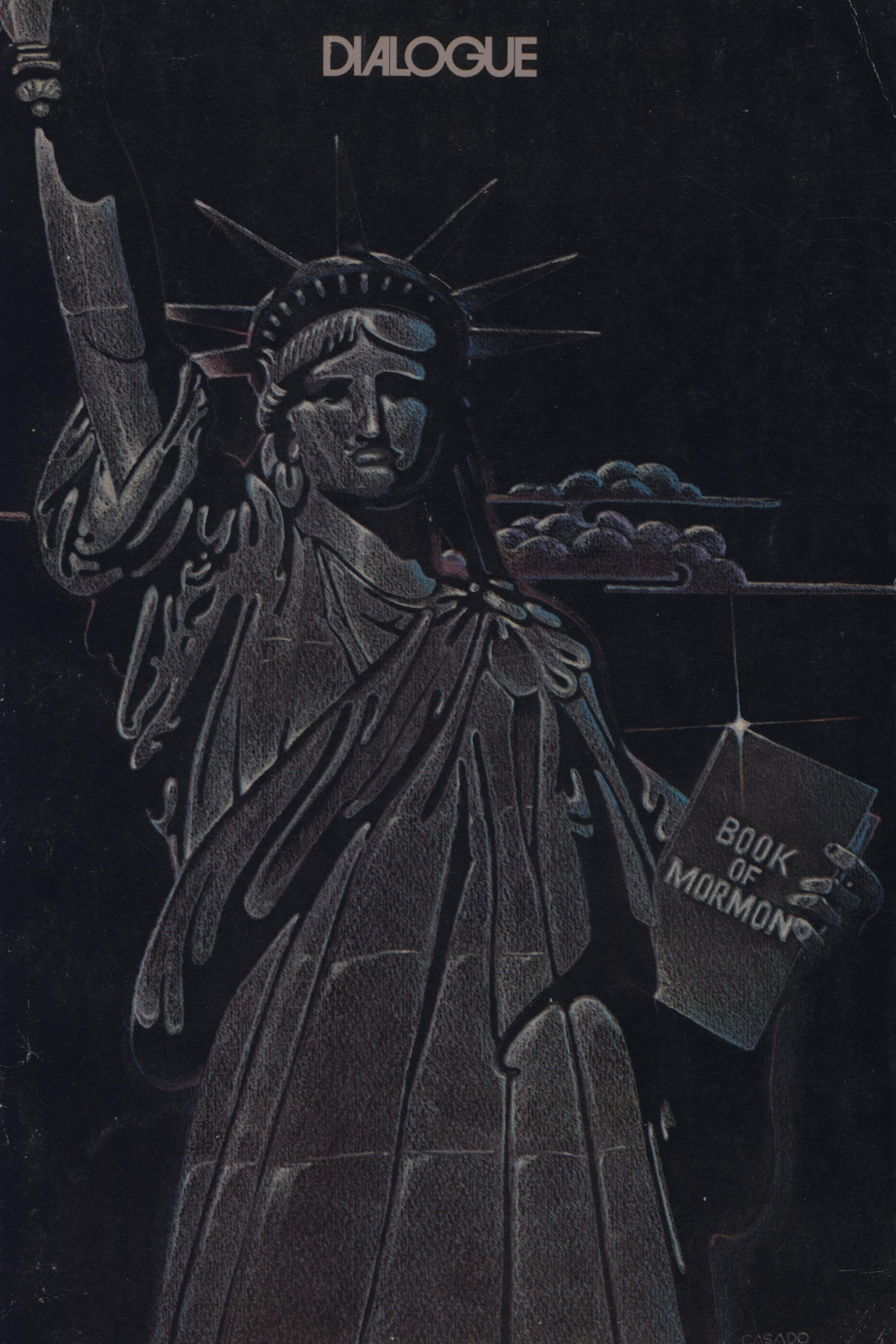


DIALOGUE



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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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The Gospel, Mormonism and American Culture

ROBERT A. REES

This issue of *Dialogue* emphasizes the relationship between Mormonism and American culture. John Sorenson's lead article on "Mormon World View and American Culture" sets the stage by attempting to make a distinction between the gospel perspective and the culture of the United States. He tries to determine those aspects of the restored gospel that are unique so as to separate them from those cultural values Mormons sometimes confuse with the gospel.

This theme is reflected in most of the other pieces in this issue. In her short story, "The Willows," Eileen Kump writes about a period in our history when Mormons prided themselves on their uniqueness and in which, out of necessity, they separated themselves from the rest of America and vigorously resisted any incursions into their mountain fastnesses. Some Mormons in the Great Basin Kingdom didn't even consider themselves Americans, and at times openly resisted the government.

A contrast between that time and the present is seen in Mark Leone's article, "Why the Coalville Tabernacle Had To Be Razed." Leone argues that the ease with which the Church tore down one of its most beautiful historic buildings is related to the extent to which it has adapted itself to the modern world and suggests that it is this very adaptiveness which may explain the Church's continuing vitality. Not all Mormons will agree with Leone, however, as evidenced by Frederick Buchanan's note on Cornerstone, a group of Latter-day Saints who are "dedicated to the preservation and continued use of buildings having a significant historic and aesthetic place in the Mormon experience."

In his essay "Good-bye to Poplarhaven" Edward Geary attempts to illustrate that American culture is making new inroads to the fields of Zion, with encouragement from the Saints, who seem all too willing to give up their clean air and clear water for a greater share of American technological progress.

Michael Coe, a distinguished non-Mormon anthropologist and archeologist, presents some outspoken views on the extent to which Mormons, in their zeal to prove the gospel, have used archeological "evidence." As critical as Coe's views are, they represent an important side of the Mormon-American dichotomy.

In the Letters to the Editor section and in a lengthy letter in Notes and Comments by Martin Gardner there is a continuing dialogue on Mormonism's Negro doctrine, a significant case study in the Mormon-American culture debate. Some have felt that the Negro doctrine is clear evidence of the influence of American culture on the Church, and others have argued that the Church's refusal to bend to contemporary cultural pressures to change the doctrine is a clear sign that the Church is not influenced by culture.

All of these writings demonstrate that the relationship between Mormonism and American culture is a highly significant one, and, as Sorenson tries to show, one that we must seek to understand. In a larger context it can be seen as part of a conflict that has always existed between the way of the world and the way of the Lord.

The problem of being in the world but not of it has faced the children of God in every generation. Rather than live with such a conflict some have sought safety by secluding themselves from the country of the worldly and, like the nun in Gerald Manley Hopkin's poem "Heaven-Haven," have fled "to fields where falls no sharp and sided hail/And a few lilies blow." Trusting neither themselves nor the world, such persons seek safe and secret islands of the mind and the spirit. Others, caught by the lure of lovely and lascivious things, venture into the enemy's territory never to return. Like the profligate young Augustine they find the world's "cauldron of unholy loves" too inviting.

Those who find neither of these options acceptable have the most difficult and perhaps most dangerous lives, for they must live with the conflict between cultural customs on the one hand and gospel principles on the other. Those who face this conflict do not seclude themselves from the world nor surrender to it, but attempt to stabilize their lives between these extremes. To do this they must have a clear understanding of the gospel as well as the culture in which it is lived. Without such an understanding the two become confused and the demarcations between them indistinct.

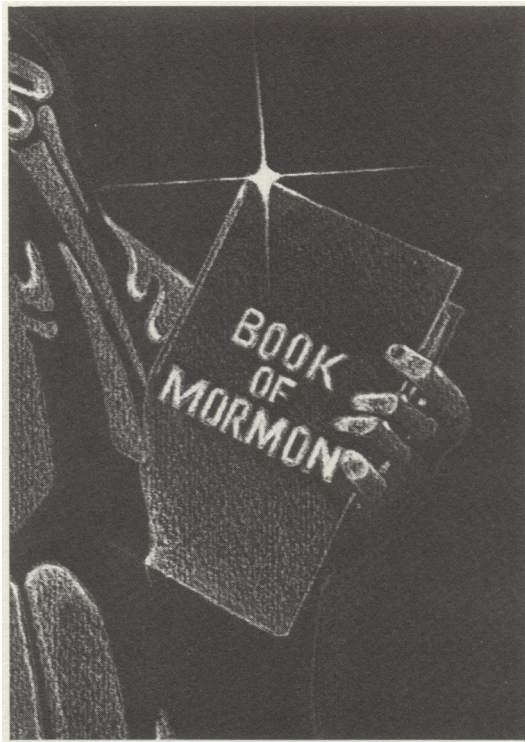
An example of this can be seen in the response of some Christians (including Mormons) to the recent corruption in American government at the highest levels. Those who have been apathetic toward these events or who have gone to great lengths to rationalize them have allowed the gospel perspective to be overshadowed by indifference or partisan politics. The gospel allows for neither of these responses, for the Christian's duty is to counter corruption in all its forms and to avoid neutrality on any moral issue. As Thoreau said, "There is never a moment's peace between vice and virtue." In a recent address in which he referred to "these troubled times—a Watergate, and lying . . . and deceit, and immorality and a breakdown of decency and of law and order in our country," President Harold B. Lee suggested that it was precisely the gospel principles that form "the foundation that you . . . need in order to *stand up against these things* that are rolling past, rolling as an avalanche of filth and an undercurrent that threatens the very basic foundations on which this country has been founded" (italics added).

