

dialogue

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

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Letters to the Editor

Dear Dialogue:

With the current debate on women's liberation it amazes me that the traditional "Dear Sirs" is retained in your "Letters to the Editor" column. It is bemusing to see the use of "Ms." when we have a term ("sister") that would cover the same thing and is also "in" and could be used for non-members as well.

Scott S. Smith
Thousand Oaks, California

Right on! Brother Smith — Eds. (male and female)



Dear Dialogue:

Congratulations on the Autumn 1972 issue! It is clearly one of the most exciting issues you've published. The cover alone is worth the cost of a year's subscription. Kim Whitesides has succeeded in portraying marvelous ambiguity, not only in the look on Christ's face, but in the symbolism of the dove and the cage as well. At first I thought Christ had taken the dove (peace) out of its cage and repaired its wing so it could fly; then it occurred to me that He might be putting it back in the cage to protect it from unpeaceful people. The ambiguity in Christ's face is a reflection of the contrast between his two hands, the one soft and gentle, the other militant. He seems to be saying to us (how the eyes penetrate!), "How could you have done this?" The cover and your editorial on "A Christian Peace" made my Christmas a more thoughtful — and prayerful — one.

Angela Roberts
Chicago, Illinois

A Personal Voice Among the Mormons

"THEY're out to get us."

"Who?"

"You know . . . THEY! That whole DIALOGUE organization. They're out to get us!"

"How do you know that?"

"Good heavens! It's quite obvious! I paid them perfectly good money and they haven't sent me anything! Except for a renewal notice. Ten dollars is a lot of money to pay for a renewal notice. You can't use it for a darn thing except to send something to DIALOGUE. They have it figured out."

"Why don't you send them a complaint letter?"

"A complaint letter? Not on your life! We sent them one just last month when we were living in Boston and it didn't do a bit of good. We still didn't get anything!"

"You used to live in Boston?"

"Only for a month after we moved from Tampa and before we moved here."

"Did you ever tell DIALOGUE that you moved?"

"Of course not! We sent them the money a long time before we moved. The move had nothing to do with it."

"Oh. When did you send them the money?"

"In June. We sent it in June of 1972. I even still have the cancelled check."

"Wouldn't your subscription have run out by now? They published seven issues last year, you know. Doesn't a subscription mean that you get four issues?"

"Now what kind of a magazine would not give you a year's subscription for a year's time? My subscription doesn't run out until June, 1973!"

"Even though you have four issues?"

"That is irrelevant. A year's subscription should run for a year. Why would they want to publish seven issues in a year for anyway? I don't get a chance to read what I have now."

"I think that they were trying to close their gap in publication. It used to be quite a problem, you know."

"Yes, wasn't that disgusting? If there was anything that made me mad it was getting my Autumn/Winter 1971 magazine in the late summer of 1972. And now, to top it all, they say that my subscription has expired."

"I thought that you said that you hadn't received anything."
"Well, we did get their combined issue after we had finally settled here. At least the Post Office is on the ball. But it was in such dreadful condition! How would they dare send out anything like that! It was so ragged and dirty!"
"Maybe that happened in transit."
"You would dare blame this on the United States Government?"
"No, I suppose that you're right. You ever had this problem before?"
"Oh yes, we used to subscribe to LIFE. They used to be as bad as DIALOGUE, always asking for subscriber codes and labels and bothersome things like that. We don't have that problem anymore, though."
"No, I guess not."

Dear Editor,

Sorry I cannot renew my subscription. DIALOGUE is very interesting reading — but I am 84 years old. It is much too heavy to hold. It cannot be carried in my handbag so I can sit in Washington Park and read, and it costs more than I can afford. I will read it at the house of a friend.

Lillian O. Richards

The only good excuse we have heard for not renewing! — Eds.

The Following Letters were written in response to a Letter in the Summer 1972 issue from Teddi Wood Porter about Eve, a young Latter-day Saint woman who is having difficulty reconciling her devotion to the Gospel with what she sees as racism and sexism in the Church.

Dear Sister Eve,

I began to write you counsel and find that instead I am only really offering you sympathetic company. I am a woman who grew up as an equal to my father — who talked with him about intellectual things and was taught by him that I had great potential. I have had spiritual experiences and have been blessed with some Christian talents that not everybody possesses. Yet I have never given a closing prayer in Sacrament meeting or even in Sunday School.

I am getting a masters degree in African history and am therefore aware of the folly of the Sambo Stereotype. In other words, it is ludicrous to class every black as a simple-minded dotting creature with wide eyes who trembles as Scarlet O'Hara delivers a baby. Just as dangerous is what might be called the Good Sister Stereotype. One of the best things

about the Church is its diversity, yet all too often women are subject to guilt feelings if they don't totally relate to the happy homemaker image. I am always a bit depressed when the lone woman speaker in a Stake Conference talks about how the Relief Society quilting bee helped a poor family in the ward. Not that this isn't important — service is one of Christ's highest ideals — but it supports the idea that a woman's place is in Relief Society alone and that she can not really understand nor testify of the Gospel because she doesn't hold the priesthood. I reject that idea.



So where do we go? The Gospel is true. To leave the truth because of persecution is less than admirable. For many women the role of the Good Sister is the best, and to criticize them shows lack of toleration. The best path to me seems to be that of a soft but steady protestor. I have no real desire at this point to revolutionize the Church, but I don't fit well into the Good Sister mold nor do I think it is right for me to try and do so. My mind is a gift to be cultivated, not something to be hidden while I try to master the art of making bread.

You must not become bitter about the fact that there are unwarranted indignities, for that will destroy your effectiveness. On the other hand, you must not lower your goals, for that is contrary to the whole idea of the Gospel. Most importantly, you must not feel that you are an abnormality, for there are others of us who are experiencing similar problems. Because of that I honestly feel that "this too will pass."

Carolyn Postma
Los Angeles

Dear Editors:

Teddy Wood Porter asked for comments on her letter expressing the frustrations of everywoman "Eve" printed in the Summer 1972 issue.

It should be obvious to anyone who knows much about the Mormon Church and has thought seriously about it that the institutions of Mormonism will deeply disappoint anyone who believes in equality among races and sexes. Now it may be true, as Sister Porter points out, that there are lots of nice things about the Mormon Church. For some Eves these may even be sufficient to induce them to keep participating in the Church's activities and to support it through volunteer work and financial contributions.

However, a necessary condition for continued participation for women (and men) with highly developed Christian values, like Eve, often is the ability to adapt themselves to the Church's frustrating features. There are three ways to make this reconciliation:

1. *Repent from seditious yearnings and mutinous expectations and learn to accept mandates given through the Lord's spokesmen.* The Eves of the Church usually have got themselves so far removed from patterns of thought and life necessary to do this that it really isn't a viable option. You can't go home again very often.

2. *Hope for change.* This one is often used, but it is based on a near total absence of evidence that change will occur. Thus it requires such an irrational leap of faith that Eve might as well choose alternative 1, which if accomplished would make her happier.

3. *Deflate expectations.* The level of frustration is affected not only by the actual state of affairs, but by one's expectations. Thus, frustrations can be removed by improvements in the state of affairs or by reduced expectations. Since the former is not likely (see number 2 above) my advice to Eve would be to work on the latter.

This advice should help Eve. She is most likely not to be completely happy with other institutions she has to cope with either—such as schools, governments, health care, delivery systems, and so on. What does she expect of the Church, perfection? Eve may even be able to reduce her expectations to a level permitting her to remain active in the Church. John Barth's statement about another venerable (and vulnerable) institution has some application to Eve's dilemma over Mormonism:

"A wart on Miss University were nonetheless a wart, and if I will not call it a beauty-mark, neither would I turn her out of bed on its account."

P. Royal Shipp
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Eve,

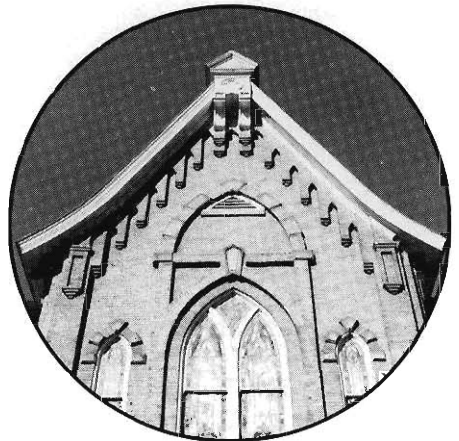
It is possible, although difficult and challenging, to remain in any institution with which one's beliefs are at times at variance. It is the nature of institutions, even the Restored Church, to lag behind the spiritual growth of some individuals, and it is the nature of individuals to lose sight of the purpose of institutions. The racism and sexism you see in the Church are not a reflection of the Gospel of Christ, but of His children's inability to live His Gospel, and those children must be loved and taught—even by people like you. But if you can't stand them or the Church how are you going to teach them? If you love the Gospel of Christ as you say you do then you know you are going to have to endure a great deal of frustration and pain in order to help strengthen the institution the Lord has selected to promulgate His Gospel. If you find life in the Church intolerable then your leaving will simply make it less tolerable for others who may need the strength of your faith and courage.

If you have a conviction of the Church's divinity and a conviction of the Gospel's truth then you must strive to reconcile them. You should not abandon your Christian instincts, but neither should you abandon the Church. Remember, if Christ can love the Church with all its imperfection, so can you—without sacrificing your personal dignity or ideals.

I realize that such advice is not easy to follow and that it sometimes makes for a rather lonely life in the Church, but the true Christian's life has usually been difficult and lonely. Your dilemma is not new to Christians—male or female.

You have to believe that your voice can help eradicate racism and sexism if you learn how to make it heard. You must learn to love those who are sexist and racist so you can teach them. You may find in so doing that they have some things to teach you as well.

— Adam



Dear Editors:

Armand Mauss's measurement of secular influence on Mormons (Spring 1972) raises several important questions.

A. Are Mormons now being influenced more by their secular surroundings than by their Church? While Mauss asked about discrimination, he didn't ask about miscegenation. And to ask a Mormon, "How would you like your daughter to marry a Negro?" is to also ask whether one takes seriously the idea of celestial marriage.

B. Is the Church losing influence because it is failing to keep up with contemporary science? Discrimination against blacks had some (erroneous) scientific support when it was developing as a doctrine during the mid-nineteenth century. It has none today, Shockley and Jensen notwithstanding.

C. What about the persons who not only do not believe, but are actually urged out of the Church because of their inability to accept certain dogmas? Is the Mormon Church losing a disproportionately larger number of college educated members than other churches? Since only Church members were surveyed by Mauss, there is a selective sampling only of those still willing to remain active. What is the nature of loss to the Church due to falling away of thoughtful apostates?

Any good research, should always uncover more questions than it answers. Mauss has given evidence of performing good research.

Yours very truly,
O. Boyd Mathias
Stockton, California

Dear Editors:

I applaud your efforts in attempting an examination of 20th-Century Mormonism. However, the article by Arnaud L. Mauss, about the political and social positions of modern urban Mormons, leaves the reader with more confusion than enlightenment. Especially troublesome were the conclusions that were drawn from the data used.

Mauss, himself, indicates throughout his study the weaknesses of the research methods he uses, and the editors rightfully point out that "... a survey of two cities is hardly sufficient to make generalizations about the entire Church." (I would add that the data is also insufficient to make generalizations about urban Mormons, and would even be questionable in my mind in comparing "SLC Mormons" with "CC Mormons.") For this recognition of weakness, the author and editors are to be commended. However, with this kind of introduction, when one anticipates only conclusions about the ten SLC wards and the three CC wards which *might* indicate some

interesting insights, this reader was horrified to read the very generalizations the author stated at the outset could not be made from his data; i.e., "... it would probably not be accurate to characterize Mormons as especially conservative in domestic political affairs, but again, rather, as moderates"; or "... a change in the Church policy on Negroes would either be welcomed or accepted by a large majority of the Latter-day Saints in and outside of Utah." Whether you agree with the statements or not, the data certainly is not sufficient to justify the generalizations.

Aside from the poor research and potential for distortion of fact, another thing that disturbs me is that future researchers will refer to this study to base their findings and conclusions and forget the weaknesses the author himself points out in the research methods and that are inherent in the study.

I do not disparage the effort and the intention, but, I am fearful of the dangers from incomplete and weak data from which generalizations, often accepted as fact, are drawn.

Sincerely yours,
Lee H. Burke
Washington, D.C.

Professor Mauss responds:

I am grateful to Readers Matthias and Burke for taking the trouble to respond to my modest status-report on Mormon political and social attitudes; I had not thought that I had revealed anything particularly startling, as I indicated in my conclusion. I did, however, think that our discussions of such topics, which go on all over the Church, could benefit by having some kind of hard data base, rather than the mere speculation that most conversations rely on.

To Matthias I will say only that his questions are well taken and often asked. On the question of miscegenation, most surveys that I have seen indicate a strong hesitancy among Whites generally (and even more than one might think among Blacks, as well), whether Mormon or not. On other questions of sustaining Church influence in the face of higher education and other secularizing forces, the analysis of my own data is not complete, nor have I heard of any other data addressing such questions directly. My data does indicate, however, that defection from the Church is more common among the *less* educated than among the more educated, and that apostasy for intellectual reasons is by no means the most common kind of apostasy. While I cannot know really how many ex-Mormons have been

lost from Church records and are "out there" in the population, my sample did include large numbers of respondents of both the active and inactive types. The differences between them in *belief* ("orthodoxy") are really not very great. Most people who leave the Church apparently do so for other reasons. Among the respondents in my samples, the levels of orthodoxy (e.g., belief in the literal divinity of Jesus) have been running at around 75% of the *college graduates*, and even higher among the sample in general. Finally, all the evidence I have seen on research on *various* denominations indicates that defections and membership losses are much *higher* among the "liberal" churches than among the (doctrinally) "conservative" ones. The intellectuals don't much bother with either kind, and the rest of the people want *doctrine*, however archaic it may be.

Burke's dissatisfaction with my work seems to boil down to a complaint that I did not survey every member of the Church, so as to be able *definitely* to say what Mormons *really* believe. Perhaps he is not aware that most *national* polls (e.g., Roper and Gallup) involve samples of only around 1500 cases. The key is in the sampling procedures, and if they are sound, the researcher is entitled to a high level of confidence about generalizing his findings to the whole population. My sampling system was not as sound as those used by national pollsters, but then neither is my population universe (American Mormons) so diffused and heterogeneous as theirs. My system was, however, very sound by expert standards. Rather than speak of the "weaknesses" of my data-gathering and analysis, a more accurate term would be "limitations," and these are simply characteristic of any kind of large-scale survey research. Perhaps Burke is not acquainted with the lore of survey sampling and research enough to realize the extent to which surveys of this kind *can* be generalized to whole populations, *given* the limitations of which he seems well aware. In any case, if one is to gainsay my findings and my claims to generalizability, it is incumbent upon him to offer alternative grounds or evidence, rather than merely gripe about the weaknesses in what I have done. The generalizations which Burke quoted, and which left him so "horror-stricken," were both carefully developed and properly qualified in the context from which they were excerpted, as were all other generalizations which I made.

Finally, in response to Burke's two closing comments, let me say that I would regard the research that I have presented, even with its limitations, as providing far more valid grounds for the "conclusions" of "future researchers" than are now provided by the constant speculations of Mormons and non-Mormons, or by the grudging gainsayings of critics who can only criticize.

Dear Editor:

In my article "The Manifesto Was A Victory!" (*Dialogue*, Spring, 1971) I carelessly employed the phrase "plural marriage" rather than "unlawful cohabitation" in the parenthetical remark on page 43 "(plural marriage was never classed as a felony)." I stand corrected.

Gordon C. Thomasson
Santa Barbara, Calif.



Dear Editors:

Richard D. Poll sees no philosophy of history in our Church, even though he admits that certain "idealized episodes from the past" are "venerated," such as "the first visions, the martyrdom of the Prophet, [and] the crossing of the plains."

I think Professor Poll is wrong. The Latter-day Saints are almost following the philosophy of history prescribed by Carl N. Degler, a recent Pulitzer Prize winner. In the preface to his textbook, *Out of Our Past*, Degler says, "The multitudinous events of the . . . past are here seen through the lens of the present." After saying this, Degler examines the roots of our present concerns. We Mormons do almost the same thing: we determine those roots. This miniscule deviation from Degler's method gives us a more optimistic and consistent way of viewing our history. The *essentials* in our Church history become those strains we can discover in the past which support and reinforce our present positions. The lesson we learn about history is that, retrospectively, the present repeats itself.

A little thought about this superior philosophy of history should convince any thinking person that it is one of the most consistent and perfect philosophies in the world. "But

nobody can learn from such a history," you say. Agreed. But we all know that Voltaire was right when he said, "History is a pack of tricks we play on the dead." And our L.D.S. tradition has been to learn from God, not from historians. Our legacy of "continuous revelation" is meant to work like repentance. Alma the Younger could not even remember his sins, once he had repented. And we cannot remember certain inconsistencies in our history because, by "continuous revelation," the old has been fulfilled in the new. The new cleanses the old by turning itself back upon the old, and purifying it. How do you think we got rid of the Law of Moses?

Arthur M. Kissinger, Jr.
New York City

Dear Editors:

Professor Russell B. Swenson is to be congratulated upon his article "Mormons at the University of Chicago Divinity School, a Personal Reminiscence" (Summer 1972). I learned a great deal from it because I, too, was a student at the University of Chicago during part of the time about which he writes.

I was not a Mormon at that time nor a student in the Divinity School. I was a student in the Department of Psychology on the west side of the campus. My mother, however, was studying with Professors Ames and Foster and broadening her understanding of the great spiritual teachings of all religions. While she was delighting in the rigorousness of the thinking of these men in the field of religion, I was delighting in the rigorousness of the thinking of the men in the biological and social fields.

It was while studying American History that I was privileged to meet a man who was responsible for an interest in Mormon History that continues even today. He asked his class to write term papers on events, persons or movements in the period being studied and he stressed that originality not length was to be the governing factor in the acceptance of the paper. He cautioned that the mere massing of footnotes was not what he wanted but evidence of an understanding of the reasons for what happened. Perplexed I sought my mother's help. She urged me to write on the movement of the Mormons from Kirtland, Ohio, to Missouri and back to Nauvoo, Illinois. "Your gr. gr. grandfather made that trek," she said, "and I do not believe there is much in the history text books about it."

With this as a starting point, I searched the literature but found very little that was valid. Almost in despair, I sought Dr. Craven's help. Before seeing him I prepared a brief outline of what I had found. After reading it he told me to write up what I had. When I

got my paper back I found a note urging me to expand it into a major research project and to search for additional evidence. It was not until I was in Salt Lake City taking a course in the History of Utah at the University of Utah under Professor David E. Miller that I found the supporting evidence I was seeking (some 30 years later).

With President Brigham H. Roberts, I, too, deplore the fact that so many Mormons with whom I have come into contact are largely ignorant of L.D.S. history. This lack of interest in L.D.S. history, as well as any other form of history, is surprising in view of the emphasis of the Church upon work in genealogy.

I agree with Dr. Swenson when he quotes Wesley Lloyd as saying that he found this training as a rugged basic and thrilling academic experience in which he found increasing evidence that intensity of feeling is no substitute for a reasoned faith in the Gospel. A mind that is free may tend to lose its fears but not its faith live by.

I found that the men who were teaching in my fields of interest were not only brilliant scholars and great teachers (none of this business of canceling classes to go lead a social reform movement or lowering of academic standards to please some pressure group) but very practical and very humble men. They demonstrated that true scholarship leads to unfeigned humility.

It is men in the Church who have been exposed to the type of rugged basic and thrilling academic experience that Lloyd described who are its (the Church's) guarantee that it will remain a world wide church.

I am proud to have been exposed to the tradition of the University of Chicago and grateful to Dr. Swenson for giving us a glimpse of a small part of it.

Ralph Martin McGrath
Mesa, Arizona

Dear Editors:

I couldn't agree more with many of the sentiments expressed by Dee F. Green in his book review, "Recent Scholarship on New World Archaeology" (Spring 1972). Yet it is chronic in me to quibble about details, and there are two such details I would like to present my views on, with Dr. Green's permission.

Quetzalcoatl. — The statements made by Basil C. Hedrick and by Dr. Green apply only to the Toltec priest known as Ce Acatl Quetzalcoatl. Ce Acatl in his name means "One Reed" and refers to having been born in this date, supposed in his particular case to have been the year 843, (Anno Domini). (The date recurs once every 52 years in the Mesoamerican Calendar cycle — it recurred

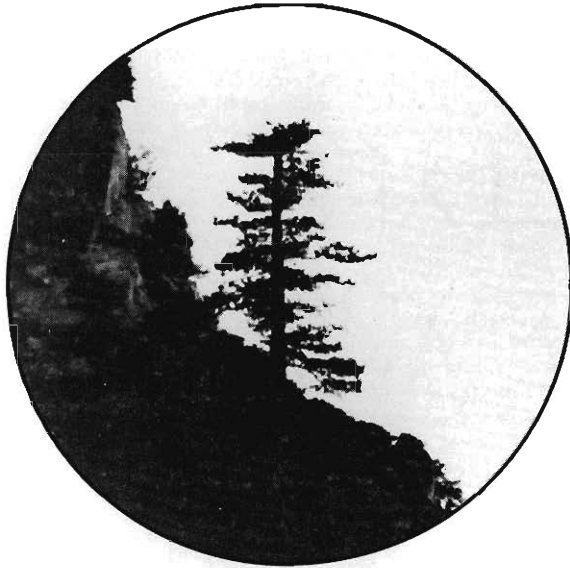
in 1519 AD, the year of the European invasion of Mexico, it recurred last in 1935 and shall recur again in 1987). However, the myth of the Feathered Serpent is much greater than just the personality of this one man, who was not the only individual to bear the name. Gods and warriors (including a Toltec conqueror who invaded Yucatan in the 11th century) also bore the appellation of "Feathered Serpent." Laurette Sejourné, in her book *El Universo de Quetzalcoatl* presents evidence for the name existing as early as the second century. There are representations of feathered serpents in Mesoamerica dating back even to the Pre-classic period.

Euphrates, Phrat and Parah. — I'm afraid Dr. Green has misinterpreted Dr. Gordon on this matter. It should be clear to everyone that the prefix *Eu* and the suffix *es* are purely Greek additions, the original Semitic form being just plain *Phrat*. This is the way it appears in my Hebrew Bible, Genesis (Breshith) 2:14. Since *p* and *ph* are allophones in Hebrew, and *h* and *t* are interchangeable (e.g. *malkah-malkat*), the original form of this word could easily have been *parah*. This could have been the form of the word when the Phoenicians were presumably exploring the Atlantic seaboard of South America around 600 B.C.

As for the origin of the river-names Paraiba, Parana, Paranaiba, Paranapanema, Paragua, Paraguay, you may take it from a life-long speaker of Spanish that these names are completely meaningless in Spanish or any related dialect. To suggest the names could be Spanish because of the initial syllable *par* is akin to suggesting *Mississippi* could be of Anglo-Saxon origin because of the first syllable *Miss*.

On another point, I do not disagree with Dr. Green at all, but it does seem to me that he does not have all the facts. He's correct in stating that Dr. Gordon presents little evidence for assertions made in the chapter concerning anthropomorphic ceramics — but Dr. Green, just like every other reviewer of Dr. Gordon's book, has overlooked the fact that this chapter is just a small sampling from Dr. Alexander von Wuthenau's *The Art of Terracotta Pottery in Precolumbian Central and South America* (a translation of his *Altamerikanische Tonplastik*), which does contain plenty of evidence. To quote all of it in another book by another author would be nothing short of plagiarism.

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ON THE MORMON COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION

MARDEN J. CLARK

In one of the more imaginative chapters of that remarkably imaginative trilogy *Lord of the Rings*, J. R. R. Tolkien describes an Entmoot, a conference of giant tree-like creatures called Ents. Sam and Merry, two of the Hobbits in the original Fellowship of the Ring, have come into the Ents' forest and have finally convinced old Treebeard, their leader, of the grave danger not only to their domain but to all of Middle Earth from the rising power of evil embodied in Sauron, the Evil One of Mordor, and in Saruman, a good wizard gone bad. The Ents are not a "hasty" people, but the danger is grave and imminent, hence the Moot takes *only* three days: two to absorb and consider the facts, and less than one to decide that the Ents shall journey to Isengard to aid in the fight against Saruman. The decision is an important one for the forces of good. The Ents, themselves practically indestructible, are able with their root-like feet to destroy the great rocky fortress that is Isengard and to divert the river so that it fills in all the crevices where the Orcs hide and covers with a great murky lake the kingdom of Saruman.

Coupled with my own relief at the coming victory (Tolkien evokes with unusual power the sense of evil and the absolute significance of the battle between Good and Evil), came a renewed awareness and awe at the fact of life in the whole of one of those giant redwoods that I have watched quiver at its tips in a breeze. But thinking back on my experience of the novel has made me aware of implications that run far deeper.

To apply some of these concepts to something so widely acknowledged and praised as the Mormon commitment to education may seem unnecessary and even foolhardy, especially since I am not going to be entirely complimentary. Perhaps I should simply have gone into Moot with myself and let it last indefinitely, or with some of my wiser and more reasonable friends and colleagues and let myself be dissuaded.

But in a sense I *have* been in a Moot with myself for a long time now. And I have become convinced that something is happening to the Mormon commitment to education, something that vitiates, even undercuts that commitment and threatens the highest expressions of it in the day-to-day business of education. Let me first grant (not take for granted) the positive accomplishments: the magnificent campus, fine faculty, and wonderful student body at Brigham Young University; the other Church colleges and schools; the wide-flung seminary and institute system; the statistics that show Utah and Mormons generally well in the front in total effort to support education, in percentage of college graduates, in literacy, in most of the comparative tests by which commitment to education can be measured. With so much, I should be more than

willing to settle for simply being left alone, as the Ents simply wanted to be, to pursue my own particular educational goals and contribute as much as I can to the broader ones of the Church.

The achievements and the commitment grow, I need hardly comment, from a dynamic concept of man's earthly life as part of an eternal quest, in which the goal, though we define it as the Celestial Kingdom, is always receding upward as we conceive it higher and higher (even eventual godhood is only a step along the way) until the quest itself becomes almost the goal, subsumed in that wonderful Mormon phrase "Eternal Progress." Two Mormon expressions translate much of that dynamic concept of man's destiny into its educational implications: "The glory of God is intelligence" (which can be simply descriptive but is surely sensed as an imperative to seek intelligence, as on the beehive emblem), and "Man is saved no faster than he gains knowledge." Like my Hobbit friends, all Mormons are on a quest, but with the difference that where the Hobbits sought only to destroy the Ring and hence the power of Evil, the Mormon seeks to know and even to create the highest possible Good, whether he defines it as the Kingdom of God, the Celestial Kingdom, or Eternal Progression. And education, in things both spiritual and temporal, has traditionally been the most fundamental means of carrying on the quest — or if not the most fundamental, then second only to "the first principles and ordinances" and perhaps to *work*.

All this implies an attitude so dynamic and creative that one wonders how it can possibly be reduced to anything less than the highest commitment to education. And yet I see and hear much that disturbs me. Most of it is tied to and reveals a fundamentally defensive attitude toward education. Here detailed documentation would be both unnecessary and tedious. Let me simply couple two expressions and then set them alongside other phenomena Mormons will find the expressions familiar. First, the one that perhaps bothers me most: "The wisdom of men is foolishness in the sight of the Lord." Most often this comes in a context which relates wisdom of men with (my second expression) the "learning of men," of which we are so often counseled to beware. Because secular schools teach the learning of men, the Church system, we are told, can justify its existence only as it protects or contributes to the student's testimony. In fact the worst crime a professor could commit would be to destroy a student's testimony. Now couple such injunctions with other pertinent phenomena: the shortage of creative achievement within the Church, the lack of a really strong graduate program in the Church's university, what Sam Taylor defined (even allowing for exaggeration) as the Mormon "controlled press," the oft-lamented difficulty of scholars in getting at documents in the Church archives, the widespread distrust of the "intellectual" in the Church, the growth of fundamentalist religious attitudes and ultra-conservative political attitudes in the Church.

