometimes wanting him dead? I felt she needed most to rest and offered to hold Allyn while she had an undisturbed Sunday School hour with her husband. Then we talked later in the afternoon.

I wasn’t much comfort. I could testify about Christ’s understanding and unconditional acceptance of her and about the real benefits to her son of gaining a body, however imperfect now, and of feeling her love while he lived, however dimly. But I could not tell Susan I found Allyn’s trouble a blessing in disguise or evidence he was an especially righteous spirit who had volunteered for such trouble or that he would be compensated in some extra way in the next life — that is, beyond the marvelous opportunity to grow and be tested in a normal body during the millennium. She listened, wept, disagreed,

accepted some things. I offered our family to care for her twins occasionally so she and her husband could get away to rest and to renew their own relationship, which had, she said, suffered.

Recently in her sacrament service, I heard Susan sing “I Walked Today Where Jesus Walked” and more recently I heard her give a Spiritual Living lesson in Relief Society on apostasy, talking forthrightly about her own struggles with personal apostasy when priesthood blessings seemed to fail and when she felt unacceptable to God and unable to continue to endure. She warned her sisters to constant vigilance. I feel warned of two things: that holding little Allyn while Susan has an hour with her husband is at least as important as my words were and that she sings and teaches and bears her testimony more maturely and movingly now — and also continues to suffer while she endures.

In an interdisciplinary colloquium for freshmen I teach with four colleagues, I’ve been learning about genetic problems that produce malformations in children. As the sex cells divide, the complicated process of meiosis, by which the chromosomes are reduced from forty-eight to twenty-four, sometimes produces broken and reattached parts — translocations — or duplications in some eggs and sperm cells and, of course, missing or partial chromosomes in their divided opposites. Many of these accidents (statistics all nicely predictable) are lethal, resulting after fertilization in miscarriages or stillbirths, but some produce living children. Down’s syndrome children are the result of such translocations, but there are also many others, rare but real, hidden away from our usual experience. The frequencies are surprising — 1 in every 700 births is Down’s syndrome (now being called trisomy 21 to clearly identify the problem and the chromosomes — a duplication or a segment attachment to chromosome number 21, making it “three-bodied”). Jean de Grouchy’s *Clinical Atlas of Human Chromosomes*, which is amply illustrated with photographs of the victims of chromosomal aberrations, is a kind of chamber of horrors of deformed, doomed children: cleft palates in Patau’s syndrome (1 in 5000 births), impossible flexion deformities in Edwards’s syndrome (1 in 8000). In some texts a refrain comes at the end of each description: “the mean survival time is about 2½ months, 90 percent of all cases dying within a year” of birth, or “mean survival 3 months, 80 percent dying in the first year.” Is it a relief to know that most such terribly deformed children do not live long? But some do, with retardation, shortened, skewed limbs, grotesquely positioned fingers and toes, clubfeet.

The sex chromosomes, X and Y, most commonly cause abnormalities through duplications, though a missing X in females produces Turner’s syndrome: tiny body, sterility, low mathematics IQ, webbing on the neck. An extra X in men produces Klinefelter’s syndrome: some female body characteristics, sterility, low verbal IQ. Extra X’s can occur up to six, producing lower and lower IQ, but perhaps most trying to a believer in moral agency is the single extra Y in men, which produces a tall, powerful body and impulsive behavior that easily becomes anti-social. Victims of this chance occurrence in cell division (1 in 1000 births) have forty times the chance of others to end up in a penitentiary.

One syndrome, designated 5p monosomy (a missing part of chromosome 5), produces some facial and bone deformations and very severe retardation but not high fatality. Its deformation of the larynx produces a distinctive cry, like that of a kitten, which gives the syndrome its more common name, “cri du chat” — cry of the cat. What do parents endure when they first hear that cry from their newborn — and then as the years go and the cry diminishes and a characteristically wide-eyed, almost jawless face develops in a child who will live long, without language, with an IQ under twenty. If the figure 1 in 50,000 births is right there must be over 4000 sets of such parents in this country, perhaps 80,000 in the world.

A few months ago we read, with surprising calm it seems to me, of the parents in Bloomington, Indiana, who were able to get medical and legal support for a decision not to perform the difficult but feasible surgery needed to save their Down’s syndrome child — designated “Infant Doe.” Their lawyer called it “treatment to do nothing.” Columnist George Will called it homicide. Since the case apparently would not have been filed — probably not allowed — if the child had not had Down’s syndrome, the logic of the decision suggests that parents have the right to kill through neglect — and why not more directly? — a child that they decide is a huge trouble. And surely, then, it would seem society must have the right to relieve itself of those who come to us through “wrongful birth,” the tortured phrase that has developed in recent litigation aimed at doctors whose advice or decisions leads to safe delivery of severely deformed or retarded babies who could have been aborted. So far the courts have been willing only to assess the doctors the costs for care of such “wrongful births” — not to establish punitive damages.

I know of a couple whose first baby was born with a gaping cleft lip, the eyes squeezed almost into a cyclops, no muscle tone, and profound retardation. It lived ten days, requiring very expensive care at enormous cost to the parents. A chromosomal check available in recent years revealed the mother to be a carrier of trisomy 13, Patau’s syndrome, and the doctors presented the options: no more children except by adoption, amniocentesis in future pregnancies to check the chromosomes of the fetus and abortion in case of abnormality, or having children with a high percentage of carriers and abnormalities. On the basis of their opposition to birth control and abortion (and thus to amniocentesis that would assume abortion as an option), and with faith in an optimistic priesthood blessing and strengthened by the fasting of their ward and stake, the couple went ahead with another child. It was born with trisomy 13, lived thirty-three days, and put the parents in debt over \$100,000.

Jesus Christ to Joseph Smith:

*Fear not even unto death; for in
this world your joy is not full,
but in me your joy is full.*

A year ago while we were in England, Charlotte learned that her mother, Josephine Johnson Hawkins, had cancer of the pancreas. There was an ex-

ploratory operation. The decision was not for the dangerous surgery or traumatic chemotherapy that had little chance of helping but for a peaceful final few months. When Charlotte came home in July she found her mother wasted but still hoping: she had had a blessing, she said, that she would recover. Charlotte decided to do what could be done, found a doctor willing to do limited chemotherapy, brought her mother to her own bed (I moved to a cot in my study), and together with her sisters set about making Josephine well. They cooked tempting food to keep up her appetite against the nausea of painkillers, bathed her, and helped her to the bathroom (finally carrying her) to avoid the discomfort of bedpans. Charlotte was determined and the doctor encouraging until one day in late August when he saw that the chemotherapy was just not working and stopped it. Josephine told me she thought she could have the faith to make the promise work, but there was so much pain and she was so tired. Charlotte kept trying, fiercely believing in the promise, hoping. Our daughters lay on the bed with Josephine, held her in their arms and talked about canning apricots with her years ago. She died on October 2. The last month she slowly turned a deep golden color from the jaundice.

I have long thought that Josephine Hawkins took too much onto herself, keeping her own hurts inside, interceding for others in potential conflicts, absorbing others' weaknesses, letting any damage be done to *her* feelings, letting mercy rob justice. The internal stress she invited may well have brought on her cancer and killed her, and I felt for a long time she was foolish. But I decided in that last month that she was right. And she was also right about jokes. She never could get the punchlines straight and always marred a funny story in the telling so that the humor came against herself, rather than whoever was the butt of the joke. I used to be condescendingly amused, merely tolerant, but I've decided she felt intuitively that nearly every joke is at someone's expense. She took the expense. I think she was right to do so, whatever the cost.

Since last fall Charlotte hasn't slept well. She wonders about that promise to her mother and about fighting to hold on so long, prolonging the pain, straining her bonds with her sisters. And she takes the children's troubles more onto herself and doesn't tell jokes very well.

Christ describing the last days to his apostles just before leaving them:

Then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold. But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.

On 13 May 1981, an attempt was made on the Pope's life at his public audience in Saint Peter's Square. I was in the throng, next to his car, just

reaching out to touch his hand. My mind formed clearly two partly visual, mostly verbal images: first, John Paul II, a man of God, is shot, hurting terribly, will die; and second, Poland's Solidarity, which this man inspired, and Lech Walesa, to whom this man conveyed symbolic spiritual power, are finished. When I learned that night on the train away from Rome that the Pope had survived I knew it was a miracle — for him and for Poland. I learned of another miracle in the summer when the Polish military leaders, by refusing to use force against fellow Poles, apparently prevented the Communist Party from destroying Solidarity. In the fall I began to wake in the night and think about the coming winter. With Poland's economic problems still unsolved because of the continuing power struggle, I knew that hunger could defeat Solidarity. Food riots could justify internal suppression or external intervention. Another miracle was needed. Those images of the Pope and Walesa returned. I couldn't sleep.

Finally I began to explore. I found that most people felt deep concern and admiration for Solidarity and wanted to help but didn't know how. Agencies like Catholic Relief Services and Polish National Alliance were sending food but not enough and were not doing large-scale publicity that might attract help from non-Catholics and non-Poles. Through Michael Novak, a Catholic lay theologian who had met in Rome with Solidarity leaders, I was able to get in contact, by phone to Warsaw, with Bronislaw Geremek, chief advisor to Solidarity. He said the children were starting to die of dysentery. He asked that we send dried milk, detergents, and technicians to help them build privately controlled small businesses and that we do it soon, by plane. We organized Food For Poland, a non-profit public foundation for tax-free contributions and had a planeload of food and arrangements almost ready for donated flight when martial law was declared December 13.

All flights were grounded. Geremek was one of the first arrested (I saw his name on a list in *Time* on Christmas day) and from a letter smuggled out later we learned he went on a hunger strike in January and then was punished with an unheated room. Our government cut off its aid and vacillated on private aid like ours. We weren't certain food would get through. Finally it became clear through messages from Poland and successful shipments from Western Europe that the military was not interfering; our State Department gave approval and on January 6 we sent our first shipment, by truck, then train and Polish ship to Gdansk. Since then we have sponsored a National Day of Fasting, made five more shipments of food, medicine, clothing, detergents, and sent one of our trustees along with one plane load to Warsaw to verify first-hand the proper distribution to those most in need. Our national director went a few weeks ago to Gdansk to observe distribution of our largest shipment, which included 90,000 pounds of milk from the LDS Church.

We have been responsible for adding perhaps \$1 million worth of supplies to the Polish Relief effort. That is pitifully little — the equivalent of one extra good meal for the three million Polish children, aged, and families of imprisoned Solidarity members who are in greatest need. Our government cut

off \$800 million in aid just for this year. And I am convinced that perhaps twice that much, invested one year ago in a massive Marshall Plan to Poland, focused on improving farming efficiency and on building small privately controlled industries and businesses, would have provided enough economic resurgence and enough return to Poland's traditional productivity to enable Solidarity's nonviolent success and a gradual development of basic freedoms. But now the stalemate drags on. Someone tried to kill the Pope again, one year later, this time with a bayonet. Poland is not in the news, and people don't think much now about helping.

During January and February I woke very early each morning, thinking of the mistakes I was making as an English professor trying to raise funds, the missed opportunities, inept public relations — not enough hard-nosed pushiness, not quick enough tough-minded assessment of how we were being used by others to their own advantage. I thought of the people I met each day or talked to on the phone who could give \$1 million easily but didn't, or the families who fasted and sent all they could, but only once, or students and faculty who helped a while and then disappeared. And I lay awake thinking of Bronislaw Geremek in his cold cell, of thousands of families with father or mother or both interned or dismissed from jobs — knowing we were failing them. I thought of a film I saw in December made by a French journalist of an interview with Lech Walesa held just a few days before the December 13 crackdown. Walesa sat holding his daughter, with a portrait of John Paul II in the background. He said, "I must remember that even if my dream of a free Poland is achieved, it could be taken away in a day. Disaster can come anytime, as it has in the past. I must be ready for death. I could die at any time and must be prepared while I continue to work."

Recently we've decided we may have to discontinue Food For Poland before long. We've failed to get major corporation or foundation support or the help of a popular entertainment figure — both of which seem necessary to keep up momentum. And I am ready to admit I do not have the gifts — or the stomach — to make a career of fundraising. I do not lie awake much any more. When I do it's usually to hold Charlotte, who sometimes has bad dreams. We get up very early and, as the days begin to shorten, play tennis for a half hour in the cool shadow of Y Mount.

And for the first time in over a year I've begun occasionally to let the fear of being slip into my mind. Sometimes I look up from a book or the typewriter and the world is only whirling quanta of energy, reflecting all its seductive impressions of color from a palsied and blank universe. If I let it (sometimes I invite it), the horror deepens, because neither that atomized, inertial, spinning chaos nor my strange ability to sense and order and anguish over it have any real reason to exist. I want to take refuge in the mystery that an absolute God made it all out of nothing and will make sense of it or send it back to nothing, but Joseph Smith will not let me. There must be opposition or no existence. Is it more difficult or easier to take my problems to a God who has problems?

Nephi bidding farewell to his people:

*If ye shall press forward,
feasting upon the word of Christ, and endure
to the end, behold thus saith the Father:
Ye shall have eternal life.*

Postscript: December 1982

In September, at the equinox, I was called to be bishop of a newly formed student ward. I have stewardship of 120 young couples, most already beginning to have children. The first thing the Lord told me, when I began to think and pray about staffing the ward, as clearly as I have ever been told anything, was to call Susan as my Relief Society president: to be in charge of all the women, their religious instruction, their compassionate service, their sisterhood, their training as wives and mothers. It made no sense: Susan was still burdened greatly by her struggles with Allyn, with her husband, with herself. Dale had left school to cope with their enormous financial burdens and was planning to move them to Salt Lake. But the call was clear and they accepted.

Susan immediately visited every family and established the crucial foundation for making a ward community. She has opened herself and her life entirely to her sisters and conducts all her interviews, her meetings, her casual conversations with the same absolute honesty and down-to-earth forthrightness. The women — and their husbands — experience quite directly the struggles, the ups and downs of anguish and hope, the need for help, and the enduring courage through which she lives day by day.

I've tried to be that open and direct as a pastor. I speak for a few minutes in nearly every sacrament meeting, very personally, about the realities of my life with Charlotte, our sorrows, our decisions, our faith, and I teach the family relations class each Sunday for all the newlyweds in the ward. I spend many hours with people in trouble: couples who have hurt each other until they can't speak, lonely husbands, burdened with past sins and present insecurity, women who can't have children, and women who are having too many. I talk about the problems Charlotte and I have had, how we have hurt each other and suffered and learned and got help and endured. How the Lord has directed us from place to place across the country — toward unforeseeable service and learning and away from ambition for luxury and prestige. I call people to the regular positions but also to special assignments: a couple to help take care of Allyn in sacrament meeting, another to work with an alcoholic living in our area separated from his family. I see people changing, marriages beginning to work again, people helping without being called, people making moral decisions — to pay income tax on tips from years back, not to sue someone who has wronged them. I see Susan, now three months pregnant, smiling often.

Reality is too demanding for me to feel very safe any more in the appalling luxury of my moments of utter scepticism. God's tears in the book of Moses, at which the prophet Enoch wondered, tell me that God has not resolved the

mystery of being. But he endures in love. He does not ask me to forego my integrity by ignoring the mystery or he would not have let Enoch see him weep. But he does not excuse me to forego my integrity by ignoring the reality which daily catches me up in joy and sorrow and shows me, slowly, subtly, its moral patterns of iron delicacy.

Food For Poland has continued. We have been accused of glory-seeking, of being liberals indulging in do-goodism instead of the true religion of doctrinal purity, and by some of being traitors: giving aid to the enemy in time of war. But we are sending, in cooperation with the LDS Welfare Program, another large shipment of food and clothing to help the Poles through this winter. Charlotte's father, after a year of trying it alone, will be coming to live with us soon. Our third daughter, who was born with a diaphragmatic hernia and who almost died from a resulting intestine block last June, while she was on a mission — came home, was operated on, slowly recovered, and is going back into the field in January. Our oldest daughter is in love. I lie awake sometimes now, as the nights begin to shorten, my mind besieged by woe and wonder.

Edgar to his blind father in *King Lear*:

Men must endure

Their going hence even as their coming hither.

Ripeness is all. Come on.