President Lee's remarks emphasize the fact that the Church has a significant role to play in the conflict between the gospel and the world, for its function is to be a vehicle whereby the gospel is transmitted to particular cultures. But just as there is a tension between the world and the gospel so there is at times a tension between the Church and the gospel. Although it is an inspired institution, the Church does not always perfectly reflect the gospel (as it did, for example, in the time of Enoch) simply because those of us who constitute the Church do not fully live the gospel. The Church is a mirror of our collective attempt to follow the teachings of Christ.

Those who do not understand this have difficulty when the gospel and the Church come into conflict, as they sometimes do; such persons either abandon the Church for the gospel or abandon the gospel for the Church. The challenge

of true discipleship, however, is to live the gospel in the world *and* in the Church, to be witnesses of Christ "at all times, and in all things, and in all places that ye may be in" (Mosiah 18:9).

By keeping the gospel's perspective clear we may be able to transcend the limitations of our respective cultures and more completely fulfill our destiny, as individuals and as a Church. As John Sorenson concludes: "When the time comes that Mormons in the central homeland come to the realization that they too are constrained by cultural ways which have nothing directly to do with the gospel they espouse, the result could be a kind of Copernican revolution with attendant new insights into the Church and the scriptures and the meaning of life."



Letters to the Editor

continuing dialogue on mormonism's negro doctrine

The following are representative of the responses we received to the discussion of Mormonism's Negro doctrine in the last issue. One more extended response is included in Notes and Comments.

Greatly pleased with the last issue. Lester Bush's article on the blacks and the priesthood was by far the most enlightening piece I have read to date. It arrived very conveniently three days before a planned discussion of the subject in my Elders quorum lesson. My only problem came when one of the members of the quorum questioned the validity of my source, since *Dialogue* is not an "official Church publication." I am saddened that many members of the Church still consider this excellent forum for dialogue on the many issues that confront the Church as a subversive publication. My feelings echo those of David Robins in his letter (Spring, 1973) concerning the social acceptability of *Dialogue*. I do hope this can be rectified without damaging or watering down the present quality of *Dialogue*.

Roger V. Stevenson
Ashland, Oregon

I can't resist the latest flier on current subject matter (the Spring 1973 issue), so am saving grocery money and will enclose a money order for a subscription whenever I reach the \$10 mark. I can rationalize the Book of Mormon's rather 19th century Presbyterian language to my non-member friends and myself, but never have come to a way to even *discuss* the Negro issue.

I'm off to another macaroni casserole.

Mrs. Douglas H. Fraser
Sierra Madre, California

If I were asked to summarize the last issue of *Dialogue* featuring a history of Church Members' attitudes towards blacks, it would run about as follows:

The Prophet Joseph appears to have given reluctant approval, *ex post facto*, to an

expedient decision by the Missouri brethren (the Prophet was then living in Ohio) to withhold the priesthood from slaves and possibly all blacks in that state "for a time" because of local tensions. Further—as the question had been raised, and national as well as Church members' feelings were inflamed on all questions of race—the brethren, once reunited in Nauvoo and subsequently in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, were unwilling to come to grips with the "Negro problem." So, in the absence of *positive* direction, a negative rationale developed.

Existing *practice* was rationalized and mythologized into a pseudo-doctrine. Although it has been generally assumed that the prophets of the Church, in sequence, have not received any revelation countermanning current Church practices and beliefs with respect to blacks, the issue is much more significant. It appears that none of the prophets have received *any* revelation explaining or supporting the "doctrine" and have interpreted this silence as the Lord's acquiescence. In short, the Church position reflects a general ignorance of and lack of concern with the subject and is distinctly a negative rather than a positive stance.

Has *Dialogue* received any substantive rebuttal to any of this? Have the editors been excommunicated? Has general apathy among Church members verified the assessment? Is this the end of the discussion?

Carlos Whiting
Silver Spring, Maryland

- 1) No.
- 2) No.
- 3) Yes.
- 4) We hope not.—Ed.

I would like to add an "Amen!" to all the expressions of gratitude voiced by readers which were published in the most recent issue. Whatever you do, don't stop publishing! If you're really in trouble financially, let it be known. I can increase my bi-monthly contribution if

necessary. However, you need to let us know your needs first.

Once again, let me say how grateful I am for *Dialogue* and how much of an aid it is to me personally in living the admonitions contained in D&C 88 and the Thirteenth Article of Faith. The most recent issue with its article on the history of the Negro policy of the Church and commentaries thereon is indeed an answer to prayers I've offered to the Lord now for the better part of fifteen years.

Kent Olson
Red Bank, New Jersey

I want to thank you for the article on blacks and the priesthood by Lester Bush published in your last issue. His historical perspective was helpful and the questions he posed very provoking. It struck me as odd, therefore, that not one of the individuals called upon to respond to the article addressed himself to those questions.

Dr. Nibley's response was perhaps the most disappointing, probably because I've always generally admired both his scholarship and his logical thinking. It was disappointing to find him ignoring the question where his scholarship could do us the most service—the validity of the claim that Negro people are descended from Ham—and presenting a rationale for current Church policy that can only be characterized as strange. Somewhere between his reading of Kipling and his perusal of an old anti-women's suffrage tract, he has latched onto the idea that the priesthood is such an "onerous burden" that it may be better if a person never receives it. This is certainly an aspect of the priesthood that no one ever discussed with me prior to any of my ordinations. Instead, my leaders have always focused to the blessings of the priesthood such as ministering to my family, preaching the gospel, and receiving the blessing of the temple. I wonder if Dr. Nibley is willing to lay these down along with the onerous (white man's?) burden. In view of his other convictions, I also wonder if he will be backing Senator Brooke or Representative Chisholm for President in 1976.

Dr. England's response was nearly as disappointing. He began by stipulating that there was no valid rationalization for our present practice—that it was indefensible, our cross to bear. (Missionaries have heard similar responses from investigators who were confronted with their church's untenable view of the Godhead. They say it is illogical but they accept it anyway.) He then proceeds to provide yet another rationalization—his own! His is interesting in that it reverses the criticism often leveled at the Church—that we blame our prejudice and discrimination on God. Dr.

England proposes that God can justifiably blame us for His failure to end prejudice within the Church. I find this unsettling, to say the least.

Those who support current Church policy say the Lord has been silent. For myself, I believe He has spoken often and we have disregarded it. For example: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: But in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him" (Acts 10: 34-35); "We believe that man will be punished for his own sins and not for Adam's transgressions" (Second Article of Faith); "He denieth none that come unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female, . . . and all are alike unto God" (2 Nephi 26: 33); "Go ye into all the world, preach the gospel to every creature . . ." (D & C 68: 8).

The Lord's will seems clear. When will we implement it?

Jim Despain
Salt Lake City, Utah

Enclosed is \$10.00 to cover the cost of one year's subscription. Though I had requested cancellation, my first copy came anyway and I read it. So of course I should pay.

Further, Hugh Nibley's response elevated the value of the issue considerably.

Ralph Finlayson
Walnut Creek, California

Thank heavens for Brother Nibley! He's answered the critics of the Church once again in his masterful response to Lester Bush.

Mary Fielding
Salt Lake City, Utah

In his response to Lester Bush's article on Mormonism's Negro doctrine, Hugh Nibley says that Bush's study seems "strangely irrelevant the more one reads it." I wonder if Nibley would place his own scholarly studies in the same category. Both are irrelevant only if one considers that the search for historical truth has nothing to do with the search for spiritual knowledge. And if the excellent and extensive work of Bush is irrelevant to our understanding of the Negro question then the thousands of words Nibley has written about the Book of Abraham are irrelevant to our understanding of the Egyptian problem.

Nibley's statement contains some of the best things he has written (especially the personal insights) as well as some of the most absurd. I will comment on only a few of his points.

1) Nibley says that while the leaders of the Church have not understood why the Lord placed limitations on the Negro, they have

nevertheless produced various explanations for these limitations. It isn't clear if Nibley thinks these "various explanations" are correct, but he has misread Bush if he concludes that the brethren have always felt that the limitations were right. As Bush demonstrates, there has been a good deal of debate and controversy in the councils of the Church on this matter, with some general authorities questioning the validity of the doctrine.

2) Nibley quotes President Joseph Fielding Smith to the effect that members of the Church are bound to accept the teachings of the general authorities "unless they can discover in them some conflict with the revelations and commandments the Lord has given." As Eugene England's article points out, the Church's Negro doctrine is in conflict with the teachings of Christ as contained in ancient and modern scripture. Like England, I am appalled by the treatment of blacks as less than human and less than full brothers in Christ that one sees in the history of our Church. How can Brigham Young's racism be acceptable in the context of the Christian ethic?