Even if we find recent improvement in some or all of these, I do not think I misread the evidence that they are very real phenomena, that they are closely related, that they add up to and help produce a basically defensive attitude toward education, and that such an attitude runs counter to the highest educational and creative impulses in Mormonism.

Not that the reasons for the attitude are hard to understand. One would have to be blind indeed to work within the educational process and not recognize it as a two-edged weapon. A little learning is a dangerous thing. But I'm

not as convinced as Pope that even drinking deep at the Pierian spring removes the danger. I suspect that the danger of educating oneself out of the Church has been exaggerated. It may even be, as at least one of my friends insists, that one never educates himself out of the Church, one inactivates himself out of it. But I question that it is this simple. Whatever else, education can plant the doubts that make easy the inactivating. I suspect that Jack Burden in Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men* is closer to the real truth. "You can't know," Burden says, "whether knowledge will kill you or cure you." But, he concludes, you open the telegram, though you might be safer and more comfortable in not knowing what is inside, "for the end of man is to know." The expression resonates richly, tying back especially to the Garden, where the end of man in his innocence came with the partaking of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil — which was also the beginning of man as we know him now.

Yes, one can understand the basic mistrust — and sympathize. But, as President Joseph Fielding Smith reminded us in October Conference several years ago, Adam *had* to partake of that fruit to fulfill the conflicting injunction. And like President Smith, I am glad that he did. It made possible my being here too, and also my being able to know what little I do know — and that little is precious indeed.

Not that I would want to oppose the learning of men to that of God. Far from it. I recognize only too well that man's mind can lead him astray, sometimes far astray. But I cannot escape the logic that whatever man truly comes to know — that is, anything certain about things as they have been, things as they are, things as they will be — must constitute not only man's truth but God's truth as well. Man may grope blindly and blunder frighteningly along the way. Indeed, it is part of his condition as man that he must. But very little of what I would call the significant learning of man has come from men willfully scheming or evil or opposed in any real sense to men or God. Certainly the Galileos, the Newtons, even the Darwins were earnestly seeking men striving toward truths that the evidence they found suggested to them. And I cannot help being impressed by their findings, just as I am by the vast "explosion" of knowledge that like its most spectacular product, the atom bomb, keeps mushrooming until our knowledge of fact and process becomes awesome and frightening in the power that inheres in such knowledge. But to the extent that any of it is real fact, real truth, it must constitute both man's and God's truth.

The logic for "knowing" other forms of the learning of man — philosophy, art, music, literature — is hardly so neat, but even more compelling. Most of it is subsumed under whatever is "virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy." I can witness in awe the mushrooming radiation-charged cloud, the televised images of men walking on the moon or close-up pictures of Venus, the pictures of projected super-sonic transports. But not even these practical results of the learning of man can affect me with anything like the different awe with which I contemplate the struggles of a Spinoza to bring under logical control the contradictions and complexities of experience, or the splendor of Dali's *Christus*, or the majesty of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, or the complexly human-sublime cosmic journey of Dante through Hell to his ultimate vision, or the terrible rapture of the ending of *King Lear*.

To try to measure the effects of such obviously immeasurable human crea-

tions against the more or less measurable effects of discoveries, inventions, and creations in the material world is of course meaningless in one way. And yet our sense of comparative values insists on the attempt, even if only as a response to our personal experience. No world has stood trembling in fear of destruction before any work of art, though I have trembled myself and seen whole audiences tremble in rhapsody during a great concert or drama. W. H. Auden laments in a poetic tribute to Yeats that art never makes anything happen. But he is manifestly wrong. If nothing else, it creates more art. That is, more art gets created, simply as response to what is or to what gets performed, as any artist, major or minor, can testify. And that is much: the inspiring of others to create — it may well be as high an effect as one could ask for. Creativity creates creativity. But we all know other things that happen. As I write I am listening — for at least the fiftieth time — to Henryk Szeryng playing Brahms' Violin Concerto. And something is happening in me: some response to the sheer loveliness of melody, to the sheer virtuosity of both performer and composer through those remarkable cadenzas. I suppose no one could measure the difference in me once the record has finished. I fear I will go on getting irritated or angry, feeling other base emotions, shouting at my family. But right now I'm in the presence of sublimity. And I know it. I am able to recognize it. That is the point.

For it wasn't always thus. Far too recently I first heard part of this concerto — or first heard it with enough musical consciousness to know what I was hearing. I listened enraptured. But in retrospect I was also disturbed: forty-five and just happening onto *this*. I suspect that I had had about as much musical awareness in my growing up as most people: piano lessons in childhood, the band during high school (an unusually fine one under an unusually fine director), an early experience of the Tabernacle Choir's rendition of the *Messiah*, "Music and the Spoken Word" on radio, an occasional concert through lyceum programs. But something has happened since that afternoon with Brahms. Perhaps it would have happened anyway. My daughter had given me Beethoven's Ninth two years before, my son had given me Mahler's First the year before, and we finally bought a stereo to play them on.

This bit of personal history would hardly pay its way did I not believe it typical. The point, of course: where I had passively accepted what came along in music, I now seek after these things. My record collection grows slowly, but it grows. I watch for the concert hours on FM. My musical tastes are reaching out to where I didn't even know music to exist. Multiply such personal development in taste, appreciation, capacity to enjoy on an ever higher level, by a corresponding increase in all others who, during my time and through the centuries, have experienced a similar process — and then tell me art makes nothing happen. Perhaps not much that we can directly trace to art. But who can measure even the practical effects of these changes that take place in the deepest and loftiest parts of a human's being? With others, I can only say, "There I was; here I am now. I'm different. And I continue to change."

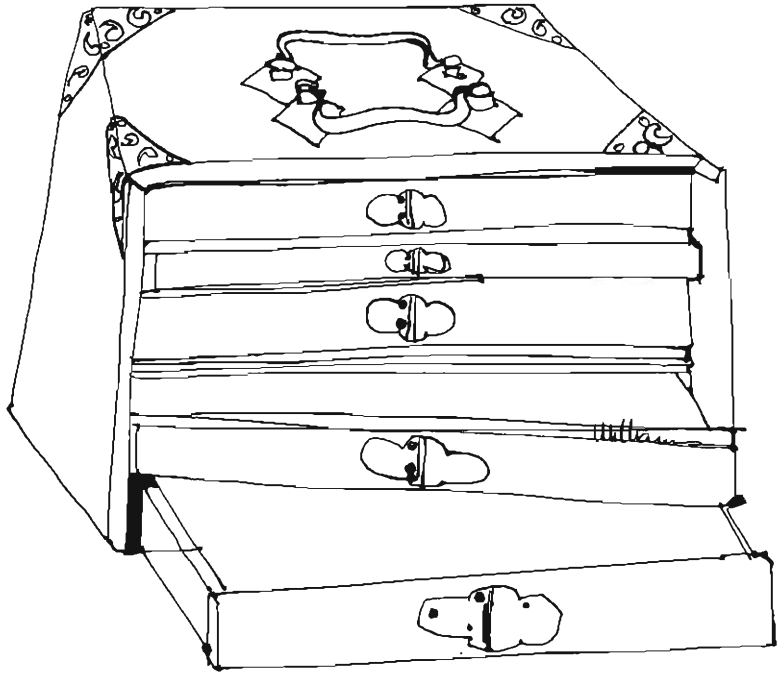
Immeasurable, such expressions are. And in two senses: incapable of being measured, but also immeasurable as is almost anything we contemplate with appreciation and love and awe and reverence. I choose the words "with real intent." For I insist on a relationship between human and divine creativity. Just as I have to accept God's creation of man as the highest evidence of His

creativity, so I have to accept man's finest creativity as the highest evidence of his direct descent from God, and of his own potential divinity. Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* may be the product of a man. But the man is product of God.

So my Mormon background and experience tells me. To hear any of those great achievements or even much lesser ones belittled either directly or by inference as the mere learning of man, as something that is foolishness in the sight of God, pains me to the depths of my religious and professional being. I can understand Paul's exhorting in such terms the saints at Corinth against pride in learning and toward humility. I can understand the Lord through Isaiah condemning a proud and iniquitous people and warning that "the wisdom of their wise men shall perish." I can understand Jacob inveighing with his Nephite brethren against man's pride and foolishness and learning. But in all these contexts the prophet was condemning a wisdom that sets itself in opposition to God's — in pride not in humility. What I can't understand is anyone's using these passages to nullify all the others in which we are exhorted to seek wisdom and learning; for "happy is the man that findeth wisdom." Or using these passages to lump together and condemn all man's efforts to know and understand himself, his universe, even his God. Paul's own apostrophe to Charity is scripture, but it is also a man's wonderful song to his brethren, trying to raise them to real charity in their lives. We glorify it as scripture, we do not condemn it as the learning of man. And when I teach *King Lear* or *Paradise Lost* or Yeats' poems or even *The Sound and the Fury*, I don't want to have to apologize for them as the learning of man, I want to sing them as the *creations* of man, the creation of God. That world Tolkien creates, even with its horrors, is full of fresh, natural beauty and full of artistic beauty. Both deserve being sung.

All of this lies behind my sense of the Mormon commitment to education and my distaste for anything that suggests a defensive attitude. Even granting the dangers and risks, the end of man is to know — and to create new and significant things to "know." I turn now to some of the specifics implied in that commitment.

The Mormon commitment to education implies a genuine respect for both the process of education and the product. Not mere blind respect; process and product are too often faulty. But the implied respect is, in a sense, simply the inverse of what causes the commitment in the first place. That is, Mormons conceive of education itself as ultimately vital — ultimately in the sense that ultimate or cosmic things are at stake, vital in the sense of alive, positive, creative in its own right. For no Mormon should education be merely a means of preparation for earning a living or bettering oneself in one's profession. It disturbs me to hear even graduate students talk of a thesis on some insignificant problem so as to "get it over with," to "get the badge" — as if the badge were all, the process nothing, and the result external, not internal. The only true measure of the product, I suppose, would be a kind of total apperception of what one is, after having gone through the process. Such a judgement would be possible only through the eyes of Deity. But only if one conceives the process itself as vital, as itself creating new and higher potential, can we hope for the highest product, in any but the merely practical sense. And of course respect for the product has to imply the opposite of the strong distrust of the intellectual within the Church.



As a corollary, the commitment to education implies a strong commitment to research and creative activity. If we really respect both process and product, then we will regard the process at least as important in a faculty as in students. More important. For only as the faculty member "gets out on the cutting edge of his discipline," only as he is himself helping push out the frontiers of knowledge, is the process itself carried to its logical end: the creation of new knowledge, both within the individual and, from man's perspective at least, absolutely. If teaching others what is at present known carries the importance our commitment presumes, then even more important in a final evaluation must be the creation of new knowledge to be taught. Teaching others the known processes by which to measure temperature on the stars carries its own high significance. But discovering a new and simpler and more accurate method of measuring gives to the teaching a sounder authority and proves the validity of the learning process itself.

And more so with the creative arts. Probably my own handful of poems will never be ultimately significant. But unquestionably for me, the writing of them has been the most significant single fact in my own capacity to teach literature. For them to fulfill a meaningful destiny as something to be "known" by others, however, they must carry their own load as created fact, they must be good — good enough to invite others to know them. Should they happen to be that good, again the process of education will have achieved a kind of ultimate end: not merely the transmission of what is already known, but the creation of something new to be known.

The Mormon commitment also implies that the Church should think of

itself not simply as defending itself against the possible effects of secular education, but as accepting and welcoming part of the national burden of university education — accepting as burden, if we must, but welcoming as opportunity. For only by involving itself in education can the Church make felt the deep vitality of its commitment.

Even if we define and accept secular education as the enemy (I hope we never do), we should take a lesson from my Hobbit friends, who discovered — as have so many others before and since — the real facts about defense and offense. They carried the battle into the heart of enemy territory. To be sure, they were forced to by the nature of the ring: it had to be destroyed; it could only be destroyed by their dropping it into the flames of Mt. Doom. But I suspect that we are similarly forced by the very nature of education. We might be able to retire into our spiritual fortress. But to do so would leave the “field” of education to the enemy.

All this, however, is much too negative. The Mormon commitment to education implies the responsibility of the Church’s educational system to develop men capable of representing the Church in the world of ideas — all kinds of ideas — and of creativity, just as its leaders now represent it in the worlds of business and religion. No concept of sheltered education can suffice if we are to develop such men. The world may respect us for our moral and spiritual standards, but it respects our ideas and creativity only as they successfully compete in the open market.

Even with some improvement in the last few years, we must say, if we face the problem honestly, that measured by the support given to graduate programs and to research and creativity — where the commitment to education ought to show up most strongly because less tainted with “practical” considerations — we have at best made haste only with due deliberation. To put all this differently, the Mormon scholar needs to be able to bring all his insights, especially his particularly Mormon insights, to bear on significant problems both timeless and of our time — to be able to do so under the immediate auspices of the Church and its university and to feel that the Church supports him in his work, not made to feel that he is somehow involved in subversive activities. He should be able to feel such support even if no immediate relation is apparent between what he is doing and the apparent interests of the Church. Even, I would go so far, if the work seems inimical to apparent and immediate interests of the Church. For I believe intensely that no meaningful truth and no sincere and energetic quest for truth can be really inimical to the final best interests of the Church.

Which brings me to the final implication I wish to explore, one that includes and absorbs all the others. The Mormon commitment to education implies — and grows out of — an absolute commitment to human freedom. Few Mormons but would approve here. But I have in mind something quite different, I fear, from the usual ideal. I want to insist on freedom as a dynamic and creative force, not merely a right we struggle to protect — though of course it has to be that too. I insist on a definition of freedom as not simply the right or even the possibility but the *capacity* to make meaningful choices. For capacity has to do with awareness — awareness of possible alternatives and of their implications. And awareness is directly related to education. One could almost define the process of education, formal or otherwise, as the increasing awareness of

alternatives. The size of my record collection may limit my choice of what to hear, but only musical knowledge and taste, both products of education, can help me choose meaningfully what I add to it or what I listen to from it. Only by knowing and studying the alternatives could the Ents and the Hobbits make their choices. And only by our broad awareness of alternatives can our religious decisions be finally either as wise or as meaningful as they should be.

Conceived thus, freedom itself is dynamic and self-expanding, just as education and creativity are. Those decisions that really tax and expand us seldom present simple choices between neat categories of right and wrong, good and bad, black and white. Nor do they often present themselves in neat categories as moral or ethical or religious or practical or professional. They tend to involve choices between two or more goods, forced choices between two or more bads. The practical and professional get involved with the moral and ethical and spiritual. And even where a moral absolute might be involved — in the choice between, say, absolute honesty in a business deal and a slightly shady deal that would save the business and give work to many — even in such a choice the alternative may be not merely temptation, but itself a positive, practical and even moral good. Such choices need the best preparation we can get in awareness of alternatives and their implications. The making of such choices increases our capacity to make choices, assuming of course that we make them broadly aware of what we do. That is, freedom is dynamic and self-expanding. To the extent that we exercise it meaningfully we develop greater capacity to exercise it. Or to put it differently, freedom in its most meaningful sense is internal not external, dynamic not static, qualitative certainly but also quantitative not so much in the number of freedoms we *have* as in our capacity to exercise freedom.

If I am right in conceiving freedom thus highly and complexly, it follows that an education which promotes freedom may not always produce tractable, unquestioning Mormons with a simple faith who fit neatly into the Church's programs. It can and often does produce the questioner, the thoughtful dissenter, the "intellectual." *Can* produce these, but usually does not, at least not if I can trust my own sensitivity to such things among the educated Mormons I know best. Though many question and dissent, most tend to accept, fit in, or at least go along with — thoughtfully and aware, I would hope, but also tractable and cooperative. Regardless, I have trouble seeing the dissenter, educated or not, as the enemy. Dissent makes us examine our positions and activities. If really sound they should survive such examination and emerge the stronger.

No, the Mormon commitment to education implies nothing timid or defensive. Rather it implies a vision of the Church's educational system and especially the Church's university as a major force in helping to lead its individual members and the Church itself toward their highest destiny. The stone cut from the mountain may roll forth and fill the whole earth. But such a trope implies a stone inwardly vital, inwardly self-creating, inwardly self-expanding — as I have described creativity and education and freedom to be.

I am only too aware that much of what I am saying can be read as "intellectualism" rampant. I must accept the risk. I think it one of the saddest ironies of intellectual and spiritual history that the term has been poisoned semantically. That our finest minds must see themselves stigmatized. That one of my finest students should find himself reproached by his counselor, himself a Ph.D.,

as an intellectual. As with the learning of man so with the intellect of man, when it conflicts with God's knowledge or God's will or man's spirituality or even simple human humility, it can lead man astray. But finally I refuse the dichotomy. Intellect and spirit may somehow be separate entities within us. They are certainly words to describe differing and sometimes opposing experiences or activities. But I refuse the usual picture of them as in fundamental conflict. I refuse it on empirical grounds because I cannot find the dichotomy in my own experience of either the spiritual or the intellectual. My most significant experiences have involved such a fusing of the spiritual, the artistic, the intellectual, even the physical, that no dissecting could separate them. I refuse it on religious grounds because I have to believe in the organic integrity of God's highest creation. Man is, or can be and strives to be, *one*. One with himself and, through the atonement, one with God. And one not merely by denying the body or the intellect or the will in favor of the soul or the spirit. All these can and must work together in the highest service of man — and of God. At least this much is implied in our commonly proclaimed goal in education: "the whole man."

I close with a comment about the crime of destroying a student's testimony. I would certainly see destroying a testimony as a crime, if for no other reason than that a testimony is so personal and precious that destroying it would involve the violation of the sanctity of the human soul: the greatest of crimes for Hawthorne and James and so many others. But I would also argue that no one, not even a sinister college professor, can really destroy anyone's testimony — anyone's but his own, that is. Just as nobody can *give* me a testimony, so nobody can destroy the one I have. Others can challenge it, I can lose it through inaction or lack of concern, I can throw it away, I can refuse it. But nobody out there can destroy it. Not if it comes from whence we say it comes and is what we say it is. Whatever else, it is a uniquely personal thing. I would even argue that the real crime, the one we stand in greater danger of, would be to leave one's testimony simply intact and untouched, to present an education neatly wrapped and insulated from one's testimony — or to permit one to keep his testimony isolated and insulated. If a testimony is something to bundle up and hide in our briefcases for fear of its being touched, then it is indeed most static and most vulnerable, and we do right to simply protect it. But surely a testimony, like education and freedom and creativity, is self-creative, is inwardly dynamic and alive, is something to be invested like talents. No hot-house plant, it needs exposure to wind and rain and cold to give it toughness and endurance. It too responds to opposition in all things. It is not meant for a static life — if such a thing were possible. Only the Ents, after having done battle, can go back to a static life. And even for them it meant eventual death, as the destruction of the Ring eventually meant death to all the wondrous, magical creatures of Middle Earth. Only man survived as Middle Earth evolved into modern earth. If Tolkien had been writing Mormon cosmology, surely he would have had to say that man survived because for man the quest can never end. Man once exposed to knowledge, once having eaten the apple, is man committed to the quest. He may destroy himself along the way. But this chance is the price he pays for the privilege of being human, even for the privilege of life. Mormons pay it willingly, knowing that with the dangers come also the significance and joy of coming to know.

STRESS POINTS IN MORMON FAMILY CULTURE

HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN

There is much that is commendable about the Latter-day Saint family system: its attention to lasting values and eternal life; its embeddedness and centrality within the religious culture; organized efforts to stimulate and strengthen the inter-solidarity of family members, such as through the Family Home Evening. These are the kinds of things that ordinarily receive attention from the pulpit and in the official Church publications. Standard doctrines and programs are explained and eulogized. Personal shortcomings are pointed out, sometimes specifically. Church members are told about their special blessings and admonished to do better. But, the underlying assumption has seemed to be that the system itself is beyond criticism. The usual emphasis, therefore, has been almost entirely upon repentance and greater effort on the part of the individual. Relatively little attention has been given to institutional analysis or to what the sociologist might label "structural weaknesses." The following remarks represent an attempt at just this sort of constructive structural analysis.

More Divorce than Expected

Not every unproductive marriage ends in divorce, but when divorce does occur it certainly can be said that *that* particular marriage has failed. Some unhappy families remain nominally intact out of consideration for the children or because of the stigma or expense of divorce. To measure the full extent of marriage failure, one would need to get at these "hidden" conditions as well as the actual dissolutions. Yet, for the very reason that internal family troubles tend to be hidden from the public gaze, they do not often come to light without special enquiry or research — or until things get bad enough to cause an open break. While divorce percentages do not give a complete picture of marital difficulty, they are readily available and, by indicating extreme trouble, provide a convenient index of the whole.

It probably will come as a surprise to most Latter-day Saints that Utah is above average in its divorce rate. This is confirmed by the following figures from official government reports:

DIVORCES (including annulments)
PER 1,000 POPULATION

	<i>Utah</i>	<i>United States</i>
1940	2.7	2.0
1950	3.1	2.6
1960	2.4	2.2
1968	3.3	2.9

While not all years are presented here, examination of ratios over the past quarter of a century or so reveals very few exceptions to this overall comparison. In most years, Utah had a higher divorce rate than the United States as a whole. And the differences lie in the same direction when the comparison is made in terms of a *marriage-divorce ratio* rather than just divorce rate, which has the effect of controlling for the influence that number of marriages may have upon potential number of divorces. In 1960, for example, Utah experienced one divorce for every 3.29 marriages as compared with one divorce for every 3.88 marriages in the country overall—demonstrating that divorces were proportionately higher in Utah. Comparable rates for 1965 were 3.04 and 3.76 respectively.

One would expect it to be otherwise. Of the fifty states, Utah is unique in at least two respects: It is the most churched, meaning that a larger percentage of its population has membership in some denomination; and it is the most homogeneous in church membership, meaning that religious affiliation is more concentrated into one denomination—in this case the Mormon. Somewhere between two-thirds and three-fourths of Utah's entire population is Latter-day Saint. Furthermore, with an exceptionally high valuation placed upon marriage and family within the Mormon culture, the logical expectation would be for a *lower* than average divorce rate, rather than a higher one. And it would not be reasonable to try to explain the higher rate away by the presence of a non-Mormon element in the Utah population. For other states have even higher proportions of non-Mormons and there is no reason for thinking that Utah's non-Mormons have higher divorce rates than their counterparts outside the State.

Now this is not to suggest that divorce is rampant among the Latter-day Saints. Unquestionably, many are experiencing success in their marriages and there is evidence that divorces following temple marriage are disproportionately few in number. For example, in a record-linkage study of Salt Lake and Utah Counties—with the divorce records search for about ten years following each marriage—I found the following divorce percentages: civil marriages, 13.4; Latter-day Saint non-temple marriages, 10.2; non-Mormon religious marriages, 5.5; and Latter-day Saint temple marriages, 1.8 percent divorced.¹ Note that divorce was proportionately greatest following civil or nonreligious weddings, where it might be presumed that church influence is at a minimum. There is no reason for thinking that Mormons would be either under or overrepresented in this group.

But note also that while the temple marrying group showed up with substantially the lowest divorce percentage, the Latter-day Saint non-temple group showed up with a percentage nearly twice that of all other churches grouped together. Why? The obvious explanation seems to be that the screening process involved in getting a "recommend" necessary for entering a temple discourages some from trying and results in the rejection of others; and many Latter-day Saints who for one reason or another don't make it to the temple turn next to their local Bishop for a religious but non-temple ceremony. Temple marriage is highly valued and zealously promoted in the Mormon culture, but it is available only to those who conform to the essential doctrines and standards of the Church. It stands to reason, therefore, that the "rejects" would be more divorce-prone to start with, and that their inclusion in the Latter-day Saint non-temple group makes that group's divorce rate higher than it would be normally. Thus, there seems to be a selective process operating which, by narrowly restricting the temple marrying group, reduces the divorce rate there while at the same time increasing it in the group that receives the spillover.

I am of the opinion that temple marriage in and of itself provides strong motivation for successful marriage and family life. By viewing the family in terms of eternity and defining expectations and fixing responsibilities at higher levels than usual, it causes husband and wife to try harder. Nevertheless, this built-in incentive is not the sole reason for the temple marrying group's very low divorce percentage. Another important factor is the selective process mentioned above—the fact that those who make it to the temple have a higher probability of success from the very start.

Not only does Utah, which is largely Mormon, have a higher-than-normal divorce rate, but average marriage duration is significantly shorter than in



most states, and the proportion of divorces involving children is higher than in most states. For example, from the twenty-two states reporting in 1968, average marriage duration to the time of divorce was 7.0 years overall, but for Utah it was only 5.8. Furthermore, a special analysis of 1962 data revealed that 39.8 percent of the divorcing couples were childless and only 3.3 percent had five or more children in the total group, as compared with 28.2 percent and 5.6 percent respectively for Utah. High divorce rate and short marriage duration prior to divorce are usually found to be correlated, as suggested by Utah's relative high rank on both. Utah's disproportionate weighting with regard to divorce cases involving children can probably be explained by an abnormally high overall birthrate among Mormons (which we will deal with at greater length below). But, regardless of the explanation, children are known to pay a high price when their parents divorce. And, since Utah seems to have more than its share of *both* divorce and the children of divorce, its problems in this respect are inevitably compounded.

Really all that I have been trying to say up to this point is that we have a problem and that to solve it we might do well to first take an honest look at some of its sociological (or structural) dimensions. Even if the divorce percentages were just equal with (and not higher than) the nation as a whole, we still would have a problem—for with all that the Church stands for and has to offer we *ought to do better* than the rest. But “doing better” may require institutional correction at certain points; not *just* greater personal effort to live up to the teachings, as important as that is.

If the problem can be recognized the next step is to examine its dimensions. To me, there seem to be about five major points of strain in Mormon family culture which are at least partly responsible for the marriage trouble we are experiencing: (1) a pattern of terminal petting; (2) a tendency to marry very young; (3) a guilt-laden premarital sexuality; (4) an unrealistic approach to family size; and (5) an overemphasis upon authoritarian control.

Terminal Petting

In popular parlance, “necking” refers to the lighter forms of kissing and embracing, and “petting” to the more intimate patterns of caressing and fondling short of sexual intercourse (coitus). Usually, as a young person develops and his interactions with the opposite sex expand, there will be a somewhat gradual progression from one stage of intimacy to the next. A central concern of moralists has been with the rate and extent of this progression prior to the wedding. The problem is one of timing and management in intimacy development.

Cultures differ in the quality of norms set up to govern premarital sexual intimacy. My own cross-cultural research may be used as an illustration of this point and also to show how Latter-day Saint norms and practices compare with those of other cultures. Samples were taken from three subcultures—Mormondom in the Intermountain region of western America, Midwestern United States, and Denmark in Scandinavia—and studied by means of both record-linkage and the questionnaire, to get at attitudes, behavior, and certain consequences of premarital sexual behavior as related to the respective cultural norms.² Virtually every measure used showed the

Intermountain (Mormon) to be the most conservative or restrictive of the samples, and the Danish to be the most liberal or permissive. This basic difference was noted with reference to both attitude and behavior.