Bronzed Cadences

LaBerta Bobo

I hear faded trumpet sounds of summer
and fill my arms with sleepy wildflowers,
hold them close, feel the damp,
smell the last fragrance.

I stop to gather sounds of grasses
blowing, building waves of sunlight
on the folded slopes where ducks
dart shadows on the frosted pond.
Dry leaves spun with rust
ring bright against the hills.
Dove's wings
homeward bound,
magnified by silence.

LABERTA BOBO was born in Minersville, Utah, and has written poetry from childhood. The mother of four, she is a member of the Utah Poetry Society and has prepared a volume of reminiscences.

Feeding the Fox: A Parable

Clifton H. Jolley

“Many religious people are deeply suspicious. They seem — for purely religious purposes, of course — to know more about iniquity than the Unregenerate.”

Rudyard Kipling, *Witches of the Night*

WHEN THE RABBITS BUILT HILLTOWN, they had a special sort of place in mind.

The rabbits had lived too long in fear of the fox. They were weary of foraging with an ear always to the wind, ever cautious of the fox’s red presence. They wanted a safe place where only rabbits would be allowed to live.

Peter, Chief Warren Contractor and a long-time investigator of the fox’s secret places, said a safe dwelling such as the rabbits hoped was possible. And Peter — who was respected for his seasonal services — was believed.

So, Hilltown was built. In a valley.

“Hilltown need not be on a mountain top to be safe,” Peter explained, “because our greatest danger is not the fox without but the fox within. I can build the warrens deep enough, design the entrances narrow enough, construct the passages as maze enough to confuse and discourage the fox in the field. But what can protect us against the enemy we build in, the traitor in our midst?”

The rabbits had no answer to such a question. The rabbit community was small, and the rabbits knew one another well; they had always thought of each other as brothers and sisters. The possibility of a brother or sister being an “enemy” would not have occurred to them, had not Peter suggested it.

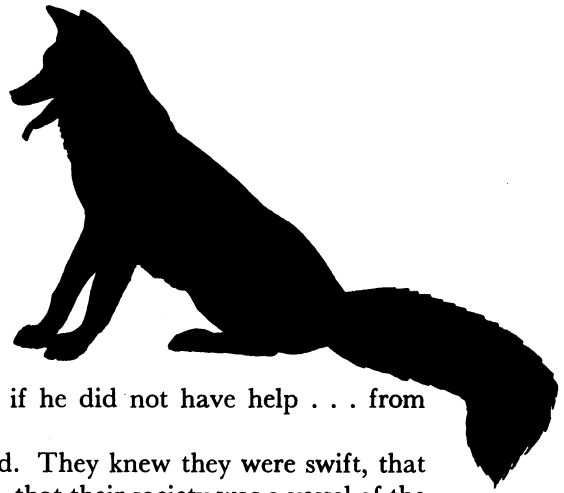
“How many of us were lost to the fox during the past harvest season?” Peter asked.

The rabbits thought. There had been John, and Three-Toc-Strummer, and Long Ellen, and Drifter, and Sam, and . . . there had been quite a few.

“Yes,” Peter solemnly intoned. “There have been many. Too many. Are we so slow? Are our leaders so uninspired? Are we so ignorant of the ways of

CLIFTON H. JOLLEY, who received his Ph.D. from Brigham Young University, is president of Avenues Communications. Well-known as a Salt Lake City columnist and personal essayist, he and his wife, Marcia Rice Jolley, are the parents of five children with one expected in the spring.





the fox that he could ruin our numbers, if he did not have help . . . from within?"

The rabbits considered what Peter said. They knew they were swift, that their leaders were partakers of great power, that their society was a vessel of the true rabbit lore. And yet many of them had fallen prey to the red menace, the ever-rapacious fox. Perhaps . . .

"Perhaps," Peter continued, "we are not all brothers and sisters, truly. Perhaps the fox is among us."

And so it began: the building of Hilltown in the valley. A safe place. At least, safe for most.

Peter told the rabbits it was inevitable that a few would suffer for the safety of the many. He explained the inevitable economy, the price of peace. And the rabbits agreed that whatever the price, the fox had to be discovered.

Discovery had been easy in the past. The fox was red and long. If a rabbit were cautious and kept an ear to the wind, the fox could be heard moving through the tall grass by the river, flattening the weeds beyond the bank where he crouched. If a rabbit listened, he could hear the movement in the air and know the fox was near.

But if the fox could be a rabbit, how could any rabbit be safe?

More subtle means of detection had to be employed. If you could not recognize a fox for what he did — if not all foxes ate rabbits — you had to establish other tests. For instance, if a rabbit disagreed with you, or did not understand the warren's past as you did, or questioned Peter's authority or theories, perhaps that rabbit was the fox. And since there was no longer any sure way of knowing the fox, being "perhaps" the fox was enough.

Enough for a rabbit to be called before Peter and purged. Cast out of Hilltown. Being "perhaps the fox" became sufficient reason to be returned into the world and company of the fox.

At one point a rabbit asked: "But if these foxes do not eat us — if they behave as though they were rabbits, even though we do not agree with them — where is the harm? Why must they be cast out?" But Peter decided only a fox would ask such a question, and the questioning rabbit was cast out, too.

Leaving Hilltown finally safe in its valley.
And the fox well fed.



Memory's Duty

Ronald Wilcox

“Has memory done its duty? Or has it proven — by the act of misleading — that it's impossible to escape the mortal sin of our time: the desire not to come to grips with oneself.”

CHRISTA WOLF,
A Model Childhood

1

Like an irresistible green vegetation
easing over everything in time,
a sense of comfort crept over my mother,
weaving into her slowly tendrils of death.
Death is a long rest and deeply to be desired
her long life easing away seemed to say to me.
Watch, while I while away my time and ease down
where bright leaves cannot follow,
leaves like songs or laughter or rhymes.
And the pity of it was I believed her,
believed in the silence of sinking
and clear cut grass over graves
and yellow flowers.

2

I didn't think my death would be forever
until I saw her die, listlessly,
exasperated with life, aspirating her soul:
quite quietly she relaxed for the first time,
I think, ever. It was all over. It was all past,
suddenly, a switch with no click, off.
Quickly time ran in and kissed her face
before I could.

3

I met my mother coming round a corner
 four days after the day she died.
 We crossed paths for the last time
 halfway between the Mormon Ward and home.
 Arriving early for the prearrangements,
 a clean blue hearse pulled up,
 stopped at the four-way stop sign.
 I stopped myself at the very same moment,
 stopped, turned, stared,
 me in one vehicle, she in the other.
 The driver of hers, unaware, looked right through me.
 Then the clean blue hearse floated on like a low cloud
 easing a right turn east toward the Ward,
 blinking its turn signal red red, red red.

4

I sat idling at the stop sign,
 totally aware of myself and this situation,
 almost blinded with meanings, symbols, histories,
 allegories, images, what have you, red red,
 my own turn signal repeating pulse-like red red:
 I wrote a one million word autobiographical novel
 about me and my dead mother in one moment;
 one hour later, I attended her funeral.

5

I sat stunned as a cut flower next to my father,
 listening intently to the succession of speakers
 who had known her well, the last of whom
 canonized her on the spot.
 I sat hoping in the deathly silence between hymns
 no one could smell my breath
 and held my father's hand.

6

I heard my father cry, once,
 days and days after the day she died.
 We had been talking, not about her,
 and he lowered his head and cried, woman-like.
 By woman-like I do not mean the act of crying:
 I mean the sound.
 High, whining-high, the very highest grief.
 I've heard it in telegraph wires in the wind
 and in my father's voice.

7

Mom planned her funeral facetiously
 for as long as I can remember,
 counting the speakers and their expressions
 as she would sunflowers or lilacs in spring,
 whispering loving kindnesses to her quietly
 like unto returning perfumes upon the wind.
 She had a special poem about young mothers
 upon her wall of photos among the faces
 of me and my three brothers and my father,
 faces changing thru time from babes to manhood,
 this, her beloved "rogues gallery."
 The poem, printed beautifully in inky flowers,
 a page torn from *Better Homes and Gardens*,
 ended prophetically with the phrase,
 "She is a living presence."

8

It disappeared from the wall a year before she died,
 mysteriously, and by her own hand, I believe.
 Although intended to be read at her actual funeral,
 the fact remains I could not find it *anywhere*,
 its absence the only real disappointment
 she would have felt in the heartfelt rites
 I remember now photographically and poetically.

9

Why did she take it down?
 And when did she decide
 the young mother had died?
 It sat absent that day
 like unto an empty seat.
 We mourned her together,
 that poem and I.
 It wept silence.

10

I commemorate my mother not as she was,
 nor as she would have been, given choice,
 but as she is in my mind, diamond-like
 and bright: She is a living presence.
 I miss her and I'm glad she's gone;
 that's a truth I live with.
 She had the most penetrating personality,
 possessed the most singular powerful single mind

I have ever known personally, that's a fact.
 Single to me. Fixed upon me.
 I could not have loved her more.

11

My mother lived as in a cage of lasers,
 glass bars of light blinding her to the world.
 Infinitely bounded by my mother's fantasies,
 I saw through her illusions like ropes of crystal.
 I lived my life as if she was watching.
 I could in no way free myself
 without shattering her intricate exquisite vision.
 It lies about me now in bright shards of pure light.
 Her death was my exit.
 Like an idiot exceptional child
 I sit fitting pieces of light into patterns,
 dropping poems from fumbling fingers,
 trying to reassemble the jigsaw puzzle
 of shattered glass which is my soul,
 because the catch is she was right:
 reality's a charnel house and no bargain.

12

The diamond knives facts are
 rendered me free in three cuts:
 omnipotent to impotent to potent to poet.
 I sliced cleanly by logic and logistics
 my precision lobotomy, self-performed,
 but that piece of meat on the floor, there,
 the front part of my brain,
 it reeks of meanings
 and writhes.

13

Hyperbole!
 Far-fetched metaphor!
 Each time I try to write directly
 of the Mormons, my mother, and myself,
 my words veer off, of themselves, upon themselves,
 wrecking my meaning upon god forsaken far-fetched metaphor!

14

God enters into it at this point:
 when the weave gives way.

15

I assume each frame of each movie I've ever seen's
 fixed indelibly upon the retina of my brainscan,
 to be retrieved by me if I choose to revivify
 the image
 if you get my meaning: how much more thoroughly, then,
 each moment of my senses must be etched retrievably
 upon a film of time, the patina of my Mormon self.

16

I was born at the foot of Mount Olympus,
 Utah.

17

For hours
 she'd listen to me,
 totally enjoying my conversation,
 and I, hers;
 we agreed I was extraordinary.
 I use the word with care:
 out of the ordinary,
 not usual.
 Extra.
 [<L. *extra ordinem*, out of order]

18

What did she say?
 Whom did she say it to?
 Sometimes I can't remember,
 other times, I do.

19

I was meant to be a girl but I surprised us all,
 me, especially, when I learned later her game plan.
 I was prayed over long and laboriously
 long before my birth and not a few times after
 but for all the wrong reasons.
 She purposely planned me in the other gender,
 another style, as it were: female I am not.
 It is *the* basic fact of my life: my very being.
 I fit myself well, I must say, as a man,
 was never regretted for being, well, me,
 by anyone but me but the truth is, I think,
 something smiled at my birth
 for something other than my worth.

20

Off-center, over-compensated, fed-up, p'd off,
 I proceeded to rearrange my life
 along life lines of my own devising,
 untangling and rebraiding carefully
 along lines more in keeping with my own nature
 albeit what *that* was I could only guess at.
 I arrived, finally, in a tangle, back where I started,
 like a giant string ball I had saved for forty years,
 a one-man Laurel and Hardy movie
 in another fine mess I'd gotten me into.
 I stared in a mirror of shattered webs
 and wondered where I went wrong . . .

21

I do not have children.
 I do not write letters.
 I say hello to the postman in a friendly manner.
 I order my days in a predictable sequence.
 I repeat myself.

22

I am the late child.
 Not completely Jack or ex,
 nor totaled by lack of time,
 I am the *almost* Mormon.
 I accept the contradiction
 of my testimony:
 I don't believe what I believe.

RONALD WILCOX has worked in Texas theater over a period of twenty-five years, seventeen of which he spent as a member of the Resident Professional Acting Company of the Dallas Theater Center. Four of his plays have been produced and one novel published. He lives in Dallas with his wife Norma and their Schnauzer, writing an autobiographical novel about a Mormon boy who goes from Utah to Texas to get into the theater.

Notes on Brigham Young's Aesthetics

Michael Hicks

"IF THERE IS ANYTHING VIRTUOUS, LOVELY . . . we seek after these things." Granted. But loveliness by what criteria? We in the Church often presume a common aesthetic; or when conflicts in judgment arise — whether with the "worldly" critic or the division chairman — we throw up our hands at the other's decadent tastes, or worse yet, lack of discernment. Mormonism has yet to form a workable aesthetic, but I would like to propose, modestly, that we begin with Brigham Young. Often stereotyped as stern and insensitive, he may seem the unlikely choice for aesthetician. Yet none has addressed the philosophical issues of art, beauty, and their place in the kingdom with greater clarity than he, despite his well-known and sometimes confusing tendencies toward hyperbole.

Young's teachings are best approached with an awareness of his overpowering discipleship to Joseph Smith, whom he called "the master spirit."¹ It is worthwhile to review certain of Smith's teachings related to man's perception of himself and his place in the cosmos, which would therefore influence his — and later Young's — aesthetics. First, the spiritual in man is strongly associated with the intellectual and rational rather than the mystical, "knowledge is power," and learning in whatever sphere, as a mental discipline, necessarily becomes a rigor of the spirit.² Second, creation is never *ex nihilo*, a kind of romantic conception. Rather, it consists in organizing and arranging a pre-

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¹ *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1854–86), 7:64; hereafter cited parenthetically in the text by volume and page number.

² See Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1942), pp. 352–53, 288.

existing set of materials more or less according to established celestial patterns.³ Though this view of creation does not rule out the deified imagination, the creator becomes less an originator than a craftsman. Third, humans who are obedient to the gospel, can themselves evolve into gods, ultimately engaging in large-scale creative work. A logical corollary is that the artist or craftsman is — knowingly or unknowingly — apprenticed to his/her maker. In Joseph Smith's conception, humans are the image of God in both physique and aptitude: their urge to refashion their environment suggests in itself their divine lineage.⁴

Disciple to such philosophy, Brigham Young could not have been adverse to education and training in the arts. Indeed, for him, "true science, true art and true knowledge comprehend all that are in heaven or on the earth, or in all the eternities" (14:281; 12:255–57). The adjective is instructive. Science and art cannot ultimately be for their own sakes but are means to apprehend eternal truth — "truth from any source, wherever we can obtain it" (14:197). The watermark of true art is that it extends "the ideas, the capacities of the intelligent beings that our heavenly Father has brought forth upon this earth" (16:160). Can there be false art? Yes, that in which the creator-artist fails to give credit to deity for the internal gesture to which he gives outward shape. "In every particular [of artistic knowledge] . . . they are indebted to the Lord" (19:97). Young rejects the Renaissance-old myth which reached its climax among his romanticist contemporaries of the artist-as-hero who towers above other men. The artist is only a fellow-servant and "from [God] has every art . . . proceeded, although the credit is given to this individual, and that individual" (12:257–58). Instead of genius, he sees a great "Fountain of Intelligence" (7:157–60) which enlivens and enlightens "without respect of persons." As a consequence, "the arts . . . in the so-called heathen nations in many respects excel the attainments of the Christian nations" (8:171).

Progress in the arts — and Young clearly expects it — parallels the progress of Zion: "Every discovery in science and art that is really true and useful to mankind has been given by direct revelation from God . . . with a view to prepare the way for the ultimate triumph of truth" (9:369); "all the great discoveries and appliances in the arts and sciences are expressly designed by the Lord for the benefit of Zion in the last days." Those discoveries would be for the benefit of all mankind, "if they would cease to be wicked, and learn to acknowledge the hand of God in all things" (10:225).