Nibley is right when he says that we should consult our feelings as well as our reason. My reason has an easier time with the Negro doctrine than my feelings do. And that is why my "noble feelings and impulses" are not at rest over this matter, for in my heart of hearts I cannot accept the Negro as an inferior child of God, which is, for all of the Church's and Nibley's rhetoric, what he is considered in Mormonism. When black sisters are instructed to sit in the back of a chapel to keep from offending white sisters it is clear they are not considered equal.

3) Citing C. S. Lewis, Nibley suggests that "it is the very contrariness and even absurdity of the Christian teachings that provide . . . the highest proof of their divinity." While some of the teachings of Christ seem absurd to the world, they don't seem absurd to those who accept them. The idea of turning the other cheek may seem like madness to the world, but not to me, for I have tried it. The Gospel has its own logic, and for me the Negro doctrine does not fit that logic. It is absurd to the world *and* to me.

4) Nibley says that the leaders of the Church are embarrassed by the Church's doctrine on blacks and "refuse to put their own opinions forth as revelation" on it. Although they are certain that it is right, he says, "none claims to give definitive rational or scriptural justification for it." Again, I wonder if Nibley and I read the same article. Bush demonstrates that while some of the brethren have been puzzled or embarrassed by the doctrine, most have not, and many explanations, especially since Brigham Young's time, have been put forth as definitive rational and scriptural justifications for it.

5) I find my greatest agreement and disagreement with Nibley when he gets into a discussion as to what the priesthood really is. Nibley is right in suggesting that most priesthood bearers do not understand the conditions by which they retain priesthood power, but he is clearly engaging in sophistry when he says that "withholding the priesthood is supposed to be an unkind act because it deprives a fellow-man of a thing of social value, a measure of status and dignity in the Church." That isn't why I want the Negro to hold the priesthood: I want him to enjoy its *blessings*, not its social status. I want him to know the joy of taking one of his children into the waters of baptism, or laying his hands on the head of his son to confer the priesthood, or feel the healing power surge through him as he heals the sick, or feel the sweetness that comes from being washed and anointed in the house of the Lord. Maybe for Nibley the priesthood is only "'an onerous burden,' a load to be borne, work to be done and nothing more," for which one receives glory hereafter, but for me it is also a great gift that bestows *present* joy and even glory—if one does not seek for it. Nibley asks, "What is so bad about serving, in the light of the Gospel?" Nothing. But serving *with* the priesthood and with the favor of the Church and in a context where one is accepted in full fellowship is different from simply serving and being thought of as someone who must serve to fulfill a curse.

Nibley's argument reaches the height of absurdity when he says, "If we really took the Lord's teachings seriously, we would be envious of the Negroes." Perhaps that's the kind of thinking that comes from being at B.Y.U. and only reading about blacks in the newspaper. I grew up close to a ghetto in New York City, and there is no way that I would ever want to change places with *any* Negro I have ever known, in the context of the world or the gospel. Perhaps it is a sign of my weak faith, but I find it difficult enough to live the gospel as a middle-class, white American priesthood holder. Without the priesthood and without the fellowship of my fellow saints, I am not sure that I would have the strength to endure.

I suppose the Negro problem (a misnomer, since it is really a *white* problem) would be easier for me to take if I could see some cognizance on the Church's behalf that there is no connection between the doctrine (for reasons known only to God the Negro cannot hold the priesthood) and the ethic of Christ (we must treat all men as our brothers). I can accept the fact that the Lord may have His reasons for withholding the priesthood from blacks that we cannot understand, but I cannot accept as His will the fact that the Church is so silent on the problems of racial inequality or that it seems so willing to tolerate racism

among its members. That racism is no figment of my imagination; it is well documented. There are official proclamations from time to time about equality, but there is very little that is concrete that filters down through the priesthood and Sunday School lessons that instructs us to accept blacks as equal human beings.

I appreciate Nibley's testimony of the doctrine. Unfortunately I don't share it, although it is not for want of trying. Therefore, as he suggests, this matter continues to be a test of my faith, hope and charity—my faith in those I sustain as prophets, seers and revelators, my hope for my black brothers and sisters, and my charity for my fellow saints.

Seymour Smith
New York City

What a sneaky way to push me into subscribing again to *Dialogue*! I am glad, though, for I have missed it, and have meant to subscribe again. Besides missing it, I would feel terrible if the magazine did not survive, and I had not done my small share in supporting it. In addition, I have a beloved son-in-law who recently gently chided me because I had supported another magazine I wanted to see survive, and had not subscribed to *Dialogue*.

Some time ago, while I was still working, a customer found out that I was a Mormon, and asked me about the attitude of the Mormons on the Negro question. When I tried to explain, I found myself in tears. I was embarrassed at the time, but have decided, in retrospect, that evidence that a Mormon really cared about this problem to some extent changed this particular person's attitude about Mormons themselves.

Please send the most recent issue as soon as possible. I will look forward to having *Dialogue* again.

Rebecca J. Welker
Estacada, Oregon

Lester E. Bush's article, "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," is excellent. It seems to me that the Negro Doctrine is the most difficult problem facing the Church today. Dr. Bush's article should help us understand how the problem has developed.

Members of the Reorganized Church like to point out that there are black men in its priesthood. However, we Reorganites tend to overlook that we deny a much larger segment of the human race the opportunity to hold the priesthood. I see no difference between denying the priesthood to women and denying it to blacks. Both practices seem absurd today.

William D. Russell
Graceland College
Lamoni, Iowa

Mr. Russell was co-editor of *COURAGE* (an independent RLDS quarterly) until it ceased publication this year.—Ed.

by study and by faith

Since *Dialogue* is the Cream of Mormon expression, it is to be hoped that your forward comment in the Letters to Editor department of the last issue (Spring, 1973) is not an indication that *Dialogue* is going to be watered down until it is socially acceptable to the many LDS who are satisfied with the skim milk diet usually found in controlled Mormon publications.

God does not require us to place blind faith in anything so fragile that it could be shattered by study and dialogue, for God repeatedly placed "study" before "faith": "seek ye diligently and teach one another words of wisdom; yea, seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom; seek learning, even by study and also by faith" (D&C 88: 118). God commanded, "Study and learn and become acquainted with all good books, and with languages, tongues and people" (D&C 90: 15). When the Prophet Joseph dedicated the Kirtland temple, he reaffirmed the revelation from D&C 88 quoted above.

Our search for truth and wisdom is not limited to the reading of the scriptures, or Church controlled publications.

God's revelations to diligently seek wisdom by study and faith agrees with Paul's admonition to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.

Our 13th Article of Faith states that "we believe in being honest and true"; that we follow the admonitions of Paul; and that "If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy, we seek after these things."

We cannot be "honest and true" unless we accept truth, wherever it is found, which includes *Dialogue*; and we can not be "honest and true" unless we denounce error, even when it is found in official Mormon publications.

If *Dialogue* would like a factual study pointing out some of the errors that are blindly accepted by unquestioning LDS readers simply because they appear in Mormon publications I will be glad to prepare it.

Since the intent and purpose of *Dialogue* is in harmony with the revelations of God, and our 13th Article of Faith, every LDS should appreciate the chance to "study" the much needed articles found in *Dialogue*.

Lucille Young Hyler
Sepulveda, California

another stress point in mormon family culture

I read with enjoyment Harold T. Christensen's article on the stress points in Mormon family culture. It is always nice to see agreement with one's opinions (particularly Brother Christensen's sections on guilt-laden premarital sexuality, overemphasis upon authoritarian control, and youthful marriages), especially considering the number of times in the past few years I have been told by local Church leaders in various areas that such opinions are totally invalid, the Mormon milieu provides only positive pressures. I had not previously considered the two additional points made by Brother Christensen, a pattern of terminal petting and an unrealistic approach to family size, but in looking back over Church members I have seen in my role as a professional counselor, I can only wonder now why I had not.

In addition, however, I would like to suggest another great contributor to stress in Mormon family culture, the prominent goal of temple marriage. Rather than being considered a goal among many goals leading to the Celestial Kingdom, temple marriage seems to be a terminal goal for many. Parents judge their success by whether or not their children marry in the temple—MIA teachers continually stress the goal of a temple marriage rather than realistically emphasizing the many problems and adjustments that come after marriage, even a temple marriage. It should come as no surprise to us then when, after achieving this goal of temple marriage newly married couples and many not so newly married feel cheated or let down when they discover that they are still only human—that they do have problems and disagreements that have to be worked out—that a temple marriage doesn't carry a guarantee of immediate and eternal bliss and harmony in the home. This attitude is also evident in the advice given by some bishops to those couples not married in the temple (often those converted to the Church after marriage) who are having marital problems, i.e., to "get things in order so you can go to the temple." Yet by getting things in order the bishops don't refer to getting family problems resolved *per se* but to meeting the check points of a temple recommend such as word of wisdom, tithing, etc. Presumably (and couples I have counseled counted heavily on this presumption) marital happiness would come automatically after the temple sealing. But the same spirit doth possess the body, etc. and a temple sealing of an already disharmonious marriage often provides additional stress to the marriage.