But there was one important exception. When the 1968 university student respondents were asked to indicate the most advanced level of sexual intimacy that they so far had experienced, the picture for *petting* turned out to be in reverse of the usual cross-cultural pattern: Intermountain showed *higher* petting percentages (41.7 for males and 36.3 for females) than the Danish (5.2 for males and 3.3 for females). Midwestern petting percentages were also higher than the Danish, but for males this difference was not as great as between Intermountain and Danish. Coital percentages, as expected, showed up highest of the three cultures in the Danish and lowest of the three in the Intermountain, for both sexes. Furthermore, when petting and coital incidence figures were added together, these combined percentages followed the same expected pattern — though with cross-cultural differences less than when coitus alone was compared, due to the leveling effect of having the “reverse” petting figures added in. The question is: *why* did petting take a reverse cross-cultural pattern to that of other intimacy measures, including coitus?

The explanation seems to be that it is *terminal* petting (petting and stopping there) that is being measured and that when a culture puts heavy emphasis upon premarital chastity, technically defined as just non-coitus, there tends to be an unwanted corollary increase in petting, participated in as an end activity. In Scandinavia the norm is to view petting and coitus as belonging together, as part of the same thing, so that when one pets it is regarded as normal to go on to coitus — in fact, unhealthy to do otherwise. Elsewhere I have labeled this viewpoint “the package concept.” It avoids drawing a line between petting and coitus before marriage with the one considered more acceptable than the other. But in America, and especially in Mormon culture, that line *has* been drawn. In our more narrow interpretation of chastity — non-coitus whether or not petting occurs — and in our extremely heavy condemnation of deviation from the chastity norm, we have encouraged (unconsciously perhaps) petting as a terminal and hence substitute activity.

There is no implication in this analysis (made without value judgment) that our culture *deliberately* encourages premarital petting. Quite the contrary. Yet, the structure is such that some petting as a terminal activity is the result, whether one likes it or not. Mormon culture is very clear in its strong and uncompromising position against premarital coitus. But less is said about petting; and the somewhat meager treatment that is given generally lacks specificity regarding both limits and penalties. Both biological and social pressures push young people in the direction of physical intimacy, which *in the face of ambiguity* causes many to take a chance.

Now, of course, petting may be either exploitative or non-exploitative (with mutuality and love). Nevertheless, for a person to become extremely intimate without being able to consummate the erotic drive can result in psychological frustrations and pressures which often lead to a too-early marriage. Whichever way one looks at it, terminal petting is apt to create problems for those who participate.

Youthful Marriage

Median age at first marriage has been on the decline in the United States since about 1890. In that census year, males on the average married at age 26.1 and females at age 22.0. Corresponding figures for 1971 were 23.1 and 20.9 respectively. A large factor in this drop in age has been an increase in number and percent of teen-age marriages. Students of the family recognize this movement toward youthful marriage as one explanation for the increasing divorce rate.

Any number of studies have shown higher-than-average divorce rates for couples who marry very young. Undoubtedly there are many reasons for this: immature notions of love; inadequate time for testing and preparation; the greater likelihood of the marriage occurring as an escape from other problems, such as a premarital pregnancy or an unhappy home situation; and the relative inability of youngsters to earn a decent living or adequately cope with the other responsibilities of marriage and rearing a family. Statistically speaking, the odds are against success for teen-age marriages.

How is it with Latter-day Saints? The evidence seems clear that Mormon culture has more than its share of youthful marriages. In 1958, for example, 1.1 percent of Utah's brides were under fifteen, 49.1 percent were fifteen through nineteen, and 21.9 percent of Utah's grooms were fifteen through nineteen years of age. Most importantly, each of these percentages was higher than comparable ones for all of the remaining twenty-four states which reported age at marriage. In 1963, median age at first marriage was 19.9 for brides and 22.5 for grooms in Utah as compared with 20.5 and 23.0 respectively in the United States; furthermore, these age averages were lower for Utah brides than in twenty-three of the thirty-six states reporting at that time and lower for Utah grooms than they were in thirty of the reporting states. While Utah has not been at the very top in teen-age marriages during every year, for the past several decades at least it has been near the top in this respect. Undoubtedly this is one factor explaining the higher-than-expected divorce rate discussed above.

But here again, I make no claim that the Church is promoting youthful marriage; actually the practice is officially discouraged. When I compared temple with non-temple marriages by ages of bride and groom, for example, I found *fewer* of the temple marrying group aged 19 or under: 40.8 percent of the brides and 12.6 percent of the grooms, as compared with 59.0 percent and 21.6 percent respectively for the non-temple marrying group.³ It seems reasonable to assume that this smaller proportion of young marriages in the temple marrying group is one reason for its substantially lower-than-average divorce rate. Nevertheless, when all marriages are considered, the average age tends to be disproportionately low in Utah and overall divorce rate tends to be disproportionately high.

Why do couples marry so young in Mormon culture? Since it certainly is not Church policy, what is there in the structure of the culture to encourage and perpetuate this pattern? Terminal petting must be a large part of the reason — especially when combined with exceptionally high valuations upon marriage and upon chastity prior to marriage. Latter-day Saint youth are taught to think of family relationships in terms of eternity and potential

Godhood. They are a part of American culture which itself romanticizes love and glamourizes marriage; and on top of that they are almost constantly indoctrinated, in home and chapel, with the notion that nothing is more important. So their motivations toward love, marriage, and family are exceptionally strong. But they are equally indoctrinated to accept the chastity norm, being taught that "adultery is next to murder" in its sinfulness and that fornication (premarital coitus) is nearly as bad. So they develop a sharpened conscience in this regard, with guilt standing by to guard against offenses upon the "law of chastity." At one and the same time they are exposed to the erotic stimulation of the general culture to about an equal extent as everyone else, are additionally motivated to find a loved one and establish a family with a view toward eternity, and also experience the added pressure of an overdose of terminal petting. The result is the setting up of a very strong love-sex tension, which cannot find easy release in premarital coitus because of the culture's high emphasis on chastity and which therefore seeks release through early marriage. Many Mormons marry early because they are enamored with love, supercharged with the sex drive, and so feel that they "cannot wait." Their consciences tell them that they *must* wait for coitus until marriage; and so, to avoid an impending tragedy — or in some cases to alleviate guilt already there from indiscretions already committed — they decide to get married. This pressure toward marrying young is one of the very real stress points in Mormon family culture.

Sexual Guilt

My cross-cultural study, referred to earlier, revealed substantially lower rates of both premarital coitus and premarital pregnancy in the Intermountain (Mormon) group as compared with samples from Midwestern United States and from Denmark. Percentages of university males in 1968 reporting premarital sex experience were 36.5, 50.2, and 94.7 respectively; females, 32.4, 34.3, and 96.6 respectively; and proportions of marital first births occurring within six months following the wedding (clearly indicating premarital conception) were 3.4, 9.4 and 24.2 respectively. These results, consistently showing the Mormon samples to have the least premarital experience, were in line with expectation. They demonstrate, I believe, the controlling power of strong religious motivation in holding members to the chastity standard. Although the revealed percentages for the Mormon samples undoubtedly are higher than adherents to that culture would like them to be, their *relatively* low level must be a source of satisfaction.

Yet even this qualified satisfaction needs to be tempered with the realization that the controls (as they often are carried out) seem to be exacting an unwelcome price. I again refer to my own cross-cultural research for clues. It was found that, while the Mormon culture clearly had the lowest rates of coitus and pregnancy before marriage, it nevertheless — for those with experience — generally showed *highest rates* in measures such as these: having premarital coitus because of force or felt obligation rather than mutual desire; engaging in premarital coitus without the protection of contraception; accompanying premarital coitus with some degree of alcoholic drinking; and feeling guilt or remorse following the premarital coital experience. Furthermore,

when approval and behavior percentages for premarital coitus were compared, it was the Mormon-based sample that showed the greatest discrepancy; more of the offenders in that culture were found to be violating their own standards. And finally, when divorce rates between premarital and postmarital conceiver of the first child were compared, it was the Mormon again that showed the greatest difference: divorce rates were higher for premarital than postmarital conceiver in each of the three cultures, but the *magnitude of that difference* was greatest by far in the Mormon culture.⁴

Thus, there is apparent evidence of undesirable side effects emanating from our controls. Our religious culture is at least *relatively* successful in controlling for chastity. Yet, as was pointed out earlier, this may be resulting to some extent in excessive petting and in youthful marriage. And also, as indicated in the above paragraph, its accomplishment may be partially at the expense of irresponsible behavior, blunted satisfactions, and greater negative effects on the part of those who do break over. To the extent that this is true, the important questions become: Why? And what can be done about it?

Without in any sense assuming to know it all, let me at least suggest directions in which I think the answers will lie. Overall, Mormon culture is comparatively strict and demanding; it lays down rather rigid rules governing personal conduct and this means very little tolerance of nonconformity. The tendency is to define things as either "black" or "white," with not much of a gray area in between. As a result, persons who "sin a little" may feel themselves rejected and so go on to sin a lot. Furthermore, the sex area tends to be avoided in official discussion. Or, when it is not, the treatment is apt to be preachment — with admonitions and warnings but with little specific information or personal help. Even words like "coitus," "pregnant," or "sex" itself are usually avoided in the sermons and writings. This ultra-conservative stance has been made all the more evident in recent years by the stated position of some prominent Church officials opposing sex education in the schools. The matter is still in a state of flux, but as of this writing Latter-day Saint parents are charged with full responsibility for the sex education of their children; and yet, with few exceptions, they are not given the explicit instructions or personal assistance needed to accomplish that job. This need may be even greater in Mormon culture than some other places because of the strains peculiar to that culture, such as those outlined in this paper.

While purity should be regarded as the ideal, there is good reason for thinking that prudery is not the best way to bring this about. The real challenge is to find ways to encourage chastity without creating pressures within the individual, which can be equally destructive in the long run. Perhaps the answer lies in the direction of a more open and, at the same time, more positive approach to sex education.

Underplanned Parenthood

The phrase "planned parenthood" is commonly used to designate the practice of birth control: the willful regulation of the number and/or spacing of children. This is a widespread practice today, especially in the western

world, and most population specialists argue that considerably greater control of this sort is urgently needed if the world is to be saved from an impending doom. In recent years, average family size in the United States has been about three children, which, although considerably lower than at any other point in the country's history, is believed by the experts to be too high still. Hence the contemporary movement for a two-child norm, or, as it is sometimes expressed, for "Zero Population Growth."

Mormon family culture has generally resisted the declining birth rate: stressing the desirability of large families and justifying its position in this regard by doctrinal references — giving bodies to spirits waiting in the pre-existent world; building a religiously meaningful home life around off-spring; adding to one's eternal glory through progeny. This emphasis upon relatively unrestrained reproduction has had its effect. Utah, for example, had a birth rate in 1969 of 23.6 births per 1000 population compared with an overall United States rate of 17.7; and for nearly every year in recent decades Utah's birth rate has shown up among the highest of the fifty states. Or again, my own cross-cultural research not only demonstrated a lower premarital pregnancy rate for Mormon culture than Midwestern United States and especially for Denmark (as reported above), but also revealed that it had substantially higher *early* postmarital conception — modal timing coming about one month after the wedding. The typical Mormon pattern, therefore, seems to be for greater self restraint prior to marriage and less interference with reproduction (that is, less birth control) once the wedding has occurred.

Yet, there can be no denying that Mormon families today are smaller on the average than in yesteryears, which means that more of them are "planned." During the 1946-47 school year I was able to study over sixteen hundred students at Brigham Young University asking, among other things, "About how many sons and daughters do you desire in marriage?" and "Do you believe that Mormon couples are justified in having smaller families than nature intended, that is, in practicing birth control?" Unmarried Mormons in the sample wanted 4.6 children on the average, and 53.6 percent of them answered "yes" to the question on birth control. An overall summary of findings was stated as follows:

Mormon fertility is responsive to both religious and socioeconomic pressures; while maintaining itself at a level significantly above that of the rest of the nation, it is, at the same time, paralleling the general downward trend. Sampled Mormon university students desire larger families than do non-Mormons by about 50 per cent, but families smaller, nevertheless, than those that they came from. Slightly over half believe in birth control within marriage, a figure that is probably higher than for their ancestors but lower than for contemporary non-Mormons. The expense of child-rearing is given as the major reason for wanting to limit the family.⁵

It is this middle or two-directional position — with the fertility pattern reflecting the influence of both religious precept and general social pressure — that has caused me to title this section *Underplanned Parenthood*. Mormon fertility is neither as planned as it is in American society as a whole, nor can it be called unplanned (except, of course, in certain families).

The Church's position on birth control — if indeed it can be said to have an official position — has been, and remains somewhat ambiguous; perhaps deliberately so. About a quarter of a century ago, the late apostle John A. Widtsoe told me in a private conversation that the Church took no official stand on birth control (though his own position allowed for only "natural" methods and, even those, to be justified chiefly by reasons of health, never out of selfishness). Other high Church officials have from time to time taken positions, as individuals, very similar to that expressed by Doctor Widtsoe. But to my knowledge there has never been any clearly spelled out *Church Position*. Coming nearest to this is a statement over the signatures of the First Presidency mailed to Presidents of Stakes, Bishops of Wards, and Presidents of Missions under the date of April 14, 1969. It speaks of the commandment to "multiply and replenish the earth," decries a tendency among some Church members to limit their children, and warns especially against artificial curtailment when the parents are healthy and free from hereditary blights; but then it concludes:

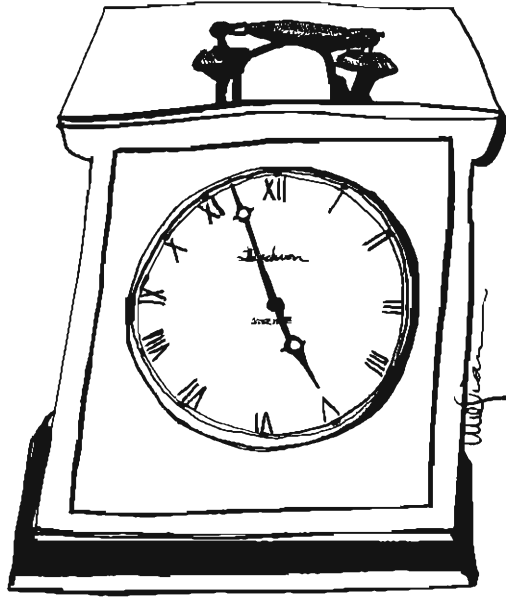
However, we feel that men must be considerate of their wives who bear the greater responsibility not only of bearing children, but of caring for them through childhood. To this end the mother's health and strength should be conserved and the husband's consideration for his wife is his first duty, and self-control a dominant factor in all their relationships.

It is our further feeling that married couples should seek inspiration and wisdom from the Lord that they may exercise discretion in solving their marital problems, and that they may be permitted to rear their children in accordance with the teachings of the gospel.

Now it is clear to me that, although this position remains extremely conservative on the birth control issue, there is also some flexibility and responsibility for individual interpretation. It would seem that the First Presidency recognizes the possibility of extenuating circumstances within a given marriage and that they expect the persons involved, in communication with Deity, to make their own decisions. If I am correct in this view (and certainly I don't want to be interpreted as trying to speak for the Church) the only position that may be regarded as official within Mormondom is for members to keep the basic doctrines in mind, seek inspiration, and then make their individual decisions according to the particular circumstances that face them.

Sociologically speaking, the coming of children is most apt to prove stressful to a married couple when it catches them off guard, so to speak, or finds them unprepared to cope with the new situation. American culture in general, and perhaps Mormon culture in particular, tends to glamourize both marriage and parenthood. This invites disillusionment; and disillusionment produces frustration, conflict, and even divorce. Just as an overdose of romanticism in courtship often means a crisis in early marriage, so an unrealistic view of babies and children can mean a crisis in early parenthood — when husband and wife are jolted into a life of dirty diapers, interrupted sleep, confining schedules, and the like. Yet, it is not the children themselves so much as it is the discrepancy between what one has been led to expect and what parenthood actually brings, that causes the difficulty.⁶

During the early 1950's I was involved in a study of several hundred married student couples at Purdue University to determine, among other things, if



there is any relationship between family size and marital adjustment. While our indices of marital adjustment were found to be positively related to *desired* number of children, the relationship to *actual* number of children was a negative one. This suggested that some couples, who want children eventually, were having them before they were ready, and that this failure in timing might be causing disappointments, hardships, and maladjustments. Furthermore, when several tests were made comparing couples who expressed a discrepancy between actual and desired number of children against those with no such discrepancy, it was the discrepant groups that consistently showed up with the lowest marital adjustment scores. Our overall generalization was that marital adjustment increases according to the ability of couples to control fertility in line with their desires.⁷ And research reports appearing during the last two decades have tended to support this same basic conclusion.

A recent investigation into how much children are valued gathered opinion data from approximately 15,000 college women, including nearly 400 Mormon coeds in a nonsectarian university. The Mormon respondents wanted 4.7 children in marriage, on the average, which was lower than Catholic respondents with an exclusively Catholic education, but higher than other Catholics and especially higher than Protestant, Jewish, and "no religious preference" respondents. The investigators concluded that family size preference is a function of "the overall religious and social system in which women find and orient themselves." They reported, among other things, that as the importance attached to religion goes down, the number of children desired goes down also and the percent of women who intend to plan their families goes up — a relationship found to be particularly strong among Catholics and Mormons. With regard to the religiously oriented family systems of Catholics and Mormons they said: "Marriage is considered a career in itself, one only to be entered if the goal is to have a family. . . . In a certain sense, the woman has a divine mission to perform."⁸

If I were to hypothesize concerning the Latter-day Saint family on this score, it would be that our religious culture — by romanticizing parenthood and playing down some of the reality factors within contemporary society — invites disenchantment after the children come (or when too many come too fast) and that this disenchantment in turn is a factor in our higher-than-expected divorce rate. Unquestioning faith plus a willingness to obey what is believed to be a commandment (abstaining from birth control as this is sometimes interpreted, for example) may be causing certain married couples to move rapidly and deeply into parenthood, only to feel disillusioned and trapped later on. Of course, the hypothesis needs empirical testing, but it does impress me as plausible.

In a lesson manual used by Latter-day Saint Sunday Schools during the 1940's, I at one place dealt with the question of family size — pointing out objections to the two extremes (both planned childlessness, and letting pregnancies follow each other in quick succession) and urged couples to set their goals and establish their controls in the light of circumstances and in the spirit of responsibility.⁹ I feel the same way about it today, only even more strongly than before.

Authoritarian Family Relationships

Power structure within the American family (and to some extent the family everywhere) has been shifting from an older so-called *patriarchal* pattern where the husband-father held most of the authority and both wife and children were expected to give him unquestioning obedience, to a more *equalitarian* arrangement based on notions of mutual respect and more-or-less democratic decision making. This long-range and almost universal trend within the family system has paralleled a similar movement toward personal freedom and responsibility taking place within the political arena and throughout the general culture. Of course there have been set-backs and not every person enjoys the privilege of self-expression — in dignity and without fear of reprisal — even today. But the overall trend has been in that direction and family democracy now can be said to be the central goal, at least in democratic societies.

Nevertheless, the Mormon Church has viewed governance in a significantly different manner, believing in *theocracy* rather than straight democracy. It brings God into the picture, one might say, and, as a consequence, stresses priesthood and obedience to divine authority. The priesthood is given to every worthy adult male and is expected to operate in the governing of families as well as of the Church proper. Thus the husband-father is regarded as head or patriarch of his family. The wife can enjoy benefits of the priesthood, she is told, but only "through her husband" in his priesthood role; and the children likewise are expected to honor their father as the ultimate source of authority in the home. Whatever might be said about this conceptualization of family governance, at least there should be recognition that it resists the movement of our times and so is apt to produce a certain amount of strain for Church members, who are literally a part of the world and yet asked to be separate from it.

There is evidence from research that the patriarchal family structure of

Mormon culture is persisting as a religious concept, but at the same time adapting to the changing times at the level of daily living. Patriarchal authority in the Mormon family has declined some, although not to the same extent as in America as a whole.¹⁰ Just as Mormon fertility was shown to be responsive to both religious and social pressures, the same can be said of Mormon authority patterns within the family. And this in-between position, in both instances, may pull loyal Church members in two directions at the same time.

At the level of doctrine, Latter-day Saints are told that "the rights of the priesthood are inseparably connected with the powers of heaven"; are warned against the evils of "unrighteous dominion"; and are admonished to exercise the authority of the priesthood only "by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness and meekness, and by love unfeigned . . ." (D&C 121:34-43). To the extent that this doctrine finds application in the home, it insures against arbitrary or dictatorial maneuvers on the part of the husband-father. But with power comes the temptation to misuse it.

I am not suggesting that the abuse of patriarchal power is any more common in Mormon than non-Mormon families. It may even be less, and only carefully designed research could give us the true comparison. It has been my personal observation, nevertheless, that *some* Latter-day Saint family heads take their priesthood authority too seriously (or perhaps just become too ego-involved) and that this sometimes results in a discontented or even rebellious wife or child. The abuse of power to any degree may be harmful.

Frequently there will be an accommodation to the personalities or situations involved by accepting certain inconsistencies into the authority pattern that develops. Note the following from Christopherson's study of Mormon marriages:

During the thirty interviews, the investigator noted in seventeen instances what might well be interpreted as a curious discrepancy between the concept of patriarchal authority and its exercise. Typical of such instances was an interview with one family in which the woman had just finished expressing a point of view to the effect that in her family the husband and father was regarded as the ultimate seat of recourse with respect to most, if not all, family disputes. Almost in the same breath, she interrupted her husband to correct him with an air of finality with regard to a point of Church doctrine.¹¹

Two powerful movements are shaking the family structure of American society today: woman's liberation and youth's rebellion. If the upheavals have been less in our Mormon communities, the differences are in degree only; for we too have those who feel abused by the system. When women or youth act restless and militant it often is a rebellion against what is considered to be arbitrary authority. Yet, how often do Latter-day Saints make an authoritarian approach in family matters in order to "keep the lid on" — and thus invite further rebellion later on? Perhaps it is part of our unfinished business to build real equality within the home; to see family theocracy as righteous only when it is democratically carried out; to avoid letting our concept of authority make us authoritarian.

Just as the Latter-day Saint male is prepared from the time of early childhood to anticipate and later function in his priesthood role, so the female is trained to value most such things as motherhood, homemaking, and giving

support to her husband. These respective male and female models are consciously promoted and strongly reinforced by the religious culture. To a considerable extent the Mormon female is socialized into a role of dependency. And in all likelihood more of them accept this traditional position than is true with non-Mormon women today. Yet there is evidence that some—and perhaps increasing numbers, especially those with superior talent and self-motivation—are feeling a degree of discontent or even entrapment within the system.

The summer 1971 issue of *Dialogue* brought into focus the views and problems of contemporary Latter-day Saint women, many of whom experience conflict between their loyalty to the priesthood and the Church, on the one hand, and their felt need for understanding and self-expression on the other. Most of the contributors to this issue were women and all seem dedicated to their faith. But their faith does not stop them from thinking and speaking out. In reading what they have to say, one does not sense any real rebellion against men, or against the priesthood, or against the Church. Yet, neither are these women as a group entirely satisfied with status quo. Some of them cry out against the traditional stereotypes which circumscribe woman's role and tend to force women into behavioral molds. They ask for greater acceptance as persons and greater opportunity to express their individual talents and proclivities over and above homemaking—but typically in addition to, rather than in place of, being wives and mothers. Perhaps this is the kind of dialogue needed in a larger number of Latter-day Saint homes: speaking out within a framework of love and loyalty; tolerating differences and then capitalizing upon diversity for the benefit of all; building genuine partnerships in place of an arbitrary administration of authority; respecting the dignity of human personality—whether the person be male or female, adult or child.

Wholesome family life requires fundamental respect for others and a spirit of give and take. Furthermore, there must be effective communication. Anything short of this bespeaks the "unrighteous dominion" that Latter-day Saints have been warned against. Authoritarian governance within the home, when it exists, is apt to be destructive of love and harmony and crippling to the personalities involved—husband, wife, and children alike.

* * * * *

So we end where we began: with a call for introspection and self-analysis. For facts to supplement faith. For the exercise of the intellect, along with the spirit, in grappling with the problems which face us.

One of those problems is family disorganization. In outlining these five stress points within Mormon family culture I have not intended to imply either that the system is without strengths, or that all families within the system exhibit the various weakness dealt with. Certainly neither of these possible claims is true. Nevertheless, to the realistic observer, *all* is not well in Latter-day Saint family culture; and we had better be honest with ourselves about this or there will be less chance of self-correction. I have been dealing only with *tendencies*, not with universals. Furthermore, I see my conclusions more in terms of partially-tested hypotheses than final judgments and I

recognize that their tentative nature calls for further thought and research.

Since this paper has been analytical rather than promotional, some readers may possibly interpret it as an attack upon the Church. It is not that. By simply studying a phenomenon, the social scientist shouldn't be accused either of endorsing it or of assessing blame for the problems uncovered. My intent has been, not to tear down, but to build. As I see it, one of the first steps in strengthening the Latter-day Saint family is to realistically recognize the stress points that may be affecting it. And this would seem to require probing as well as praying, thinking as well as believing, and initiating as well as obeying.

¹Harold T. Christensen and Kenneth L. Cannon, "Temple Versus Non-temple Marriage in Utah: Some Demographic Considerations," *Social Science*, 39 (January, 1964), 26-33. Figures from Table 5, page 31.

²There have been a dozen or more published articles, mostly in professional journals, reporting on one aspect or another of this research. For a summary treatment see Harold T. Christensen, "Scandinavian and American Sex Norms: Some Comparisons, with Sociological Implications," *Journal of Social Issues*, 29 (April, 1966), 60-75. For an analysis emphasizing time trends along with cross-cultural comparisons, see Harold T. Christensen and Christina F. Gregg, "Changing Sex Norms in America and Scandinavia," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 32 (November, 1970), 616-627. For the record-linkage analyses reporting premarital pregnancy, see Harold T. Christensen, "Timing of First Pregnancy as a Factor in Divorce: A Cross-Cultural Analysis," *Eugenics Quarterly*, 10 (September, 1963), 119-130. Each of these sources lists references to the additional articles. Where there have been collaborators, they are named in the appropriate references.

³Christensen and Cannon, *Op. cit.*, Table 2, p. 28.

⁴Details of these and other comparisons may be found in the sources previously cited (see footnote 2). There was a record-linkage analysis of child spacing, including premarital pregnancy, and a questionnaire study of the attitudes, behaviors, and consequences related to premarital sex. The questionnaire was administered first in 1958 and then repeated at the same universities in 1968. For present purposes I have ignored the time trends, as well as numerous other findings which have only limited relevance to the arguments of this paper. Wherever possible, my reporting here is from the most recent data.

⁵Harold T. Christensen, "Mormon Fertility: A Survey of Student Opinion," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 53 (January, 1948), 270-275. Quotation from page 270.

⁶See E. E. LeMasters, "Parenthood as Crisis," *Marriage and Family Living*, 19 (November, 1957), 352-355; and E. D. Dyer, "Parenthood as Crisis: A Restudy," *Marriage and Family Living*, 25 (May, 1963), 196-201.

⁷Harold T. Christensen and Robert E. Philbrick, "Family Size as a Factor in the Marital Adjustments of College Couples," *American Sociological Review*, 17 (June, 1952), 306-312.

⁸Charles F. Westoff and Raymond H. Potvin, *College Women and Fertility Values* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967). The points and quotations given here are from pp. 33-49, 160, 219, and 222.

⁹Harold T. Christensen, "Size of Family: Trends and Implications," Chapter 25 in Section I of *The Latter-day Saint Family* (Salt Lake City: Desert Sunday School Union Board, 1946), pp. 97-101.