His reference to science and art as complementary, not antithetical, disciplines reflects a basic Mormon rationalism, not only related to Joseph Smith's mind-spirit equation but also to his acceptance of sensory experience as a vehicle for spiritual progress. Smith had said, "God has so ordained that when

³ Ibid. pp. 350–51. Compare also the statement attributed to Smith that "this earth was organized or formed out of other planets which were broken up and remodeled and made into the one on which we live." Franklin D. Richards and James A. Little, *A Compendium of the Doctrine of the Gospel* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1882), p. 287.

⁴ *Teachings*, pp. 346–48.

He has communicated, no vision is to be taken but what you see by the seeing of the eye and the hearing of the ear.”⁵ Young echoes that and expands it; for him things that pertain to eternal life consist in “our minds and understandings expanding by that which we learn by reading, by the seeing of the eye and the hearing of the ear” (16:108). Furthermore, he sanctions the pleasure of the senses. “Everything that is . . . pleasing to the eye, good to the taste, pleasant to the smell, and happifying in every respect is for the Saints” (9:244). “The power of the eye [is] for man to enjoy . . . the power of hearing likewise, tasting, smelling . . . how beautiful they are!” (17:116).

As we examine the many sermon references to the “arts and sciences” in their context, we discover that Young, as was customary in his day, refers to the liberal arts, or even the practical “arts,” i.e. technology, as much as he does the fine arts. An “art” is any fruitful discipline: he praises the artisan along with the artist. He makes arts of soil cultivation (14:39), tempering copper (12:122), and military expertise (9:173), for every true art is a “useful branch” of learning (9:189). As such it must remain segregated from amusements or recreations which include dancing,⁶ theater,⁷ and works of fiction,⁸ but not music or painting.⁹

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁶ Dancing, not necessarily *dance* (an artistic discipline). “We are permitted to do such things because of our ignorance” (9:187); “Instead of going ‘right and left, balance all, promenade,’ go to work and teach yourselves something” — specifically, “the arts and sciences” (16:170; see also 9:194; 10:60–61; 14:117).

⁷ Many of the references in the preceding note also deal with the theater. The essential discourse is “Propriety of Theatrical Amusements” (9:242–45). On the general attitude Saints should hold toward these amusements see “Duties and Privileges” (1:112–114; also 15:222).

⁸ Karen Lynn, “The Mormon Sacred and the Mormon Profane: An Aesthetic Dilemma,” in Steven P. Sondrup, ed. *Arts and Inspiration* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), pp. 44–52, asserts that it was only the content of popular novels that Young objected to. A careful reading of his sermons does not support this thesis: he clearly finds fiction itself inferior as a medium (see 15:222; 9:173; 19:64). “Sell your Dickens’ works,” he wrote to a son and recommended buying history and geography books. See Dean C. Jessee, ed., *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1974), pp. 313–14; see also pp. xiv, xv. Stephen Kent Ehat, “How to Condemn Noxious Novels — by Brigham Young,” *Century 2 1* (Dec. 1976): 36–58, carefully chronicles the leading brethren’s complex views on fiction during the early Utah period. Like most investigators of this subject, he fails to trace Mormon polemics against fiction back to the formative Nauvoo period. The quintessential declaration of that period, an incisive poem published in the *Wasp*, 21 May 1842, is Eliza R. Snow’s “To the Writers of Fiction.” Apparently a quasi-official statement on the subject, the poem immediately quelled the publication of serialized stories in the *Wasp*. Its sentiments closely correspond with Young’s later views.

⁹ Music is actually as paradoxical for Young as for Aristotle: sometimes it is art, sometimes amusement. Generally, though, when it is not associated with dancing, music is an object of real endorsement, the only fine art among the liberal. He rejects sectarian bans on instrumental music: “Every decent fiddler will go to a decent kingdom” (8:178; see also 9:244; 12:122; 11:111; 9:189; 1:48).

Young endorses painting and music above theater and novel-reading (15:222). See also James L. Haseltine, “Mormons and the Visual Arts,” *DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT* 1 (Summer 1966): 18–19.

It is useful to compare Young's assumptions with Aristotle's. Both men refer to three facets of a (free) man's life: occupation, leisure, and recreation.¹⁰ Occupation, one's job or profession, is never to be an end in itself, but only a means to the pursuit of leisure — time devoted to those things that promote spiritual (or intellectual) progress. It has, unlike occupation, intrinsic felicity and worth. Recreation only affords recuperation from occupational labor and is never its own end: it is merely the play which keeps Jack from getting dull. Occupation is to provide for leisure — not the other way around. Young phrased it this way: "Young men are sent to schools and . . . receive their education and calculate to live by it. Will education feed and clothe you, keep you warm on a cold day, or enable you to build a house? Not at all. Should we cry down education on this account? No. What is it for? The improvement of the mind." (14:83) The pursuit of art in leisure is perfectly proper, for it is the pursuit of the beautiful which leads men to delight in the right things (Aristotle's essence of goodness¹¹). Amusements are for rest and relief, for "the recuperation of our spirits and bodies" (9:195).

According to Young, our purpose here is to organize and reconcile all we find, to "improve upon and make beautiful everything around [us]" (8:83), until the whole earth has been ordered enough for God to receive it back (9:242, 17:53). Beautification is a necessary prelude to redemption, not only restoration to original beauty but increased and improved loveliness (10:313, 177). After all, man was given his abilities in the beginning to use in tending the garden (13:3). And since the Fall he must work even harder to push back the resulting tide of ugliness (disorganization). Young laments that this requisite concern with beautification, which he identifies as "the spirit of progress" (16:66), is not shared by all the Saints. Some "have no taste for it, and they see nothing, hear nothing, and know nothing, only [that] they knew Joseph." Such people, he says, "died when Joseph died" (16:66–67); they are no better off than the wicked, whose punishment is shown in the loss of "taste for acquiring knowledge . . . and improvement" (16:66). Thus, God may punish indifference to the arts by the withdrawal of good taste. Young suggests the sons of perdition will meet with disorganization, the clear first sign of which is that they "decrease in beauty" (18:232).

We return then to the original question: if earth's beautification is man's duty, what are elements of true beauty and good art? Young suggests at least three: overall systematization, simplicity of form, and within it, "endless variety" (9:369).

In every creative act there must be rules, laws, restrictions, and procedures established before the construction commences. Young sees the beauty of a thing not so much in surface features as in these predetermined rules. It is not really the materials but the *laws* of nature that in themselves are "harmonious

¹⁰ I borrow the terminology of Ernest Barker, trans., *The Politics of Aristotle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 339–43.

¹¹ "Goodness consists in feeling delight where one should," he says. See Barker, *Politics*, p. 343.

and beautiful" (13:271). Young's image of God examining his own creation is that of a mechanic "admiring the beauty, regularity and order of its motions" (13:234). "God saw that it was good" by the rational contemplation of its governing principles. In turn, he has gathered the Saints "that we may know how to systematize everything that we are engaged in" (11:287). Young says that only when we reduce the arts to sciences can they be "permanent" and "stable"; until then "they are uncertain. They go and come, appear and disappear" (13:306). He complains, "It is hard to get the people to believe that God is a scientific character, that He lives by science or strict law, that by this He is, and by law He was made what He is, and will remain to all eternity because of His faithful adherence to law." (13:306; cf. 8:278)

That same discipline should govern a person's responses to beauty as it does the creation of it. "I do not wish anybody to cherish a wild enthusiasm . . . which is produced by the excitement of animal passions, and makes people weep" (9:103). He does not say that there is anything intrinsically evil to these passions; they are not to be rooted out, only subjected to reason. "When [the passions] are governed and controlled, how beautiful they are!" (17:116). Otherwise, "how can we discipline and control kingdoms, nations, tongues, and people?" (7:152)

Such a discipline finds its manifestation in leanness and severity. These qualities are basic to the Mormon notion of purity itself. The Book of Mormon, for instance, consistently emphasizes "plainness" as a distinguishing feature of the authentic gospel. Young endorses simplicity conspicuously when speaking of women's fashions yet with a consistency that allows us to derive an aesthetic principle: sparseness as conservation. Elaborate fashions "waste so much of the substance God has given . . . on the lust of the eye" (18:74). In contrast, orderliness reflects the celestial pattern (16:21; 13:238; 17:157). Were celestial beings of supernal beauty to appear, their dress would seem plain for its lack of ornamentation (12:201–202; 14:221). Young's image of the Garden of Eden is not one of Miltonic luxuriance and abundance, but rather — at least once man has tilled it — more like Versailles.

Some may argue it unfair to compare fashion and art as I have done. But with Young's thought the comparison is just, for he appears concerned with what Erdman calls a "healthy art" after the Greeks, one in which "there is no divorce between ends and means, no split between the instrumental and the beautiful."¹² Tellingly, Young advocates gardening because it teaches "lessons of beauty and usefulness" to the children, diverting their minds from amusements (17:45). "Beautify your gardens, your houses, your farms; beautify the city. This will make us happy and produce plenty" (15:20). For Young, as Mrs. Kenneth Smith has noted, "beauty . . . was a natural and necessary accompaniment of productive work."¹³ But we may take this a step further. No work was really productive unless it also helped to organize and beautify.

¹² Irwin Erdman, *Arts and the Man: A Short Introduction to Aesthetics* (New York: Norton, 1967), p. 42.

¹³ Quoted in Haseltine, "Mormons and the Visual Arts," p. 18.

In such a conception, a flower may be as “productive” as a tree, the arts as “useful” as the sciences.

Though the large-scale structures of God’s creation and plan are apparently steeped in divine, unalterable traditions, the details are subject to perpetual variation or permutation. “Constant variety [gives] beauty to the whole,” says Young. God’s earth is beautiful precisely because there are “no two trees alike, no two leaves, no two spears of grass alike” (11:305) yet “all are crowned with a degree of polish and perfection that cannot be obtained by ignorant man in his most exquisite . . . productions” (9:369–70). The profound interest of God’s style seems to consist in what Madox Ford calls a “constant succession of tiny, unobservable surprises.”¹⁴ To obtain the proper balance between the fixed and the various Brigham Young like Aristotle and the humanists advocates the fervent study and imitation of nature, “the great school our heavenly Father has instituted for the benefit of his children” (9:370). Though the world might decry the lack of formal training, “we are not as ignorant as they are [because] we study from the great book of nature” (14:39).

Yet the Latter-day Saint artist is obliged to more than imitation. He/she must be filled with the same invigorating spirit that gives growth to nature. This spirit will, in turn, give a certain organic motion to each “cell” of his/her own craft. In the LDS opus strict spiritual discipline must be wedded to the artistic: obedience is neglected at the expense of the “beauty of holiness” (Ps. 29:2). Because people have not been righteous many of the arts known to the ancients have been lost (13:306). The bane of Babylon — that “perfect sea of confusion” (17:41) — is the continual unwillingness to acknowledge and seek the true source of art, the Creator himself (12:207). Even though he, through the fountain of intelligence, dispenses enlightenment impartially, truths of art and science are revealed to the righteous and an angel “knows more about . . . the arts . . . than all the men on earth” (7:278; 10:351). It is not form or structure that produce beauty, but the presence of truth. “If all the female beauty had been summoned down into one woman not in this kingdom, she would not have appeared handsome to me: but if a person’s heart is open to receive the truth, the excellency of love and beauty is there.” (8:199) Whether among women, fashion, nature, or the arts, what is lovely? “That which is of God,” is Young’s answer, because “truth gives us beauty” (11:240; 19:40).

It is doubtful that Young would endorse the prevailing Mormon estrangement from contemporary arts or urge cultural fundamentalism. He acknowledges that “all the great discoverers in art . . . have been denounced as fanatics and crazy; and it has been declared by their contemporaries that they did not know what they were saying, and they were thought to be . . . wild and incoherent” (13:271). Innovators thus need not feel apologetic. The power of devising progressive, even revolutionary ideas is often more than invention —

¹⁴ Ford Madox Ford, *Joseph Conrad: A Personal Remembrance* (London: Duckworth, 1924), p. 197.

it is intervention, God nudging man toward the infinite (13:172). But Young's teachings should prod creators in the Church to work out their own aesthetic salvation with the fear and trembling of perpetual search: progressively revealed truth inherently demands new structures and organizing principles to accommodate it. For, "not only does the religion of Jesus Christ make the people acquainted with the things of God, and develop within them moral excellence and purity, but it holds out every encouragement and inducement possible, for them to increase . . . in the arts . . . for all wisdom and all the arts . . . in the world are from God, and are designed for the good of his people." (13:147)

A Survey of Current Dissertations and Theses

Stephen W. Stathis

A YEAR AGO IN WRITING OF THE PROSPECTS for future graduate study on Mormonism it seemed appropriate to prophesy a gradual deterioration. It is therefore exceedingly heartening to note that while the actual number of Ph.D. dissertations and masters' theses has continued to drop, there appears to have been little decline in quality.

David J. Whittaker's lengthy investigation of "Early Mormon Pamphleteering" (Brigham Young University, 1982) provides a provocative look at the role of pamphlets in stimulating the early organizational and geographical development of Mormonism. Focusing on the life of Joseph Smith III, Roger Dale Launius vividly portrays the personal struggles that the Prophet Joseph's son faced after his father's martyrdom and during his fifty-four year tenure as president of the Reorganized Church (Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1982).

Seeking to provide a broader understanding of the rhetorical activity of prominent nineteenth-century Utah women, Nancy Briggs Rooker examines the life of Utah evangelist Mary Ann Burnham Freeze (University of Utah, 1982). In studying the aftermath of the Teton Dam collapse, Judith Ann Golec details that disaster's social-psychological impact (Ohio State University, 1980).

Michael Dalton Palmer traces the gradual changes the image of the family has undergone in Mormon thought and the role American culture has played in this transformation. Perhaps the most useful of these recent studies may be Andrew F. Ehat's master's thesis (in many respects, the equal of most doctoral dissertations) on Joseph Smith's introduction of temple ordinances and the Mormon succession crisis of 1844 (Brigham Young University, 1982).

LINDA THATCHER, Compiler

ARCHITECTURE

Cannon, Martha Hibbard. "The Restoration of the Lorenzo Hill Hatch House." M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1983.

ARTISTS, DANCERS, AND MUSICIANS

Arrington, Georganne Ballif. "Algie Eggertsen Ballif: Dance Pioneer at Brigham Young University, 1919-1923." M.A. Project, Brigham Young University, 1983.

Boyden, Walter Everett, Jr. "The Road to Hill Cumorah." Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1982.

Lauret, David Thomas. "Follow-Up of Brigham Young University Music Education Graduates: A Survey of Bachelor Degree Recipients from 1968 through 1978." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983.

Toone, Thomas Ernest. "Mahonri Young: His Life and Sculpture." Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1982.

ATHLETICS

Reid, Andrew W. "Football Offensive Line Pass Blocking: The Frequency of Fundamental Errors at Brigham Young University During the 1982 Season." M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983.

BLACKS

Ainsworth, Charles Harold. "Religious and Regional Attitudes Toward Blacks Among Southern Mormons." Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 1982.

BIOGRAPHY

Launius, Roger Dale. "And There Came Prophets in the Land Again: The Life of Joseph Smith III, 1832-1914, Mormon Reformer (Vol. I and II)." Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1982.

Mouritsen, Dale Clark. "A Symbol of New Directions: George Franklin Richards and the Mormon Church, 1861-1950." Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1982.

Romney, Chere H. "Virginia Farrer Cutler: An Oral History of Her Remarkable Accomplishments." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983.

BOOK OF MORMON

Roberts, Brian Curtis. "Stylometry and Wordprints: A Book of Mormon Reevaluation." M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983.

EDUCATION

Burnside, Joan L. "Analysis of Role Functions of School Boards in Utah Utilizing the Stewardship Model." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1982.

Clinger, Ralph Marion. "A Forecast System Analysis of Teacher Turnover in the LDS Church's Southern California Non-Released Time Seminary Program." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1983.

Gregerson, Edna Jensen. "The Evolution of Dixie College as a Public Institution of Higher Education in Utah from 1871 to 1935." Ph.D. diss., University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1981.

Judd, Richard L. "A Study of the Uses and Views of CES Instructional Materials by Religion Teachers at LDS Institutes and Brigham Young University." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1983.

Monson, Robert D. "Professional Development Needs of Seminary and Institute Teachers and Administrators: The Education System of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1983.