This goal is analogous to the "Prince Charming found her and they lived happily ever after" concept promulgated for so long in book and song, but the goal of temple marriage is much more overtly preached and be-

comes a concrete promise to many Mormons.

The other side of the picture—the couple who have not been married or sealed in the temple—is also under a peculiar stress because of this goal. Since they have not achieved the goal then they just aren't as successful as those who have reached it—they just can't expect to have as happy or as successful a marriage—and often rather than the couple then working together in a positive manner to obtain a temple sealing of their marriage, they think of themselves as losers from the beginning. And here we have a handy rationale to cover any problems that may arise in marriage.

This then appears to me to be another stress on Mormon families that needn't be there. If we emphasize the ultimate goal of the Celestial Kingdom and include temple marriage as one of the many steps toward that goal, we are less apt to build unwarranted expectations and beliefs—and hence stress on the Mormon family.

Linda Q. Jones
Norman, Oklahoma

mormons' home companion

Need *Dialogue* so! It seems to arrive just when my husband and I feel most alone in the Church. Would so love to support you with more than our subscription. Promise to as soon as I finish law school.

Molly Bennion
Houston, Texas

proverbs 21:9

The following was received in response to Victor Cline's note on women in the Winter 1972 issue. Cline, who fears that this dialogue may go on at least till the millennium, offers a response.

Dear Victor:

Is it really clear to you that God is male? I find that fascinating. As I understand Mormon doctrine, nobody gets there alone. Both male and female are told they may achieve Godhood, but only together. Two become one in mind, in spirit, and in flesh. We may talk about "male domination of the Church" or the "strong position of the male gender" on Earth, but I would be somewhat more cautious about assuming such a condition in the Heavens. Joseph Smith had some things to say about those who confuse the priesthood with domination and power.

As for the assumption that Eve's curse dooms women to an eternally subservient role, I would call your attention to the atonement. I see no more reason to assume she is consigned to eternal subjection than that Adam

is cursed with eternal sweat. Even on earth she is told to obey her husband *as he obeys the Lord*, a commandment that calls for spiritual, intellectual, and moral vigilance by both. Because her obedience is conditional, it checks rather than licenses his authority.

I find it interesting that Mormons who deny traditional interpretations of the Fall so readily accept traditional interpretations of Eve. If you read on to Moses 5, you discover Adam and Eve rejoicing in their transgression. Though Adam apparently officiates in offering the ritual sacrifice, Eve participates in receiving revelation (verse 4) and in expounding doctrine (verses 11, 12). I have often been tempted to read her reaction in verse 11 as gladness not only in the doctrine but in Adam's having finally caught on, but that may be going too far.

On a more immediate level, anybody who has ever worked on an MIA activity committee knows that men do not dominate the Church. The priesthood is as likely a spur to lethargy as a badge of superiority—a conclusion supported by your reference to all those sad women whose husbands won't "honor their priesthood." Because we don't know why men were given the calling to preside, I don't think it any more reasonable to assume they deserved it than that they needed it.

It is refreshing that you didn't bring up the priesthood-motherhood dichotomy, which does get tedious, especially when embellished with unestablished corollaries about the nature of men and women. There is something to be said for this concept, however. Women will probably continue to have babies, just as men will undoubtedly continue to hold the priesthood. But for either to assume he can exercise his calling without significant input from the other is folly. Men may try unisex leadership ("dominating the Church") but I doubt if they do it with God's blessing.

You ask whether Christ or "former leadership, tradition and 19th-century mores" are responsible for women's position in the Church. It seems to me that any thoughtful Mormon recognizes that the Church is *both* of God and of men. It is sometimes very difficult to determine where one leaves off and the other begins. I offer my interpretations of Mormon theology not because they are better than yours, but because they are different. I suggest that the so-called "secondary position of women" might be added to the "questionable" rather than the "clear and apparent" category in your concept of Mormonism. Perhaps what we need is less theorizing and more experimenting. And perhaps more listening as well.

I am surprised that you have heard "little in the way of discontent about women's role in the Church." (Don't you read *Dialogue*?) I am even more surprised that you would say

this (of Karen Smith's letter to Victor Cline, Winter 1972) to an intelligent and sincere woman who is obviously discontented herself. Whether or not you meant it, this is just another way of saying, "If these things bother you, you are not normal." I would like to tell Karen that the things that bother her bother me and many of the active, committed Mormon women I know. The problem is not theology so much as confident male explanations of theology. Nobody I know is campaigning to be Bishop. That's not the issue. All we want is a recognition that our role—however defined by scripture—has plenty of room to stretch and to grow.

Men's role, too, needs letting out at the seams. I certainly agree with you that our "youngsters get an overdose of females" and not just in the public schools. How about in Junior Sunday School, Primary, ward nurseries, and in many homes on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights? There is nothing in the New Testament to suggest Christ felt it beneath his dignity to jog babies on his knee or tell stories to little children. Or that there were more important callings for him elsewhere. A few priesthood bearers I know have discovered this. Many have not.

I am interested in your statement that women's manuscripts must compete on the "open market" just like men's. I am sure the openness in that statement was unintentional. It is not so much that women lack the ability to write on Church subjects as that they lack the motivation and the experience. Those women who acquire the credentials valued in the "open market" sometimes get noticed. Not so for those who devote themselves primarily to home, family, and Church auxiliaries. When it comes to commissioning articles or choosing authors of lesson manuals, it seems to me the Church is as impressed with academic titles as anyone else. Perhaps I'm wrong.

I am told the *Ensign* is trying to find women to write on doctrinal subjects. I hope they do. I know at least one editor of *Dialogue* who would like to see more manuscripts on every subject by women. I hope more and more sisters will try, that they will not be discouraged if they are not immediately accepted, that they will have the courage and imagination to discover their own strength. I don't think God places any limit on the potential of women, even if some of His servants do. And I don't mind calling him "Him." I can't imagine our Heavenly Father or Mother worrying themselves about who gets credit for what.

Sincerely,
Laurel Thatcher Ulrich
Durham, New Hampshire

Victor Cline responds

Dear Laurel:

I somehow have a sneaking suspicion that no matter how I respond to your letter that my male gender dooms me to the category or stereotype of being a "male chauvinist _____" (I'll let you supply the last word, there are plenty of pithy ones around). I suspect that if my name were Victoria (rather than Victor) my comments about feminine liberation, women's role, etc. might be perceived somewhat differently by some.

But since the purpose of *Dialogue* is dialogue, for a stimulating exchange of ideas, biases and points of view—I'll throw caution to the winds and respond as honestly and genuinely as I know how.

First, I must confess that I am in almost total sympathy with the points you raise. Your letter seems to me to represent a healthy, thoughtful response to the whole essence of women's role not only in our Church but in Western culture.

As a therapist who works with many women and troubled families I see too many homemakers and mothers with profound feelings of lack of self-worth who all too frequently are self-deprecating and who do not love themselves. And while one sees this in males too, it occurs much less frequently and with less intensity than in females. This creates a variety of serious problems not only for these particular women with a lot of intra-psychic pain, but also for those who live with them and love them. This distresses me. And somehow it has to change. I'm not so sure that men are to blame.

I am personally very rejecting and concerned about those voices in the women's movement who have little use for children, who project the view that children are nuisances and a major barrier in one's path toward fulfillment in the larger world outside one's home. The function of child rearing is denigrated and regarded as basically burdensome, noncreative, etc. Those women who choose the role of mother and homemaker are made to feel guilty, stupid, unsophisticated and being "out of it." Some recent research in this area that I have been involved in suggests that at least part of this vision comes from the lesbian element in women's liberation. And I think it would be extremely unfortunate if their hidden agendas and distorted perceptions of the female role were bought by the majority of their heterosexual sisters. Lest I be misunderstood on this issue, I'm personally all for the development of women's creative capacities, work skills, ego strength, role diversity—but not at the sacrifice of involvement in full family relationships.

Bernice Lott in the July 1973 issue of the *American Psychologist* summarizes very well

the anti-child movement in women's liberation with "horror story after horror story" as she quotes the liberated sisters who debunk the motherhood myth, the agony of having children and who perceive giving birth as a "bad trip." Lott powerfully documents the present strong cultural bias rejecting child rearing. She suggests that childbearing and rearing are now, in our literature and culture, consistently undervalued and held in generally low esteem. It is as though since men don't do it, it can't be important. Mother's Day is derided and laughed at by many of the "liberated sisters." Women who stay home and raise good families and transmit the culture to their offspring are considered next to imbeciles, unemployable and stupid. I personally think this attitude is tragic and unfortunate. I hope the coming generation of LDS women don't get brainwashed by these messages or think that a career will give them total emotional fulfillment. If they do they will be selling their souls (or psyches) for a mess of pottage. What I am suggesting, Laurel, is that women *can* have it both ways if they wish: raise a family *and* develop their creative and work talents in a vast variety of ways. But women can never reach their greatest fulfillment (nor man either, as you suggest) alone. And with regard to ultimate priorities, I hope that the healthy LDS woman puts family before career . . . though with some women both are possible.