¹⁰See Victor A. Christopherson, "An Investigation of Patriarchal Authority Patterns in the Mormon Family," *Marriage and Family Living*, 18 (November, 1956), 328-333; and William G. Dyer and Dick Urban, "The Institutionalization of Equalitarian Family Norms," *Marriage and Family Living*, 20 (February, 1958), 53-58.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 330-331.

MAHONRI YOUNG AND THE CHURCH: A VIEW OF MORMONISM AND ART

WAYNE K. HINTON



Mahonri Young was perhaps Mormonism's most noted artist in the first half of the twentieth century. Highly individualistic and creative, he produced much of the famous sculpture that is most highly revered by Mormons today, including the magnificent statue of his grandfather, Brigham Young, which now stands in the rotunda of the national capitol in Washington D.C. At the same time, Young was not particularly active in the Church and found himself distressed by certain policies and restrictions which, he felt, affected not only his art but the general cultural heritage of the Mormon people. The following article is an attempt to present with understanding the perspective of one artist who tried to preserve the Mormon heritage as he understood it.

“Mahonri Young belongs among . . . those who are of the strain of Michelangelo, Titian, Rubens, Goya, Renoir and Millet. I say at once that he is a rare sculptor in America and one of that little band that is putting life and vitality into an empty shell which has been made so long to represent American sculpture.”

— *Guy Pene Dubois*

So much of Utah's early history has religious significance that the artist attempting to preserve its heritage has often found himself interpreting people and events of some concern to the Mormon Church. To the truly creative artist, dealing with a vested interest group such as a church in interpreting history and life through art can be frustrating. Mutual cooperation can lead to great artistic achievements which otherwise would go uncreated for lack of interest and funding.

An artist of the first half of the twentieth century who worked intimately with the Mormon Church in attempting to interpret Mormon history was Mahonri Mackintosh Young. During a career which spanned some fifty years, Young won several national and international awards as a sculptor and etcher, presented numerous retrospective exhibitions, and was elected to prestigious national societies. Young's works are on display in the nation's most illustrious galleries. In a 1912 review entitled "The Bronzes of Mahonri Young," J. Lester Lewine gave the following estimation of his artistry:

His work was distinguished by nobility and breadth of conception. It often displayed a close and conscientious observation of nature and evidenced a predilection for virile form and "plastic lines" of great beauty and power. Critics praised him for creating "complete works of art," works which few artists were capable of matching in so far as being "significant and telling." He was also noted as a very versatile artist with wide sympathy which responded to much in nature and the human condition.¹

Although Utah-born and raised and a grandson of Brigham Young, Mahonri did not create Mormon art from religious motivation. He dropped out of Church activity as a teenager and as an adult did not observe the Word of Wisdom, attend church, or contribute financially to the Church. He confessed that religion left him hollow,² even though he did admire some Church leaders and did identify with the Utah pioneer heritage. His lack of commitment to Mormonism did not, however, retard his sometimes strenuous efforts to gain art commissions from the Church. His first Church-sponsored project was the statue of Joseph Smith, Jr., which, along with that of Hyrum Smith, now stands on Temple Square in Salt Lake City. This commission presented a challenge which would not only demonstrate Young's creative talent, but would also symbolize the frustrations often faced by artists as they confront the necessity of earning a livelihood and the disconcerting dilemma of having their creative work closely supervised by non-artists who hold the purse strings.

A plaster cast of Joseph Smith's face, made shortly after his death, was deposited with Young by the First Presidency of the Church, to be used in preparing a clay bust.³ He soon completed "a very good likeness,"⁴ which he hoped would earn him the commission for the full statue. Since he was in need

of work and was soon to marry, he was very anxious to secure the commission of \$4,800.⁵ The Church, however, felt compelled to be cautious with its limited funds.

The general authorities eventually authorized President Joseph F. Smith to contract with the artist to construct a cast. Because Young desired modified terms from those initially offered, the negotiations took what seemed to him an interminable time, but "in his greatest hour of need," President Smith finally commissioned him to do the life-sized cast of Joseph under a contract providing him with \$150 a month for a twelve month period.⁶

The casting was done under what the artist felt were "adverse circumstances."⁷ Due to the absence of a suitable studio, he modeled the cast in his dining room. He also maintained that the clay, plaster, and casters available in Utah were totally unsatisfactory.⁸ After all this, Church authorities did not like the cast and insisted on alterations before it could be bronzed. In sheer desperation, Young offered to construct a new cast at no expense to the Church if the Church in turn would give him a contract for a \$4,500 companion piece of Joseph's brother, Hyrum. He also suggested that he should complete the figures in a city where facilities were more convenient and better suited for productive work.⁹

Church leaders granted approval for the two statues but were unyielding in their insistence that the figures be modeled in Salt Lake City where the work could be closely scrutinized. As an alternative, he was allowed to use the Social Hall, which proved an adequate studio after being equipped with a skylight. It was large and comfortable and close to the Church offices so that President Smith could readily confer with the artist and help assure that the works would be approved.¹⁰

This first collaboration between the Church and Mahonri Young proved fruitful. The artist was somewhat frustrated when he could not be free from restrictions on his work, but his financial need made him anxious to cooperate. Church officials were satisfied with the statues. In fact, both sides seemed so pleased that Young found himself enthusiastically planning for another Church-sponsored commission. His attitude seemed to reflect the idea that the Church should become his patron.

A request from George Carpenter for sea gull drawings for the 1907 Christmas edition of the *Deseret News* inspired Mahonri's design for another work of importance to the Mormon heritage, the *Sea Gull Monument*. His idea was enthusiastically received, but no money was immediately available.¹¹ He assumed, however, that when he completed the Smith statues a contract might be granted. When the statues were finished he requested a commission, but the Church was in the midst of building the Hotel Utah and felt it could not support Young's project. His disappointment was severe, since he maintained he had declined other major works in order to devote his full attention to the monument.¹²

Failing to secure the *Sea Gull* commission, Young turned his energies toward winning the contract for a frieze design to go above the main entrance of the L.D.S. Gymnasium. Since the subject matter of this project, an athletic field day, was not as intimately related to the Church as the Joseph Smith statue, the work was not scrutinized or overseen so rigorously. Again, however, the artist suffered distress as he was prevented from completing the work to his

own specifications. He worked leisurely, believing that an artist could be forgiven for being late with his sculpture, but not for bad work. His uncle, Willard Young, head of the school, felt he had been given ample time to finish. He therefore had the scaffold removed without consulting Mahonri — before he had completed one of the figures to his own satisfaction.¹³

This was Young's last commission in Utah before leaving to seek greater opportunity in New York City. The failure to secure the *Sea Gull Monument* contract, the removal of the scaffold, and the belief that he was underpaid at \$2,000 for the frieze were contributing factors in his resolve to leave Utah to escape the "worry, struggle and discouragement" he believed he had suffered.¹⁴

He spent the next two years trying to establish himself in New York. After a period of further discouragement he believed that he had reached a turning point in his career. He was becoming known and was beginning to see a brighter future if he could only earn a commission large enough to keep him going. The next year would be critical; if he could not demonstrate that he could be successful in the artistic world, he would have to give up his art and devote his attention to supporting his family from other sources. His belief that, "If a person has it in him to be an artist he will be, regardless of poverty, discouragements, failures, or the unreasonable desires of others who think it their duty to direct the universe,"¹⁵ was being severely tested.



Again in desperation he turned to the Mormon Church. The *Sea Gull Monument* would carry him through, and he now almost pleaded for it, telling Charles W. Nibley that the work "means everything to me."¹⁶ It was his hope that he would be advanced a monthly sum of \$200 to live on while working on the bronze, so that he would have ample time to complete the work according to his satisfaction. His special plea proved effective and a contract was signed in 1912.¹⁷

Once the commission was granted the problem arose as to where on Temple Square to locate the monument. Young disapproved of the site most persistently proposed, which was just south of the Temple. It would not do to have the small monument dwarfed by the large temple, he felt. President Joseph F. Smith and other Church leaders accompanied Young to the temple grounds to hear the artist plead his case. He selected a spot between the Tabernacle and the Assembly Hall where the monument would be seen by people entering the south gate and where the gulls atop the column would be flying against the blue sky. The Church officials were sympathetic, and when the monument was unveiled on October 1, 1913, it stood on the spot he had chosen.¹⁸

Through this experience Young discovered that some Church leaders had strong opinions concerning certain aspects of art, but that they could be swayed by persuasive arguments. Believing this, he joined others in an effort to instruct the Church hierarchy in some of the fine points of aesthetics and the arts. The occasion was the impending destruction of the historic Salt Lake Theatre, which had been built by Brigham Young. This unique theater was, to those who wished to preserve it, a monument to the arts. It stood in the desert frontier for that which makes life pleasant and enjoyable, and was a civilizing and culturally encouraging influence of immense importance to many Utahans. The Tabernacle and Temple stood for and served the deeper things of the spirit; the old Theatre stood for cultural refinement, social intercourse, and relaxation. It was an especially significant feature of Utah's cultural heritage.

All attempts to persuade the Church to preserve the Theatre were rejected, however. On May 16, 1928, over vociferous protests of many citizens, the Salt Lake Dramatic Association, a Church corporation, sold the Theatre and adjacent lands to the Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Company for construction of a telephone company building.¹⁹ Mahonri's mother told President Heber J. Grant (who had been a close friend of her husband) that destroying the Theatre was the worst thing he ever did, and he would live to regret it. Just before the demolition someone bitterly changed the lettering on the marquee to read, "Erected by a Prophet and destroyed by a profiteer."²⁰

Mahonri Young protested the destruction of this historic structure with a satirical painting depicting the old playhouse as a temple of the arts. To him it seemed that the second generation of Mormons were iconoclasts with no sense of appreciation for the deeper meaning of the theater. Ada Dwyer Russell, one of the former players who was a leader in the preservation struggle, proposed that Young design and create a fitting memorial. In response to her request he designed a monument of remembrance and later did a commemorative tablet. As an environmentalist, history buff, and artist, he was deeply concerned about the preservation of what was historically and culturally significant. It saddened him that the second generation of Mormon leaders had allowed the work of the first to be destroyed, "because they [the younger generation] were non-

classical."²¹ A mere tablet could never replace nor adequately preserve the memory of the Salt Lake Theatre. Ironically a replica of the Theatre was erected by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers some two decades after the original was destroyed, thus vindicating Young's concern for preserving Utah's artistic-historical heritage.

At the same time the Salt Lake Theatre was being razed, the Church was considering the erection of a monument to the Mormon pioneers. The fact that a functional monument existed in the form of the Theatre was ignored. On July 21, 1920 President Heber J. Grant informed Mahonri Young that the Church was considering a "Coming of the Pioneers" monument to be placed at the mouth of Emigration Canyon. He warned, however, that the project might be a long time in coming, particularly if the Church were to pay the major portion of the cost. President Grant believed in Young's skill and ability as an artist and promised to do everything in his power to assist him in securing the commission.²² This assurance of support was never forgotten by either party.

In 1921 the M.I.A. erected a small commemorative plaque, but as Heber J. Grant had predicted, the major project languished.²³ The possibility of bringing it to fruition seemed so remote that Mahonri put it out of his mind until the summer of 1936 when he was vacationing in Salt Lake City. He had barely checked into the Hotel Utah when his friend, Nephi Morris, a Church leader, telephoned to inform him that the project was moving and that another artist was after it. Morris assured Young that he and others wanted him to do the monument.²⁴

Young rushed to Morris' office to go over sketches and discuss what could be done. He left the office "more excited than I had ever been since George Carpenter had proposed the *Sea Gull Monument* in 1907. . . . I do know that for the next days, weeks and months I thought of little else."²⁵ He was especially buoyed up when President Grant informed him that "Everybody wants you to get it."²⁶ After nearly five months in Salt Lake City, however, Young decided that nothing was going to be done, at least not immediately. He returned to New York disappointed after a long summer of "frustration or futility."²⁷ In the meantime, the Utah State Legislature appropriated small sums to develop tentative plans for the monument, and finally agreed to appropriate \$125,000 over several years if the Church and private donors would match that amount. The Legislative appropriation made it possible for a citizens' committee to begin to seek a design. Young and Avard Fairbanks were the only artists to present models before the committee. When asked to explain the meaning of his model, Young pointed out that the focal point of the statue — a triumvirate consisting of Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Wilford Woodruff — was symbolic in intent. He assured the Committee that while the impression created by the model was not historically accurate (Brigham Young had first looked over the Salt Lake Valley from Wilford Woodruff's wagon), it expressed the spirit of the occasion. President Grant justified the symbolism when he told the Committee "they weren't erecting a monument to a covered wagon."²⁸

President Grant's support for Young's model was critical, since he was so influential in determining who would be awarded the commission. In the end, Young's proposal was selected, and he was so elated that he declared, "I would rather have the *This Is The Place* commission than any other that could come to me."²⁹

The project still moved very slowly, so much so that Young wrote President Grant reprimanding the Committee for not giving him greater consideration. He was already out many dollars and a great deal of time.³⁰ He ran into additional frustration in obtaining approval for alterations. He felt that the monument presented a particular artistic problem when viewed from the rear, where there was little to relieve the repetition of the three pairs of legs. A friend suggested that he might place a sea gull flying behind the men. Young liked the idea and traveled to Salt Lake City to obtain the committee's sanction. They reluctantly agreed that a gull could be placed flying in the background to tie the legs together, so that they would not look "like a row of six stove pipes." When the changes were approved, Young took the new model east where he constructed a larger six foot model. This had to be sent to Salt Lake City to secure the Committee's final approval and then returned east before the artist could begin the work with granite and bronze.³¹

Young was bothered by the fact that all preliminary work on the project was done under provisional contract. He felt the Committee was very slow with funds and sometimes he became "impatient and sometimes despondent" at the way he had been treated.³² Finally in November, 1945, Young and his assistant, Spero Anargoras, were called to the Eastern States Mission headquarters in Boston to meet with President George Albert Smith and others for the purpose of signing a final contract. Young had played a major role in drawing up other contracts he had negotiated with the Church; this time the contract was professionally prepared. Because of the length and complexity of the document, he did not read it, but simply asked if certain things had been included. Assurance was given that they were, that there was enough money, and that the Church was behind the project. Although Young signed the contract, he had a premonition of trouble. For two weeks he did not sleep, and he described himself as "pressed and worried."³³ But he had spent years working to secure the commission and a lifetime preparing for it, and he wanted it more than any job which had ever come his way. The time was short and the date for unveiling fixed, so he put the contract out of mind and began to work.³⁴

Almost immediately an artistic problem arose which overshadowed mundane contract considerations. Some of the "busy bodies" who had seen the models complained that Wilford Woodruff's clothing was not dignified enough. They maintained that he looked like a servant instead of an equal to Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball. This grievance was taken to George Albert Smith, who suggested that Young remodel Wilford Woodruff. Young genuinely felt that his first design was authentic, for he had borrowed suits of the era for his models, including one which Brigham Young had actually worn.³⁵ Nevertheless, to placate the Monument Committee, which he complained was nagging him, he remodeled Wilford Woodruff so that he wore a Prince Albert coat.³⁶

The monument was unveiled on July 24, 1947, as scheduled. Young felt he had completed the terms of the contract and expected an immediate financial settlement. His efforts seemed frustrated, however, by John D. Giles and George Q. Morris.³⁷ Young maintained that Giles was attempting to deprive him of \$11,000, \$8,000 of which had been advanced to develop the monument and which Young had believed to be in addition to the \$50,000 contract, and \$3,000 of which Giles had disallowed because of a contract technicality.³⁸

When the contract problem began, Young contemplated communicating his

displeasure to President Smith, whom he was sure had not read the contract before he signed it. Because of the President's serious illness, Young was reluctant to write him, but he continued to resent his treatment at the hands of Giles, even though he realized the legality of Giles' action. Finally his frustration reached such a point that he wrote to President Smith. This brought a severe rebuke from George Q. Morris, who instructed him never to write the President again about this matter.³⁹ Young never recovered the \$11,000 and was bitter about it to the end of his life.

Over a forty year period the relationship between the Mormon Church and Mahonri Young had blown both hot and cold. His first major commission was the Joseph Smith statue; his first major group piece and perhaps his best was the L.D.S. Gymnasium frieze, and these two projects provided the major portion of his sustenance for five years. The *Sea Gull Monument* provided him with an important commission at a critical time; it was also the basis of much of his early fame. All these commissions provided some personal crises, but all generally proved to be satisfactory to the artist and the Church. The Salt Lake Theatre Tablet was a labor of love and was not of personal or financial importance. The matter of preservation of the Theatre was, however, a deeply important artistic issue to Young, and its destruction left him disappointed and cynical. The *This Is The Place Monument* he always referred to as "The Job." It was the climax of his career but was also the trial of his artistic life. What could have been the personal triumph of his career left him bitter and critical.

Despite such frustrations and problems, however, the association and cooperation between Mahonri Young and the Church resulted in some magnificent artistic works, and a brilliant art career was preserved, perhaps literally, at least at two critical points. The artist's reputation and pocket book were enhanced and the people of Utah gained beautiful and historically significant works of art. There were some moments of frustration in all of these commissions. Two, the Joseph Smith Statue and the *This Is The Place Monument*, were stringently supervised, and this proved to be a difficult condition for Mahonri Young to work under. He also liked to work without pressure. It was oppressive to him to be pushed and "nagged" during some of these projects, but these frustrations never outweighed his desire to secure financially rewarding commissions from the Mormon Church.

Mahonri Young was a free spirit. His sympathy was with almost any movement which promised greater liberty for the individual and which would "postpone the evil day when the setting bonds of criticism and official inertia would cramp and circumscribe the free and joyous activities of artists."⁴⁰

¹*International Studio*, 47 (October, 1912), 55-59.

²Mahonri Young MSS Collection, Box 17, "Howard MacCormack" Folder. Brigham Young University Library; hereafter cited as Young MSS.

³"Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," located in the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, March 15, 1906. Hereafter cited as Journal History.

⁴*Ibid.*, January 10, 1907.

⁵Mahonri Young to Joseph F. Smith, February 13, 1907.

⁶Reply from Joseph F. Smith penciled on the back of Young's February 13 letter to Smith; Journal History, January 10, 1907; Young to Smith, February 20, 1907 and March 1, 1907; Young MSS Collection, Box 18.

⁷Young MSS, Box 18.

⁸Young to Smith, July 7, 1908.

⁹Young MSS, Box 18.

¹⁰Young to Smith, August 25, 1908.

¹¹Young to Charles W. Nibley, July 1, 1912; Jack Sears MSS, uncatalogued collection, Brigham Young University Library; hereafter cited as Sears MSS.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³Young MSS, Box 17, "L.D.S. Gym" Folder.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵Sears MSS Collection.

¹⁶Young to Nibley, July 12, 1912.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸Young MSS, Box 17, "Father Kino" folder.

¹⁹For the story of the old theater, see George D. Pyper, *The Romance of an Old Playhouse*, (Salt Lake City: The Seagull Press, 1928).

²⁰Young to George Pyper, undated letter.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²Heber J. Grant to Young, July 21, 1920.

²³*This Is The Place Monument Commission*, Report to Governor Blood and the Twenty-Third Legislative Assembly of Utah, pp. 4-5. In 1930 the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association was organized to promote the erection of a suitable monument. The first committees were appointed in 1933 and land acquired by act of Congress in the southeast portion of the Fort Douglas Military Reserve.

²⁴Young MSS, Box 19, "This is the Place" folder.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Young to his son, "Bill" Young, July 23, 1936.

²⁷Young MSS, Box 19, "This is the Place" folder.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Sears MSS.

³⁰Young to Sears, May 16, 1940.

³¹Young MSS, Box 19, "This is the Place" folder.

³²Young to Sears, October 14, 1945.

³³Young to Sears, November 25, 1945.

³⁴Young MSS, Box 19, "This is the Place" folder.

³⁵Young to Sears, May 7, 1947.

³⁶Young to Sears, March 3, 1947.

³⁷Young to Sears, November 6, 1947.

³⁸Young MSS, Box 19, "This is the Place" folder.

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰Young MSS, Box 19, "Appreciation to J. Alden Weir" folder.

THE CASE FOR A MARRIED JESUS

WILLIAM E. PHIPPS

Appreciation is overdue for a Mormon who had the insight and courage to revive a Hebraic viewpoint toward Jesus' relationships with women. Orson Hyde, the President of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, in a sermon delivered at Salt Lake City in 1857, maintained that Jesus was married. He argued: "If he was never married, his intimacy with Mary, Martha, and the other Mary also, who Jesus loved, must have been highly unbecoming and improper, to say the best of it." In that same sermon President Hyde even suggested that the story in John 2 of a wedding at Cana is a record of Jesus' marriage to a Galilean woman.¹ In support of this speculation, another Mormon writer, Ogden Kraut, has recently noted that Jesus' mother would hardly have been anxious over the supply of wine becoming exhausted had the wedding not been of someone from her family.²

Hyde's striking belief in Jesus' marriage gained wide acceptance in the pioneer Mormon community. *The Journal of the Discourses of Brigham Young* discloses that others shared his conviction that Jesus, like other holy men, participated in the institution of matrimony.

Recognizing that the Bible provides no explicit information on Jesus' marital status, what could have stimulated Hyde to assert what no Christian had claimed for many centuries? Joseph Fielding Smith may provide a clue when he points out that Hyde was sent to Palestine to do missionary work among Jews because he was "of the house of Judah."³ That cultural association doubtless made him more aware than most Christians that marriage in traditional Judaism — either single or plural — was prerequisite to righteous manhood. Since Jesus was addressed as "Rabbi" and was a devout Jew, he would in all probability have married.

This essay will explore in some detail the way in which Hyde's position on Jesus' marital status was in accord with the Hebraic outlook. It will also show why this significant matter pertaining to the historical Jesus was long lost. Even the discussion of Jesus' marital status became taboo and remains so to the present time for most Christians.

I

From the opening pages of Hebrew Scripture onward, the sanctity of marriage as a part of the divine creation is a prominent theme. Sexual relations between those "joined by God" was considered a necessary good, not a neces-

sary evil. The writer of the Garden of Eden story believed that the unmarried state was "not good," and that every man (*adham*) should utilize the sexual impulse and other gifts of nature for human fulfillment. The solitary state is the first thing the Lord pronounced undesirable. Genesis 2 tells of man's ecstasy when his loneliness is relieved by female companionship and when his "rib" is returned to form a "one flesh" wholeness. Masculine and feminine interdependence and complementariness are exquisitely expressed in that ancient story. There is no indication that its writer or any other biblical writers believed that sexual desire was contaminated because of the sin of the first human parents. Marriage was expressly required for the Levitical priests, for they transmitted their office by family inheritance. The burning love of a couple which "many waters cannot quench" was admired by the prophets and poets of Israel.

Jesus gave the Old Testament conception of marriage emphatic approval in Matthew 19. When asked for his outlook on divorce, he quoted from the Garden of Eden story and reiterated that man and woman were made for permanent marital companionship. The apostle Paul also admired that creation account which focuses on the integrative and mutual commitment role of marriage. In Ephesians 5:32 Paul asserted that profound theology is revealed in the Genesis "one flesh" view of matrimony.

Sociological practice in biblical culture with respect to marriage was in accord with theological doctrine. Marriage was considered a sacred obligation in Judaism and was fulfilled at an early age. In the many centuries of biblical history there is no instance of lifelong celibacy. However, two persons, Jeremiah and Paul, abstained from marriage for part of their lives because they considered themselves to be in special crisis situations. Jeremiah temporarily refrained from marital life to dramatize the senseless deprivation which would result from fighting against the Babylonians. Paul indicated that he had once been married but was either a widower or separated from his wife when he wrote to the Corinthians. The apostle was convinced at that period of his Christian career that the finale of history was near. That predicament reconciled him to his own unattached state and caused him to recommend it for others with a similar disposition.

Since marriage was expected of every Jewish adult, individual marital status was often not considered noteworthy in the Bible even for major personalities, and we know of the marriage of many only incidentally. The documentary silence on the marital status of various persons in the Old and New Testaments should be interpreted to mean that they were in all probability married. The burden of the proof rests upon those who maintain that such persons deviated from the sanctioned pattern of behavior.

In my study, *Was Jesus Married?* (Harper and Row, 1970), the alleged New Testament evidence for Jesus' celibacy was weighed and found wanting. Paul, who provides the earliest record of Jesus and who personally thought at one period of his life that the single were not obligated to marry, did not point to Jesus as a model for the unmarried. In 1 Corinthians 7, where appeal is made to the teaching of Jesus on marriage, the apostle explicitly admitted that he knew nothing of Jesus' position on celibacy. Since the voluntary "eunuch" was unheard of in Judaism and hence would have attracted much attention if someone professed such a status, it is inconceivable that Paul

would not have been aware of Jesus' condition had he and some of his followers vowed to renounce marriage for life.

In I Corinthians 9:5 Paul asserted in passing that travel with wives was the standard practice of the apostles. It is unlikely that this would have been the case if Jesus had been single and had expected the devout to follow his example. Moreover, in the Pastoral Letters, marriage is laid down as a qualification for those who hold church office. This requirement is unaccountable had not Jesus and his apostles been married.

What can be said regarding Jesus' sexuality as portrayed in the New Testament? He is described as one with human passions like other men. Such qualities as love, joy, serenity, patience, and faithful companionship, which he expressed in a fullsome manner, are also basic ingredients of ideal marriage. In comparison with John the Baptist, Jesus indulged more in satisfying fleshly appetites and some of his contemporaries made this behavior an excuse for slander. Moreover, Jesus had no prejudice against women or marital sexuality that would preclude his becoming married. By asserting that "he was tempted in every respect as we are," Hebrews 4:15 implies that Jesus had sexual temptations.

The Gospel writers refer to Joseph as the father of Jesus. According to ancient Jewish oral tradition, one of the primary obligations that a father had toward his son was "to find a wife for him."⁴ Assuming that Joseph discharged his duty as a righteous father, he must have arranged for Jesus' betrothal. Sometime following Jesus' boyhood experience in the temple, during the decade of his life which is totally unrecorded in history, it is most probable that Jesus married. Also, the probability of his having offspring would be as great as that of any other man in his society.

In 1945 an ancient Christian folio volume, the *Gospel of Philip*, was discovered in Egypt. It explicitly states that Mary Magdalene was Jesus' "consort." If that document preserves an authentic tradition, as it well may, then it affords evidence that Jesus married. Also, the term *gunē*, used in the Greek of the New Testament, may mean either "woman" or "wife." It is therefore possible that Mary was his wife and that she belonged to that group of women-wives who are occasionally mentioned in the Gospels as traveling with Jesus and his male disciples.

It would be contrary to both ancient and modern notions of virtuous behavior if Jesus were closely associated day after day with a group of unattached women. Hyde has perceptively commented:

I will venture to say that if Jesus Christ were now to pass through the most pious countries in Christendom with a train of women, such as used to follow him, fondling about him, combing his hair, anointing him with precious ointment, washing his feet with tears, and wiping them with the hair of their heads . . . he would be mobbed, tarred, and feathered, and rode not on an ass, but on a rail.

There are no known writings by Jesus and no records about him until a generation after his death, so there is little that can be stated that goes beyond the realm of historical probability. In spite of the emotional desire of humans for absolute certainty, there are few indubitable facts regarding Jesus' life. For only a small portion of his life-span do we have any facts at all. Because of the paucity of documentary sources it cannot even be definitely

asserted that Jesus received schooling in his home town. Hence, to say that Jesus *probably* married or that he *probably* received some formal education is as strong a statement as can be made.