Rimington, David B. "An Historical Appraisal of Educational Development Under Howard S. McDonald at Brigham Young University, 1945-1949." Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1982.

FAMILIES

Palmer, Michael Dalton. "A Welded Link: Family Imagery in Mormonism and American Culture." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1982.

FURNITURE

Thatcher, Elaine. "Nineteenth-Century Cache Valley Folk Furniture: A Study of Form and Function." M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1983.

HEALTH

Jorgensen, Donna J. "Housing Quality: Sanitation Practices, and the Health of Children Under Six: Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Cautin, Chile." M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983.

IMMIGRATION

Dewsnup, Ronald K. "German-Speaking Immigrants and the State of Utah: A Brief History." M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1983.

INDIANS

Kolb, Franz. "The Northern Ute Indian Reservation: Established Portrayal and Change." M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983.

LITERATURE

Warthen, Robert Lee. "Mormon Stereotypes in Nineteenth Century German Literature: The Fiction of Amalie Schoppe and Balduin Mollhausen." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983.

Whittaker, David. "Early Mormon Pamphleteering." Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1982.

LOCAL HISTORY

Kunz, Gary C. "Provo in the Jazz Age: A Case Study." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983.

NEWSPAPERS

Roberts, Paul T. "A History of the Development and Objectives of the LDS Church News Section of the *Deseret News*." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983.

POLYNESIAN SAINTS

Freebairn, Paul H. "Employment Needs of Unemployed and Underemployed Adult Latter-day Saints on Oahu, Hawaii." Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1982.

SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY

Ayers, Marion Delores Pederson. "A Study of Stress in Park City, Utah: A Community Impacted by Recreational Development." D.S.W. diss., University of Utah, 1983.

Golec, Judith Ann. "Aftermath of Disaster: The Teton Dam Break." Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1981.

TEMPLES

Ehat, Andrew F. "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question." M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983.

Welch, Thomas Weston. "Early Mormon Woodmaking at its Best: A Study of the Craftsmanship in the First Temples in Utah." M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1983.

WOMEN

Rooker, Nancy Briggs. "Mary Ann Burnham Freeze: Utah Evangelist." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1982.

Spendlove, David Craig. "Depression in Mormon Women." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1982.

REVIEWS

Brief Notices

Gene A. Sessions

THE QUARTERLY BESTOWAL of a Milk the Mormons Award (the Elsie) for the most worthless book costing the most money sometimes goes to a real heavyweight. For example, this quarter's Elsie goes to an author who is not only just next to being a General Authority, but in the minds of people who would rather read Bookcraft than scripture he is also just next to being God himself. Stephen R. Covey, after popular canonization, thanks to his 1970 *Spiritual Roots of Human Relations*, has produced another panacea for life's questions. *The Divine Center: Why We Need a Life Centered on God & Christ & How To Attain It* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982, xiii+298 pp., index, \$9.95) easily outdistances its competitors for this issue's prize. Not only is it brimming with razzle-dazzle and two-bit words, but it reeks with the sourness of self-righteous pretention. As with *Spiritual Roots*, *Divine Center* attempts to translate profane personal management theories into sacred guidelines for living. Covey thus qualifies as a Mormon Bruce Barton who would have us believe that the path to transcendent righteousness leads through a modern landscape of checklists, charts, and cheesy "processes." His hero(es), whom he fashions as "God/Christ" (is that like saying "he/she" to cover your bets?), appear(s) only as executive incidental(s) on the great flowchart of modern Mormonism. (I can never tell whether such muddled Mormons are talking about Trinity, Unity, or Plurality, and I doubt if they can either.) But the book does contain a wealth of mealy anecdotes about mission, Relief Society, stake, and assorted other presidents — great stuff for youth speakers who have used up *Especiallly*

for Mormons. Our Elsie-winner is also about to go into paperback, and that's more than I can say for my last book.

In our last installment, we put forth a new recognition called the Pull the Latter-day Leg Award for the Mormon book that is most unlike what it claims to be. The second winner of the prestigious "Ahab" is James R. French's *Nauvoo, An Epic Novel* (Orem, Utah: Raymont Publishers, 1982, 305 pp., illus. \$?). It fails completely to be epic and probably does not even make it to the status of novel. A talk-show host in Seattle, French warns us in an author's note that he is not a historian. He could have saved the ink, because his silly story proves that point well enough. His portrayal of such characters as John C. Bennett lacks veracity in laughable ways. *Nauvoo* suffers from a common affliction in current Mormon historical literature calling for amputation, a tendency to make rambunctious nineteenth-century Saints into modern Mormons, replete with middle-class virtues and placid, business-like demeanors. After Bennett tries suicide, for instance, and the Prophet heals his hurt soul, the scoundrel calls after Smith and says, "God bless you, President." (p. 168) Now, if John C. Bennett ever called Brother Joseph "President," I will eat my shoe. Beyond its overbearing presentistic flavors, the book is just plain dumb, reminding me of why I never watch network television. Only Michael Landon could play French's hero Andrew Sharp, and the series should be called *Big House at the Ferry*.

Another novel doing well among the Mormons this year is *Pepper Tide* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1982, \$7.95), by Jack Weyland. We noticed another of

his little gems some time ago, something that read so much like *Love Story* it's a wonder he didn't hear from Erich Segal's lawyer. (Maybe he did.) This one seems a bit more original, telling the story of an inactive Mormon who is about to hit the big time as a comedian. Using flashbacks, Weyland paints a thoroughly melodramatic picture of his hero who eventually rediscovers his heritage and finds in it the strength to build a truly meaningful life. Anyone over fourteen who likes this book probably has the mind of a fourteen-year-old. Still, Weyland has hit upon a successful formula. His characters have straight teeth, likeable ways, and the good luck to find perfect love. Their lives bear stern witness to the truth of Alma 41:10, so his books, no matter how simple-minded they may seem, provide LDS kids with something better to put in their minds than KISS and Billy Idol. It seems a pity, though, that the Mormon book market cannot produce novels with more depth and power. But who cares about that anymore? To compete with television, Weyland may have to begin advertising Jabba the Hutt dolls on his back covers.

For young Saints more interested in reading history (all eleven of them), a new book edited by Richard Cottam Shipp entitled *Champions of Light: True Experiences from the Lives of Latter-day Champions* (Orem, Utah: Randall Book, 1983, xix+118 pp., maps, biblio. \$?) comes like a breath of fresh air. Included in the front and back of the volume, Shipp's computer grid maps of the United States are alone worth the price of the book. Designed to encourage Mormons to write personal histories, the text of *Champions* consists of the autobiographies of a dozen obscure disciples of early Mormonism. Shipp has painstakingly annotated the accounts, each of which contains exciting adventure and enough emotion to intrigue the reader of any age. While Shipp does not indicate to which extent he edited the manuscripts for spelling and grammar, his use of brackets seems to indicate some care in that direc-

tion. He selected "champions" of both genders, which also demonstrates some enlightenment. Despite its rather syrupy packaging and obvious attempt to attract the same readers as James French and Dean Hughes, *Champions* earns the "Brief Notices" seal of approval.

By way of personal histories, Steven A. Cramer's *The Worth of a Soul: A Personal Account of Excommunication and Conversion* (Orem, Utah: Randall Book, 1983, 123 pp., biblio. \$?) is anything but light and pleasant reading. Apparently intended as a gift book for those poor devils about to submit themselves to the new Holy Inquisition, it pulls no punches. Cramer's "fall" through adultery (about the only way to get ex-ed anymore) and his subsequent route through the Church court system to rebaptism make for serious story telling. Why anyone would want to submit himself to such self-flagellation remains a mystery, but the agony and feeling of his experience come through graphically. Whether the book has the power to assist a wandering soul across the borders of hell also awaits judgment. One thing in this area is certain: in the LDS system of punishment and retribution, many are culled but few are chastened. In Cramer's case, the "court of love" worked perfectly. In so many others, it serves rather as a rack of anguish leading only to added pain. In any case, *Worth of a Soul* represents an important first-hand account of the system working properly.

Prior to Cramer, every masochist who confessed his "grievous" sins received as required reading a copy of Spencer Kimball's *Miracle of Forgiveness*. Tough and uncompromising, *Miracle* laid down the law in no uncertain terms, but it also displayed the prophet's sense of compassion. After studying his life in his authorized biography, most readers could readily perceive the sources of that compassion, although the book contained precious little of Elder Kimball's actual teachings. To fill that gap, one of its authors, Edward L. Kimball, has edited a companion volume,

The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball, Twelfth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982 xxiii+620 pp., index, biblio. \$11.95). Kimball has done a splendid job of selecting and organizing his father's teachings, which retrieve nicely, thanks to a comprehensive topical index. Of a similar genre but not of the same quality is Donald Q. Cannon, ed., *The Wisdom of Joseph Smith* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1983, viii+52 pp., index, \$?). Assuming that Joseph

actually said everything in the *History of the Church* he supposedly said, Cannon organizes the Prophet's sayings under topics à la the Richard Evans *Quote Book*. Inasmuch as he relies heavily upon sources derived from the *History*, Cannon thus perpetrates much of the same mythology about Joseph's personality and thinking that misled Fawn Brodie. His book is still worth having, especially if its owner is a high councilor or other perennial church speaker. Most of them need all the help they can get, even if their quotes are of dubious origin.

Frustration and Fulfillment

Mormon Women Speak, edited by Mary Lythgoe Bradford (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1982), 237 pp., \$9.95.

Reviewed by Richard J. Cummings, professor of languages and director of the Honors Program at the University of Utah. He has served on the Annual University of Utah Women's Conference Steering Committee for the past four years and cochaired the Women's Conference on Managing Multiple Roles in October 1980.

I WAS INTRIGUED by the cover design of this collection of twenty-four essays by Mormon women. It reminded me of a circular stained glass window with a gently smiling woman's face in the center surrounded by four compartments containing women's hands in various symbolic postures. This design is described by Mary Bradford in her introduction as the "graphic symbol of the mandala" which depicts "the self, the wholeness of personality . . . which cannot tolerate self deception." The hands depict the four aspects of the Mormon woman's life—home, service to others, development of her own talents, and church. This simple design not only summarizes the contents of the book, it also serves as an ingenious device for organizing the twenty-four

heterogeneous essays chosen from more than a hundred submissions.

Reading these essays was a moving experience. Certain essays stand out because of a more dramatic approach or certain stylistic felicities. Despite some qualitative differences, all twenty-four authors expressed themselves so honestly and in such intensely personal terms that I am uncomfortable singling out specific essays for special praise. Still, I would like to give the prospective reader a sense of what to expect by discussing a representative sample.

The first section, introduced by the face with the hesitant smile, includes four essays which set the tone for what is to follow. These essays offer distinctive attempts at self-definition which strive to preserve personal integrity while retaining some semblance of traditional Mormon womanhood. I found them to be gripping statements in which pain and triumph alternate, displaying an admirable open-endedness befitting a struggle which will not settle for the facile solutions suggested by general conference rhetoric. Helen Candland Stark describes "An Underground Journey Toward Repentance" in which she recognizes in the assertive, angry side of her nature "an irascible witch" who must "learn to accept injustice, para-

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dox, pain and loneliness" by befriending her alienated self. Karen Rosenbaum concludes "For Now I See Through a Glass Darkly" by confronting the absence of any divine visitation in her life and deciding to "reconcile my adult experience with childhood faith so that I may remain a Mormon" even though this entails settling for a larger measure of "not knowing" than of "knowing."

The section on the home depicts a woman's hand holding the hand of a child and serves as an impressive centerpiece of the book since it contains the three prize-winning essays published in *DIALOGUE* Winter 1982 issue and deals with the beginning and ending of life. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher gives an account of her first experience of "Birthing," in which she fuses the major dimensions of Mormon childbearing—the clinical with the personal, and the matter-of-fact modern approach with the mystical approach of nineteenth-century Mormon midwifery. Edna B. Laney's "The Last Project," deals with death. She relates with unpretentious poignancy how she and her husband confront the jarring news that he is dying and how they share his waning days to achieve personal and spiritual resolution devoid of bitterness.

The section on service to others deals with the heartache and breakthrough of transcending racial, religious, and ideological barriers. It begins with Rubina Rivers Forester's description of what it means to be "Mormon and brown," and ends with Phyllis Barber's personal retrospective on Mormonism's love-hate relationship with blacks.

The section on creativity contains Jean Wadsworth Johnson's "Life Beyond the Pumpkin Shell," a memorable and representative example of the dilemma confronting divorced Mormon women who are dispossessed from their "pumpkin shell style of life" and are faced with evolving from a "bread baker to a bread winner" with no previous work experience outside the home.

The final section is depicted by two hands joined in prayer and contains essays focused on worship. They serve as an appropriate culmination to the book since they deal with Mormon women's relationship to the Church and the gospel. They recapitulate earlier themes by providing different perspectives on what I would call the "odyssey of the thinking Mormon woman." This odyssey takes the form of departure from orthodoxy, a basic disagreement or a sense of alienation which, after inner turmoil, confrontation with the world, and personal growth, leads to reconciliation and a return to the fold on one's own terms.

Cherie Taylor Pedersen writes how she first ignored the women's movement, then was challenged by it to find a "comfortable middle ground" between selflessness and selfishness, and finally concluded that, because it proved a much needed corrective to an exaggerated notion of "ideal" Mormon womanhood, she could regard it "not as a threat, but as a blessing." Mary Ellen Romney MacArthur describes an ideological schizophrenia first apparent during her college days in her church-orientated "home self" as opposed to her secularized "Stanford self." She concludes triumphantly that "it is perfectly possible to be considered a liberal, intellectual feminist at church and a religious, conservative 'square' in the world and still be accepted in both spheres."

Despite its unpretentious title, this book makes a powerful statement about what it means to be a concerned, thoughtful Mormon woman in today's world with all the attendant frustrations. It offers a rich tapestry of the Mormon female experience expressed by twenty-four women representing a wide range of stations in life, age groups, and geographical regions. Reading these essays was like hearing twenty-four of the most compelling testimonies ever expressed in an LDS setting. Despite the variety of voices, I detected a common concern with the difficulty encountered by dedicated, thinking Mormon women as

they attempt to reconcile their quests for self-discovery with the restrictive traditional definition of a woman's role as a self-effacing, modest wife and mother dedicated to a life of service. Arriving at a satisfactory resolution of such antithetical concerns seems almost impossible — yet each of these women reached a positive solution. Indeed this book offers a refreshingly believable middle ground between the male-oriented preachiness of the collec-

tion of sermons by Church authorities entitled *Women* and the strident negativism of Sonia Johnson's *From Housewife to Heretic*.

Mormon Women Speak is above all a profoundly human document which deserves the attention of women and men alike. It should be required reading for anyone interested in the women's movement or the status of LDS women. It is certainly a must for any man who seeks to understand Mormon women.

The Gospel of Greed

Mormon Fortune Builders and How They Did It by Lee Nelson (Provo, Utah: Council Press, 1981), 252 pp., \$10.95.

Reviewed by Steve Christensen, a financial consultant for a Salt Lake City investment company.

SOMETIMES I WONDER why it is that our Mormon society, particularly those of us living in Utah, are so eager to become rich and successful (that is, if wealth really brings success). As a financial consultant to clients throughout the western states I am amazed at the naivete with which many would-be Mormon millionaires set out with their positive mental attitudes to find their rainbow of wealth.

While wealth in and of itself is not necessarily a bad thing, many of us try to get something for nothing. Utah is unfortunately known as one of the fraud capitals of the English-speaking world. We tend to hope that pyramid schemes and Ponzi maneuvers are legitimate vehicles on the road of financial independence.

What does this have to do with the book *Mormon Fortune Builders and How They Did It*? Maybe not too much if all you read are the biographies themselves. I am not critical of the eleven individuals themselves or the success which they have enjoyed thus far in their financial careers. I am curious, however, about what criteria was used in selecting these eleven

as Mormonism's representatives of personal fortune and wealth. It would also appear that this wealth representation is heavily centered in Utah and excludes Mormons of more prominent stature and public awareness living outside the state.