Victor

giving eve's ego a boost

Re: your multilogue on woman's role in the Church and the dialogue between Victor Cline and Marvin Rytting on the dangers of romance developing between a priesthood leader and the person (presumably female) seeking his counsel:

I am a sexist. I think men should not deliver babies, unless they show early in life a marked talent for it. They will never experience labor pains and have no vested interest in preventing or alleviating same.

I further think men should not counsel women, certainly not in private. How would the elders like to have to go to the Relief Society President to confess a sin, discuss their moral worthiness to enter the temple, or get help with a delicate problem? Consider, then, the good woman with such a need. She may be shy, embarrassed, hypersensitive about her motives and the way she is received. But she has no alternative, faced with a dearth of female priesthood counselors.

Why not designate women to counsel the women and let the men counsel their own? This will not only give Eve's ego a boost and solve Dr. Cline's problem, but it will save the stakes much time, as the sisters can coun-

sel one another over the dishes, ironing, diapers, etc.

Becky Cornwall
Exeter, New Hampshire

P.S. Considering all you've had to say about women in the Church, I would be interested to know why there are so few women on your Board of Directors and Board of Editors.

See the inside front cover and Notes on Contributors.—Ed.

an entmoot point

I should have known better than to write of Hobbits trusting only to my memory: there are just too many Tolkien nuts like me around. Ben Urrutia, one of the sharpest of them, points out to me that it is Pippin, not Sam, who is with Merry during the Entmoot, and also that Tolkien always writes Middle-earth, not Middle Earth.

My thanks to Ben, my apologies to Tolkien buffs, and good moots to all readers of *Dialogue*.

Marden J. Clark
Provo, Utah

will the real quetzalcoatl please rise?

Enclosed are my 145 pesos for a subscription to *Dialogue*, and (in case no one else has called attention to it) a correction to Dee F. Green's iconoclastic remarks about Quetzalcoatl in the Spring 1972 issue.

The Quetzalcoatl he refers to, born about 800 A.D., was a culture hero. There is another Quetzalcoatl (the son of the first divine couple, Ometecuhtli and Omecihuatl) the god of air and life, who took part in the creation of the world. This legend dates back several centuries before Christ, and is very firmly established.

These two characters are frequently confused with one another. In several Meso-American cults the high priests took the name of Quetzalcoatl, which also adds to the confusion. The Quetzalcoatl to which Mr. Green refers was a high priest.

I hope this will restore the good name of Quetzacoatl, for although he may not be Jesus Christ, he certainly had many admirable qualities and was not guilty of the infractions of which he stands accused in the article "Recent Scholarship on the New World Archaeology."

Ano Pratt de Perez
Mexico City

keeping up with the youngs and kimballs

I was impressed the first time Kenneth W. Godfrey repented of his statement that President John Taylor "In the last year of his life, while still on the underground . . . married at

least six additional wives . . ." ("The Coming of The Manifesto," *Dialogue*, Autumn, 1970).

So you can imagine my interest when Brother Godfrey published his second retraction in your magazine (Spring, 1972). Can I be forgiven for suspecting that he is protesting too much?

An examination of his article in which his original statement appeared reveals meticulous scholarship, with every statement documented except one. In the above quotation, he even has a footnote defining the term "underground." And yet he gives no source whatsoever for his statement that John Taylor took six wives in the last year of his life.

To me it seems quite obvious that Brother Godfrey is caught in a trap familiar to LDS scholars: he has quoted from a source which he dare not reveal.

However, wouldn't it seem reasonable, when and if he repents once more, that he add a few details of what isn't so—at least the names of the girls?

Samuel W. Taylor
Redwood City, California

P.S. For his and your information, latest count on John Taylor's wives is seventeen. Never again will I feel inferior to the Youngs and Kimballs.

whitewashing the Tribune

I read with considerable interest the review of "The First Hundred Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune" by Jean B. White (Summer, 1972). Upon that recommendation, I purchased the book and was sadly disappointed.

While Ms. White assured me that "those who felt this book might be a 'house history' whitewashing the *Tribune* were mistaken," as I got further and further into the book, it was apparent that "whitewash" was precisely the right word. Considering the wealth of "color" available to Mr. Malmquist on his subject, his book is indeed bland fare.

The book started well enough, using all the polite terms for the New movement, and the later editors of the *Tribune*, but it soon sank in an overwhelming pile of apologies. Reaching the death of Brigham Young by page 44, the reader is left to ponder how judiciously the editor selected his excerpts. Nowhere is mentioned the journalistic field-day that grew out of the Lee trial or the McKean trials.

It is apparent that Malmquist wanted to gloss over the early, and most stimulating, era of the *Tribune* to get his teeth sunk firmly into its present mediocrity. Among the other valuable historical events not covered was the Red Hot address, perhaps the most telling of all the *Tribune's* yellow-journalistic attempts.

Finally the book flounders and falls in the author's personal reminiscences. A whole

chapter is devoted to the Silver Queen of Utah, a story more suited to a Juanita Brooks episode than a critical history of a major newspaper. Amidst all this tear-jerking memorabilia, Malmquist settles the Mormon-Gentile conflict, buries wonderful Senator Kerns and puts the *Tribune* into the Newspaper Agency Corporation.

Amidst this plethora of nostalgia, I asked myself, "How could someone, when dealing with a topic as vital and exciting as the *Tribune*, fail to write a book equally as vital and exciting?" Perhaps the answer to this question, is the answer to a lot of failures in Mormon historical literature: people are afraid to re-expose old battles or conflicts. I'm sure I speak for those who favored the *Tribune's* position, as well as those who opposed it when I say that the whole story needed to be told. All the rivalry and vitriol of that era needs to be presented if we are to understand the pressures and problems of that critical time. Within the context of Malmquist's book, the issues of polygamy and Church political control look like a tempest in a teapot.

It's time Mormon historians started to demand a level of excellence in their writing, if they hope to make a valid contribution to American history.

Steven K. Bergstrom
St. Paul, Minnesota

P.S. The review of Mark McKiernan's "Sidney Rigdon" in the same issue shows that some reviews are attempting to expose shoddy scholarship among Mormon historians.

Joseph Smith's theological descendants

It is most heartening to find a journal of contrary, or at least independent, thinking being published in the ranks of Joseph Smith's theological descendants.

As a continually questioning Unitarian I value and commend your effort to give responsible witness through *Dialogue*. Please count me as a subscriber.

If available, I would like to obtain a copy of the issue containing Mr. Hill's review of Fawn Brodie's revised biography of Joseph Smith, which book introduced me to Mormonism as a fascinating American phenomenon.

R. C. Gagen, Jr.
Hinsdale, Illinois

not all sweetness and light

In recent correspondence you asked if subscribers to *Dialogue* would express their feelings about the future of this journal. I am no prophet, but I do feel that this journal has a definite place in Mormonism. Admittedly, a few of your writers and authors are sarcastic, disrespectful, stupid, asinine and intolerant,

which makes it difficult for some Church people to digest. Most opposition to your journal seems to come from those souls who do not understand that to analyze and evaluate the affairs of men calls for attitudes that sometimes do not reflect sweetness and light. Rather, just the opposite. But that in no way decreases the need for this fine journal.

When *Dialogue* first appeared, I was very pleased that an independent journal for the Mormon community was to be available. My pleasure after receiving all volumes of *Dialogue* has not decreased. This experience is typical of many people I know, who want the channels of Mormon dialogue to increase, not decrease, enlarge not shrivel.

I urge your editors to give consideration to two areas of Mormon thought. First, science and its impact in the Mormon community. Second, I urge the development of a series of articles about Mormon philosophy. Perhaps an article on W. H. Chamberlain, perhaps our first true philosopher, would be a good beginning point.

Enclosed is a renewal slip for my subscription. Please send me more envelopes so that I can give some gift subscriptions.

Gordon L. Wright
Austin, Texas

See the announcement of the special science issue on the inside back cover.—Ed.

they that build the house . . .

If there is a serious threat of *Dialogue's* demise, permit me to suggest that the relatively small group of regular subscribers might be glad to be assessed a specified amount (such as one additional subscription fee) in order to ensure the journal's survival—much as they permit themselves to be assessed a given amount for the ward building fund. Many of us are poor, but maybe there is a brighter immediate future for *Dialogue* in our loyalty than in efforts to increase the readership among the anti-intellectual majority. Moreover, I personally suspect that the desire to increase the base of support could lead to unfortunate consequences in editorial policy.