II

If Jesus married, why is it that the opposite assumption has been dominant throughout the history of Christianity? The moral dualism of Hellenistic philosophy that infiltrated Gentile Christianity in the post-apostolic era has been mainly responsible for the dogma that Jesus was perpetually virginal. That dualism held that the pure immaterial soul was imprisoned in the defiled flesh during this earthly existence. Consequently, the best way of freeing the spiritual essence even before death was by a practice of rigid abstention — which is now designated as asceticism. Some of his major interpreters in church history have, on the basis of an anti-biblical psychology, assumed that Jesus had no sexual desire or that he could not have expressed it in relations with a woman.

Sexual asceticism was found in early Greek philosophy and it became increasingly prominent in the Hellenistic age. As this side of the Greco-Roman civilization is not admired in modern secular culture, little attention has been given to its influence. From the Renaissance to the present day, the ancient Greeks have been associated with a balanced ethic — “nothing overmuch.” Of course, beginning with Homer that rational moral mean can be traced. But some of the more recent studies show that ascetic movements were also significant. In the Roman era an extreme ethic was popular among eclectic philosophers who drew on the earlier asceticism of Pythagoreanism, Platonism, and Cynic-Stoicism. Philosophers such as Cicero, Philo, Plotinus, and Porphyry — all scathing in their denunciation of physical pleasure — had a powerful impact on what came to be known as the Christian ethic. This ascetic tendency among philosophers, coupled with the popular veneration for virginity in cults of the Mediterranean area, partially eclipsed the biblical belief in the sanctity of the physical.

By the end of the patristic era Christians generally believed that all the major biblical characters who were not explicitly associated with spouses and/or children were celibates. Elijah among the prophets and John among the apostles were the “virgins” most frequently praised. Others commended as having this supposed *summum bonum* were Miriam, Joshua, Elisha, Jeremiah, and Daniel in the Old Testament. Joseph, John the Baptist, Barnabas, Timothy, Paul, and all the other apostles, except Peter, were held to be celibates. Doubtless each of the other outstanding personalities — such as Peter, the Hebrew patriarchs, Moses, Deborah, Samuel, David, Solomon, Job, Isaiah, and Ezekiel — would also have been deemed virgins if there had not been an incidental remark in Scripture about a spouse or a child who belonged to them.

In orthodoxy, Jesus became the model for virginity among males and Mary among females. By means of a grotesque typology, Bishop Irenaeus presented Jesus and his mother as anti-types of Adam and his wife. According to that influential church father, our first parents lived in an unconsummate marriage until they sinned. Jesus and his mother, unlike Adam and Eve,

never indulged in sex, and thereby they restored corrupt mankind to the good graces of God.⁵ In the third century the earlier tradition held by some Christians that Jesus married was squelched and the speculation by others that Jesus was perpetually virginal coagulated into unquestioned dogma.

In the fourth century some church fathers replaced martyrdom with virginity as the supreme virtue. With the rise of monasticism a rift between secular and sacred vocations emerged, and celibacy gradually became the *sine qua non* of the holier life. The monks assumed that pain was purer than pleasure, so much attention was given to ridding life of all fleshly satisfactions except those absolutely essential for individual survival.

Augustine is most to blame for the sexually ascetic ethic of Latin Christianity. His training in the pagan classics, coupled with a guilt complex resulting from youthful excesses, caused him in later life virtually to identify pleasure with sin. Augustine believed that couples who fall in love also fall in morality. Cupid love effects a lowering of virtue while spiritual love, divorced from sexual intercourse, causes a heightening of virtue. Indulgence of the tender passions was considered incompatible with total consecration.

Augustine denounced Bishop Julian who held that sexual desire was not necessarily defiling and that it was intrinsic to human nature. Julian concluded that Jesus had sexual desire and that Christians who marry are not second class citizens in the kingdom of God. But the Bishop of Hippo argued that it was impossible for Jesus the perfect man to have sexual desire which is tainted with evil. Julian, who was condemned as a heretic, was closer than Augustine to the authentic biblical ethic pertaining to sex and marriage. *A propos* of ironical heresies such as this, David Mace laments:

It is a great pity that the inhibited Christian mind has obscured for us all too often those wholesome features of Old Testament marriage. Some of the statements of the early [Christian] fathers, with their implications concerning the unspiritual and even unwholesome nature of the appointed means of human generation, would have sounded gravely heretical in Hebrew ears.⁶

Jesus, who endorsed the marital standard embodied in the Genesis creation story, would also have rejected Augustine's sexual ethic.

Augustine and Aquinas, the main pillars of medieval orthodoxy, differed little in their sexual asceticism. Both damned marriage with faint praise by making invidious comparisons of its lower good to the higher good of virginity. Both believed that marriage was a concession to human weakness and that the curse of sexual desire had been perpetuated throughout history from the aboriginal disobedient pair.

In modern history all Christian churches have made efforts to de-escalate the medieval anti-sexual crusade and restore an awareness of the sanctity of sexuality. The sin-sex syndrome which came into Christianity from Hellenistic dualism has been the cause of an apostasy that has been most difficult to extricate. Yet it is becoming increasingly apparent to most Christians, as it was to Orson Hyde, that the intimate encounters between husband and wife can enhance the life-style of even the holiest of men. More psychosomatic wholeness would result if there were revived the Hebraic outlook that marital coitus is at least as hallowed as virginal abstinence,

and that a married Savior need not be regarded as less pure than one who was a lifelong celibate.

¹Orson Hyde, *The Journal of Discourses of Brigham Young*, 4 (1857), p. 259.

²Ogden Kraut (author and printer), *Jesus Was Married* (1969), p. 10.

³Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Press 1953), p. 313.

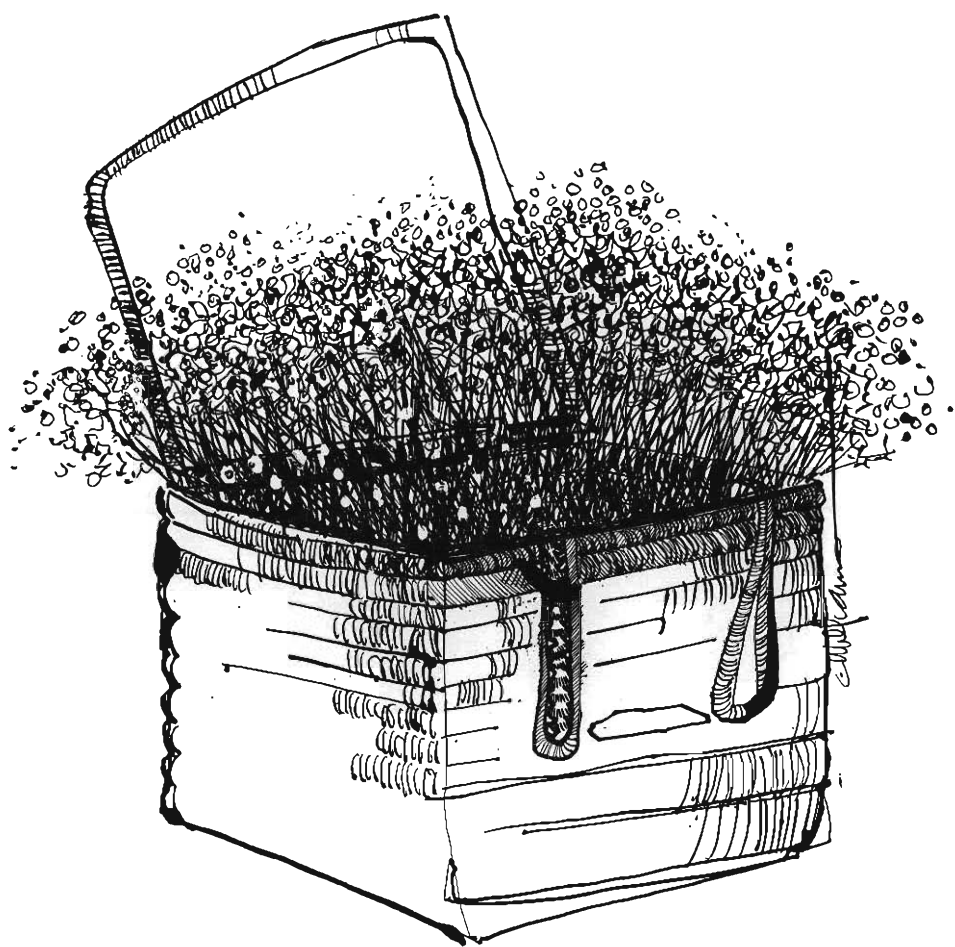
⁴*Talmud*, Kiddushin 29a.

⁵Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 5,19,1;3,22,4.

⁶David Mace, *Hebrew Marriage: A Sociological Study* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955), p. 262.

I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.

— Thomas Jefferson





THE
JIMSON HILL
BRANCH

by
Sherwin W Howard

Woodcuts by Gary Smith



THE JIMSON HILL CHAPEL

Samuel Jimson
Gave the land to God
To save the souls of
Progeny unborn.
He gave the hill and
Rough-cut white pine boards
In easy walk of
Cornfields where half-read
Jimsons grew and spread.

He hoped, an old man,
To plant the gospel
Seed in fields grown high
With corporal tares.
He prayed an old man's
Prayer and died secure
That posterity
Would see the error
Of their way and turn.

Hope and prayer were good,
But forty soul-sad
Years have brought not one
Live Jimson under
That tarred roof inspired
By their father's faith.

TESTIMONY OF
SOPHIA FINGREN

It's funny those young men
Will count me a proselyte,
Me who's known the truth
More than both their years.

Knowing the truth and finding it —
That's where my problem was.

The Baptists brought me in,
Dunking me in Willow Pond
Before I'd turned fifteen.
I stayed for seven years
Then wore plain Pentecostal gowns
seven more. Then Methodist,
Christian, Presbyterian, in turn;
Each time I changed,
The truth was just in sight.

I met the Jimson children
When I was twenty-eight.
I thought to marry one,
Or rather he thought me
The wifely sort. Who knows
What might have been if I'd
Said yes. But shyness, and the fact
No others asked have kept
Me to my search.

I love the Lord, and yet
On winter days sometimes
I dream I walk this hill
With children's hands in mine,
And husband's following form.



I'm eighty-four next spring,
And aging hope must testify
That Mormon hills are steep
And benches are just as hard
As Baptist brotherhood.
The difference between us all
Is not of bench or hill
But priesthood and celestial dream.

In Jesus' name. Amen.

THE TESTIMONY OF JONAS TENDER

You know me and my family.

We come, sit, bow our heads,
Listen, and hope. This much
I testify.

Amen.

TESTIMONY OF SYLVAN HANKS,
ELIZABETH TENDER,
AND JOHN FOSTER

We are the children,
We sleep
 smile
 laugh and
 cry our noisy reverence.

We are the hope
 and light of the church
set innocent upon this hill.

We are the children,
We grow
 shout
 hear and
 dream the stories we are told.

David, Moses,
 Joseph Smith and we
will all live forever.

Amen.

THE MIRACLE OF THE WASPS
AS TOLD BY STEPHEN HANKS

I found them when I came
To light the kerosene
Before our Sunday school.
A window partway up
Had let them in before
A first October frost.

They couldn't fly. New cold,
Like sin, had left them numb
And helpless to our brooms.
In buzzing, crawling piles
We heaped them in the fire
Before first-hymn was sung.

We thought we'd done our best
But growing warmth and song
Revived some that were missed,
And they rose up like fury.
One of the sisters screamed,
And brother Ward stood up . . .

"Our father, we are met . . ."
I can still hear him pray
Above the rising dread:
"Protect us, Lord, from these
Come by the devil's wish
And let us meet in peace."

I know as I am here
Our prayers were heard. No soul
Was stung, nor since have wasps
Come back inside this hall.
This is a true story,
I testify.

Amen.



TESTIMONY OF
ELDER JOHN WILLIAMSON

I was rocked in a Mormon cradle
Sucked pioneer milk
From my mother's breast
And grew on genealogies
Who walked and sang
While Zion bound.

Born in the church,
I convert came
Two months ago
To this small hill-bound
Meeting house.

A proselyte to brotherhood
And all believers in belief,
I do intend to share
This truth with all I meet:

Praise God his goodness in
Restoring to us all
The gift of faith.

Amen.

THE TESTIMONY OF
WARD FOSTER

I know God made Deseret,
Defined it Zion and made
It blossom in His work.

Beyond that land
There is no place
Where men may live,
Except in sin.

I weep the hymn,
"Strength of the Hills."

There's godliness in height
Denied to close-grown trees
On gentle rolls of earth.
It takes great rock
And childhood sky
With pine-green thatch
To paint a new Jerusalem.

I've lived here
Thirteen years,
My family's begun,
And yet, I testify
This has never been home.

Amen.

THE TESTIMONY OF
WILLIAM HANSEN HARVEY
AS RELATED BY WENCIL THOMAS

William Hansen Harvey,
Dead five years this summer,
Still stands at every meeting,
Just there inside the door,
Still shadows smiles; and breaths
Of handshook air still swirl
The place he stood greeting,
Knowing us all.

Mister Harvey,
Wild Will, Brother William:
A confirmed member of the church
Since thirty-three, and never
Taught a class, said prayer,
Or blessed the sacrament.

Confirmed a year, first time
They tried the priesthood on him
He only smiled and shrugged to say,
"I know my work," and never
Once, in following years
Accepted any call.



Some blamed his wife;
Her family was one of few
Catholics who'd stayed on.
We knew how strict and sturdy-
Willed such women, married,
Could become. Yet when
She died he mourned her gone
But did not change his place.

The winter before he left,
A snow that started flurries
Changed to wet and deep,
Blocked roads and broke down trees.
Sunday morning, no tracks
But his climbed here. I don't
Know what service, alone,
He could have held, and yet
I think there was communion
Here that day.

Five years
Dead, this summer. His faith
Stays on: God is as good
As we are.

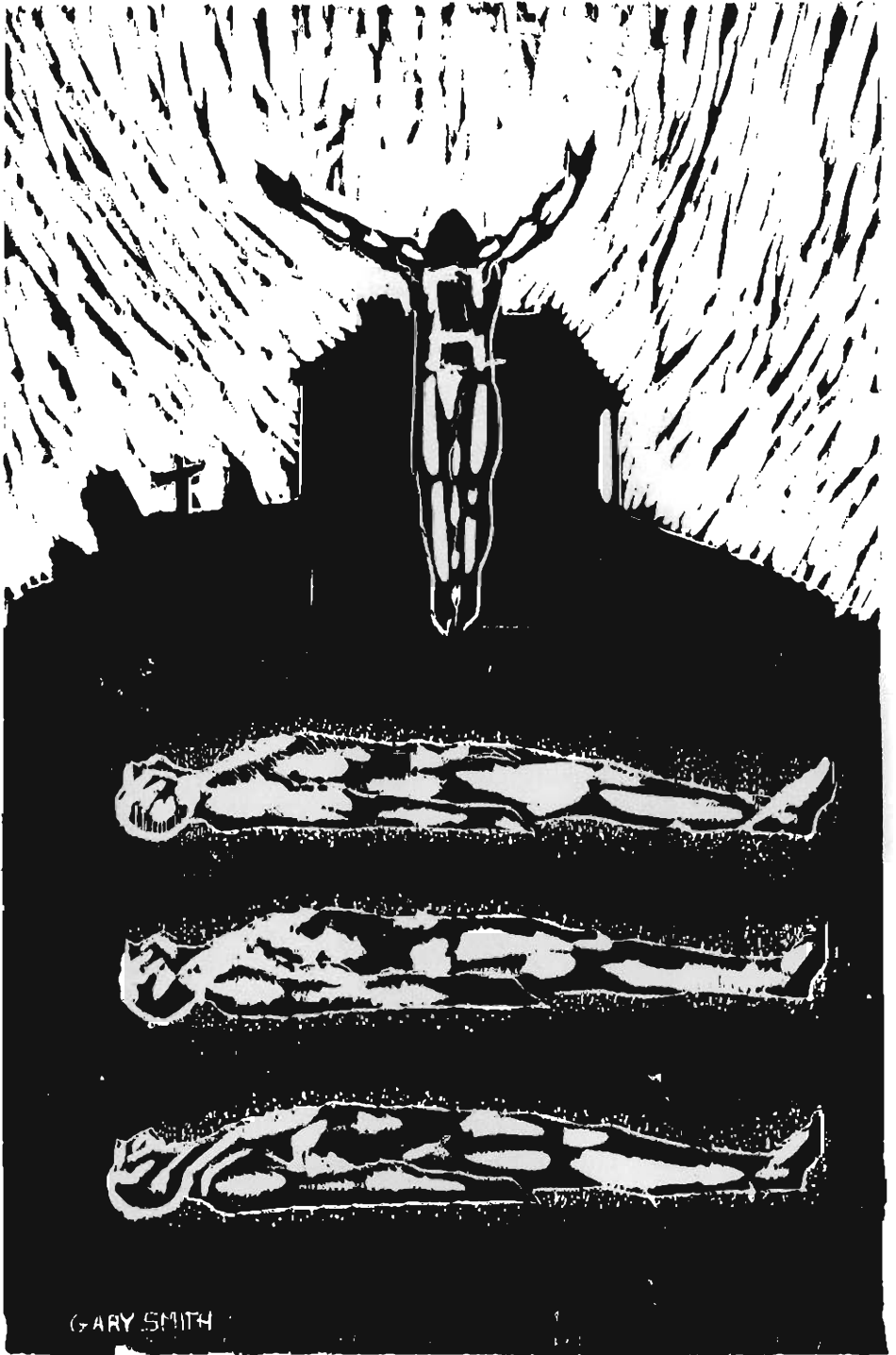
Amen.

THE HILL

I keep my space.

Squat piers of man-piled stone
Deny the church my full embrace,
Holding its frame aloof
And raising gentlest wind
To pentecostal moans
That blend with children's cries
Above the quiet saints who sleep in me.

Though separate by stone and wind,
We've still become good friends,
This Mormon church and I,
Each assured that time
Will verify his role:
Mine to measure body,
The church to weigh the soul.



FROM THE PULPIT

Graduate School: A Personal Odyssey

JAMES S. OLSEN

Approaching the end of my career as a graduate student, I find myself in quite a different situation from that of my "gentile" colleagues. A quiet despair pervades most graduate student circles today, but unlike most of my friends, I am not despondent. Our bull sessions and smokers are laced with bitterness over the depressed job market for Ph.D's, and the pitiful "five years of my life, all for nothing" has become a common and sorrowful refrain. To say that the gospel has completely insulated me from this new insecurity would be dishonest. I am worried. I am concerned. I want very much to be an historian and college teacher. But even if the structure of higher education in America prevents me from pursuing that career, I suspect that my bitterness over lost time and wasted years will be negligible. For during the years of my graduate education I first came to terms with the gospel, and out of that initial rapprochement has come an abiding sense of spiritual fulfillment.

I graduated from BYU in 1967 with a deep and fervent emotional hostility for the Church. There, in the heart of Zion, I lost my innocent testimony and convert enthusiasm. Looking back upon it all, I can locate the beginning of my "fall" to my conversion to the mid-sixty's version of American liberalism (a political persuasion which still attracts my loyalty). As has been the case several times for me, the nature of my political and social environment had exerted a great impact upon my spirituality. With the optimism, enthusiasm, and naivete so characteristic of young liberals, I began, rather innocently at first, to expound my personal discovery of poverty, discrimination, and the necessary ameliorative legislation. To my genuine astonishment, these newly acquired political attitudes were interpreted as a spiritual downfall by some faculty members at BYU and by many members of my priesthood quorums and Sunday School classes. I can even recall a visit by two very sincere home teachers who tried to show me the error of my ways, who spoke of Communism, of creeping socialism, and of the many threats to the American way of life. My astonishment quickly gave way to frustration and anger.

Gradually between 1964 and 1967 my lack of patience with the "unenlightened" brethren in my ward ballooned into a general disenchantment with the Church. I became increasingly uncomfortable and rebellious against the cultural predominance of Mormonism in Utah Valley. My frustration and anger were constantly fueled during these years. President Wilkinson's Senatorial campaign against Frank Moss in 1964 appeared somewhat unethical and vituperative for a man of his stature in the Church. A religion professor's

uncompromising stand against birth control and evolution seemed incredibly anachronistic and intellectually narrow. The now famous letter in 1965 from the First Presidency to all L.D.S. Congressmen urging them to support right-to-work laws absolutely incensed me. The ties between the Benson family and the John Birch Society were particularly disquieting. I criticized my bishop rather severely one Sunday morning when I found the ward clerk peddling copies of *None Dare Call It Treason* as he handed out tithing receipts. When President Wilkinson praised a group of BYU students in 1967 for their march down Center Street in favor of the war in Vietnam I left the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse in disgust. To say the least, I was preoccupied with the issue of the Church and politics, but what irritated me most was the attempt by so many of my brethren to equate their political and economic conservatism with spiritual orthodoxy. The more they preached, the less I wanted to associate with them.

Inevitably, I also became increasingly uneasy about the Negro doctrine. Perhaps nothing nags the spiritual conscience and inhibits the political life style of a Mormon liberal more than our theological approach to our black brethren. I was quite incapable of preaching social and political equality for the black man, while upholding the spiritual role assigned to him by the Church. Timidly at first, and then vociferously, I joined the distinct minority at BYU who denied (furtively, of course) the validity of the doctrine and accused the First Presidency of lacking the courage and spiritual certitude to overturn what had obviously been a nineteenth-century political compromise.

Two events in my last year at BYU finally confirmed my general attitudes. At a devotional address to the student body Elder Ezra Taft Benson intimated that many leading black civil rights activists might be Communists. I waxed strong in my anger and impetuosity, and two days later, in a temple recommend interview with my stake president, refused to sustain Brother Benson as a prophet, seer and revelator. (I have since regretted both my anger and obstinence.) A few weeks later, while hitch-hiking to California for a short visit with my parents, I was picked up outside of Nephi by a group of University of Utah students on their way to Los Angeles. One of them was a black student from Watts, and I immediately attempted to demonstrate my lack of prejudice by praising black leaders, upholding recent civil rights and antipoverty legislation, and by joining in their general criticism of BYU. Suddenly the black quizzically asked me if I were L.D.S. Fearing that my liberalism would be compromised or my principles appear hypocritical, I denied my membership in the Church. I recall that immaturity with amazement today, but in a very real sense, the Church had become a source of embarrassment and emotional burden to me.

My tolerance and even admiration for brethren still preoccupied by these issues is quite broad, particularly if they are able to simultaneously maintain their spirituality, their testimony, and their sense of communion with the divine. For me, however, these issues had a disastrous impact upon my spiritual life. I was incapable of being politically and socially critical of the Church and at the same time spiritually satisfied. I went through the motions and attended my meetings, but the excitement and fulfillment were no longer there. In every talk at sacrament meetings or priesthood lessons, or in addresses by General Authorities, I waited diligently for any attempt to

grant theological approval to conservative economic and political opinions. Whenever it happened, I became emotionally agitated and my irritation for the Church grew even stronger. In fact, because of my frustration, the Church had generally become more of a source of contention and division in my life and home than one of peace and unity. I will never forget an evening in March 1967 when I came home and found my wife quietly weeping in our bedroom. Personal prayer, family prayer, family night, and our daily scripture readings together, once a constant in our marriage, had gone by the board, gradually succumbing to my growing hostility. For a woman with a simple faith, it was quite distressing. She looked up at me from the pillow and softly inquired what had happened to that nineteen year old convert she had married, the boy who had taken her to the temple, who had held the General Authorities in awe, who had purchased Church books and read them with glee, and who had enthusiastically shared the gospel with all who would listen. I felt misunderstood but also very guilty.

The about-face, strangely enough, came in graduate school. I had received a fellowship from the State University of New York at Stony Brook to pursue a Ph.D. in history, and once again my political and social environment were to affect my spirituality. My own political attitudes remained stable during those years, but my role in campus politics had changed dramatically. The whole political spectrum was different at Stony Brook. A liberal at BYU was almost a reactionary there. To the followers of Noam Chomsky or Herbert Marcuse (both of whom were in vogue at Stony Brook), my liberalism was responsible for most of America's domestic and international problems. It was, simply, a different political world. The question was no longer whether to attend a meeting of the Young Democrats (which at BYU in 1965 was almost a radical step), but whether to join the undergraduates in their current student strike, to grant amnesty to those who occupied the student center and then burned the campus security office, to vote for the Peace and Freedom ticket in 1968, or to demand a release of Bobby Seale from his murder trial. I opposed the student strike, favored prosecution of those who had fire-bombed the security office, voted for Hubert Humphrey, and simply suspended judgement on the Seale case until the trial had been completed. I found myself, in short, a "right-winger" on almost every issue. My enthusiasm for civil rights, anti-poverty bills, and for withdrawal from Vietnam remained unabated, but at Stony Brook these were no longer the issues which defined one's political philosophy. The crucial campus political issue had become civil disobedience, and I resisted it. My liberalism had become conservatism.

For the second time in my life, I was part of a political minority, which reinforced the minority social role I was playing. I avoided the drug scene which had involved many of my colleagues, and even at department parties my wife and I, as the only teetotalers, felt uneasy. The faculty and other students were tolerant of and unaffected about our standards, but we were still somewhat uncomfortable. Intellectually, the environment was incredibly stimulating. Never before had I been exposed to so many bright and creative people who were so deeply involved in the world of ideas. But intellectual fulfillment did not make up for a sense of social and political isolation, of a lack of community. For that sense of community, I turned to the Church.

This new commitment was certainly not predicated at first upon any personal spiritual renaissance, but simply upon a need for security and social comfort.

The nature of the Church in New York made it almost a haven for me. The branch president was tolerant, though not sympathetic with my political views, and the branch membership, mostly easterners and recent converts, were unaware of the political and social debates so prevalent among western Mormonism. The branch was a small one of less than 200 people but spread out over 1,600 hundred square miles. Because of the personnel shortages so common in "underdeveloped" Church areas, I soon found myself in a leadership position. And like most of the members of the branch, I too gradually became insulated from the political and social issues which had so agitated me in Utah. Questions about the theology of birth control and evolution, the Negro doctrine, and the Church's stand on political and social issues drifted into the background of my thought, not because they were unimportant, but because so many other problems had greater immediacy. Out of necessity I became preoccupied with problems such as whether a certain brother was becoming inactive, whether the chairs would be set up in our rented hall for priesthood meeting, whether the owners of the hall would terminate our lease, whether our only organist would show up for opening exercises in Sunday School, or how I might temper a long-standing feud between two good sisters in the branch.

At the same time the branch membership became involved in a building fund program to construct a small, single-phase chapel; the financial sacrifice required was considerable. Men took second jobs, families emptied their savings accounts, and children gave up their normal Christmas — all for the chapel. As sentimental as it sounds, two sisters even sold their engagement rings to make a contribution. I was quite deeply touched, and I found myself more caught up in the Church than I had ever dreamed possible. Family nights had begun again for us as did reading the Scriptures together, but most important during those years I had started to pray again, and I felt a real sense of communication with God. The Negro doctrine, birth control controversies, and politics in the Church seemed part of another world.

Then, in the summer of 1971, I returned to Utah and California for an extended visit. While up at the student center at the USU campus in Logan I heard talk again of prejudiced General Authorities and the reactionary and socially irresponsible Mormon Church. In a high priests' quorum in California, on the other hand, I heard radicalism denounced, Birchers praised, and Mormon "liberals" condemned. It surprised me, though it shouldn't have, that the same debates were still going on. But I was even more surprised at my own reaction. I was neither angry nor emotionally upset. I remember leaving some of my priesthood or Sunday School classes at BYU, when debates like this had been generated, nervous and physically and emotionally uncomfortable. Now, however, I felt comfortable and relaxed. It was not apathy. I joined the discussions and made essentially the same arguments I had years before; it was exciting, but I was able to maintain an emotional tranquility. Perhaps the basis of my peacefulness was a new security I felt about the gospel. I had seen it work, and I had seen people really sacrifice to make it work.