My main criticism of the book is that it tries to create a spiritual/scriptural formula for becoming wealthy. The author relates a personal spiritual experience which occurred in 1974 which inspired him about how "the Lord gives the power to get the wealth." The formula as related by the author parallels the four first principles of the gospel. First, one must have faith in oneself. Second, one has to repent, but in the author's words, "Repentance was nothing more than a church word meaning to change, to learn, to adjust." Third, one needs to have the ability to make decisions and remain committed, much as a new convert enters into covenants at baptism. Fourth, one must follow the promptings, feelings of well-being, and hunches inspired by the Holy Ghost. To me, the author is providing a formula for entrepreneurial achievements, not a guarantee of financial success. He fails to remember such ideas as proper education, financial budgeting, and hard work, to mention just a few important characteristics in becoming financially successful.

As a young man I received my Sunday School training during my high school years

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from Grant Affleck, now famous for the financial downfall of his company, AFCO Enterprises. Hundreds and possibly thousands of individuals and companies have lost millions just because they tried to squeeze too much juice out of an orange. As a bishop in Centerville I saw many families hurt financially when they became involved in a pyramid scheme using over-valued diamonds. As a financial planner and consultant, I see dozens of shaky investments fly through the valley with the hope of convincing gullible Mormons and others to invest.

All of this is to say that I am afraid of books which foster an inappropriate entrepreneurial spirit. I grew up with a father

who is an entrepreneur, but it meant eighty-to-ninety-hour work weeks and plenty of hard work every day. While it is interesting to read of the lives of some of the individuals mentioned in the book, I believe Nelson may possibly have had among his motives as an author the goal of trying to cash in on the Mormon market by writing a book aimed at our fellow brothers and sisters who enjoy chasing rainbows in their pastime. I question whether God really gave us the power to become wealthy as though it were some type of destiny for us to fulfill. It would be interesting to return in five years and see if all eleven individuals mentioned still have their fortunes.

Responsible Apologetics

Book of Mormon Authorship: New Light on Ancient Origins, Noel B. Reynolds, ed., BYU Religious Studies Monograph Series (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft/ BYU Religious Studies Center, 1982), 244 pp., \$9.95.

Reviewed by Blake T. Ostler, graduate student in law and philosophy at the University of Utah.

AS THE TITLE INDICATES, *Book of Mormon Authorship* addresses the heart of LDS faith claims—the historicity of the Book of Mormon. Noel Reynolds has assembled studies ranging from computer wordprint analysis to source criticism of ancient documents, all concluding that the Book of Mormon is a verifiable, religious revelation. *Book of Mormon Authorship* is intended as evidence for the faithful, as a challenge to the skeptic, and as a thorn in the side of the detractor. Though the book achieves this purpose, it fails to deal adequately with the very issues it raises in a critical, objective manner.

Book of Mormon Authorship is comprised of essays which confront divergent theories that have emerged to explain the origin of the Book of Mormon. Richard

L. Anderson tacitly addresses the theory popular among detractors that Joseph Smith *knowingly* produced a pious fraud (pp. 213–37). Anderson provides evidence and insightful analysis demonstrating that Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery sincerely believed the Book of Mormon was genuine. Indeed, the dominant impression gleaned from Joseph Smith's earliest holographs and now from Lucy Mack Smith's 1829 letter is that he was religiously committed to what he perceived as a divine calling. Fawn Brodie's theory that Joseph assumed his prophetic role only after the translation of the Book of Mormon thus appears to be erroneous.

However, Joseph's sincerity may not be the whole story. The possibility that Joseph was *unknowingly* self-deceived has received support from records surrounding an 1826 trial showing that Joseph had a sincere belief in his powers of divination through "stone gazing" and later of translation of the Book of Mormon by the same means. (See Marvin Hill, "Joseph Smith and the 1826 Trial: New Evidence and New Difficulties" *BYU Studies* (Winter 1972): 222–32; Richard Van Wagoner and Steve Walker, "Joseph Smith: The Gift of See-

from Grant Affleck, now famous for the financial downfall of his company, AFCO Enterprises. Hundreds and possibly thousands of individuals and companies have lost millions just because they tried to squeeze too much juice out of an orange. As a bishop in Centerville I saw many families hurt financially when they became involved in a pyramid scheme using over-valued diamonds. As a financial planner and consultant, I see dozens of shaky investments fly through the valley with the hope of convincing gullible Mormons and others to invest.

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ing" *DIALOGUE* (Summer 1982): 49-68). This is one aspect of Joseph Smith's credibility that Anderson does not analyze or account for. Admittedly, the physical nature of the gold plates and numerous witnesses to their existence create problems with the theory that Joseph was unknowingly self-deceived; however, Joseph's belief and trust in quasi-magical means of translation are relevant to a study of his credibility because such beliefs are suspect in light of widely accepted naturalistic assumptions of modern science.

Richard L. Bushman contests the theory dominant among non-LDS and some LDS and RLDS scholars that Joseph Smith drew from his nineteenth-century environment to produce the Book of Mormon (pp. 190-211). Critics have pointed to a long list of Christian doctrines, King James Bible quotations, American political ideas, and anti-Masonic attitudes found in the Book of Mormon to support their view.

Bushman demonstrates persuasively that these critics have assumed too much. What they assume to be typical, early American, political rhetoric turns out on closer inspection to be not so typical and not so American. Bushman suggests that recondite Israelite practices such as refusal of kingship, authority vested in judges, and "divine deliverance" patterns may better explain the very practices critics uncritically Americanized. Yet Bushman may also assume too much because Joseph Smith's political views may not have been typical and because exodus typology was a favorite mode of Biblical exegesis among New England Puritans and early American preachers such as Jonathan Edwards. Bushman definitely demonstrates, however, the superficial treatment critics have given the Book of Mormon.

The wordprint analysis by Wayne Larson and Alvin Rencher questions once again the theory that Sidney Rigdon or Solomon Spaulding authored the Book of Mormon (pp. 158-88). This theory continues to surface, though thoroughly discredited, because of the suspicion that the

prodigious narrative, theological insight, and biblical knowledge manifest in the Book of Mormon were beyond Joseph's limited education and mental abilities. In computer studies of noncontextual word frequencies to measure unconscious language patterns, word groupings from nineteenth-century authors were clearly distinguishable from Book of Mormon word groupings. Further, the individual Book of Mormon prophets had distinct and contrasting styles from one another. Such decisive findings may give pause to even the most vehement critics of the Book of Mormon and put to rest once and for all the theory that either Sidney Rigdon or Solomon Spaulding authored it.

David D. Croft, a University of Utah statistician, has questioned the validity of Larsen and Rencher's major premise that an author-specific wordprint exists ("Book of Mormon Wordprint Examined" *Sunstone* [March-April 1981]: 15-21). Notwithstanding well over a dozen studies cited by Rencher and Larsen supporting this premise, Croft's skepticism is supported by studies on the works of the Danish philosopher Soren Kierkegaard. According to Howard Hong, an expert on Kierkegaard's writings, computer studies demonstrate that the Danish philosopher could adjust his wordprint in relation to various pseudonyms he assumed in his works, though perhaps not as frequently or distinctively as those in the Book of Mormon.

Croft criticized the first version of the wordprint study printed in *BYU Studies* by asserting that a wordprint could not survive translation. This criticism is answered in the *Book of Mormon Authorship* version. Wordprints of twelve German novellas translated by a single translator demonstrated a statistically significant difference that was not altered by the translation (p. 177).

However, the issue of translation raises a problem of internal consistency in *Book of Mormon Authorship*. In order to make sense of applying a wordprint analysis, one must assume that the "translation process

was both direct and literal, and that each individual author's style was preserved" (p. 179). However, for B. H. Roberts to explain nineteenth-century anachronisms and King James Bible quotations he had to assume that "Joseph's vocabulary and grammar are as clearly imposed on the book as a fingerprint on a coin" (p. 13). If the expressions and ideas in the Book of Mormon are partly the result of Joseph's attempt to communicate the translation, then the nineteenth-century theological ideas and biblical quotations can be explained as a result inherent in the translation process. If these expansions are indeed Joseph's, however, then they should reflect his wordprint. To assume that Nephi had access to a King James Bible or that he was acquainted with nineteenth-century Arminian theology in the sixth century B.C. is beyond the bounds of competent scholarship. Yet this is precisely what must be assumed if the wordprint is to be taken seriously. Even given this criticism, however, the results of the wordprint study must be explained. Perhaps the wordprint analysis tells us more about computers than about the Book of Mormon.

While contesting rival theories, *Book of Mormon Authorship* seeks to establish the ancient origins of the Book of Mormon. An honest evaluation of the claims of the Book of Mormon must consider ancient literary devices such as *chiasmus* (inverted parallelism) and *parallelismus membrorum* (synonomic, antithetic, and synthetic parallelism), discovered by John Welch (pp. 34–52); the sophisticated narrative structure elucidated by Noel Reynolds (pp. 54–74); the accurate description of geographical details of Arabia shown by Eugene England (pp. 144–56); the Semitic nomenclature mirroring ancient Near Eastern usage; and the accurate description of religious, social, and political aspects of sixth-century Israel demonstrated by Hugh Nibley through the peephole provided in the Lachish letters (pp. 104–21).

Nibley also demonstrates the relationship between Christ's visit in 3 Nephi and

the Gospel of the XII Apostles. The Gospel of the XII Apostles is one of a number of early Christian texts like the Gospel of Thomas, the Apocryphon of James, the Acts of Thomas, the Epistle of the Apostles, the Odes of Solomon and other gnostic and patristic sources which describe Christ's post-resurrection activities. Although many of the parallels drawn by Nibley appear weak or may be explained by dependence on a common biblical motif, the wider religious significance can be appreciated in the historical context of the Gospel of the XII Apostles. The relation of these early documents to one another is unclear, but their organic unity suggests a common oral or ritual tradition. A synthesis of Christ's instructions in these sources would include a discourse on the "two ways" (evil and good, light and dark) constructed from ethical admonitions from the Sermon on the Mount, instructions on baptism and prayer, a communal meal sanctified by sacramental prayers, organization of ecclesiastical and communal orders, sealing and initiatory ordinances, and an eschatological discourse. The Didaché, a very early and authoritative Christian work, was actually such a synthesis of instructions of initiation into the Christian community and was dependent in part on the Serekh Scroll found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. 3 Nephi masterfully captures the teachings that the earliest Christians deemed to be the essence of Christ's post-resurrection message.

Book of Mormon Authorship has made a *prima facie* case for the ancient origins of the Book of Mormon. It fails, however, to respond to scholarly criticism in some crucial areas. For example, since Welch first published his study on chiasmus in 1969, it has been discovered that chiasmus also appears in the Doctrine and Covenants (see, for example, 88:34–38; 93:18–38; 132:19–26, 29–36), the Pearl of Great Price (Book of Abraham 3:16–19; 22–28), and other isolated nineteenth-century works. Thus, Welch's major premise that chiasmus is exclusively an ancient literary device is false. Indeed, the presence of

chiasmus in the Book of Mormon may be evidence of Joseph Smith's own literary style and genius. Perhaps Welch could have strengthened his premise by demonstrating that the parallel members in the Book of Mormon consist of Semitic word pairs, the basis of ancient Hebrew poetry. Without such a demonstration, both Welch's and Reynold's arguments from chiasmus are weak.

Wilfred Griggs's paper, "The Book of Mormon as an Ancient Book," is inconclusive (pp. 76-94). Griggs correctly observes that "the assumption that any parallels from the world of Joseph Smith, real or imagined, are sufficient to discredit the authenticity of the work is naive" (p. 76). However, he makes an equally naive assumption that any parallels from the ancient world are sufficient to prove the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. Even if the Book of Mormon were a well-established ancient document, the relationship between the Orphic plates Griggs studies and the Tree of Life motif in 1 Nephi would be questionable, given the distance between the two sources and universality of the motif. Pointing to such parallels is unpersuasive because accounts at least as close to those studied by Griggs from Greece and Egypt were available to Joseph Smith. On the other hand, the attempt of critics to prove the Book of Mormon is entirely a product of Joseph Smith's nineteenth-century environment by comparing Lehi's dream with Joseph Smith, Sr.'s, dream are also inconclusive precisely because the dream is archetypal and has ancient parallels. Despite its weaknesses, Griggs's study is a fine example of the historico-critical method and source criticism.

Perhaps B. H. Roberts's confrontation with the Book of Mormon recounted by Truman Madsen is the most valuable insight provided by *Book of Mormon Authorship* (pp. 7-32). Roberts was honest enough to realize that one must account for the presence of Semitic names as well as nineteenth-century Arminian theology, for

ancient literary and social patterns as well as modern anachronisms, and for powerful religious doctrines as well as quasi-magical origins of the Book of Mormon. Given Robert's view of the role of Joseph Smith as the explicator, refiner, translator, and expander of the Book of Mormon, he expected the book to have a split personality reflecting both the ancient and modern worlds. Roberts's approach to the Book of Mormon as an historical text was ingenious, foreshadowing modern developments in redaction criticism or study of editorial tendencies in the formation and transmission of ancient texts.

Indeed, many recent arguments denying the authenticity of the Book of Mormon based on nineteenth-century parallels or use of biblical texts presupposing developments of second Isaiah or the Sermon on the Mount can be answered once it is recognized that the book is an instance of pseud-epigraphic expansion and targumization. Pseudeigraphic expansion is the expansion of a text in the name of an earlier prophet, to answer the nagging problems of the day by providing unrestricted and authoritative commentary based on insights from the text, thereby imposing a modern worldview and theological understanding on that text. Targumization is the interpretive activity of transmitting scripture through scriptural commentary, thus imposing modern theological assumptions on that scripture. Perhaps this is what Joseph Smith had in mind when "translating," as evidenced by his inspired version of the Bible. Moreover, such tendencies to expand and interpret are evident throughout the Bible, Dead Sea Scrolls, and Pseudepigrapha. Though such expansion may compromise the historicity of the Book of Mormon, it does not abrogate its authenticity. In fact, the rabbis and early sectaries of Qumran felt that prophetic expansion of scripture enhanced its religious value. Of the theories proposed to explain the Book of Mormon, only this theory of pseud-epigraphic expansion has the ability to explain both its modern and ancient aspects.

In an unfortunate attempt to discredit the Book of Mormon, detractors stooped to dishonesty by removing Roberts's cover letter to his "Book of Mormon Study," which explained that this work represented possible objections to the historicity of the Book of Mormon but not his own views. There is a general consensus, even among the most vitriolic detractors, that Roberts wrote the most effective challenge to date of the Book of Mormon's historicity in search of answers to his own objections and questions. Unfortunately, the same care with justified objections has not been taken in *Book of Mormon Authorship*. Perhaps a more critical approach was avoided because the claims of the Book of Mormon are infrequently taken seriously by scholars and the authors wanted to state their case before it was diluted by criticism. Their case may ultimately be much weaker, however, precisely because they failed to confront criticism.

Nonetheless, *Book of Mormon Authorship* includes well-conceived studies by

competent scholars that a serious student must deal with in confronting the Book of Mormon. Almost without exception, critics of the Book of Mormon know very little about nineteenth-century America, even less about the ancient world in general and virtually nothing about sixth-century Israel. The authors of *Book of Mormon Authorship* represent a refreshing departure from unqualified conclusions by unqualified crusaders both pro and con. With the exception of Eugene England, the authors have applied the tools of their specialized fields of study and expertise. However, the tone of *Book of Mormon Authorship* is apologetic and not objective. Such responsible apologetics serve the valuable function of legitimizing religious claims and making such faith claims more responsive to reason, criticism, and historical fact. At the very least, *Book of Mormon Authorship* establishes that nothing short of genius must be imputed to Joseph Smith if he is to be considered the book's author and nothing short of inspiration if not.

More Extraterrestrials

Strategie der Götter, Das Achte Weltwunder by Erich von Däniken (Dusseldorf: Econ, 1982), 320 pp., 32 Deutsche Mark.

Reviewed by Peter C. Nadig, a graphic design student at the Fachhochschule in Dusseldorf, West Germany. He is executive clerk in his Duisburg ward, and his interests include ancient and church history, traveling, and Middle East affairs.

WHEN I SAW THIS BOOK for the first time I ignored it as I have done with all of the other books by the popular nonfiction Swiss author and world traveler, Erich von Däniken. He is known as the leading proponent of the "Gods were astronauts" theory, and I could not make up my mind about him. Nevertheless, many Church members find some of his observations interesting and worthy of discussion.