Robert Ellis Dye
Saint Paul, Minnesota

muckraking among the mormons

The interview with Jack Anderson in the Spring 1973 issue prompts me to take a few shots at the mass media. Anderson isn't responsible for the entire media, but his thinking goes along with the pack. Anderson's weakest argument is his defense of the right of the Chicago *Tribune* to publish the fact that we had broken the Japanese secret code

during World War II. Had this secret been maintained, the Japanese would have sustained continuous military defeats (like Midway) and the war would have been shortened considerably, thus preserving many American and Japanese lives. When one compares their right to publish national security matters with my right (as a G.I.) to *live*, I think I could bear with suppressing the news temporarily!

The profit motive involved in news gathering and reporting needs to be scrutinized the same as in big business. In the past decade, the news media have treated public demonstrations which violated the law as if they were some great moral crusade. By giving favorable publicity to these movements in their early stages, they snowballed out of proportion and backfired, culminating in the election of Richard Nixon and leaving the country in its most polarized position since the Civil War. (Hardly the intended goal.) No doubt the mass media profited in their stories by stereotyping hippies, protestors, young people, Blacks, Chicanos, Mormons, etc. In the later stages of these movements, the media showed their real results in burning cities, explosions, the generation battle, etc. They profited both in *starting* the snowball and then later, in reporting its melting. I never heard Walter Cronkite say, "We'll now turn to the *crime news* with Eric Sevareid reporting on the destruction of government property at *Berkeley*" (People's Park).

It has become more and more obvious in past years that *planned* news leaks from politicians of all shades have prostituted the position of the mass media complex. In deep resentment, they now strike back at Richard Nixon through Watergate. In my opinion, the Democratic Committee at Watergate should be held to the same degree of accountability in public disclosure as Jack Anderson would hold the government and Church leaders. (He indicated that Church leaders should divulge all income and spending, apostles' business salaries, etc.) Every Democrat should always know what goes on in those smoke filled rooms. There should be no information which may need stealing! The business transacted at Watergate should be as open as a school board meeting. In Watergate, the press has made "a mountain out of a molehill" but the sting of being used requires retaliation.

Of course Nixon incited the radicals during his campaign! I was in San Jose during the key incident and there were others too. But it was the gullible Mass Media Complex that

made it into a big story, thus profiting more dollars. They could have ignored these incidents as not being newsworthy. Again, the sting of being used cuts painfully deep but the dollars come in on reporting the stories.

The Mass Media Complex either opposes restraints for national security purposes or else they want to play God in deciding what news does threaten the nation. They all agree with Jack Anderson that a man's sex escapades should not be eligible for reporting. Not true in England. If a politician can't be honest with his wife, how can he be honest with his constituents who are 3000 miles away?

The Mass Media Complex attack on B.Y.U. students did have favorable results for us. In seeing our own culture unfairly attacked, my own teen-aged youngsters rejected all the mores and life styles of their liberal colleagues. This included drugs, free sex, hatred toward their parents, nihilism as well as undemocratic means of bringing about change. To our surprise, we were better off in the end! Jack Anderson and I agree that Church officials do manipulate the members and that they are truly *inspired* with the authority of God, Amen.

J. Darwin Baxter
Fremont, Calif.

P.S. Other publications won't print my term, "Mass Media Complex." Let's see if you will.

Fools rush in.—Ed.

Do more of the down to earth muckraking like the very interesting opinions of Jack Anderson and renew my subscription for a year.

Dr. Donald Freeman
Fresno, California

discovering dialogue

I ran across the Autumn-Winter 1971 issue of *Dialogue* and was unable to put it down until I had read it from cover to cover and some articles three or four times. I hope that the journal is still in existence so I can become a subscriber.

Joe J. Potect
El Paso, Texas

MORMON WORLD VIEW AND AMERICAN CULTURE.

BY JOHN
SORENSEN

Neither the scholars nor the Mormons themselves have been able to come to agreement about the relationship between the life of the LDS people in this country and American lifeways. The views of outside observers range all the way from supposing that Mormonism “has rightly been called an America in miniature”¹ to the idea that the Mormons bear a distinct culture of the same order as Navaho or Zuñi Indians.² At the same time Mormon views of their own life cover a similar

spectrum, from super-patriotism to a substantial sense of autonomy from American life. These days, when an increasing number of Latter-day Saints are self-consciously re-examining the question of what it means to be Mormon and an increasing number of scholars are examining the Mormons as subjects, a critical review of the relation of the life of the Saints to other patterns for living seems desirable.

"Mormon culture" is an expression used frequently enough that one would suppose it to have an explicit denotative meaning. Instead a look at usage suggests that whatever concept lies behind the term is vague at best.

Thomas F. O'Dea considered that "the Mormon way of life" evolved within "a native and indigenously developed ethnic minority," while he emphasized that the Mormons really represent "America in miniature."³ Evon Z. Vogt, whose views developed through participating in the same project as O'Dea (the Harvard Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures), termed Mormonism a "subcultural continuum" in American society, comparable in distinctiveness to the Texans.⁴ Later, however, he followed Clyde Kluckhohn's usage in considering the Mormons as one of five "distinct cultures" in the Southwest which the Harvard project examined.⁵ In fact Kluckhohn's systematic formulation of the value of these cultures showed that the Mormons shared only a small number of "value-orientations" with white American (Texan) immigrants to the project area while a much larger number were shared with the Zuñi Indians.⁶ Mark P. Leone refers to Mormon culture in eastern Arizona in the title of his recent article in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*,⁷ but he does not exploit the concept beyond speaking of "the goal of removing or freeing a population from mainline American culture." (In unpublished writings, however, Leone treats the Mormons of the Little Colorado as possessing substantial cultural distinctness.)

In a lecture at BYU in 1959, I examined Mormon society in terms of the framework of "functional prerequisites" of society developed by Marion J. Levy and other sociologists.⁸ My conclusion was that despite early Mormonism's approach to that independence in form and style which the terms "society" and "culture" convey, it never crossed the threshold to autonomy implied by the usual sense of the term "culture." My later work on the effects of industrialization and urbanization in two Utah communities made clear that all the essentials of social change manifested in the modernization process elsewhere had occurred here too, colored, to be sure, by unique values and history.⁹ Research by Armand Mauss, J. Kenneth Davies, and Wilford Smith,¹⁰ among others, supports this view. More recently, however, I have held that in "perceptual" terms the Mormons constitute a unique group which can be termed a culture in one specific sense.¹¹ I have also discussed the notable degree of lexical distinctness which has come to characterize the Saints.¹²

The literature of the social sciences seems to suggest that when Mormons are viewed in terms of their overt behavior, as the sociologists (e.g. O'Dea, Mauss, Nelson¹³) tend to view them, they appear quite thoroughly American. Anthropologists on the other hand (e.g., Vogt, Kluckhohn, Leone, Sorenson), who look more at symbols than behavior, see a much greater difference prevailing.

Observers of Mormon artistic and humanistic life have often felt that a distinctive Mormon essence does exist, or at least ought to. *Dialogue's* statement of its aim has from the first referred to "Mormon culture" and the "cultural

heritage" of the journal's contributors and staff, although these terms seem to have been used in the narrower sense of the word culture (meaning "the best expressions which a people have produced") rather than in the sense familiar to social scientists.¹⁴ Lorin Wheelwright and Lael Woodbury have focused explicitly on "Mormon artistic culture" throughout most of their volume on *Mormon Arts*,¹⁵ yet at one point (p. 68), they imply a wider meaning of cultural difference as they discuss the worldwide nature of the Church. Dale T. Fletcher has argued for a distinctive artistic expression of Mormonism using visual symbols.¹⁶ Others, however, have challenged the idea that an aesthetic expression unique to the Mormons (as against, say, a Utah or American style or tradition) can be delineated at this time.¹⁷

Historians treating the Mormons have dealt overwhelmingly with the 19th century. In dealing with that period the concept of culture has proved neither popular nor especially useful. While these scholars have on occasion used the concept in reference to the Mormons in recent generations, almost always they use the term without clear explication of its intended meaning. Leonard Arrington occasionally speaks of Mormon culture,¹⁸ but only in a generic sense. Marvin Hill and James B. Allen do not exploit the concept significantly despite the title of their recently edited volume, *Mormonisms and American Culture*.¹⁹ Elsewhere, Allen seems to feel more comfortable with the idea of "Mormon community."²⁰ Klaus Hansen's treatment of "Mormonism and American Culture"²¹ displays vividly the problems encountered in trying to use the idea of Mormon culture without systematic explanation of its intended meaning. What he labels the culture certainly revolves around "theological" matters as well as "doctrines and practices," for on the basis of supposed changes in these areas, he asserts that "Mormonism has undergone a major cultural transformation." In the same piece he refers to "Mormon metaphysical assumptions," the "ideological force" behind the Church, "social and political arrangements," Joseph Smith's "ideology of power," "intellectual" and "anti-intellectual" characteristics of the Mormons, and of a "blueprint for a social, economic, and moral reorganization of society." Moreover, he draws attention to a picture of the putative social psychology, personality characteristics, class structure (the Mormons were "radical social and political dissenters" led by a "hard-core cadre" of "revolutionary elite"), internal power structure, status system, and even ethos. Hardly a concept in the historian's and behavioral scientist's armamentarium is omitted, all somehow part of or related to "Mormon culture." Yet we never learn what that elusive thing is. When we reach the concluding query ("Is it possible that as a distinct cultural entity, Mormonism has more or less ceased to exist?") the vagueness of "cultural" and "Mormonism" has robbed the question of meaning.