During this period the gospel had become the most important facet of

my life. My testimony was not absolute, but strong and fulfilling, and still tempered by unanswered questions. I still wonder why black men cannot hold the priesthood, don't know how to flawlessly separate opinion from revelation in a prophet's statement, and I can't say whether revelation might come through the working of social change. In fact, it appears today that I'm no closer to answering those questions satisfactorily than I was years ago. Now, however, neither my testimony nor my activity in the Church is dependent upon those answers. Graduate school, campus politics, and local branch problems helped me to envelope myself in the Church, and gradually the old enthusiasm and fulfillment returned and increased. I'm still looking for answers, but my search, now sustained by a secure knowledge that God is really there and that He really does communicate with His children, is not nearly so urgent and far more fulfilling than ever before.

I believe in the freedom of man — in freedom of faith, freedom of ideas, freedom of speech . . . “It is for liberty that Christ has freed us.”

Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras

REVIEWS

Edited by Davis Bitton

Brodie Revisited: A Reappraisal

MARVIN S. HILL

No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet. By Fawn M. Brodie. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971. 2nd edition, revised and enlarged. xvi + 499 + xxii pp.

For more than a quarter century Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History* has been recognized by most professional American historians as the standard work on the life of Joseph Smith and perhaps the most important single work on early Mormonism. At the same time the work has had tremendous influence upon informed Mormon thinking, as shown by the fact that whole issues of *B.Y.U. Studies* and *Dialogue* have been devoted to considering questions on the life of the Mormon prophet raised by Brodie. There is evidence that her book has had strong negative impact on popular Mormon thought as well, since to this day in certain circles in Utah to acknowledge that one has "read Fawn Brodie" is to create doubts as to one's loyalty to the Church. A book which continues to have this much influence warrants the second edition which Alfred A. Knopf published in 1971.

But how good a biography is *No Man Knows My History*? That, of course, is the central issue between those who praise and those who condemn the work. Both Mormon and non-Mormon scholars seem to agree that that substantially depends upon another question — *is what Fawn Brodie said about Joseph Smith true?* On that I should like to venture some "informed" opinions based upon heavy reading of the scholarly works in the field and also what Herbert O. Brayer in an early review of Brodie said would be a prerequisite for any "definitive" life of Joseph Smith — intensive study of the sources, especially those in the historian's archives in Salt Lake City.

Let me emphasize before doing this that I wish to consider Brodie's interpretation of Joseph Smith and early Mormonism on her own secular terms. Nothing which I suggest below is intended to render any final resolution to the question which I think she mistakenly tries to answer — is Joseph Smith a prophet of God in the sense that the Church he founded maintains, in an ultimate or cosmic sense? I do not believe that question can be finally answered by historians who deal with human artifacts left from a hundred and forty years ago. The historian has no sources written with the finger of God to prove that Joseph Smith was called to his divine mission, nor does he have any human sources to prove conclusively that he was not. One's answers to this cosmic question depend entirely upon the assumptions he brings to it — assumptions about the nature of the world and man's place in it; these rest in the last analysis upon personal predilection, not historical evidence. Leaving

the larger question aside, for purposes of discussion I choose to meet Brodie on her own grounds. With the naturalistic assumptions of the professional historian, I wish to evaluate some of the implications of her book which require close scrutiny.

If one reviews the vast amount of scholarship in Mormon history since 1945 and uses this as a criteria for evaluating Brodie's book, it seems undeniable that much of her history retains its relevance and authenticity. Some of the issues which she raised she succeeded in settling with a finality which seems remarkable. Thus in 1945 the Spaulding theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon was still strongly in vogue, most scholarly works accepting it as the explanation of the origin of the Book of Mormon. Following her trenchant attack on the theory its popularity quickly declined. Today nobody gives it credence. It was Brodie who insisted that Joseph Smith, not Sidney Rigdon, was the dominant personality in early Mormonism, that the ideas and institutions which gave Mormonism its unique qualities were largely his. Some of Rigdon's letters recently discovered confirm his subordination to Smith. Brodie argued that Joseph Smith, despite his lack of formal education, was a man with rich imagination and high intelligence who responded to the intellectual currents of his time from which he drew elements which shaped Mormon thought. Today many Mormon scholars tend to accept this view, differing with her only on the extent of Joseph's dependence on environmental forces.

The Joseph Smith depicted by Brodie was essentially a rational human being who worked his way through his problems with understanding and foresight, but certainly not omniscience. When one recalls what I. Woodbridge Riley had maintained — that Joseph Smith was an epileptic and the Book of Mormon the product of his physiological fits — or what Bernard DeVoto said as late as 1930 — that Joseph was a paranoid whose major works were the result of his madness — one can appreciate how much the general conception of Joseph Smith in academic circles has been altered for the better.

Critics of Brodie forget too easily that she actually read and took seriously the anti-Mormon newspapers and thereby saw the importance of the Kingdom of God in stirring anti-Mormon animosity in Illinois. She recognized how the collective power of the Mormon community made enemies of those who would not have been so on purely religious grounds. Among her insights was the recognition that the prophet made more than a few enemies by attempting to extract concessions from both political parties while giving his full allegiance to neither.

At a time when Mormon writers were inclined to consider only the cosmic implications of the prophet's work, or like John Henry Evans to exaggerate his significance in the context of American history, and when non-Mormons like Beardsley heaped scorn upon him and belittled him, Brodie focused upon his human qualities, his loves, his hates, his fears, his hopes and ambitions. She helped many Mormons to recall that the prophet had a human side and that not all of what he did was done in the name of the Lord nor with transcendental significance.

In other areas, in her scepticism regarding the reality of the first vision, her arguments favoring Joseph's authorship of the Book of Mormon and the Book of Abraham, and her handling of polygamy, her views are still debated

and remain to some degree unsettled. Reverend Wesley Walters continues to maintain that the first vision was a myth while many Mormons maintain its historicity. Today not so much attention is paid to her contention that *View of the Hebrews* provided the main source for the Book of Mormon, but that the issue is at the moment quiescent does not mean that it will remain so. Overshadowing it is the conflict over the Book of Abraham, which since the rediscovery of some of the papyri which Joseph Smith claimed to translate has made that work central in the evaluation of Joseph Smith as translator. Whatever one makes of these issues, Brodie's relevance clearly remains.

Thus it should be evident that Brodie has written an immensely important book, a powerful book, which greatly influenced the thinking of Mormon liberals and conservatives with respect to the life of the prophet. If it continues to be read and have the impact it has had then its greatness will be undeniable. I am inclined to think, however, that it falls short of greatness because of fundamental weaknesses which no amount of patching in a later edition can correct. Since, if anything, the supplement magnifies those weaknesses, it may well become an epitaph written by Fawn Brodie on her own book. She acknowledges in the supplement,

One of the major original premises of this biography was that Joseph Smith's assumption of the role of a religious prophet was an evolutionary process, that he began as a bucolic sayer, using the primitive techniques of the folklore of magic common to his area, most of which he discarded as he evolved into a preacher-prophet. There seemed to be good evidence that when he chose to write of this evolution in his *History of the Church* he distorted the past in the interest of promoting his public image. . . . There was evidence even to stimulate doubt of the authenticity of the 'first vision' which Joseph declared in his official history had occurred in 1820 when he was fourteen.

I would agree that this is one of her major premises, perhaps even her controlling premise. It influences her handling of the first vision, gold digging, Joseph's theology and plural marriage. It also leads directly to the assertion in her supplement that "here are evidences not only of unbridled fantasy but also of contrivance and seeming fraud" (p. 412). The Joseph Smith she depicts is a deliberate deceiver who played out his masquerade for personal advantage. The implication is that Joseph Smith was in fact sceptical as to the truths of Christianity, that he never underwent that moment of conversion which he details in his autobiography, and that he continued to enact his subterfuge until for so doing he was shot by a mob at the Carthage jail. She maintains that, to a considerable extent, his religious efforts were play-acting for the benefit of an appreciative audience.

Brodie sensed some difficulty in this argument, for she said in her original edition that early in Joseph's career he "reached an inner equilibrium that permitted him to pursue his career with a highly compensated but nevertheless very real sincerity" (p. 85). She admitted that by 1832 Joseph played his religious role persistently and "did not relax from his role even before his wife" (p. 123). From this point in her work Brodie says little about the rationalizations Joseph would have had to go through where his religious role was imposed upon him. She even fails to mention it again at the time of the martyrdom, perhaps itself an admission that even the early Fawn Brodie saw

difficulties in supposing that such a man could go through all the adverse situations Smith was put to and yet maintain his masquerade. By deft phrasing, by saying that early he reached an "equilibrium," Brodie avoided the difficult point of telling us what the nature of his inner reconciliation was.

Thus, at its core, the biography is external only. Brodie was never able to take us inside the mind of the prophet, to understand how he thought and why. A reason for that may be that the sources she would have had to use were Joseph's religious writings, and her Smith was supposed to be irreligious. It is indeed a major weakness of her work that by her very assumptions she cannot get back into Joseph Smith's nineteenth century world, which was so religious in its orientation. She cannot handle the religious mysticism of the man or of the age because there is too much of modern science in her make-up, too much of Sigmund Freud, too much rationalism. For Brodie to believe in the reality of another world, a world of the spirit, seems incredible. Possibly it was because she was a Mormon, proud, in her own way, of her people and their heritage. Faced in the 1930's and 1940's with a general cynicism toward religion among many intellectuals, she may have been anxious to destroy the image of Mormonism that saw it as something to be sneered or laughed at. Such concerns may have caused Brodie to over-stress the prophet's rationality, play down his mysticism, and dismiss his religious thought, which was perhaps embarrassing, as a "patchwork of ideas and rituals."

It may be that Brodie erred initially when she accepted the prevailing view of the 1930's that the American Revolution was a period of indifference or even hostility toward religion, reflected in the attack on the established churches and the resulting separation of church and state. She says that Joseph Smith Sr. "reflected that irreligion which had permeated the Revolution, which had made the federal government completely secular." While a recent scholar terms the Revolutionary era one of religious "desuetude," no one today would call it irreligious. Even the Deists acknowledged the existence of God and a prevailing morality in the universe, holding that, by studying nature, man could learn more about God than from the Scriptures. Theirs was an attack on some traditional Christian views but not on religion. Separation of church and state resulted from a union between the Jeffersonians and the pietistic sects who sought to make religion a matter of choice, not legal necessity. But even Jefferson would agree that religious faith was necessary for the stability of the social order. The Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists who supported him were intent not upon the destruction of religious influence, but upon making their own sects more influential. There were few Americans at the end of the eighteenth century who could justly be called irreligious. Certainly, we shall see, neither Asael Smith nor Joseph Smith Sr. were among them.

In her supplement Brodie contends that new available sources on Joseph Smith do not demand any major revision of her interpretation (p. xi). I would challenge this. There are in the Church archives hundreds of manuscripts by or about Joseph Smith which Brodie did not see and which are now generally available to scholars. In none that I have examined is there a hint that Smith thought of himself in any other terms except those manifest in his published

writings — that he was a man called of God to lead a movement and start a church. When one has read through and noted carefully this vast miscellany of material, it becomes impossible to believe Brodie’s original thesis. Joseph Smith played out his role not only before his wife and all his friends every minute of every day, of which we have record, beginning in 1829, but also in the few personal diaries which he wrote himself. In one of these, written in 1832, Joseph records the following:

O may God grant that I may be directed in all my thoughts. O bless thy servant. Amen.

Another entry, for 1833, is revealing:

In the morning at 4 o’clock i was awoke by Brother Davis knocking at my door saying: Brother Joseph come get up and see the signs in the heavens, and I arose and beheld to my great joy the stars fall from heaven; yea, they fell like hail stones, a literal fulfillment of the word of God as recorded in the holy scriptures and a sure sign that the coming of Christ is close at hand. O how marvellous are thy works O Lord and I thank thee for thy mercy unto me thy servant. O Lord save me in thy kingdom for Christ sake. Amen.

One reason that Brodie concluded that Joseph had veiled his personality behind a “perpetual flow of words” in his history may be that she assumed he had actually dictated most of it. We now know that large portions of that history were not dictated but were written by scribes and later transferred into the first person to read as though the words were Joseph’s. That fact makes what few things Joseph Smith wrote himself of great significance. These confirm that during his most intimate personal moments he thought about the same things he spoke of publicly — his relationship to God and his calling as the religious leader of his people. Even with regard to plural marriage, where Brodie is so confident that the real Joseph Smith, the pleasure lover and sensualist, shows through, there is no evidence in his writings to suggest that he thought of it in other than religious terms. Had Brodie seen more of what is in the archives she might have hesitated before adopting her thesis of intentional fraud.

Seer Stones and Money Digging

What were the evidences of fraud she thought she saw? Setting aside her basic cynicism about religious matters and her contempt of polygamy, her argument rested on several dubious assumptions. First was her acceptance of the validity of the testimony collected by Philastus Hurlbut that before Joseph Smith was a prophet he was an irreligious money digger who used a magic stone to discover buried treasure. Her thesis is that Joseph gradually matured as a prophet, gave up his stone and presumably his belief in magic, and gave himself wholly to acting out the more dignified religious role. There is, of course, a major discrepancy in the argument because Joseph did not give up the stone or cease to believe in its powers even after he had reached the pinnacle of his power in Nauvoo. Brigham Young records that in late December, 1841, Joseph told the Twelve Apostles “that every man who lived on earth was entitled to a seer stone, and should have one, but they are kept

from them in consequence of their wickedness, and most of those who do find one make evil use of it." Young added casually, "He showed us his seer stone."

Her use of Hurlbut's sources must now be seriously questioned. Richard Anderson has shown that very similar or even identical phrases show up repeatedly in the testimony of these witnesses, phrases like "acquainted with the Smith family," or "addicted to vicious habits," which demonstrate Hurlbut's (or E. D. Howe's) heavy hand in the composition of the testimonies. Since we know that Hurlbut went back to Palmyra purposefully to find evidence against Joseph Smith,* Anderson's findings confirm what should have been suspected all along, that they were at best highly colored and at worst deliberately misrepresentative accounts. We get some idea of the difference with which a more friendly interviewer could have handled such testimony by comparing the Hurlbut interviews with those of W. H. Kelley. Kelley, a Reorganized Mormon, in 1867 questioned some of the same families as Hurlbut but got some very different responses. The witnesses under Kelley's scrutiny were much less likely to say that they knew a story to be fact, more likely to admit that they had merely heard it. Often they confessed that they had no first hand information. They did not seem to think that Joseph or the Smith family were particularly bad. Kelley's interviewing was not necessarily more impartial than that of Hurlbut. One can find examples of repetitious phrasing in Kelley's testimonies too, but it demonstrates the great influence that a biased interviewer could have. It seems credulous on Brodie's part to believe the statement of Willard Chase (p. 38) that Joseph "told one of my neighbors that he had not got any such book [of plates], nor never had such an one," or Peter Ingersoll that "he told me he had no such book, and believed there never was any such book" (p. 37) when the phrasing is so similar, and when the statement by Chase came from a third unidentified source. It is essentially upon evidence like this that Brodie depends to prove her case of Smith's early cynicism and fraudulent intentions.

There may be little doubt now, as I have indicated elsewhere, that Joseph Smith was brought to trial in 1826 on a charge, not exactly clear, associated with money digging. However, the reports of what was said at that trial are contradictory. One version says that Joseph Smith Sr. and his son "were mortified that this wonderful power [of the younger Smith] which God has so miraculously given . . . should be used only in search of filthy lucre." This points up a major discrepancy in Brodie's interpretation. Her thesis that the prophet grew from necromancer to prophet assumes that the two were mutually exclusive, that if Smith were a money digger he could not have been religiously sincere. This does not necessarily follow. Many believers, active in their churches, were money diggers in New England and western New York in this period. Few contemporaries regard these money diggers as irreligious, only implying so if their religious views seemed too radical. The historian of Middletown, Vermont, Barnes Frisbie, was much closer to the truth when he said that the rodsman who flourished in Orange County, at

*As admitted by E. D. Howe to Arthur Deming in 1885. See the Arthur Deming Papers in the Mormon Collection at the Chicago Historical Society. Anderson's citation of the *Painesville Telegraph*, January 31, 1834, misrepresents what is admitted there.

Wells, Middletown and Poultney, Vermont at the turn of the nineteenth century were accentuated by religious not monetary motives. They saw themselves as the children of Israel and believed in impending judgments, in the restoration of primitive Christianity and in the healing gifts.

Frisbie's characterization of these rodsman is substantiated by Ovid Miner, who wrote about them in the *Vermont American*, May 7, 1828.

About 1800 one or two families in Rutland county, who had been considered respectable, and who had been Baptists, pretended to have been informed by the Almighty that they were the descendents of the Ancient Jews, and were, with their connexions, to be put in possession of the land for some miles around; the way for which was to be providentially prepared by the destruction of their fellow townsmen. [They claimed] power to cure disease, and intuitive knowledge of lost or stolen goods, and ability to discover hidden treasures.

Frisbie insisted that Oliver Cowdery's father was a member of this group. Despite some similarity between the ideas of the rodsman and those later advocated by Joseph Smith, and despite the fact that when Oliver Cowdery took up his duties as a scribe for Joseph Smith in 1829 he had a rod in his possession which Joseph Smith sanctioned, there is no evidence as yet to prove a direct influence. Rather, what this suggests is that Brodie's dichotomy between money digger and prophet rests upon her twentieth century assumptions. Only if she were, in fact, looking at the matter cosmically, from the standpoint of Mormon theology, would her conclusion make sense. Then, of course, she might ask, what is Joseph Smith, prophet of the Lord, doing with a seer stone and hunting treasure with it? For the historian interested in Joseph Smith the man, it does not seem incongruous for him to have hunted for treasure with a seer stone and then to use it with full faith to receive revelations from the Lord. In short, there was an element of mysticism in Joseph and the early Mormons that Brodie did not face up to. Some of the rodsman or money diggers who moved into Mormonism were Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, Orrin P. Rockwell, Joseph and Newel Knight, and Josiah Stowell. There is evidence for most of them that their interest in Mormonism was essentially religious. If they had religious motives, why couldn't Joseph Smith?

In the 1830's most Mormons did not consider Joseph's use of the seer stone inconsistent or embarrassing. David Whitmer actually considered its use the mark of a true prophet, and only after Joseph began to receive revelations without it in hand did Whitmer suspect that the young prophet had fallen from the faith. Whitmer believed that Joseph manifested genuine humility and sincerity in his earliest years and only later, after he came under Rigdon's influence and began to gain economic and political power, did he show signs of worldliness. If this be so, it contradicts directly Brodie's thesis, for she has Joseph's evolution the other way around.

The First Vision

Brodie's assumption of a deceitful prophet was supported by her discovery that early Mormons did not relate the first vision story consistently, and, as she maintained in 1945, the earliest version by the prophet was not written until 1838. She has had to revise the argument somewhat since it is now

known that the earliest account extant was written in 1832. But there are, undeniably, differences in the several accounts, not all of them minor from the standpoint of Mormon theology. These contradictions, Brodie still insists, add up to deception.

Again, it is difficult to follow the logic of her reasoning; nor is her approach consistent. I cannot tell whether her chief purpose in handling the first vision the way she does is to understand the human being named Joseph Smith or to discredit his theology and thus his Church. It is difficult to tell whether Brodie is the mature historian probing and searching to find the essence of the early movement and Joseph Smith's part in it or a disgruntled ex-Mormon striking back at a "myth" told her in her childhood.

Despite Brodie's observations, there is a basic consistency in the several versions of the first vision. In each of them Joseph maintains that he was disturbed by the many arguments going on around him about religion and the various claims to exclusive truth made by the several denominations. In all but one, the first, he indicates that it was a religious revival which spurred him to inquire of the Lord in prayer. He says in the manuscript of the 1838 version that it had never occurred to him until his vision that all the churches might be wrong. Later perhaps he may have marked this out, for it did not appear in the published account. In the manuscript of 1832 he says he "became convicted of my sins" and began comparing the teachings of the churches with those of the Bible. In the several versions he maintains consistently that after his conversion he had a period of backsliding and that he was again brought back to his mission by another vision, this time of an angel. To focus upon the discrepancies touching the personages of the Godhead in the first vision story, whether one or two personages, is to concentrate on a theological question and to miss its historical significance. The crux of Smith's account, as Mario DePillis has suggested, is his detestation of the confusion which sectarian conflict engendered in his mind. After undergoing a conversion experience, and after other circumstances brought him to the necessity, he began a movement with certain striking characteristics, perhaps the central feature of which was its totality, its anti-pluralistic social and political institutions which excluded all secularism.

By setting up the Kingdom of God Joseph Smith acted upon his central insight, that religious contention was wrong, demoralizing and debilitating of religious faith, and that it was his job to restore the ancient Christian faith that would unite the pure in heart in a community with a prophet at its head — a community where all who would could live in peace and await the millennial reign of Christ. Brodie and others have been preoccupied with the first vision's theological implications which were the product of Joseph Smith's and the Mormon people's later thinking. This has caused them to miss the important implications as to the social and religious origins of Mormonism which may be the essential point. If over the years Joseph's conception of the Godhead changed, this is not evidence of fraud any more than the adaptation of other aspects of his theology in later years proves to be. One has to begin with very rigid, even absolutistic assumptions about his prophetic role before such a claim has consistency.

There has been some doubt whether a revival could have taken place in 1820. Milton Backman and others have provided evidence to show that a

revival, indeed many of them, did occur in that "region of country" (to use the Prophet's phrase) around Palmyra in 1819 or 1820. Joseph Smith used the same phrase later in his history to designate the whole area along the Mississippi occupied by the Mormons, including parts of Iowa. Charles G. Finney used it also, to include all of western New York. There is no reason to doubt that it was meant to encompass a large area. There remains the argument of Wesley Walters that the revival must have come in 1823 or 1824 since, according to William Smith, both Reverends Stockton and Lane participated, and they were both in Palmyra only for a few weeks during the 1823-24 revival. It seems likely, however, that William's belated recollections on this point are erroneous. Contrary to Walters, he is the only witness who insists that Lane and Stockton were involved. William was young at the time, from nine to thirteen, depending on the date one chooses for the revival, and according to his own admission, did not pay much attention to religious matters since he had not yet sown his "wild oats." In a much earlier account than the one in question, William said that a "Reverend M----" was the minister who converted Joseph. If William is not clear on this point then we cannot give his unsubstantiated claim about Stockton credence. That Joseph and Oliver Cowdery show some uncertainty about the prophet's age when he had his vision does not prove that he did not have the conversion experience he describes, but only that dates were not so important to him as the experience itself. Had it come, as Walters assumed, in late 1823 or early 1824, right after Alvin's death, it might not have been so difficult to place exactly. If it came earlier, then it may be that Joseph felt some guilt about his backsliding so that it was painful to him to remember how early his conversion actually did occur.

Brodie made much of the point that with Joseph dreams quickly became visions. She quotes Lehi in the Book of Mormon, "behold I have had a dream, or in other words I have seen a vision" as evidence that Smith was given to fantasy and could not always tell the difference between dreams and reality. The question which Brodie fails to consider is whether most Mormons in this period did not in fact equate the two, whether this was not a cultural condition rather than a psychological one. Not having the benefit of Sigmund Freud's analysis of dreams, the early Mormons, like many others of the time, were inclined to think that their dreams had cosmic significance. In the 1832 manuscript Joseph says the coming of the angel caused him to be "exceedingly frightened I supposed it had been a dream or vision but when I considered I knew that it was not." If he were the deceiver Brodie supposes, it is unlikely he would have equated these terms so frankly in his manuscript and in the Book of Mormon. That Joseph believed that dreams or mental images were visions, that he also believed that what he felt intuitively was the voice of the Lord speaking within, was not inconsistent with his background and with the time and place in which he lived. Mario DePillis argues that Mormon visions came during periods of great stress and offered surcease from troublesome doubts. If this proves to be true for other Mormons it may also be true for Joseph Smith and offers an antidote to Brodie's simplistic view that his visions were fraudulent.

The candid way that the Mormon prophet in the *Doctrine and Covenants* describes the mental effort that went into his own revelations long ago

impressed Edward Meyer, a student of early Christianity, that he was no deceiver. The prophet told Oliver Cowdery, who attempted unsuccessfully to translate part of the Book of Mormon:

Behold you have not understood. You have supposed that I would give it unto you, when you took no thought, save it was to ask me; but . . . you must study it out in your mind; then you must ask me if it be right, and if it be right, I will cause that your bosom shall burn within you.

Smith's candor is shown again in his manuscript history where he admits he was tempted to seek financial gain from the plates. His temptation to seek profits does not prove his irreligion but his financial need. Whatever the nature of the inner turmoil he experienced at this time, there is no reason to doubt the outcome he describes — that his sense of religious mission proved more powerful than his impecunty.

The Smith Family and Joseph's Calling

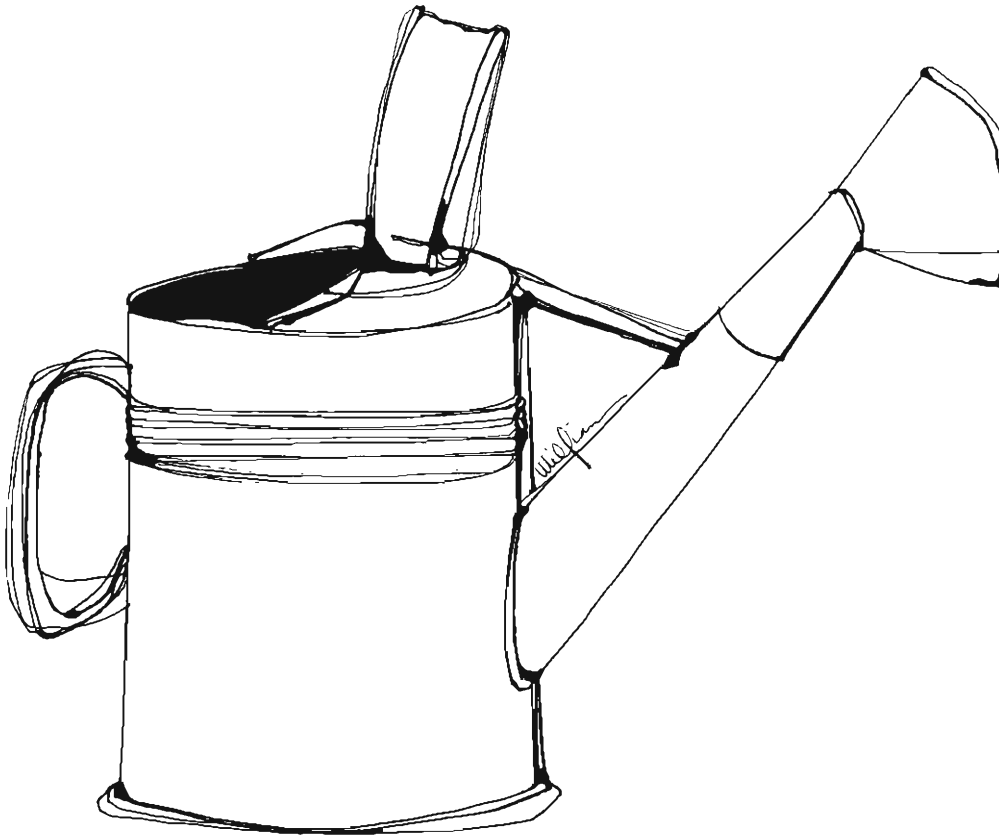
In her supplement Brodie raises the question whether Joseph's family believed in his visions. Since his mother and brother Samuel remained on the rolls of the Presbyterian Church until 1830 and were apparently active until mid-1828, they must not have taken his visions seriously. As a matter of fact, an unpublished biographical account of Samuel Smith indicates that he had to be urged to join the Mormon movement in 1829. It informs us that Joseph

labored to persuade him concerning the gospel of Jesus Christ which was now to be revealed in its fulness; Samuel was not however, very easily persuaded of these things, but after much inquiry and explanation he retired in order that by secret and fervent prayer he might obtain from the Lord wisdom.