My attention was first drawn to his recent book when an elderly member of my ward told me that von Däniken was writing a series about the golden plates for one of West Germany's popular TV journals. In previous European books dealing with pre-Columbian archeology, he briefly mentioned the Book of Mormon, but only to deny its claim as a historical record. It was discussed mainly in connection with the common theory of the lost tribes.

Von Däniken's books, which are widely read, mostly deal with archeological topics for which a scientific explanation remains uncertain and controversial. He is not fond of modern sciences which he claims have turned "dogmatic and intolerant" (p. 221). Since von Däniken searches rather indiscriminately for any kind of unclassified artifact to promote his observations of

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extraterrestrial life, he believes in the “freedom of [his own] fantasy.” This is one reason for his reputation as an outsider on the fringes of credibility. Therefore he is eager to find any source which can support his observations and theories.

I was curious to see what von Däniken had to say about the Book of Mormon. *Strategy of the Gods* deals explicitly but not exclusively with the Book of Mormon. The Book of Mormon connection is clearest on the dust jacket:

About . . . 2500 years ago a spaceship flew above our shocked ancestors. The commander of the extraterrestrials instructed a group of people in ship-building, gave them a compass, and decoyed them by sea from the Jerusalem area to South America. When the temple construction was completed, the commander flew back to Babylon and brought back the Prophet Ezekiel to show him the new temple in South America . . .”

This scenario, though untenable to Mormons, is not completely unfamiliar. The Nephites may have built some of the ruins in South America. In 1980, LDS missionaries posed such a question to Däniken (p. 50), and he thought of Chavin de Huantar in Peru, a temple that fits some but not all of the description of Ezekiel. This was a clue that also became a link, a suggestion.

This book is the first one I know of that positively supports the Book of Mormon. The book’s first chapter retells the story of Moroni’s visit to Joseph Smith without mentioning the First Vision. The author doesn’t explain the role of the Prophet Joseph Smith but is convinced that he actually possessed the golden plates or “treasure” as he calls them. The testimonies of the eleven Book of Mormon witnesses is not the only proof of the plates, he contends. The contents themselves constitute proof. This is alluring bait for the LDS reader. He treats Mormonism positively and respectfully. He also quotes some historical sources linked to the Book

of Mormon, like the Popul Vuh or Atrahasis mythologies.

Thereafter, however, the reader will be confused. Von Däniken does not intend to prove exactly which part of the Book of Mormon might be true. Rather than claiming total falsification of the translation, von Däniken is sure of “partial” falsification, by whom he does not say. He says, for example, that 1 and 2 Nephi and Ether are “adventurously exciting, informative, and without falsification, but it’s regrettable that some ‘plump’ prophecies about Jesus were added to continue biblical history” (pp. 49–50).

Some contemplations in *Strategy of the Gods* are surely based on von Däniken’s “freedom of fantasy.” For example, the Jaredites and Nephites had to build ships, he says, because spacecraft of this time weren’t advanced enough to give so many passengers a lift. In another case, the Nephites “diligently” practiced plural marriage (for the author a link to the nineteenth-century practice) to get enough offspring to build the temple modeled after Solomon’s (p. 47).

The book includes a second work, *The Eighth Wonder of the World*, which reports an excavation site in Columbia, called Buritaca 200, which von Däniken was allowed to visit. The whole book itself is a mixture of his travel experiences in South America and his own lively observations and comments. I enjoyed the author’s involving narratives and his eloquently expressed fear of the limitations of modern science. The book is fully illustrated, mainly with the author’s own photographs.

Some feel this bestseller will help missionary work in Germany, but I fail to contemplate this prospect with equanimity. Some of our elders and missionaries don’t seem to be particular about their sources either. We want to prove the divinity of the Book of Mormon as we understand it, but von Däniken’s purpose is not the same. Instead he is looking for more extraterrestrials. The purposes are not, I think, compatible.

An Approach to the Mormon Past

Mormonism and the American Experience by Klaus J. Hansen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), xvii, 257 pp., \$15.

Reviewed by Thomas G. Alexander, professor of history and director of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University.

THE EXPLOSION OF books and articles on the Mormons over the past ten years is nothing short of phenomenal. Two books, James Allen and Glen Leonard's *Story of the Latter-day Saints* and Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton's *The Mormon Experience*, have given us at least a reliable and sympathetic overview of the history of the Church, which carries the story to the present. Interpretive articles by Neal Lambert and Richard Cracroft, James Allen, Marvin Hill, Jan Shippo, Gary Bergera, Paul Edwards, myself, and others have considered the religious experiences and doctrines of the Latter-day Saints in the context of nineteenth-century American development. Writers like Charles Peterson, Wayne Wahlquist, Michael Raber, and Richard Jackson have reinterpreted Latter-day Saint settlement patterns. Articles such as those by Wayne Larsen, Alvin Rencher, and Tim Layton have proposed interpretive techniques for studying the documents of the Latter-day Saint past.

In *Mormonism and the American Experience*, Klaus Hansen interprets Latter-day Saint experience in relation to general American history by focusing on selected problems in Mormon studies. He constructs a series of essays analyzing Mormon experience and comparing and contrasting it to the general American pattern. The problems Hansen considers are: the origins of the Mormon religion (focusing on the process of revelation and the Book of Mormon), Mormonism's similarities to or differences from nineteenth-century American religion, the way in which Mormons have

coped with the problem of death (considering the doctrine of the potential godhood of mankind), the relationship between secular and religious authority in economics and politics (his point of view is similar to that in his previously published *Quest for Empire*), Mormon traditions on sexuality and marriage (including plural marriage), the development of Mormon racial attitudes, and a final chapter speculating on the meaning of the Mormon experience.

A careful reading of Hansen's book reveals that he has consulted an impressively wide range of secondary sources in Mormon studies, religion, history, and anthropology. However, they date from 1979 and before. A number of interpretive articles published between 1978 and 1981 could have helped considerably—particularly in Chapter One. It seems apparent that he has not explained away the negative evidence presented in those works which disagree with his point of view—Marvin Hill's "Quest for Refuge," Michael Quinn's "The Council of Fifty and its Members," my "Ulysses S. Grant and the Mormons" and "Wilford Woodruff and the Changing Nature of Mormon Religious Experience," and Victoria Grover-Swank's master's thesis, "Sex, Sickness, and Statehood: The Influence of Victorian Medical Opinion on Self-Government in Utah." (In fairness, he may not have had access to her work.)

Hansen explains Mormonism as the attempt of a group of early nineteenth-century Americans ravaged by the vicissitudes of modernization to find a religious life which allowed them to cope with a world they did not like but could not change. They adopted a new world view which provided satisfying answers to the questions uppermost in their minds which contemporary evangelical Christianity did not answer. As Hansen sees it, some of the elements of the Mormon tradition were found in Puritanism, some in Arminianism.

Others, such as the potential godhood of human beings, were unique, at least in contemporary Christianity. Mormons rejected much in nineteenth-century Christianity, especially revivalism, and provided a view of the pre-Columbian past which placed the American continent in a primary position rather than the traditional secondary status in world history.

The author or revelator of those views (depending on how you read Hansen's argument) was Joseph Smith. Hansen focuses on the Book of Mormon and the nature of personal revelation rather than on the First Vision where most other Mormons would have begun. He sees the Prophet as an enormously gifted man of towering spiritual stature, rejecting the characterizations of Joseph as a deviant, a fraud, or a psychotic. Hansen's argument is naturalistic rather than supernatural, but at base defends Joseph Smith and the Mormons for those outside the Church.

In constructing this defense, he occasionally overreaches himself. Part of his argument about the nature of revelation in Chapter One is based on an appeal to the work of Julian Jaynes and the theory of the bicameral mind. This thesis is highly speculative and recent neurological experiments at Stanford University and elsewhere indicate that the entire brain, rather than a part of it or even a single side, is involved in complex thought. Moreover, its use as a model is problematic. Any model (Hansen calls it a "metaphor") is valuable only to the extent that it assists understanding. This model fails. The bicameral mind is, by definition, located entirely within the subject; and any external influences, whether from God, culture, or other sources, are excluded.

Moreover, Hansen's discussion of Joseph Smith's early religious experiences and his critique of Fawn Brodie's view of the First Vision could have benefited from the research of Lambert and Cracroft, who have shown that others, contemporary with Joseph Smith in Western New York, reported similar visions of Christ. His in-

terpretation of the Book of Mormon could have benefited from the studies of Larson, Rencher, and Layton, even though their methodology has been questioned.

Perhaps the strongest point of the book is the serious attention Hansen gives to Mormon doctrine as a vehicle for understanding both the Latter-day Saints and American culture. The Latter-day Saint belief system has been an important motivating force in Mormon society. Hansen's chapters on plural marriage and racial attitudes are important. He recognizes that attributing change to pressure from outside forces fails to address the operation of the internal dynamics of Mormon doctrine and society. Instead of seeing the Mormons reacting to outside pressure as many others have done, he argues that internal changes made alterations of both doctrines and practices necessary.

Since this is one of the books in the Chicago History of American Religion, it is written primarily for the non-Mormon student of American religious history. It should, nevertheless, prove useful to Latter-day Saints as well, not because it will reveal a great deal to them about their own religion but rather because it will help them to understand some of the relationships between Mormonism and the larger American society.

Such an understanding is needed to correct a rather unfortunate if not imperceptive belief in some LDS circles that no relationship between the two groups existed or, among others, that it is irrelevant to understanding Mormonism. Pushed to its logical conclusion, this point of view would create a degree of ignorance of the Mormon past which would make it impossible for Latter-day Saints to understand either themselves or the surrounding society.

Ironically, a number of proponents of this point of view apparently see it as an affirmation of the divinity of Mormonism. What it seems to reveal, however, is the fear that scholarly interpretations will undermine faith or "disprove" the Church.

Those of us within the Latter-day Saint fold who are both students of American history and committed Latter-day Saints recognize that this has not been the case, and that books like Hansen's help support faith by raising important questions which need to be addressed.

Those who are critical of recent research in the field of Mormon studies usually fail to understand the basic nature of historical methodology. Contrary to what these critics assert, most historians recognize that historical accounts are not "objective," that historians will only find evidence which helps answer questions they first think of asking, and that historians understand that in much of their work they are testing theories. Historians do not usually believe they are working with general laws or received views in the positivist sense. The work of historicists like Wilhelm Dilthey, R. G. Collingwood, and Benedetto Croce — if not progressive historians more familiar to Americans like Carl Becker and Charles Beard — has convinced most otherwise. Most recognize that they are working with what Dale H. Porter has called "normative hypotheses" or generalizations which may have some validity but which are not infallible. A positivist like Karl Popper can suggest that these generalizations are "trivial," but the historian uses them to aid in understand-

ing. Hansen, at least in his most speculative positions, is clear that he is dealing with models or theories (he prefers the terms metaphor or hypothesis) rather than with "truth" or "objective reality."

I find his use of Jaynes's model unsatisfactory since it does not help me conceptualize Joseph Smith's religious experiences. Perhaps Hansen found the model I proposed in the case of Wilford Woodruff unsatisfactory, and that is the reason he ignored it. Both of us would recognize, however, that each approach is simply a model intended to aid understanding rather than the last word.

Contrary to what some of the critics of the New Mormon History have asserted, it is possible — perhaps even necessary — for purposes of analysis to separate the question of authenticity from the question of significance in considering various aspects of the Mormon experience. It may even prove useful to address the latter question and ignore the former. One who does so may, in spite of what critics maintain, remain a faithful believer in Christ. After all, Christ promised that if we continue in the faith and remain his disciples we can know the truth and become free. (John 8:31–32) Unless Christ lied, and I do not believe he did, historical study by his servants can never be a faith-destroying enterprise.

Revised But Unchanged

Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder by Harold Schindler (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), xvi, 417 pp., \$25.00

Reviewed by Eugene E. Campbell, emeritus professor of history, Brigham Young University.

PUBLISHED FIRST IN 1966, Harold Schindler's biography of Porter Rockwell has been widely read and has received well-deserved acclaim for its evidence of careful research,

its objectivity, its literary merit, and its remarkable illustrations. Now, after the passage of seventeen years and five additional printings, the author and the editors of the University of Utah Press have chosen to publish a revised and enlarged edition which includes additional research and more mature perspectives.

According to the author, much of the new material "has been fitted into the footnotes, and while most of it is supplemental, it is there to flesh out the individuals and

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events of Orrin Porter Rockwell's world" (p. xiii).

These lengthy footnotes give added evidence of Schindler's meticulous research but often add to the difficulty of following the narrative. In fact, footnotes in fine print occupy from one half to two-thirds of several pages, reminding one of the writings of Herbert Howe Bancroft and other nineteenth-century writers. Readers might be well advised to ignore the footnotes during the initial reading and, after getting the narrative in mind, return for a more careful evaluation of the validity of the account by a careful examination of the footnotes.

The late Gustive O. Larson reviewed the first edition of the Rockwell biography for *DIALOGUE* (Winter 1966) and objected primarily to the "over-abundance of irresponsible testimony and sensationalism represented by such names as William Daniels, Bill Hickman, Joseph H. Jackson, Swartzell, Achilles, Beadle, and . . . Kelly and Birney's 'Holy murder' . . ." I feel that Larson's criticism is still valid and see little effort on the part of the author to rectify this tendency.

True, he has identified the oft-quoted "Achilles, the mysterious tale-teller and self-proclaimed purveyor of Rockwell's confession . . . as Samuel D. Serrine" but admits that he "continues to elude close examination" and "is as much a mystery as his pseudonym" (p. xv).

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reduce the credibility of some of Schindler's conclusions and leaves the reader wondering about Rockwell's involvement in the Boggs, Aiken, and King Robinson affairs, not to speak of lesser known crimes such as the drowning of an elderly female gossip in Nauvoo (see lengthy footnote on p. 105). Similarly, sources quoted describing Porter's involvement with the wife of Amos Davis (pp. 142-43) are Hall's *Abominations of Mormonism Exposed*; Ford's *History of Illinois*, and the *Warsaw Signal*. Schindler seems to accept the incident as factual but makes no attempt to give Rockwell's side of the story nor to account for why this "plural wife" is not mentioned again.

Perhaps the author's desire to be objective has led him to include questionable sources, but this should not obscure the fact that Hal Schindler has produced a very readable and valuable book. His subject, Orrin Porter Rockwell, emerges from the legendary shadows as a rugged, courageous, warm human being who was involved in many important events in Mormon and Utah history, and Schindler has included enough historic background for these events to give the reader an interesting interpretation of this history to 1878.

An extensive bibliography, a detailed index, and Dale Bryner's miniature pen-and-ink illustrations coupled with Harold Schindler's exhaustive research and journalistic writing style make this handsome volume an attractive "must" for anyone interested in Mormon and Utah history.

Accolades for Good Wives

Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750 by Laurel Thatcher Ulrich (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), xv+276 pp., illus., biblio., index, \$17.50.

Reviewed by Gene A. Sessions, associate professor of history at Weber State College.

I HAVE WRITTEN book reviews on a regular basis for almost a decade. Most of them have been in the field of Mormon/Utah history, although I consistently try to disclaim my expertise in the area due to a lack of training. Whatever the case, in the course of all those reviews, I am afraid that I got a deserved reputation for being rather harsh. The truth is that when rele-

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gated to reviewing Mormon studies, anybody would get such a reputation. Most Mormon-studies stuff is just plain terrible, any way you look at it. So what a joy it is to do a book by a Mormon author about something else that turns out to be nothing short of *great!*

Good Wives qualifies in my book of some experience for every accolade a reviewer might dream up. Written in a lucid and imaginative style, it opens a facet of history to view with such clarity and fascination that one wonders if it can really be history. Laurel Ulrich's insights into her subject develop with remarkable strength and even familiarity, perhaps an indirect proof of Sidney Ahlstrom's truism that Mormonism is the last gasp of Puritanism. Born and reared in the heart of rural Mormonism in southeastern Idaho, Ulrich is currently an assistant professor of history at the University of New Hampshire. No one, from Degler to Cott, and across every intellectual and polemical point in between, has ever written about women in colonial New England with such power and the flavor of truth as does Ulrich in *Good Wives*. Not only is this work a triumph of historical dissertation, but it is also a literary masterpiece, ingeniously crafted and full of sentient impact. In short, no one in modern America could have handled the task better than a Mormon woman who is also a New Englander and a first-rate scholar.