The view that Mormons are mainly a special sort of American has been accepted by a substantial number of Latter-day Saints, especially in the decade just past. A vociferous LDS minority under the influence of the dying Cold War came to identify American nationalism and anti-communism with defense of the faith, while monolithic communism and "unamerican" activities were seen as "satanic." In the last year or so this viewpoint has lost some of its popularity.

In the nineteenth century most Mormons took a far different view of American society. Out of basic doctrinal elements, the persecutions of the Church in Missouri and Illinois, and confrontation with the U.S. government and the

respectable society which that government represented, the Latter-day Saints sought, for some decades, substantial sociocultural, and even political, autonomy. Several statements by Brigham Young underline this position.

We do not intend to have any trade or commerce with the Gentile world. For as long as we buy from them we are in a degree dependent on them. The Kingdom of God cannot rise independent of the Gentile nations until we produce, manufacture and make every article of use, convenience or necessity among our own people. We shall have elders abroad among all nations and until we can obtain and collect the raw materials for our manufactures, it will be their business to gather in such things as may be needed.

I am determined to cut every thread of this kind and live free and independent, untrammelled by any of their detestable customs and practices.

If it is time for the thread, in a national capacity, to be severed, let it be severed. Amen to it.

And a few days later:

The thread is cut that has hitherto connected us, and now we have to act for ourselves and build up the kingdom of God on the earth, which we will do by the help of the Lord; for he has decreed that his kingdom shall take ascendancy over all other kingdoms under heaven.²²

This attempt at cultural autonomy, particularly in its politically significant aspects, was a challenge which American society through its state organization would not countenance. The dispatch of Johnston's army to Utah Territory in 1857 was viewed from Washington as a response to rebellion. The Republican party in 1856 had linked polygamy with slavery as manifestations of "barbarism" which had to be destroyed. The key issue involved was usually phrased as that of sovereignty, both in the case of the South with slavery and of polygamy among the Mormons. An observer in 1885 claimed:

It is the general sentiment that religion has nothing to do with the Utah question—that it is simply a matter of law and government. There is no hostility against the common people who call themselves Mormons. The hostility is against their illegal system of government. (Larson, p. 243)

But more pervasive issues were actually involved. The prevailing degree of Mormon uniqueness was seen as intolerable within the American system. Marriage relations, economic exclusiveness, social and economic cooperation, and judicial procedures and principles all challenged American norms. Justice T. J. Anderson, in an 1889 case, was more to the point:

The teaching, practices and aims of the Mormon church are antagonistic to the Government of the United States [and] utterly subversive of good morals and [the] well being of society. (Larson, p. 250)

The resolution required both political and cultural surrender by the Mormons. And that is, of course, what happened. "Absentee, individualistic, non-secular capitalism began to envelop the Mormon economy," and then with the Manifesto and the formal abandonment of polygamy went "the apparent promise of Mormon leaders, in return for statehood, to be 'loyal' to American institutions generally."²³

A seminal study by Yehudi Cohen provides us with a broad anthropological perspective on the failed attempt of the nineteenth century Latter-day Saints to attain cultural autonomy. He examines the full range of historically-known societies to demonstrate that what he terms "incorporative states," such as the United

States, move from "inchoate" to "successful" status by the progressive extension of their coercive power over all issues they consider significant. This "vertical" entrenchment of authority is particularly challenged by lineage and locality groups and religious bodies which claim the right to establish norms. At a certain point in the process of a state's establishing its authority, control of deviant sexual norms—adultery, incest, celibacy, premarital sex—tends to be relentlessly pressed by the state. Once the principle of state dominance in this behavioral area is firmly established, the government "can afford to give up many of its strictest controls" on sexual norms, as seems to be happening nowadays.²⁴ Following Cohen, we may interpret the USA vs. Mormon conflict in the latter part of the nineteenth century as a typical manifestation of the inherent power conflict between an incorporative state and a localized corporate group over the degree of autonomy to be permitted the latter in setting behavioral norms.

After the basic surrender to American ways was made, the Great Basin Saints moved rapidly into full participation in American life. The patriotism they displayed in World War I was emblematic of the degree of their acculturation. *Laissez faire* capitalism ran rampant in Utah, and some of the businessman's viewpoints were increasingly heard in Church circles. The symbolic culmination of this flight into American ways may have come in 1932 when, over the expressed opposition of the Church's leaders, the people's role made Utah the decisive 32nd state to vote for repeal of prohibition. The great depression too was fully shared; the Utah economy suffered as severely as almost any other section of the country.²⁵ Ultimately, the Saints have become difficult to distinguish from the Gentiles with whom they live, and Salt Lake City looks, smells, sounds, and is very much like any other urban American city.

The picture just drawn seems to agree with sociological observers that Mormons in the Utah heartland have become essentially similar to Americans at large, yet this cannot be so in fact. Mormons are now spread throughout much of the world, and in rather exotic milieus the growth in Church membership greatly exceeds the rate in the U.S. Can it be merely "America in miniature" which attracts tens of thousands of Guatemalans, Colombians, Brazilians, Italians, Samoans, Koreans and Filipinos to adopt the Mormon faith each year? Moreover local cultural variants of Mormonism are found in many nations which differ in substantial detail from the Utah version.

At an official level of explanation there is no question that the prime factors which unite Mormons across national boundaries are qualitatively different from the observable cultural differences which separate the diverse congregations. The whole record of the Book of Mormon, the scriptural foundation of the Church, may be read as a commentary on the irrelevance of any one culture to successful gospel living, for the historical accounts therein of the Nephites and Lamanites as well as the prophecies about the Gentiles and descendants of Lehi combine to teach that the gospel is one thing while the cultural forms within which it has its human expression are quite another. Furthermore, Mormon identification with historical Israel also points to the primacy of "essential spiritual teachings"²⁶ over patterns of custom as providing the central element unifying ancient believers and contemporary Latter-day Saints.

Perhaps the clearest statement to this point by a Church leader in modern times is a talk given by Elder Bruce R. McConkie (then of the First Council of

Seventy, subsequently made an Apostle) to Korean students and friends in Provo, Utah, on March 5, 1971. In part he said:

. . . We're coming into a period of time where for the first time in the history of the Church . . . we're beginning to get the strength to . . . take the gospel to all the people . . .

It is in our day that we're beginning in Asia, and it is in Asia where the people are. We haven't realized this in the Church for the obvious reason that our ancestry derives from Western and Northern Europe. We have been a European-centered culture as it were. And predominantly, the influence of the Church has been expended in that field.

Now I'm not intending to indicate that there'll ever be a day when there will be a total swing away from the culture that we have and the influence that has so far been spread. But I do . . . indicate that there is going to be a major shift in emphasis as other nations come in and make their influence felt in the gospel. . . .

[There are] three distinguishing characteristics of Koreans . . . [which] ought to be distinguishing characteristics of Latter-day Saints everywhere—which to my mind means that Koreans, through their customs, traditions, background, social and cultural, and otherwise, have been preparing for Church membership. These are the characteristics: (1) hospitality; (2) family-centeredness; great love for children; (3) love for learning and education. Those are the characteristics which we ought to possess, aren't they? They have a different background than we have, of course they have, which is of no moment to the Lord. We've got a different social and cultural background than the Jews have or than Abraham or Moses . . . The cultural background that you've had is of no moment. What counts is whether you get the gospel of Jesus Christ and live its laws. We're not trying to change the cultural background of anybody. . . .

Our customs are good for us and we've been trained in them. It is no different to have different social customs than it is to have different languages. You speak the language that you inherit. . . . On this basis, we are only trying to take truth to people over there, truth in addition to what they have.²⁷

We need to explicate at this point some concepts prerequisite to clarifying the meaning of "Mormon culture." Traditionally Mormons have held that Joseph Smith "restored the gospel," not a culture. That is what he himself claimed. The gospel, Mormons claim, is a body of knowledge essential to man's ultimate well-being. That knowledge has existed among different peoples in the past, each of which has expressed it in somewhat differing forms. Thus Nephi (2 Nephi 25:1-7) spoke of the "manner," "works," and "doings" of the Jews and of the need for a reader to be taught "after the manner of the things of the Jews" in order to understand the cultural expression of that gospel knowledge in their possession. Christ distinguished between the "new wine" of principles which could not be held by "old vessels" of existing Jewish customs and institutions. That institutions and customs are inescapable facts of human life is granted in the Scriptures, but the distinction between them and gospel principles is maintained consistently.