There is no mention of any doubt that Samuel is supposed to have had about his brother's integrity but only that he required explanation and waited for personal conviction. It provides evidence that there was no collusion within the Smith family, for Joseph had to persuade each member individually. Those, like Samuel, already committed to Presbyterianism did not give up their commitments easily.

Joseph Sr. had already separated himself from the existing churches, convinced that they were apostate, and was looking for the true one. When Lucy and Samuel joined the Presbyterians about the time of Alvin's death, the elder Smith would not, since the Presbyterian minister who preached his son's funeral said Alvin was going to hell. Joseph Sr., like his father Asael, both of whom Brodie badly misrepresents in her efforts to make the family seem indifferent to religion, had been a Universalist but drifted out of that movement. Like thousands following the religious upheavals of the Revolutionary period, the elder Smith had become a seeker. What he wanted in his church was the right balance of rationalism and spirituality, visions and the gifts of healing. When his son told him that he had been called to restore such a church, he quickly identified with the movement.

Lucy, on the other hand, had spent long years in search of a church that met her emotional and social needs, and was from all appearances satisfied with the Presbyterian congregation in Palmyra. She was reluctant at first to give it up. It was her son, not she, who had the early vision and then went



about his worldly ways. If, even after the second vision, Lucy did not hasten to follow her son's leadership, this only proves that she was a very determined person who was not easily moved from the course she had chosen. Lucy does not say whether Joseph said anything to her about his vision. Joseph only says that he told her he now knew that Presbyterianism was not true. But in any case, when Joseph began to translate the Book of Mormon and thus provided concrete evidence of his prophetic calling, Lucy and Samuel too paid heed. Why would they have left the Presbyterians at all if they doubted the truth of Joseph's visions?

In searching through hundreds of letters written by various members of the Smith family, I have found only two who expressed any doubt of the story told by Joseph. One of these was Mary B. Smith Norman, apostate daughter of Samuel, who was disillusioned about plural marriage. She wrote in 1908 that she was not sure that Joseph had all the inspiration claimed for him when he "wrote the Book of Mormon." The other was vitriolic uncle Jesse Smith, who had no first hand information but in 1829 wrote to Joseph Sr. that he had heard that the golden plates had been fabricated out of lead. In none of the letters written by William Smith (and there are many in the Strang Papers at Yale and at Salt Lake City) is there any indication that he questioned Joseph's account of his early revelations or of the translation of the golden plates.

Joseph's Revisions of His Story

But what of Joseph's careful scrutiny and revision of his history from time to time and the frequent changing of his revelations? Brodie assumes that these too are evidences of deliberate deceit (pp. 21, 141, 289). Joseph Smith did manifest the usual human concern for putting himself and his work in the best possible light, but it seems doubtful that on the whole he sought to misrepresent or bury his past. If so, he went about it in strange ways. He never made any effort to destroy the old versions of his history or his revelations, and he kept far too many records if he had any idea that he would deceive his followers or some day fool his biographer. As has already been pointed out, that history is unusually candid at many critical points. Joseph Smith admitted, for example, that he had been a gold digger, but, quite naturally, played down its significance in his early career since the fact was used by his enemies to discredit him. With respect to the revision of his revelations, it may be that like most Americans and most Mormons, Joseph cared much more for the present than he did for the past, that he was more anxious that the revelation express today's inspiration than that his infallibility as a prophet be maintained. Joseph did have some concern for updating his revelations, keeping those parts that were still relevant, revising them where necessary to meet the current situation. He did this with respect to both organizational and doctrinal matters. But this may only suggest that he did not worship his words, that he was confident of the inspiration flowing into him, that he had an urgency to put down his new insights and get them applied in the Church. He did not seem to be overly bothered by the fact that his revelations needed revision. Unless we assume that Smith was something of a fool, which Brodie seems unwilling to maintain, then it is difficult to believe that he was so short sighted that he would revise his revelations and not try to destroy the old ones. It must be that he had other purposes besides deception in mind.

The Witnesses to The Book of Mormon

What of the prophet's story about gold plates, and what about his witnesses? Given Brodie's assumptions, was there not deception here, if not collusion? Brodie maintains that the Prophet exercised some mysterious influence upon the witnesses which caused them to see the plates, thus making Joseph Smith once more the perpetrator of a religious fraud. The evidence is extremely contradictory in this area, but there is a possibility that the three witnesses saw the plates in vision only, for Stephen Burnett in a letter written in 1838, a few weeks after the event, described Martin Harris' testimony to this effect:

When I came to hear Martin Harris state in public that he never saw the plates with his natural eyes only in vision or imagination, neither Oliver nor David . . . the last pedestal gave way, in my view our foundations.

Burnett reported Harris saying that he had "hefted the plates repeatedly in a box with only a tablecloth or handkerchief over them, but he never saw them only as he saw a city through a mountain." Nonetheless, Harris said he believed the Book of Mormon to be true. In the revelation given the three witnesses before they viewed the plates they were told, "it is by your faith

that you shall view them" and "ye shall testify that you have seen them, even as my servant Joseph Smith Jr. has seen them, for it is by my power that he has seen them." There is testimony from several independent interviewers, all non-Mormon, that Martin Harris and David Whitmer said they saw the plates with their "spiritual eyes" only. Among others, A. Metcalf and John Gilbert, as well as Reuben P. Harmon and Jesse Townsend, gave testimonies to this effect. This is contradicted, however, by statements like that of David Whitmer in the *Saints Herald* in 1882, "these hands handled the plates, these eyes saw the angel." But Z. H. Gurley elicited from Whitmer a not so positive response to the question, "did you touch them?" His answer was, "We did not touch nor handle the plates." Asked about the table on which the plates rested, Whitmer replied, "the table had the appearance of literal wood as shown in the visions of the glory of God." It does not seem likely from all of this that Joseph Smith had to put undue pressure on the three witnesses. More likely their vision grew out of their own emotional and psychological needs. Men like Cowdery and David Whitmer were too tough minded to be easily pressured by Smith.

So far as the eight witnesses go, William Smith said his father never saw the plates except under a frock. And Stephen Burnett quotes Martin Harris that "the eight witnesses never saw them & hesitated to sign that instrument [their testimony published in the Book of Mormon] for that reason, but were persuaded to do it." Yet John Whitmer told Wilhelm Poulson of Ovid, Idaho, in 1878 that he saw the plates when they were not covered, and he turned the leaves. Hiram Page, another of the eight witnesses, left his peculiar testimony in a letter in the *Ensign of Liberty* in 1848:

As to the Book of Mormon, it would be doing injustice to myself and to the work of God of the last days, to say that I could know a thing to be true in 1830, and know the same thing to be false in 1847. To say my mind was so treacherous that I have forgotten what I saw, to say that a man of Joseph's ability, who at that time did not know how to pronounce the word Nephi, could write a book of six hundred pages, as correct as the Book of Mormon without supernatural power. And to say that those holy Angels who came and showed themselves to me as I was walking through the field, to confirm me in the work of the Lord of the last days — three of whom came to me afterwards and sang an hymn in their own pure language; yes, it would be treating the God of heaven with contempt, to deny these testimonies.

With only a veiled reference to "what I saw," Page does not say he saw the plates but that angels confirmed him in his faith. Neither does he say that any coercion was placed upon him to secure his testimony. Despite Page's inconsistencies, it is difficult to know what to make of Harris' affirmation that the eight saw no plates in the face of John Whitmer's testimony. The original testimony of these eight men in the Book of Mormon reads somewhat ambiguously, not making clear whether they handled the plates or the "leaves" of the translated manuscript. Thus there are some puzzling aspects to the testimonies of the witnesses. If Burnett's statement is given credence it would appear that Joseph Smith extorted a deceptive testimony from the eight witnesses. But why should John Whitmer and Hiram Page adhere to Mormonism and the Book of Mormon so long if they only gave their testimony reluctantly? It may be that like the three witnesses they expressed a genuine

religious conviction. The particulars may not have seemed as important as the ultimate truth of the work.

To raise doubts about the validity of some of Brodie's arguments is not to dismiss her book. Her biography will continue to have great influence upon professional historians until someone writes one with equal or greater plausibility. With the benefit of new sources and better insight into the intellectual and cultural background of early Mormonism, this may be possible. It is not enough to write reviews or articles for learned journals, for these are read by few, nor to publish volumes of new sources for these provide no substitute. Those who attempt a biography must write with courage, for no matter what they say many will disagree strongly. And they must write with insight and power, for one of Brodie's strengths is that her book is exciting reading. Above all, in the face of contradictory sources and world views, they must strive to tell the truth. It may do well to recall John Garraty's warning that "the average man is so contradictory and complicated that by selecting evidence carefully, a biographer can 'prove' that his subject is almost anything." To write the truth about a man who was so many sided, so controversial as Joseph Smith is a very difficult thing. Nonetheless, with an attitude less cynical than Fawn Brodie's, it is time for some of us to try.

Women: One Man's Opinion

CLAUDIA L. BUSHMAN

Woman and the Priesthood. By Rodney Turner, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1972. 311 pp. \$4.95.

Rodney Turner, a BYU professor of Church history and doctrine and a scholar widely revered as the conservatives' conservative, here attempts to answer some of the burning contemporary questions about which the scriptures are so scrupulously silent. Turner assembles and collates teachings of Church leaders and scriptures about women and then reasons from them to his own conclusions. He does this with passion and eloquence. Yes, Turner takes a hard line and a lofty position. No, his views are not binding because finally he has no more scriptural authority than the rest of us.

Of course he contends that woman, the "gentler and purer sex," finds her highest fulfillment as wife and mother, that happiness can be found only by becoming what she was meant to be. "To weaken or repudiate the profoundly distinctive qualities of either sex is to pervert the original natures of both. This is death." (p. 19) At this point Turner should come to grips with the real nature of woman and how he knows what it is. Everything depends upon the establishment of real differences between men and women. But we are given only a few spiritual-anthropological generalities and a couple of Brigham Young's quotes to the effect that women are more easily converted than men and that their presence in saloons is more sinful than men's.

In fact Turner goes on to conjecture that as God is not coercive, individuals must have chosen their own sexes. This neatly avoids the notion that women

were second rate spirits, but does indicate that personality preceded sexuality. If sex was voluntarily acquired at any point in pre-mortal life, then it should not completely shape mortal existence. Women should be people first. Turner believes they should be women first but fails to anchor his belief in solid evidence.

In the garden, Turner tells us, Adam and Eve were literally equal, with equal access to God. He describes a triangle with God at the apex. After the fall when Eve was undone, the authority relationship became vertically linear: God commanded Adam who commanded Eve. So while women remain equal, they must be given to men (hopefully with their consent) to be led and protected. Woman still enjoys this "obligation to submit to the leadership of fallen man" (p. 58). (One might say that while man is punished for his own sins, woman continues to be punished for Eve's.) Turner tells us that meek obedience to one's husband is only enlightened self-interest, that a woman has no more reason to resist her husband's commandments than those of loving parents. What is more this submission will be the means of woman's very exaltation. He heaps special praise on women who willingly sustain less gifted and knowledgeable husbands. A wife may be better educated, more gifted and wiser than her husband. This is often a trial to her, but it is for her to manifest a spirit of meekness and to honor him in his station. In doing so, she leaves him without excuse should he then fail to magnify his calling. (p. 99)

Turner's idealization of the childlike dependent is unfortunate indeed. Why must we be sold the standard nineteenth century view of passive woman when early Utah was full of independent and achieving women who disproved it? Surely a woman's abilities should be utilized for the benefit of the family and society. A priesthood holder is obliged to encourage his wife's skills and to listen to her advice; it is his duty. The husband and wife should strive together.

Mormon women, taught to be dependent on husbands or fathers, are victims too often. As Turner says himself, the dependent Mormon woman, left alone, is extremely vulnerable. Our culture unfortunately tends to make heroines of these bereft women. The widowed mother of many who educates her children by scrubbing floors should not be eulogized but taught a skill. A woman must be prepared to support her children if necessary.

As for children, Turner tells us that mother must always be home and available. A woman must be taught that "nothing (she) may do outside of the home can begin to equal in lasting significance the things (she) can accomplish in the home" (p. 32). Self-sacrifice is the key. "How many gifted men and women have willingly sacrificed their desires and abilities for others!" (p. 31) Such escapes from the nursery as are allowed are described in romantic nineteenth century fashion. A husband "knows that she has needs which leap the walls of home and go bounding off across the fields. The inner woman is a young girl — a blithe spirit. She cannot *live* without sunshine, flowers and spring winds" (p. 302).

While he does not clearly state that a woman must have as many children as possible or that the largest family is necessarily the best, he inclines in that direction. He speaks out against all artificial methods of birth control allowing only restraint and rhythm. Although some Church authorities have

justified other practices, he is adamant: "Artificial birth control is spiritually if not physically harmful irrespective of the 'stand' of the Church. It is intrinsically wrong" (pp. 219-220). He marshalls considerable support for the questionable doctrine that spirit children are queued up in heaven awaiting admittance to particular families. Bad conditions on earth never justify closing those heavenly doors.

Actually I agree that the wife and mother roles are the most rewarding for women, but active motherhood fills a mere quarter of a woman's life span. Surely some other activities should be encouraged. An individual's good works and righteousness must be more important than how many children she bears or whether she bears any at all. The Church has long honored faithful women of widely varying life styles.

Professor Turner's book is destined to be read and discussed at length, and its confident tone and scholarly trappings will convince some readers that he speaks the truth. Unfortunately, there is simply not enough evidence to write such a prescriptive book. The scriptures say very little about women. No woman of note emerges from the Book of Mormon. The Bible gives us the tantalizing story of Eve, but surely the patriarchs' wives should not serve as examples for us. The only semi-doctrinal mention of a mother-in-heaven comes from a poem written (sigh) by a woman. Female models are few.

But aside from a scarcity of information, I think he distorts the sources he has. In an effort to indicate unanimity, the quotes from General Authorities are treated as a single source. These remarks, ranging over one hundred and forty years, are often quoted without identification and the names of the speakers and the dates mentioned only in footnotes. We all know that General Authorities' views differ on interpretive subjects and that some feel more strongly about certain issues than others. By choosing quotes that substantiate his own views, Turner indicates agreement where it does not exist.

While some readers will agree with this delineation of woman's eternal role, others will be offended. All readers should recognize the book as one man's interpretation of existing evidence and not as final scriptural authority.

Jonathan Livingston Seagull: An Ornithologist's Rod McKuen

CLIFTON HOLT JOLLEY

Listen-up bird-lovers, Hindus, Eddy Rickenbacker, Father Schillebeeckx, and Unitarians everywhere: *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* has arrived! Somewhat sooner and with greater flurry than many of us would have wished, perhaps, but, then, that's his style, and style is, ultimately, what J. L. Seagull is all about.

If you haven't read the book (a feat no less impressive than never having seen an "un-cola" billboard) nor been "enlightened" (*sic*) by a friend, then let us say that it is about a bird . . . and from there it is all down hill, at speeds in excess of 214 MPH — something of a breakthrough, actually. But rather than go into any further details concerning this hard-cover pamphlet's plot —

it takes longer to summarize than to read — we may simply note that not having read it puts one in a better position to critique the book than having invested the thirty minutes (outside) that it takes to carefully study it. Having read it one must admit to having done so, whereby one's judgement and integrity become immediately suspect.

It's really not too surprising that *Seagull* should come along just now. The Marxist theory of literature and history should have clued us that, what with the "counter-culture" having predictably tired of the Eastern philosophies and turned to Christianity, something of a synthesis was in the offing. First Ginsberg chanting his mantras on *Johnny Carson*, then *Superstar*, and finally Harrison's "My Sweet Lord" with a "krishna" chorus thrown in for "relevancy." How marvelous!

And where does *Seagull* fit in? A few steps behind where the establishment always is, like a gaggle of greedy geese (or seagulls, if you prefer, although it doesn't scan as well) gobbling the crumbs left behind by the "freaks" — crumbs turned, somehow, respectable through the mediation of time and practice. Hence the paradox: culture, counter-culture, synthesis — and we are all the same again, with *Seagull* delivering the *coup de grace* this time.

This whole business about virgin birth and divine parenthood has always been a bit sloppy anyway — neither good for business nor conducive to the life of a conservative "swinger" — so, when something comes along (with pretty pictures, no less) to offer a socially acceptable alternative, it is little wonder that "Middle America" should snatch it up. As it turns out, however, the alternative is even more incredible than the initial premise. One is merely asked to believe that a seagull who looks like Charlton Heston, sounds like Kahlil Gibran, and has the moves of Parnelli Jones, appeared to one Richard Bach and unravelled for him life's knot. In the process, J. L. Seagull (Jesus Christ) is revealed to be mere mortal, the Great Gull (God) is inferred to be a pleasant myth by which to encourage the flock (you and me) until such time as they, we, or whoever attain a higher sphere of existence where everyone talks like the result of having unsuccessfully mated Dale Carnegie with Ralph Williams ("... of 'Ralph William's Ford,' right on the corner of . . .").

All of this I am willing to let go by the boards in the interest of free speech, poetic license, or whatever. Indeed, I should have bitten my tongue and silently thought, "that's alright, Bach, you'll get yours," were it not for two blatant travesties which are in need of being set right.

Firstly, *Jonathan Livingston Seagull*, which is assumed by its editors to be "a story," is the most simple-minded bit of tractarian nonsense since *Robinson Crusoe*, which has the advantage of being fun. With all the subtleties of a wet mop, Bach has established himself as the newest oracle of our time. Thus following in the McKuen tradition which assumes that if one gushes enough one may be mistaken for a fountain at which humankind may go to drink, Bach has proven the assumption sadly true. However, like Henry VIII's involvement with the Anglican Church, one may wonder if it is any more than an inept rationale on the part of Bach for the abandonment of his domestic responsibilities. In either case such a criticism is probably too cynical and too simple. Bach may well believe in what he is doing, which makes it all the more a pity that he does it so poorly.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, Bach assumes — nay, insists —

that seagulls are lazy creatures in dire need of reform. Now, I don't know about "Middle America," but I have always liked seagulls just the way they are. They eat crickets. Where would Brigham and the Saints have been had the seagulls been converted earlier to clicking-off power-dives for fun and profit (no pun intended). No, I like gulls as they are, and if they don't sell as many cars that way, well, I can stand the loss.

Jonathan Livingston Seagull: make a point to miss it, unless an illiterate Rod McKuen (intentional redundancy) in feathers (not too difficult to imagine, really) is your idea of a good time.

Brief Notices

DAVIS BITTON

Frontier Tales: True Stories of Real People. By Juanita Brooks. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1972. Western Text Society Special Publication. 57 pp. \$2.00.

Juanita Brooks has long been known as a remarkable story teller. This thin volume contains eight of her stories, whose flavor is suggested by their titles: "Sam's Courtship"; "The Buckskin Pants"; "A Young Business Man on the Trail"; "Wabash, A Night In a DeLamar Saloon"; "A Strange Hiding Place"; "Mary Platte and the Molasses Barrel"; "The Joke was on the Town"; and "Griz."

Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins. By Stephen G. Taggart. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970. Second printing, paperback, 1972. 76 pp. \$2.50.

Already reviewed in *Dialogue* (winter, 1969), this small volume is now available in an attractive paperback format. The thesis is suggested by the conclusion: "To suggest that Negroes are under a divine curse, that a black skin is any less desirable than a white one, or that Negroes are in any way morally inferior is to accept and perpetuate the erroneous scriptural argument utilized by Southern fundamentalism. Its consequence also is to compromise the moral quality of Mormonism by accepting a substantial hindrance to the primary mission of the Church — the promulgation of Christ's gospel of love and brotherhood."

Profiles of the Presidents. By Emerson R. West. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1972. 375 pp. \$5.95.

This book has no scholarly pretension yet offers several features that will undoubtedly make it popular among Church members. For each President of the Church from Joseph Smith to Harold B. Lee the author has compiled some pictures, personal experiences, a testimony, and selected quotations. For each of them also there is a brief profile and a chronological chart. As a thought-provoking addendum, Mr. West has added "Questions About the Presidents": which President was the tallest? Which traveled the most? Which had the most children? Which was born a British subject? etc. Answers are provided.

Faith Precedes the Miracle. By Spencer W. Kimball. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1972. 364 pp. \$4.95.

The title page uses the phrase "based on discourses of Spencer W. Kimball," which indicates that these are not simply printed sermons. Elder Kimball draws on the sermons but "mold [s] them into a contemporary statement." Seldom are these sermons pedestrian; rather they are unusually well written, sensitive and memorable. Elder Kimball's son, Edward L. Kimball, provides an appreciation in the Preface.

L is for Indian: An Alphabet for Little Saints. Rhymed by Laurel Ulrich. Drawn by Dell Fox. Durham, N.H.: The Tree House Publishing Company, 1972. 52 pp. \$1.50.

A building fund project that should sell well as a gift item. The drawings and the verse are affectionately humorous. D is for Deacon. F is for Fast Day. I is for Iron Rod. K is for Kolob. And so on. The title comes from the following: L is for Indian./Now that isn't right./Good Mormon children/Can spell L. Copies may be ordered from the publisher at 3 Ryan Way, Durham, N.H. 03824.

To the Glory of God: Mormon Essays on Great Issues. Edited by Truman G. Madsen and Charles D. Tate, Jr. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1972. 234 pp. \$4.95.

A *Festschrift* volume dedicated to B. West Belnap, late Dean of the College of Religious Instruction at Brigham Young University, the work contains twelve articles by Latter-day Saint scholars. As usual in such volumes the result is uneven. Contributors are Hugh W. Nibley, C. Terry Warner, Reed H. Bradford, Neal A. Maxwell, David H. Yarn, Jr., Truman G. Madsen, Chauncey C. Riddle, Robert K. Thomas, Leonard J. Arrington, Martin B. Hickman, Richard L. Anderson, and Monte S. Nyman. Especially interesting to *Dialogue* readers will be Nibley's "Brigham Young on the Environment," Arrington's "Centrifugal Tendencies in Mormon History," and Hickman's "Reciprocal Loyalty: The Administrative Imperative." Unfortunately the work is marred by typographical errors.

THE HERESIES WE SHOULD FEAR ARE
THOSE WHICH CAN BE CONFUSED
WITH ORTHODOXY.

— Jorge Louis Borges

AMONG THE MORMONS

A Survey of Current Literature

EDITED BY RALPH W. HANSEN

*Some for renown, on scraps of learning dote,
And think they grow immortal as they quote.*

EDWARD YOUNG, *Love of Fame*

It has been this writer's practice in the past to single out a sample of theses and dissertations produced at Utah universities whose titles have tickled his funny bone. Calling your attention to such titles is not to suggest that Utah is unique in the production of humorously titled theses and dissertations, but rather reflects the narrowness of our bibliographical interest. Once again we are pleased to share with our readers humor from the world of scholarship.

No doubt the most weighty thesis for 1971 and 1972 was "Weighing Wet Diapers: A New Approach to Measuring Infant Output." A hot subject was "The Effect of Temperature on Birth Rates in the Southern United States." Hot or cold, the study "Opinions and Attitudes of Unwed Fathers, . . ." seemed to suggest that someone is getting to the bottom of the age-old problem of illicit sex and unwanted pregnancy. Of special interest was "A Comparison of Long Haired and Non-Long Haired Boys." One can only speculate if hair length is correlateable with diaper weight, temperature at conception or the marital status of parents.

As the reader has no doubt by now surmised the focus of this quarter's bibliographical listing is unpublished graduate research papers. The list of theses and dissertations which follows is longer than in previous years for it represents a two year cumulation — 1971 and 1972. The titles listed have been selected from commencement programs or similar listings without knowledge of the paper's content. Consequently, some guessing as to applicability to the theme Mormon Americana was required if the title did not unequivocally suggest that the product would be of interest to the L.D.S. community.

As heretofore, dissertations are included if the subject suggests a broad Utah concern rather than a narrow Mormon relationship. Because of their large number, theses are listed only if they have a specific Mormon emphasis.

SELECTED DISSERTATIONS AND THESES OF MORMON INTEREST

Dissertations

- Adams, Larry LaMar. "A Statistical Analysis of the *Book of Isaiah* in Relation to the Isaiah Problem." Brigham Young University, 1972.
- Baldrige, Kenneth Wayner. "Nine Years of Achievement: The Civilian Conservation Corps in Utah." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Barlow, Brent Alvin. "Mormon Endogamy and Exogamy in Northern Florida." Florida State University, 1971. "The purpose of this study was to determine the rate or percent of inter-faith marriages among Mormons in Northern Florida." Dr. Barlow found that 61% of the Mormon membership had married outside of the Church and 34% of such marriages resulted in conversion of the spouse.
- Bird, Adren J. "Selected Demographical Factors Characterizing Sponsors of Legislative Bills in the Utah Legislature Having Implications for Education During the Period 1961 to 1969." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Brewer, Courtney H. "A History of Drama in Logan, Utah, and Neighboring Communities to 1925." Brigham Young University, 1972.
- Chao, Chung-Ho. "A Comparative Study of Education in the Junior High Schools in the State of Utah and the Province of Taiwan." Brigham Young University, 1972.
- Cloward, Dix W. "The Development of an Educational Program to Meet the Needs of the Adult Government Employee at Hill Air Force Base, Utah." Utah State University, 1971.
- Covey, John Mack Richards. "The Effect of an Innovative Doctoral Program Sponsored by the Brigham Young University College of Education upon the Leadership Perceptions and Behavior of a Group of Los Angeles Elementary School Administrators." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Dahl, Larry Evans. "A Determination of the Potential Effect of an Open-End Equalization Finance Concept upon Financing Utah Public Schools." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Dahl, Paul Eugene. "Some Factors Which Differ Between Married and Never-Married L.D.S. Males and Females Who Attended 1969 Summer School at Brigham Young University in Relationship to Their Families of Orientation." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Dangerfield, David Emery. "The Effects of Attendance at the University of Utah on the Marital Satisfaction of Full-Time Students." University of Utah, 1972.
- Davis, Clark A. "Social and Economic Correlates of Ideal and Desired Family Sizes of Senior Females in Public High Schools in the State Of Utah, 1970." Utah State University, 1972.
- DePillis, Mario Stephen. "The Development of Mormon Communitarianism, 1826-1846." Yale University, 1960. This dissertation has just become available through the University Microfilm service.
- Durfey, Calvin R. "An Evaluation of Bilingual Education With a Cross Cultural Emphasis Designed for Navajo and Non-Navajo Students in San Juan County, Utah, 1969-1971." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Gennari, Victor Charles. "A Cooperative, Coordinated State-Wide System for Public School District Evaluation in Utah." Utah State University, 1972.
- Gilchrist, Donald Bruce. "A Use Study of Instructional Materials Produced by the Seminary System of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Glan, Jon Edwin. "A Study of Title I of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 (P.L. 88-204), Section 103: Grants for Public Community Colleges and Public Technical Institutes in Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Utah." University of Denver, 1970.
- Hansen, Joseph F. "A Study of the Implementation of the Leadership Program as Approved by the 1970 Utah State Legislature." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Haslam, Raymond M. "The High School Principal as Perceived by a Group of Students from Thirteen High Schools in Utah." Utah State University, 1972.
- Haymond, Jay Melvin. "History of the Manti Forest, Utah: A Case of Conservation in the West." University of Utah, 1972.