That last statement might require some defense. In addition to writing reviews over the last eight or nine years, I have also been teaching American history, including a course entitled "Women in American History." Some of the best times I have in that course revolve around my discussions of Puritan women and Mormon women. I spend two days each quarter talking about Mormon women, justifying the expense by citing the current anti-feminist position of the Church and its impact upon such things as the ERA. But I also maintain that an understanding of current Mormon womanhood is essential to com-

prehending the spiritual foundations of American culture, namely in Puritanism and its historically pervasive attitudes. Ulrich's profound insights into colonial womanhood in New England convince me of the veracity of that thesis.

Using a modified "role analysis," Ulrich dissects colonial womanhood with command precision. She divides the body of her topic into three parts, each based upon a mythic feminine symbol extant among the Puritans — Bathsheba, or the "virtuous woman," who taught her son Solomon an appreciation for huswifery; Eve, or the "beguiling woman," whom God gave man for companionship; Jael, or the "heroic woman," who lured an enemy into her tent and killed him. John Cotton thought of all three as one, "a comfortable yokemate" who could teach his children, satisfy his need for feminine attention, and assist him in any task conditions the frontier might demand. Ulrich utilizes a vast compendium of fascinating biographical episodes from the lives of scores of New England women to present a crystal image of both the real and the ideal colonial female as she fit into whatever symbolic mold the moment demanded.

Good Wives entertains as well as it instructs, but the completely casual reader should probably avoid it. It is one of those tough yet moving histories that manage to carry the reader along as would a good novel. One moment we wince at the experiences of a young woman captive of the Indians and the next notice our adrenalin surge as two more women kill and scalp ten of their captors in order to escape. But such tales are incidental to the intent of the book. The author possesses a clever ability to take us well beyond the obviousness of an event into its deeper meanings, often couched in myth and symbol, which, after all, are what really matter in history. "It is from myth that causal energy flows," wrote William Miller in his essay on the causes of Southern violence, and it is certainly from myth that the traditional female role has become institutionalized in American

civilization. It is what all the good wives were supposed to be that mattered, not what they really were. The same is true today and is the great stumbling block of the current women's movement. In the traditionalist setting, women are supposed to be a great many things that they cannot and (if we are to believe Ulrich) never could be. Women whose lives conform at least to the outward patterns of the happy ideal have a difficult time supporting or even understanding their sisters who struggle against the pain of the real. The female role models of the present age are just as mythic as were those of colonial New England we see so distinctly in *Good Wives* as it examines the economic, sexual, and public spheres of women's lives.

So much of women's history has openly proposed to exalt women, to put them on new pedestals, to tell of their forgotten

heroisms and saintly perfections. Ulrich deftly avoids this trap. Some of her characters are everything *but* good wives or good anything else. Her book thus adds to its many virtues the quality of balance, a rare attribute in women's history today.

Ulrich mentions in her acknowledgments a debt to Mary Ryan, one of the truly superb historians in America today. The influence of Ryan upon Ulrich's writing is everywhere apparent as the student has come abreast of the teacher. It gives me a warm sense of pleasure to know that one of my own, so to speak, has set a new standard of excellence in women's history.

One last thought occurs to me. If it is important to understand today's good wives" (Mormon women) in order to understand yesterday's (the Puritans), perhaps the reverse is true also, especially now that we have Ulrich's masterpiece on the shelf.

When Mormons Had Horns

The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834–1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations by Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1983), 140 pp., \$20.

Reviewed by Craig Denton, assistant professor of communications, University of Utah.

After reading *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834–1914*, you will understand why Mormons once had horns. The vestigial appendages were a remnant of cartoonists' repeated use of the symbol to associate polygamy with satyr-like lust. The now-laughable image is the husk that remains when a stereotype has metamorphosed into a prejudice.

But not all stereotypes are as comical or as easily dismissed, as authors Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton argue in their history that explores the image of Mormons in cartoon and line drawings during a period of our national experience when

Mormons drew a large share of editorial venom. Motivated by similar studies of blacks, Jews, and native Americans, Bunker and Bitton set out to reveal how selectively and one-sidedly the nation's editors portrayed Mormons during a time when America willfully ridiculed minorities. Although many old images of Mormons seem to have faded, the authors also suggest that prejudices linger on the memory of stereotypes. Problems arise when stereotypes are not completely relegated to folklore.

Bunker and Bitton divide their work into two parts. The first part explores the graphic treatment Mormons received during specific periods between 1834 and 1914. Then, the authors explore such themes as how Mormons, feminists, and communists were lumped together as troublesome bedfellows by political cartoonists.

Four-color illustrations are generously sprinkled throughout the book. The use of white space is lavish and gives the cartoons the critical display necessary to make them

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Four-color illustrations are generously sprinkled throughout the book. The use of white space is lavish and gives the cartoons the critical display necessary to make them

forceful and vital for the reader. Moreover, the white space gives the book a contemporary feel.

However, the book suffers from improper organization. In the last chapter the authors talk generally about the uses and abuses of stereotyping. But the reader needs to know beforehand how stereotyping is necessary in political cartooning. When dealing with mass audiences, stereotypes provide a redundancy that better ensures broad communication, a helpful use. An earlier discussion would have enabled the reader to better discern the differences between malice and clever exaggeration.

It also would have been helpful had the authors provided some data on the publications. They reproduce often from *The Wasp*, *Puck*, *Life*, and *The Daily Graphic*, but the reader has no idea about the nature of their audiences or, with the exception of a circulation figure for *Puck* toward the end of the history, their scope and penetration. *Life*, for instance, billed itself as the magazine for the sophisticate. If that is so, how then did such stereotypes as "Mormons have horns" become fact for the uninformed and perhaps illiterate? In short, the authors also needed to discuss how images are communicated vertically through our social structure.

But if for no other reason, this book is an eminent success because of the exhaustive research undertaken by the authors. In addition to the analysis of the cartoons reproduced in the book, the authors often allude to other cartoons with prejudicial stereotyping. Tantalized by the rich material already presented, the reader wants to see those other cartoons himself, to ratify the authors' judgment of what the symbols mean.

For there always is a problem in trying to decide what symbols mean. The riddle is compounded, too, when the analysts are separated by time from the material. For

instance, the authors refer to a Currier and Ives presidential campaign print for the 1856 Republican candidate, John C. Fremont. Suggesting that the Republicans hoped to capitalize on the national ill-will toward Mormons, Bunker and Bitton say, "In the background on the top of the Rocky Mountains flies an American flag, suggesting that if the Republicans prevailed, Americanism not Mormonism would be firmly planted in that area" (p. 109). But is that, in fact, the 1856 interpretation? Could it have rather reminded the electorate that in 1845 Fremont explored the Mexican Territory in the Rocky Mountains and was heroically responsible for planting the Stars and Stripes on the previously foreign-held land?

But such strained interpretations are rare. Aware of their charge, the authors carefully provide scholarly distance from their supercharged material. It is that squarely drawn boundary that makes this history so valuable.

Cliches aside, it should be read by everyone, in Utah at least. The Utah gentile will discover how easily stereotypes become prejudices and how unconsciously ingrained they can become. At first, the gentile may find himself arguing with the authors, questioning whether stereotype and prejudice actually exist in a particular cartoon; but eventually, he or she will not be able to hold out against the overwhelming evidence. And coming to that realization, that reader will learn how one must be ever alert, lest stereotypes become real, personal perceptions.

The Mormon reader first will experience a catharsis. Then, if not content to rest on vindication, the Mormon reader in Utah will understand more of a curious phenomenon. He or she will see that stereotyping is a human condition and that the persecuted has the potential to become the persecutor when power is on his or her side.

The Old Young Years

Brigham Young: The New York Years by Richard F. Palmer and Karl D. Butler (Provo, Utah: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, 1982), 106 pp., \$9.95.

Reviewed by Larry C. Porter, Director of Church History, Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University.

THERE IS A DISTINCT ADVANTAGE in being a New Yorker when tracking one down in your own backyard. Richard Palmer's second great-grandfather, Noah Palmer, came to Palmyra in 1810 and owned land adjacent to the Martin Harris farm on the west. Richard was born in Canadaigua and lived in Palmyra for the first twelve years of life. Currently a reporter for the *Syracuse Herald Journal*, he is a homebred Yorker with a recognized facility for local history, geography, and the vernacular to match. These pluses are of particular value when tracing Brigham Young and his kin through a patchwork of homesteads in western New York.

The Brigham pump was primed when Richard and his coauthor, Karl D. Butler were granted permission to republish a 66-page softbound work by Mary Van Sickle Wait, *Brigham Young in Cayuga County, 1813-1829* (Ithaca, N.Y.: DeWitt Historical Society, 1964). Finding the account sketchy, lacking documentation and minus the Salt Lake City sources, they decided to start over. *The New York Years* is a product of more than a decade of intensive research at ground zero plus a pair of summer sessions in the LDS Church Historical Department. Fortunately, its Brigham materials were simultaneously being catalogued and yielded bountifully.

In a majority of the Brigham Young accounts written thus far, the real Brigham doesn't stand up until age thirty-one or thereabouts, already on his way across America with Joseph Smith. The pre-Church years are left in obscurity. But not now. A primary portion of the stimulating

text is concerned with the early life of Brigham Young and family members ending with Brigham's conversion and a brief rehearsal of his earliest missionary labors to 1841. Thirty-one photos have been tastefully selected.

Of course, the authors use some of the standard sources, but happily a bevy of new facts emerge. They have been able to garner many local items which are often difficult for the hit-and-run historian to absorb. There are local histories, oral traditions, cemetery, and surrogate records, not to mention a familiarity with the lay of the land. A thorough knowledge of Brigham's living at this site or that and his building this wing or that fireplace requires some prolonged and meticulous homework—at home.

The reader also comes away with a new recognition of the Young family structure. Numerous details concerning Brigham's brothers and sisters, their spouses, and their church affiliations add depth to the filial relationships extant in the expanded John Young, Sr., household. We have been exposed to Phinehas, Joseph and Lorenzo in previous encounters with the Youngs, but what of Abigail, Miriam, and Clarissa? New personalities begin to emerge for our inspection. It is difficult to know the whole Brigham until one becomes acquainted with those who interacted so intimately with the man himself.

Similarly, Brigham Young's religious experience prior to his exposure to Mormonism has been examined with insightful perspective. The authors have not strained to show him as being overreligious or underreligious in his search for the eternal.

I was also pleased to meet Brigham Young the carpenter, glazier, and painter. It was also interesting to meet Brigham Young the debtor. The authors affirm that he ultimately paid every debt, sometimes many years later. Despite his seemingly limitless capacity for work he was caught in

the bill bind. The account of his determination to satisfy old creditors is a tribute to the tenacity for detailed research described in text by these writers. Palmer and Butler have unraveled fact from fiction to produce a chronology of Brigham's places of employment and residences. They have also defused many myths of what Brigham actually made with his hands. It is a creditable job.

The comparative dearth of source documents for those initial years is the major problem. The authors acknowledged

to me: "We only wish that there was more information. We just plain ran out of material to write about." Wisely, they did not protract the volume beyond the available documents.

Although a number of writers have recently ploughed new ground on Brigham Young and more prospective contributors are poised in the wings, the Palmer-Butler volume is a refreshing and well-searched resource, the standard for the otherwise eclipsed era of the old Young years.

An RLDS Leader

F. M. Smith: Saint as Reformer 1874-1946 by Larry E. Hunt (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1982), 2 vols., paper vol. 1, \$11; vol. 2, \$12.

Reviewed by Robert D. Hutchins, teacher of American history at Sandwich High School, Sandwich, Illinois. He is currently pursuing a doctorate in educational administration at Northern Illinois University.

FEW SCHOLARS OF MORMONISM have studied the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and fewer still have studied its leaders. Larry Hunt, in this two-volume study follows the life of Frederick M. Smith, son of Joseph Smith III and second president of the RLDS Church. He is a complex man who sought to fulfill his spiritual calling as a member of what many consider a "chosen" family. Hunt traces Smith's roots from childhood through the development of his intellectual background to his confrontation with the Reorganized version of Mormonism's Kingdom of God on Earth. The reader then follows Smith's struggle as prophet and president to centralize the administration of his church, culminating in a hollow victory of obtaining "supreme directional control." Finally, Hunt places this story in the framework of the Progressive Era and mugwumpery which he claims had an overwhelming in-

fluence upon the direction Smith led his church.

According to Hunt, mugwumpery was the most influential as the focus of a reform vigor tempered by "the vision he appropriated from his communitarian heritage" which Smith felt would lead his church closer to God. "No scholar to this date," says Hunt, "has attempted to relate a leader from the broader Restoration tradition to the history of American reform in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (vol. 1, p. 19). Since few studies have ever focused on the Reorganization, the reader is given a rare view of the man, seen by his membership as an authoritarian prophet-executive chosen by God, as he attempts to move the RLDS church toward greater relevancy in modern America and furthermore "to inch America closer to social and economic justice" (vol. 1, p. 20).

The book is exceptionally honest and straightforward as is evidenced by an insightful treatment of Smith's embarrassment over the incompetence of a lay ministry called from among his peers while he sought a more systematic and disciplined group of spiritual leaders. The reader will also find a more thorough discussion of Smith's extensive involvement with Masonry than has hitherto been available. The book sheds further light on the

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complexities of the issues which Smith confronted as he struggled to fit his brand of Mormonism in the mainstream of Christian eschatology.

We see Smith portrayed as a conscientious leader, who while keeping abreast of the social issues of day, managed to pursue a Ph.D. in psychology from Clark University, under the guidance of G. Stanley Hall, who was the first student to receive a Ph.D. in psychology from Harvard (1878) studying under William James. Smith was, however, a scholar of limited intellectual ability who Hunt says "wanted to fill the church with regenerated Saints who unreservedly accepted its programs under his benevolent direction and whose stewardship would be the chief precipitant of the kingdom" (vol. 1, pp. 16-17). Smith as a mugwump could applaud enforced morality because it lead his flock closer to the kingdom while

accommodating the elitest qualities of that fragment of Progressive reform.

Hunt concludes with convincing documentation that to fully comprehend Smith and his *raison d'être* one must first understand the RLDS interpretation of Mormonism. Smith's attempt to centralize control of a fragmented and sometimes rebellious group of Saints was a product, says Hunt, of his religious heritage from an older Restoration tradition. This harkening back, combined with extensive education, produced a leader who was neither understood nor appreciated by many of his followers who nevertheless chose to support him as chosen by God.

Hunt seeks not only to account for the survival of the Reorganized Church under Smith's presidency but also for its success. The book is a significant contribution to the scholarship on Mormonism.

Career of a Counter-Prophet

For Christ Will Come Tomorrow: The Saga of the Morrisites by C. LeRoy Anderson (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1982), 252 pp., bibliography, index, \$12.90.

A native of Montpelier, Idaho, F. Ross Peterson is a professor of history and geography at Utah State University, author of books on Idaho and Glen Taylor, and is currently involved in a book on the Teton Dam. He is the former holder of a Fulbright Lectureship to New Zealand.

THIS HANDSOME VOLUME immediately establishes itself as the definitive work on the Morrisite movement within Mormonism. A complete study of Joseph Morris and his followers has long been needed and LeRoy Anderson has filled the void. After a decade of research, travel, and writing, Anderson has produced an interesting volume that details the splinter movement from its inception in Utah to the Morri-

sites' demise in diverse locations of Montana, Washington, and California.

Joseph Morris considered himself a prophet much like Joseph Smith. In migrating to Utah, he had not discovered Zion to be perfect nor compassionate. After converting to Mormonism in England and finally making his way to Utah, Morris's life became confused during the Mormon reformation of the mid-1850s. Frustrated in love and religion, Morris began to view himself as a special individual with a very special call. In a series of letters, he begged Brigham Young to counsel with him and share aspects of leadership in the earthly kingdom. Young continually dismissed Morris as a crazed apostate, refusing to meet him and discuss his new revelations. Ultimately Morris and his followers, all ex-Mormons, became an obnoxious irritant to the Mormon majority and were driven from their midst.

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Church and the events that lead to his founding an organization that challenged the authority of Brigham Young in Weber and Davis counties. Anderson carefully documents the altercation between the Morrisites and the posse or militia representing the civil authority in that part of Utah territory. The tragic outcome in June 1862 when Morris and some of his followers were killed near the mouth of Weber Canyon lays open an unfortunate reality about the inability of majority religious groups to tolerate dissension in their ranks.

Anderson did excellent work in analyzing Morris and his desire to commune with diety. The book compassionately discusses how and why people became fanatics as external pressures and internal tensions became unbearable. The tragedy of the Morrisite saga is that humans apparently learn little from experience. Although the Mormon people were driven from state to state and revered their prophet as a martyr, they had little empathy for those who left the faith and sought diety elsewhere. These dissenters were treated as harshly as were those Mormons forced from Missouri or Illinois.

The author's objectivity will cause some grief among readers. Anderson is careful to not editorialize and those who

demand faith-promoting history will be dismayed by the author's unwillingness to dismiss Morris as a lunatic whose misguided followers deserved their fate. On the other hand, those highly critical of the Mormon experience will be upset by Anderson's unwillingness to place blame on the LDS Church hierarchy per se. Individuals were responsible for an unfortunate historical event, and those people are the essential ingredients of the story.

Anderson relies heavily on the written revelations of Joseph Morris. At times, the quotations are too long and much of the material contained in the quotations is irrelevant to the story. In fact, this reviewer found the extensive quotes distracting and felt judicious paraphrasing would have been more effective. The enticing discussion of the post-Utah Morrisites contains previously unused material, but the chapters are a bit disjointed and lack direct connections to Morris himself.

This volume makes an important contribution to understanding the human experience. Throughout history varieties of religious millennialist movements have existed. To learn why people are attracted to such groups is significant. The Morrisites were always numerically small; however, because of Anderson's fine work, they will no longer be historically obscure.

Saints You Can Sink Your Teeth Into

Kindred Saints: The Mormon Immigrant Heritage of Alvin and Kathryn Christenson by William G. Hartley (Salt Lake City: Eden Hill Publishing, 1982), 530 pp., \$25.

Reviewed by Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, authors of *A Book of Mormons*.

WITH US, SOMEONE ELSE'S GENEALOGY ranks right up there with reading the telephone directory or watching someone else's home movies. Most Mormon family his-

tories are about as much fun as funerals. Thus, it was with an onerous sense of duty to DIALOGUE that we agreed to review *Kindred Saints*, a family genealogy of people we had never even heard of. But Skip Christenson, modern kin of the kindred saints, must have been as weary as we of family histories where all the baptisms are performed through the same hole chopped in the same ice, where sea-gulls appear on cue out of thin air, and great-grandfather's saintly capacity for getting along perfectly with all five wives is

Church and the events that lead to his founding an organization that challenged the authority of Brigham Young in Weber and Davis counties. Anderson carefully documents the altercation between the Morrisites and the posse or militia representing the civil authority in that part of Utah territory. The tragic outcome in June 1862 when Morris and some of his followers were killed near the mouth of Weber Canyon lays open an unfortunate reality about the inability of majority religious groups to tolerate dissension in their ranks.

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demand faith-promoting history will be dismayed by the author's unwillingness to dismiss Morris as a lunatic whose misguided followers deserved their fate. On the other hand, those highly critical of the Mormon experience will be upset by Anderson's unwillingness to place blame on the LDS Church hierarchy per se. Individuals were responsible for an unfortunate historical event, and those people are the essential ingredients of the story.

Anderson relies heavily on the written revelations of Joseph Morris. At times, the quotations are too long and much of the material contained in the quotations is irrelevant to the story. In fact, this reviewer found the extensive quotes distracting and felt judicious paraphrasing would have been more effective. The enticing discussion of the post-Utah Morrisites contains previously unused material, but the chapters are a bit disjointed and lack direct connections to Morris himself.

This volume makes an important contribution to understanding the human experience. Throughout history varieties of religious millennialist movements have existed. To learn why people are attracted to such groups is significant. The Morrisites were always numerically small; however, because of Anderson's fine work, they will no longer be historically obscure.

Saints You Can Sink Your Teeth Into

Kindred Saints: The Mormon Immigrant Heritage of Alvin and Kathryn Christenson by William G. Hartley (Salt Lake City: Eden Hill Publishing, 1982), 530 pp., \$25.

Reviewed by Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, authors of *A Book of Mormons*.

WITH US, SOMEONE ELSE'S GENEALOGY ranks right up there with reading the telephone directory or watching someone else's home movies. Most Mormon family his-

tories are about as much fun as funerals. Thus, it was with an onerous sense of duty to DIALOGUE that we agreed to review *Kindred Saints*, a family genealogy of people we had never even heard of. But Skip Christenson, modern kin of the kindred saints, must have been as weary as we of family histories where all the baptisms are performed through the same hole chopped in the same ice, where sea-gulls appear on cue out of thin air, and great-grandfather's saintly capacity for getting along perfectly with all five wives is

exceeded only by their ability to get along with each other. The Christenson family tried a novel approach to writing a family history; they hired a professional historian. William G. Hartley has created something a notch above family history clichés—readable history which delivers the Christenson ancestors to us as they actually were.

Leonard Arrington, writes the introduction, underlining the focus of *Kindred Saints* on commonplace pioneer experience:

Brigham Young needed the Kindred Saints. When he selected the Great Basin to be the place for members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to build a godly society, he needed the Corlesses, Christensons, Crowthers, Schlesselmanns, and others like them, to provide muscle to make raw lands productive, develop businesses and industries, infuse spirituality and decency in LDS communities, rear Christian children, be good neighbors, and staff and fund the church's varied programs.

These families aren't famous, even in Church circles. But we could identify with these representatives of the human foundation upon which Mormonism was built. We could envision our ancestors rubbing shoulders with these convert-emigrants on Liverpool's gigantic docks where Nathaniel Hawthorne observed humans "as numerous as maggots in cheese." We could yearn with them for the travel orders from Perpetual Emigration officials to flee the "decadence and apostasy of the wicked world," our eyes fixed with theirs on "the distant land of Zion" (p. 261).

"For all immigrants," according to Hartley, "immigration was a traumatic experience, resulting in a sense of alienation and isolation" (p. 154). *Kindred Saints* recreates the experience, pressing beyond cliché to detail. That experience included, for example, the seasickness that plagued the hardiest of travelers. A candid observer of the *Britannia* saw emigrants "seize hold of a tin bowl or slop pail and heave all they had within out of them and

when that was done they did not appear satisfied with this but would again heave, heave, heave" (p. 271).

Hartley details the hardships. The streets of Zion were not paved with gold but sagebrush. Streams had to be dammed, irrigation ditches dug, drought, flood, and grasshoppers had to be faced. The kindred Saints were poorly trained to deal with the harshness of the land. In the old country, they had been tailors, herdsmen, and cobblers. In the new land, people wrestled directly with nature. Thomas Corless, for example, a farmer in 1880 Salt Lake was typical:

His eyes searched, like a doctor his patient, the leaves and stalks for signs of disease or insects, their kernels and heads for plumpness, the ditches for clogs or erodings, the heavens for signs of frost or rain. His ears enjoyed the familiar smooth swishing of sharp scythes swinging through the rustling grain, the lowing of cows in the barn, the whinnying and snorting of hitched and corralled horses, the scratches and cackles from the backyard chicken coops, the waters sloshing through canal sluice-gates, the squish of sloppy mud beneath damp boots, and the crack of axe-split logs. His body felt sweat in his hatbands, stiffness in his perspiration-caked gloves, juicy blisters between hand and hoe handle, chapped lips cracked by dry summer breezes, shoulder-shuddering chills from snow-peppered winter winds, and the tickle of fat black flies visiting from his barnyard. His mouth and nose knew the rich taste of thick white milk still warm from the cow, cool and tin bucket-flavored water draw from the Corless spring, teeth grit from dusty roads and fields, and the offensive backyard odors of cow, horse, and chicken manure. (p. 85)

Much of *Kindred Saints* gives us as much as this passage. Thomas Corless did not leave a personal account of what it was like to take a deep breath of barnyard air or a quick gulp of water from a tin bucket. But Hartley shows us what it was like. His fleshing out of detail is what makes *Kin-*

dred Saints work. We grieve with the family who found their little daughter in the creek "both little hands clinging on to the long grass on the side of the creek, but she was drowned" (p. 48). We share the righteous anger of Fort Limhi missionaries who "drew up a list of Indians" that had just slain three Mormons, and "excommunicated the baptized ones on the list" (p. 81). We identify with the faith of the *Kindred Saints*, their determination to

drive ahead into the future, their desire to leave the world in better condition.

Kindred Saints is clearly out of the mainstream of Church history; it will not meet the expectations of those looking for prominent events in the Mormon past. But Hartley's insistent detail manages to make these unknown saints feel kindred to us. Mormons thinking of writing a family history will find in *Kindred Saints* an admirable model.

Swarming Progeny of the Restoration

Divergent Paths of the Restoration: A History of the Latter Day Saint Movement, 3rd ed., revised and enlarged, by Steven L. Shields (Bountiful, Utah: Restoration Research, 1982), 282 pp., \$12.95.

Reviewed by William Dean Russell, Chairperson, Division of Social Science, Graceland College, Lamoni, Iowa.

DID YOU KNOW THAT James Brighouse has been, among others, Adam, Enoch, Michael, George Washington, and Joseph Smith? Did you know that Max E. Powers was in attendance at the grand council in heaven before the world was created, and that David Bruce Longo and the Holy Ghost are one and the same? Have you investigated Moses Gudmundsen's principle of wife sacrifice? Were you aware that Annalee Skarin has been "translated"? Do you have any idea how many Mormon men have seen themselves reflected in the pages of scripture when they read about the one "mighty and strong"? And did you know that the Perfected Church of Jesus Christ of Immaculate Latter Day Saints, has "abolished menstruation," allows the practice of plural marriage, and claims that all children in this group are immaculately conceived?

This is but a small sampling of the fascinating personalities and groups that Mormonism has spawned, which you can read about in this book, a collection of in-

formation on 138 Restoration churches, twenty-seven "independents," six publishers, and five anti-Mormon organizations. It also contains three appendices (a brief summary of eight Restoration churches, the Twelfth Message of Otto Fetting, and a list of fifty churches known to be functioning in 1982), a useful sixteen-page bibliography, and an index.

The author, raised LDS and now RLDS, has tackled a difficult assignment. Let's face it, it's hard to keep track of them all, in many cases, difficult to know from the information given, whether a particular expression of dissent constituted a separate organization or just a different view within the parent body. Indeed, what does the author mean by "divergent paths"? If his task was to catalog all "divergent paths" including dissenters who began no new organization, the task would be impossible as long as independent thinkers exist in the church. In the longest part of the book, Section 1 ("Churches and Organizations"), "divergent paths" apparently means separate organizations. But we are not given a clear picture of the criteria for inclusion.

Section 2 ("Independents") is more problematic. Twenty-seven individuals are treated, but it is not clear what distinguishes them from the rest of the millions who have adhered to the Mormon movement. Apparently they did not create a

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church or an organization or they would have been included in Section 1. Some left the faction they were associated with, but others did not. It appears that they were included merely because they published something on their own. On the limited information the author supplies, it appears that some of these publications were anti-Mormon, some were divergent Mormon views, and some appear to have been orthodox within their own factions. For example, several LDS and RLDS individuals are listed simply because they published something independently, but there is no evidence that what they published was in any way unorthodox. Are these "divergent views"? Why not include the founders of *DIALOGUE*, *Sunstone*, *Exponent II*, or *Courage*?

Frequently the reader is given no clue as to the nature of the publication. Sometimes we are simply told about a publication but given no information as to what faction the writer belong to, if any. Here particularly it would have been helpful if Shields had given us some internal analysis of the publication to attempt to locate it within the spectrum of Mormon beliefs.

The author provides introductory remarks about each organization, which is usually followed by a section on doctrine and a section on the group's publications. Frequently the doctrine section simply reprints a basic statement of faith that has appeared sometime in the organization's history. The LDS statement is the Articles of Faith. The RLDS doctrinal representative is the "new creed" published by Herald House in 1970, entitled *Exploring the Faith*, which is probably at variance with the thought of many rank-and-file RLDS members and leaders. Shields does not attempt to determine whether the reprinted document really reflects the faith of the organization in question, now or in the past.

Although the book claims to illuminate history and theology, its greatest weakness is its lack of historical or theological analysis. David C. Martin's introduction inaccurately

asserts that the schismatic tendency in Mormonism is as yet "unexplored and unexplained" (p. 15), thus ignoring Leonard Arrington's "Centrifugal Tendencies in Mormon History," in Truman Madsen and Charles D. Tate, Jr., eds., *To the Glory of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1972), which contains a thoughtful analysis about why some key Mormons defected. Some appear to have been bothered by the prophet's foibles (Ezra Booth), some were enticed by the secular kingdom (John C. Bennett), some were repulsed by the secular kingdom (John Hyde), some were attracted to spiritualism (Amasa Lyman), some placed excessive emphasis on mental health and faith healing (Brigham Bicknell Young), and some were caught up in rationalism (Theodore W. Curtis). But Steven Shields offers no hypothesis to explain the many "divergent paths."

The subtitle — "A History of the Latter Day Saint Movement" — is quite an exaggeration. The book is neither a history of the broader movement nor of the individual factions. It is a collection of limited information about each group or individual. As to the larger history, there is a two-page "Beginnings of the Latter Day Saint Movement" in which we are taken from the vision in the grove to Nauvoo in one-half of a page.

Other exaggerations or overstatements occur. The dust jacket informs us: "Never in the history of civilization has a religious movement provided such fertile ground for schismatic tendency as has Mormonism." Has the author investigated all the Baptist sects? We are also told, "Probably no religious movement in the history of the United States has received as much attention as has the Latter Day Saint Movement" (p. 244), and that the Roman Emperor Constantine declared himself pope (pp. 42-43).

There are no notes, although occasionally a source is listed in the text. But it is not always clear how far the reference extends, and long quotes are not indented.

In many cases a note would be highly desirable, for example, Isaac Sheen's statement that William Smith "offered me his wife on the same terms that he claimed a partnership with other men's wives" (p. 54).

The author uses sources too uncritically. For example, he quotes RLDS missionary John Bradley: "The Reorganized Church continues to take very seriously its Zionitic stewardship of religiously social reform. This is essential to our mission of individual redemption" (p. 72). That statement probably reflects the view of Bradley far more than the church as a whole.

William Marks is included in the organizations section, which suggests that Marks led a separate organization after Brigham Young had him excommunicated. But the author writes, "Some sources indicate that Marks attempted a church organization of his own, while others have him wandering from church to church seeking his place among them" (p. 76). We are given no sources, analysis, or conclusion that would justify Marks's inclusion.

Important questions are frequently left unanswered. For example, there is a quotation from James Strang's *Book of the Law of the Lord* on offering sacrifices on the altar, but we are not told whether the Strangites actually performed the sacrifices

the book commands (p. 43). Pauline Hancock's group, it is reported, abandoned the Book of Mormon in 1973 because they had discovered evidence "which seemed to indicate Joseph Smith, Jr. was a fraud" (p. 155). The author does not tell us whether Pauline Hancock was still alive when this significant change occurred, nor the nature of the evidence that led to the change in position.

Occasionally the author's personal opinions come through, as when he praises the work of David C. Martin and Jerald and Sandra Tanner. He also seems to uncritically assume that alleged contact with supernatural beings actually occurred, a faith assumption which the historian — lacking methods of verification — cannot make. Joseph Smith is instructed by God and Jesus Christ, and empowered by the angel Moroni. An angel ordains Strang as Smith's successor. The Lord calls Brother Bickerton with a "marvelous vision." A messenger repeatedly contacts W.A. Draves. Eugene Walton is directed by the Spirit, etc.

While such flaws suggest the book is a rather amateurish collection of information, it will interest students curious about the many schisms that Mormonism has produced. That is no doubt the author's main purpose, and in that the book is moderately successful.