- Henderson, Lawrence Blair. "Practices in Elementary Teacher Certification in the States of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah from 1845 through 1970." University of Idaho, 1971.
- Hobbs, Charles R. "An Investigation of Selected Educational Conditions Within the Latter-Day Saint Community." Columbia University, 1970.
- Jackson, Richard H. "Myth and Reality: Environmental Perception of the Mormons, 1840-1865. An Historical Geosophy." Clark University, 1970.
- Jones, Gerald Edward. "Concern for Animals as Manifest in Five American Churches: Bible Christian, Shaker, Latter-day Saint, Christian Scientist, and Seventh-day Adventist." Brigham Young University, 1972.
- Judd, William Perry. "The Status of Present and Projected Vocational-Technical Training Programs in the State of Utah and Related Occupational Opportunities." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Kearnes, John. "Utah Electoral Politics, 1932-1938." University of Utah, 1972.
- Kennedy, Glenn Alan. "A Study of the Inmates of the Utah State Prison." University of Utah, 1971.
- Laird, Robert William. "Determining the Creative and Openness Levels of the Graduates in Elementary Education from the Church College of Hawaii." Utah State University, 1971.
- Lambert, Edmund Baker. "Some Effects of Concentrated Media on Selected Students at the Brookside Elementary School in Springville, Utah." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Land, Ming Huey. "The Status of Advisory Committees for Vocational and Technical Education in Utah with Comparison of the Structure and Functions to a Theoretical Model." Utah State University, 1971.
- Larsen, John Anderson. "The Role of the Media Specialist as Perceived by Himself and His Administrators in the Secondary Schools of Utah." University of Utah, 1971.
- Leiter, William H. "Analysis of an Early Childhood Learning Program in Granite School District, Salt Lake City, Utah." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Liechty, Leslie Earl. "Six Chapters of a Utah Social Studies Textbook for Use in the Junior High Schools in Utah." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Louder, Dean R. "A Distributional and Diffusionary Analysis of the Mormon Church, 1850-1970." University of Washington, 1972. "The study traces the remarkable expansion, both numerically and geographically, of the membership of the Mormon church. A simulation model is developed which rather successfully replicates the processes by which the Mormon religion expanded from an insular, rural community base to a widespread regional phenomenon. The early diffusion appears to be 'contagious' — that is local, rural, and migratory — while in recent times the diffusion is 'hierarchical' — that is metropolitan, and more dependent on conversion than in earlier times."
- Lybarger, Alvin Eugene. "A Comparison of Job Satisfaction Needs of Selected Rural and Urban Industrial Education Students in the State of Utah." Utah State University, 1971.
- Madsen, Raymond LaVor. "The Pupil Personnel Specialist of the Utah State Department of Education: Role Expectations by Alter Groups." University of Utah, 1972.
- McAllister, LeRoy L. "An Analysis of the Quality of the Financial Reporting of Utah Municipalities and Counties." Arizona State University, 1971.
- McLaws, Monte B. "Early Mormon Journalism and the *Deseret News*, 1830-1898." University of Missouri, 1970.
- Mauss, Armand Lind. "Mormonism and Minorities." University of California, Berkeley, 1970. "An inquiry into the attitudinal and behavioral consequences of commitment to certain religious beliefs and traditions concerning ethnic groups."
- Melendez-Craig, Mario. "A Study of the Academic Achievement and Related Problems Among Latin American Students Enrolled in the Major Utah Universities." Brigham Young University, 1970.
- Moody, Michael Finlinson. "Contemporary Hymnody in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." University of Southern California, 1972. "This study was made to determine the current status of hymnody in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and to motivate Mormon poets and composers toward increased hymn writing activity."

- Moore, Charles Champ. "The Concept Development of Welfare Practice and Attitudes of Selected Religious and Occupational Groups Regarding Four General Dimensions of Public Welfare." Utah State University, 1971.
- Nelson, William O. "The Institutes of Religion Curriculum: Its History, Evaluation, and a Method Designed for Determining Whether Courses of Study Meet the Criteria of Certain Basic Doctrines and Objectives." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Porter, Lawrence Cardon. "A Study of the Origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1831." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Quackenbush, Stanley Fulton. "Utah Business Corporations, 1847-1895." University of Illinois, 1971.
- Raat, Gerald Hugo. "A Study of the Initiation of the 1970 Utah Program for Teacher Leadership Remuneration." University of Utah, 1971.
- Ramsey, B. Gene. "Scientific Exploration and Discovery in the Great Basin from 1831 to 1891." Brigham Young University, 1972.
- Rogers, James Keith. "Community-School Legislation in Utah in 1970, and the Historical Antecedents." Michigan State University, 1971.
- Schimmelpfennig, Dorothy Jenson. "A Study of Cross-Cultural Problems in the L.D.S. Indian Student Placement Program in Davis County, Utah." University of Utah, 1971.
- Sellers, Marie Lane. "Mental Health of Proselyting Missionaries." University of Utah, 1971.
- Silvey, Lawrence Ray. "Rhetorical Functions and Communicative Roles of Oral Discourse in an Intercultural Conflict Directly Relating to the Issue of Polygamy and the Gaining of Statehood for Utah: 1886-1896." University of Utah, 1972.
- Simons, Dale E. "An Evaluation of Competitive Junior Football in Utah." Brigham Young University, 1970.
- Smith, Keith Lowell. "A History of Brigham Young University — The Early Years, 1875-1921." Brigham Young University, 1972.
- Stott, Douglas Whitaker. "A Study of the Prophetic Witness of God and of His Meaning in the Life of Man." Brigham Young University, 1971.
- Tueller, Rex Lamar. "The Use of Personality Traits in Predicting Doctoral Student Success at Utah State University." Utah State University, 1971.
- Vanderbilt, William Roy. "An Investigation of the Attitudes of Varsity Athletes Towards Their Sports at Selected Institutions of Higher Learning in the State of Utah." University of Utah, 1971.
- Wolfley, Earl Scott. "Measurement of Utah High School Seniors' Knowledge and Attitudes Toward the Concepts of Law Applicable to Them." University of Utah, 1971.
- Woodland, William Richard. "The Development of a Model Shade-Tree Ordinance with Special Application to Salt Lake City, Utah." University of Utah, 1971.
- Workman, John Paul. "Economies of Size of Cattle Ranches and Wheat Farms and a Comparison of Management Alternatives for Marginal Cropland in Utah." Utah State University, 1971.
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POTPOURRI

Reading newspapers can be a discouraging if not frustrating experience. The news seems to say that man has failed and the world is collapsing around his materialistic head. On the other hand, good works are often not "news-worthy" and if reported are done so on a one shot basis soon to be forgotten. An L.D.S. venture in good works which deserves continuing exposure is that of AYUDA. AYUDA (Spanish for "help") is a non-profit corporation operating among Indians in Guatemala and Arizona. According to AYUDA's Chairman, Dr. Harris Done, the group was founded "to provide an outlet for service to our fellowmen. Not a giveaway, pride-shattering program, but self-help . . . do-it-yourself projects that build confidence and self-esteem." AYUDA is involved in medical-dental clinics, nutrition and hygiene training, soil conservation and crop improvement, pre-school and adult education, manual arts and leadership training. All this and more we learned from *AYUDA News* (2636 Harrison Blvd., Ogden, Utah 84401), a bimonthly newsletter which began publication in 1972. Contributions (tax deductible) supporting AYUDA's goals may be sent to 1520 East Lincoln Avenue, Anaheim, California 92805.

Another new periodical recently brought to our attention is *The Animal Stewardship*, a bimonthly published by Reverence for Life (1805½ N. Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90027, \$2.00). Reverence for Life is concerned with Mormonism and animals.

In 1970 this column briefly reported the establishment of a periodical called *Restoration Reporter* (P.O. Box 202, Morton, Illinois 61550, \$3.00 year). *Restoration Reporter* is "off and running on a second volume, and [we] have information enough to bring you to fill a dozen years" according to publisher David C. Martin. If you want to know what's going on in the various L.D.S. schism groups *Restoration Reporter* is must reading. The issue at hand contains information on the Temple Lot group, the "Hedrickite" movement, the Church of Jesus Christ (Rigdonites) and the Reorganized Church (which voted to be known as "Saints" instead of "RLDS" as a nickname).

Last, and to be sure least, we are reminded by *Restoration Reporter* that these are unusual times in which we live, for according to Martin, a "Homosexual Church of Jesus Christ" has been organized in Denver. And in Southern California *Spectrum West* (a publication of the Sexual Freedom Alliance of Southern California?) featured an article "Mormon Churchman Tells . . . 'Why I'm a Wife Swapper.'" Obviously this brother is not very active in his ward for if he were his energies would be insufficient for any kind of swapping.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The following letters relate to Victor Cline's column in Personal Voices, "Sounding Brass and Tinkling Symbols." In the First, Karen Smith challenges Dr. Cline's views on women, a challenge which he tries to meet in his response. The Third Letter, from Marvin Rytting, raises some interesting questions about theories of sexuality expressed by Dr. Cline (Spring 1971) and by Owen Clark ("Letters to the Editor," Spring 1972).

On Women

Dear Dr. Cline:

Your reply to Ms. D. of Washington D.C. left me feeling less than comfortable. While agreeing that women should be freed from those things promoting loss of self esteem, doubt, fear, etc., there are a few points I would like to discuss.

Your statement that leading "liberationists" (you have known) are disturbed and merit sympathy could be construed by some as a justification for convenient labeling. I always wonder about the chicken and the egg question when encountering this type of situation. Can you not also verify the possibility that for every disturbed militant liberationist, there must be at least two suppressed, neurotic housewives somewhere? Again, the egg or the chicken? As I understand it, one aspect of the women's movement is to encourage men to once again assume more responsibility for child rearing (a primary Gospel objective) and less time pursuing the almighty dollar. How many hours a week does the average father spend with each young child? Certainly not enough. Perhaps, for women who would like to work outside the home, an arrangement of sharing an occupation — like two physical therapists operating a practice on alternate days — or maybe even each person having a separate part-time job, would work out satisfactorily for parents and children. This would certainly be easily achievable after children are all in school. It seems to me that what the Church is saying is that a child needs love and special attention — parental attention — in those early formative years. Perhaps the only time a child needs exclusive *female* attention is during the nursing period. To me, it is certainly frightening to see a crying child become hysterical when he is handed to the father/stranger, instead of the mother/parent(?) for consolation. I am sure that this arrangement I am proposing was found more often in pioneer homesteads where occupations were located on the homefront (like farming, etc.) and the whole family was involved out of necessity.

Consequently, taking these types of positive points of the Women's Movement, I can see it being potentially *constructive* to the family structure, rather than destructive. Which way this comes about depends on the women *and* men involved.

As far as the Patriarchal family, you did explain why it was a good idea to have *someone* as "boss," "leader," "president," etc. but you never mentioned why *someone* is always a man. To say "he is the Priesthood holder" to me appears circular. I am not interested in dominating my husband (or him-me) but am, in truth, raising a sincere theological question as to why women are always, even in a women's organization like the Relief Society, ultimately controlled by men? In searching the scriptures for light on this, the only thing I have found is in Moses 4:20-25. Here the Lord explains to the Snake, to Eve, and then to Adam, what their respective punishments are for taking part in the Fall. To Eve he says, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception. In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and *thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee.*"

Knowing the relationship of pre-existence to present earthly position/situation leads me to believe that perhaps there lies the missing link. Could it be after all that women are some type of second-class citizens that *need* to be controlled? And would not this contention fill us with true empathetic understanding of our Negro brothers and sisters who also await revelation on their supposed pre-earth deficiency?

Believe me, Brother Cline, the implications of these thoughts devastate me. The thought of giving moral credence to world-wide chauvinism is awesome.

The interesting thing is, I have had these thoughts for some time and have presented them to various members of the priesthood, including elders and Bishops, none of whom has been able to disagree with my final analyses. In fact, some have pointed out, with interest, other areas of the Church in which women are not recognized equally with men. Notice that authors of significant books for the membership as a whole (*Jesus the Christ* variety, not Relief Society texts or the How-to-Be-A-Woman numbers) are never women. How is it, if women are equal in the Church and in the eyes of the Lord, that they have not demonstrated equal spiritual leadership? And then there are the little subtleties like the frequency which opening-closing prayers are given by women. In our college branch it's about nine males to every female. Note how many more are (capable of?) offering sacrament gems. What percentage of the seminary and especially institute teachers are women? How and why did all these unwritten traditions get established? And, again most importantly, what does all this mean about the inherent "nature" of women?

I cannot help but think that these questions I pose so audaciously today, will be common concerns of my daughters tomorrow. I would very much appreciate your comments.

Sincerely,

Karen Smith
San Diego, California

Victor Cline Responds:

Dear Karen:

I'm afraid I am in that same line you are in when it comes to asking tough questions for which there don't seem to be many answers. I've got my own special list. And I'm sure even President Lee has some he'd like to get answered. I understand that every Monday afternoon he meets with the current week's new crop of missionaries preparing to leave for all parts of the world for their two years in the field. At that time they have the opportunity to ask the Prophet questions about L.D.S. theology, doctrines, etc. And on a number of occasions he candidly acknowledges that there are many things we just don't know, or do not have answers to.

But several things do seem quite clear and apparent to me. The Deity and his Son are of male gender, not "it" or female. The Church is administered primarily by males (as was the early Christian church) whether we are talking about the First Presidency, Council of the Twelve, Regional Representatives, Stake Presidencies, Bishoprics, etc. The Priesthood organization is all male, though its blessings are shared in by wives. But unmarried women, of course, don't directly "share." The father is Patriarch in the home. And, as you knowingly point out, in Moses 4:20-25 it suggests that Eve's desire should be to her husband who should rule over her. This is the "order of the Church." And while the Church could comfortably accommodate by allowing more women to give talks, prayers, etc. that wouldn't change by one iota the male domination of the Church or its government.

If the true leader of the Church is Jesus Christ and revelation and inspiration are important communication channels, then I think the issue of the strong position of the male gender in the Church has to be referred to Him. If, however the Church is of men, even good men, then they and their present and former leadership, tradition and 19th century mores will have to be held accountable for women's secondary position or role in the Church.

However as a practical matter in working with L.D.S. women in a great variety of situations and circumstances I've heard extremely little in the way of discontent about women's role in the Church. However I hear a great deal from many L.D.S. women who wish their husbands would "honor their priesthood," be patriarchs in their family, say family prayers, hold family home evening, etc. In fact, the major issues of concern to most L.D.S. women I know focus on breakdown in communications and love relations with their husbands, concerns about their children's development or behavior, and dealing with difficult people in their life or job situation. I've never seen a woman, or for that matter even a man, who wanted the job of being Bishop. Assuming a position of responsibility in our Church, at least, always requires considerable sacrifice, even though there are some compensations.

Your notion that fathers should be more involved in rearing their children is an excellent one. And I see nothing wrong with women being fulfilled vocationally, as long as the children receive proper parenting. With regards to women not writing more significant books for Church membership, I see no reason why they can't. But they have to compete on the open market with suitable manuscripts just like everyone else.

With regards to having some women teach seminary, this is certainly an

idea with merit. However since our youngsters get such an overdose of females as teachers in the public schools already, I think it's refreshing as well as more therapeutic to have them exposed to some males who are carefully selected models of human decency and high ethical concern.

In mentioning all of this, I still recognize that it does not answer some of your questions — to which I can only say, I don't know. I wish I did.

On Sexuality

Dear sirs:

In the Letters to the Editor exchange between Owen Clark and Victor Cline (Spring, 1972), an important issue was raised but not confronted. Mr. Clark was responding to Dr. Cline's warning (Spring, 1971) about the dangers of transference and countertransference leading to infidelity both with professional and Church counselors. Dr. Cline had suggested that to avoid being "trapped by an intense passion" we ought to be cautious with emotional attachments for those of the opposite sex and we ought to have the protection of a good marriage, lest our "well . . . run dry." Mr. Clark expressed the hope that we would not let the fear of infidelity isolate us from tender feelings and emotional closeness with those we counsel and suggested that it is possible for those who have allowed themselves to experience both emotional intimacy and sexual feelings to differentiate the two and consequently to better control them. Dr. Cline responded that his basic point — "that too many Mormons including skilled professionals, do get involved in illicit and adulterous relations which had their origins in an attempt to help, counsel, console and comfort a member of the opposite sex" — still stood; but he did not answer the most important issue — why this is so and how we should handle it — except to reiterate that a healthy marriage is a good defense. Mr. Clark expressed an alternative approach (*i.e.*, "Church counselors may be better advised to acknowledge their feelings and to learn to differentiate them rather than to attempt to deny them."), and if the question were merely one of transference and countertransference, there would be no need to expand upon his very perceptive comments.

The issue is, however, much broader, both in that it involves not just counselors, but everybody who is past puberty, and that it raises the general question of our theoretical assumptions about the nature of sex and the psychological nature of man. The dominant view of sex in our culture centers around the "sex drive" which is an almost instinctive, hormonal urge which is seething in our bodies waiting for a chance to sweep us away into uncontrollable passion. There are only two responses to this drive: either give in to it as often as possible or fight it and deny it every step of the way. If this idea is true (and it is widely accepted in both our society and our Church) and if man is, in the final analysis, at the mercy of his sex drive, then Dr. Cline is right. The best strategy is to avoid emotional intimacy except with a spouse and to use a healthy marriage as a necessary escape valve for sexual urges. If, however, this view is a myth and man is capable of reacting intelligently to his sexual feelings and thus controlling them, Mr. Clark's comments make more sense. If it is possible to have and express emotional feelings without sexual involvement, then

the best defense against infidelity caused by countertransference is experience in expressing such feelings non-sexually and the strategy of avoiding and denying emotional intimacy would be counterproductive and make one more susceptible.

Admittedly, acceptance of this latter view of sex is essentially an act of faith (as is the acceptance of the more popular view), for it depends on theoretical assumptions that are not provable. However, the theory it flows from is academically respectable and fits well with the Mormon notion of some sort of meaningful free agency for man. The theoretical support of this position fits into the phenomenological school of psychology and more particularly as part of the cognitive theories. Its best expression is in the personal construct theory of George Kelly. The basic postulate of this system is that a person's actions (and reactions) depend greatly upon the way he anticipates events. This does not deny the existence of biological drives or external forces, but suggests that man does not merely respond to these stimuli automatically but rather, he teleponds (reacts to them purposively and in ways mitigated by his perceptions). Specifically, a person's reaction may be influenced by his definition of the stimuli, the situation, himself, and the meaning of his response. A wide variety of evidence supports this position including the findings that eating behavior is caused by many non-physical factors; the striking cross-cultural differences in both sexual and non-sexual areas, *e.g.*, the fact that morning sickness is unknown in some cultures (even though pregnancy is rather common); and the inappropriate reactions of people to placebos or deceptively identified drugs.

It logically follows from this assumption that man's sexual behavior is largely determined by the way he defines sex. If this is true, by appropriately defining sexual feelings, emotional affinity, and each relationship, it is possible to control sexual behavior. (This does not imply that such cognitive control is conscious. It can be but usually isn't.) That people can and do differentiate between emotional intimacy and sexual intimacy is receiving preliminary substantiation in some current research of mine. That they use this differentiation to control and deny emotional intimacy is abundantly clear in several studies of "swingers" (mate-swappers) and traditional adulterers. That they can use this distinction to control sexual intimacy is suggested by reports from encounter groups where emotional and even physical intimacy frequently occurs without sexual involvement. The evidence is not conclusive and my treatment of it has been superficial, but I hope it is enough to demonstrate that this alternative view of sex is a respectable hypothesis which deserves consideration and more research.

What are the consequences of our acceptance of the "sex drive" assumption? In the all important area of adolescent purity and premarital chastity we respond by admonishing our youth that they must maintain a constant vigil or they will be swept away by wild passion. This often results in frustrating (and therefore short) courtships and sometimes in early and/or unhappy marriages. And if, by chance, in an unguarded moment a young couple feels a special closeness and warmth accompanied by an increase in sexual desire, they are apt to think, "Oh no, I'm being swept away. Oh well, I can't control it. It's too late; I might as well give in." (The most devastating thing about this view is its self-prophetic nature — if we believe that our sexual urges are

uncontrollable, they will be. This also makes it impossible to disprove this theory because there are always examples of people getting carried away by passion. I would argue, however, that they are carried away mainly because they expect to be.)

On the question of marital fidelity, the problem of transference can be expanded to include every married couple. By accepting the "sex drive" notion we become very suspicious of any relationship with a member of the opposite sex. This means that we shut out the possibility of emotional closeness with half of the human race and since we have already severely limited the possibility of emotional intimacy with the other half because of fear of latent homosexuality, we effectively shut ourselves off from a vast range of positive emotional experience and expect to have all of our emotional needs satisfied by one person. Then we often make unrealistic demands upon our spouse (for as Dr. Cline notes, "No man ever satisfied all of his wife's needs and no woman ever understood and met all of her husband's desires.") This can lead to marriages that are not really happy and again we become more susceptible to the forbidden attractions offered by extra-marital relationships.

The alternative is to accept the idea that we can be involved in intellectual, emotional, and even physical intimacy with persons of the opposite sex (and with persons of the same sex) without becoming involved sexually and that this emotional sharing need not be a threat to the marriage, but can be a very rewarding experience, making life and marriage happier and more complete. I propose that this opening up to others and the sharing of affection with many friends will also be the best defense against marital infidelity. (Knowing through experience that sexual intercourse is not an inevitable and necessary part of expressing love makes a conscious decision about sex more likely. It does not imply that sexual control can be obtained without effort, but focuses that effort intelligently.) This may sound risky (and indeed may be risky), but it can work and the old view has not been without risk. This issue definitely deserves more dialogue.

Marvin Rytting
West Lafayette, Indiana



NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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MARDEN J. CLARK teaches literature at Brigham Young University. DIALOGUE readers will recall his essay on "Some Implications of Human Freedom" in the Summer 1970 issue.

VICTOR CLINE, Professor of Clinical Psychology at the University of Utah, is a regular contributor to *Dialogue*.

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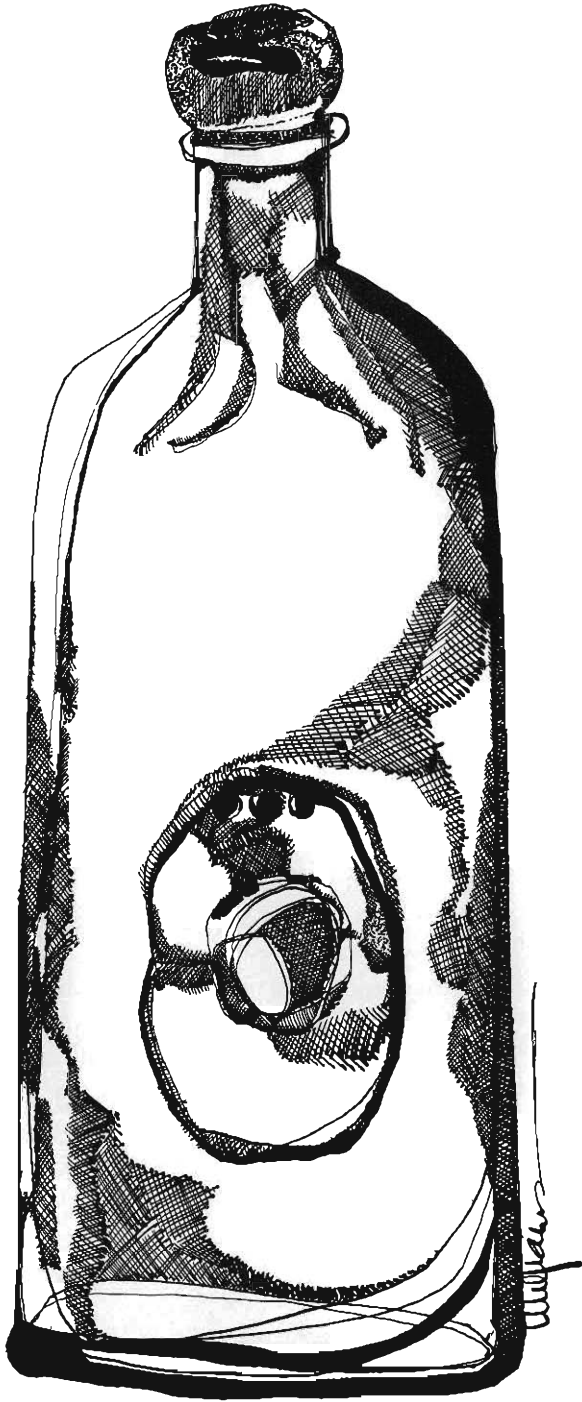
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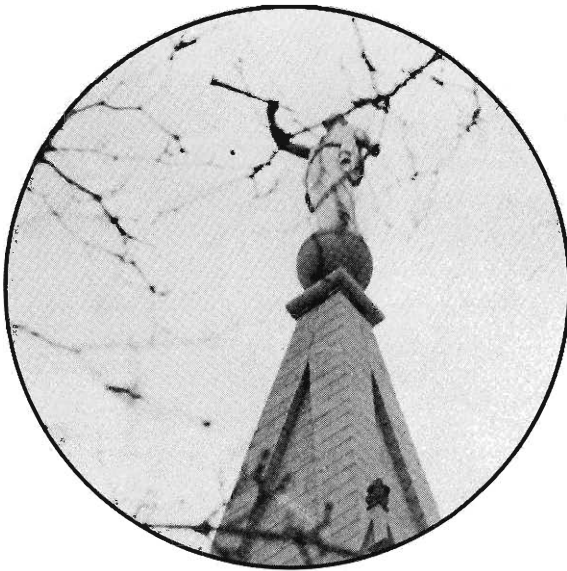
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A WORD ABOUT THE COVER

CALVIN J. SUMSION

The sun is one of the most ancient and universal of human symbols. It is a central icon in most cultures and religions and usually suggests such things as light, truth and power. The sun is one of the most important symbols in Mormonism, suggesting ultimately God and His dwelling place as well as the power of life and light which draw men to Him. It therefore seemed to me an appropriate choice when I was searching for an image of enlightenment, knowledge and truth. The specific sun image I chose for the cover design was that used by the Prophet Joseph Smith in the design and construction of the Nauvoo Temple.

The Nauvoo temple was commenced in April, 1841; dedicated May 1, 1846; and burned in October, 1848. The most unique visual aspect of the Temple's exterior design were its thirty pilasters or supportive, decorative buttresses. The bases of these pilasters were formed by huge moonstones, each of which was capped with a sunstone. Above these thirty sunstones on the frieze were thirty starstones. All were hand-tooled and polished. The symbolic combination of sun, moon and stars is, of course, familiar to Latter-day Saints, especially in the representation of the three degrees of glory as spoken of in 1 Corinthians and in the 76th Section of the Doctrine and Covenants: "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory."

The sunstones on the Nauvoo Temple were represented by a face surmounted by hands holding horns of plenty or trumpets (historical records do not state which). These sunstones were approximately fifty feet above the ground level, six on the east (front) and west sides, and nine on each of the other two sides. Of the thirty original sunstones, only three are thought to remain intact — one on the grounds of the Nauvoo State Park, one maintained by the Quincy Historical Society, and one thought to be on the grounds of the Homestead, Joseph Smith's first Nauvoo home, now owned by the Reorganized Church.

I have visited Nauvoo on several occasions and each time was more impressed with the historical significance of that great city and its temple. I designed this symbolic representation of the sunstone because of its strong and vivid visual significance in relationship to the importance we place upon learning and seeking knowledge, truth and light in all things.