This basic distinction is repeatedly confused among Mormons themselves. "Mormonism," "the Church," "the order of the Church," "the gospel" and other terms, including "Mormon culture," are frequently used without any systematic attempt to delineate the distinctions which clear discourse demands be made among them. Historians and other scholars are not the only offenders. Missionaries, for example, frequently fail to appreciate, let alone explain, how the principle of faith in Jesus Christ differs in significance from the practice of abstaining from the use of alcoholic drinks or of attending conference. In fact most Latter-day Saints continue in the same quandary which Peter faced in his

dispute with Paul over circumcision: what are the key elements of knowledge, and which are the modifiable practices which do not necessarily compromise the true basics? Elder McConkie was emphasizing the importance of recognizing this type of distinction.

Sociocultural patterns, while distinct from universal principles, are influential upon the recognition or expression of those principles. Nor are all types of customary social and cultural patterns equally influential. Some important differences among types of these patterns are easily grasped in terms of a recently-developed classification based on a theory of "emergent evolution."²⁸

This scheme identifies ten "emergent levels" or "emergent systems" which not only provide a means for sorting all data about human activity but also relate those activities according to systematic principles. The ten levels form a hierarchy, from "higher" to "lower":

10. Ideology (explanations of why things are as they are)
9. Values (judgments of what is desirable)
8. Knowledge (description of how things are)
7. Communicative symbols (language, in the broadest sense)
6. Social organization (interaction patterns)
5. Population distribution (population in its spatial aspect)
4. Demography (population in its temporal distribution)
3. Technology (external means for energy processing)
2. Human biology (somatic features and processes)
1. Natural environment (the residual environment)

The highest levels consist of concepts for the most part. The lowest levels are mainly "physical." Among other significant relationships which tie these levels together is the principle that higher level phenomena change more rapidly than do those on lower levels. Furthermore changes taking place on the lower levels are more likely to be irrevocable and to entail long-range effects. Also, lower-level features tend to set limits to the variations possible at levels above.

It appears that the essence of "Mormonism" or of "Mormon culture" is at the higher levels—in the conceptual, not the social or physical realms. This is certainly what Mormon missionaries teach: God is the Father of Christ and Man, Jesus is the Redeemer of men, there is a Plan to glorify men, Joseph Smith revealed that plan in the restoration, etc. Knowledge of the essential ideology, values and knowledge is all that is required of proselytes. They learn the crucial communicative symbols and social organization soon enough, usually after baptism.

To be sure, there are settlement, demographic, technological, and biological features characteristic of Mormon life, but they are derived and secondary. The ending of the "gathering" and the establishment of stakes in many parts of the world has had interesting demographic and social organizational consequences, but the effects of such changes—even many such changes—have not particularly changed the ideology. Not that the ideology is wholly fixed, of course, and individual variation in ideology and values frequently occurs.

The core of Mormonism in its most basic expression is clearly found in the upper levels of the scheme of emergents. Elaborated, it might be called "theology" or "doctrine." Or it might be termed "world view." If there has indeed been a "major cultural transformation" (as Hansen asserts), we would expect to find

this Mormon world view now substantially different from what it was in Joseph Smith's time. The evidence for such a drastic change has not been brought forward yet, so far as I am aware. Instead there exists a strong continuity with the past.²⁹

Technology, demography, settlement arrangements and social organization (all on the lower levels of the scheme) have indeed changed markedly, even shockingly, in the United States and among the Mormon majority. In the long run these features of a people's life do affect concepts, but a cultural core often remains constant over a substantial period.

Leone's seminal studies have revealed the high degree of adaptability of contemporary Mormonism.³⁰ He finds that the faith's ability to produce "modern men" in the face of "rapid flux" in the economic and social setting is keyed to intense participation plus low role definition. To permit this the Church has "evolved a do-it-yourself ideology which permits maximum behavioral flexibility." *No longer is doctrine spelled out in detail from headquarters.* Instead "now the church prepares an individual for economic adaptability and ideological independence within American culture." If Leone is correct, the upper-level, conceptual features of Mormon life are being left to float free, so to speak, allowing individuals to make their own adaptations to the lower-level demands of American (or Korean, Italian, Samoan, etc.) culture. Certainly the concern with doctrinal specification in the Church is at an all-time low. Required beliefs are reduced to the essential minimum, in part in recognition on the part of the authorities in Salt Lake City of the need for cross-cultural adaptation of the gospel message. Compared with an earlier day, it is remarkable that doctrinal expositions are few and broad. For this reason in the long run the Church faces the possibility of serious doctrinal divergences within its ranks, particularly in some of the newer lands where a local tradition for Church members has not yet crystallized.

In the special circumstance of settlement in the Great Basin, life among the Mormons took the form of a set of unique institutional forms: the village, cooperative economic ventures, irrigation practices, frontier norms for interpersonal and esthetic life, etc. Substantial uniformity prevailed, or at least so it appeared from the perspective of Church headquarters. Whether alternative forms arose among Latter-day Saints in such places as the Society Islands and Sweden is not really reported. Probably the stream of missionaries to those far places from the Great Basin resulted in molding the mission-field institutions quite closely to the models of the heartland. In a place like New Zealand, Mormons function within their own mini-tradition, featuring their own folklore, special lexicon (including Maori terms), heroes, sacred sites, and so on. These mini-traditions are, however, fully coordinate with main Mormon tradition, again because of central administration and the constant flow of missionaries from the western United States into those locales bearing their own folk version of Mormon cultural practices and beliefs.

Is there a Mormon culture, then? There is indeed a world-wide culture if we mean by that a world view characterized by a reasonably standardized explanation of the meaning of life and the universe, shared values, and a set of "facts." More variation exists in communicative symbols, although even here, as Gordon Thomasson has urged, a substantial degree of uniformity prevails.³¹

Is Mormon culture American? In America the ideology, values, and knowledge

central to the Utah-centered LDS way of life take on the cultural flavor of the time and place. We could not expect the emphasis on individual conversion, mobility, and "testimony" to be quite so strong anywhere else than in the USA, I suppose. Yet these are matters of emphasis, largely. Leone's work has shown how the basic repertoire of Mormon "values [are] combined and recombined in the face of the range of day-to-day problems" without resulting in essential shifts.³² At least at this time there is no significant evidence that the values and doctrine of Tongan Saints, for example, differ markedly from those of American Mormons in their roles as Latter-day Saints. Research on this topic would, of course, be welcome.

How can it be, then, that observers can hold that Mormon life has changed fundamentally over the years? Are Hansen and O'Dea without foundation for their assertions that major changes have occurred? I hold that it is precisely those observers who pay least attention to ideology and other conceptual materials who reach this conclusion. I believe that these are the same types of observers who would hold that various American Indian peoples have been acculturated beyond recognition. Increasingly, however, there is evidence that it is in their conceptual worlds—in their world views—that ethnic and other minority groups retain their basic distinctiveness.

Clyde Kluckhohn's characterization of the values of five Southwestern cultures has already been mentioned. Despite some problems with his methodology, this scheme demonstrates how much world views differ among apparently similar-behaving people, and also how alike may be the conceptual maps of peoples overtly dissimilar. The following table demonstrates the point, using data from Kluckhohn.³³

Value Emphases in Three Cultures

Issue	Mormons	White Americans (Texans)	Zuñi
The universe is:	determinate (orderly) unitary good	indeterminate (capricious) pluralistic evil	determinate unitary good
Man-to-man relations emphasize:	group other dependence active stance discipline physical tense	individual self autonomy active stance fulfillment physical relaxed	group self dependence active stance discipline mental relaxed
Time relations emphasize:	then	then	now

The apparently similar Mormons and immigrants from Texas studied by the Harvard project actually proved to be notably different in their conceptual or perceptual worlds. A parallel situation has been described by William Caudill and George De Vos. They studied Japanese Americans who came to Chicago dur-

ing World War II where they fitted into the occupational scene and middle class society with remarkable speed and facility. Employers praised the values they exhibited on the job, such as efficiency and speed, hard work, honesty, punctuality, good grooming, and so on. Landlords and neighbors made equally positive evaluations. The researchers' analysis showed, however, that the apparent overlap between the minority's values and general middle-class American values was deceptive. "Peers, teachers, employers, and fellow workers of the Nisei [Japanese-Americans] have projected their own values onto the neat, well-dressed, and efficient Nisei in whom they saw mirrored many of their own ideals." Further, "certain compatibilities in the value systems of the immigrant and host cultures operated strongly enough to override the more obvious difficulties."³⁴

Mormon values have often been evaluated by middle-class Americans as positively as those of the Japanese Americans. In the Mormon case too, however, this approbation rests on incomplete knowledge of the real structure of Mormon values, for certain elements in that structure do not fit at all comfortably with general American values. At a slightly different level Mormon religious language is simply not the same as non-Mormon religious language even though many words (e.g., "eternal" and "salvation") appear to overlap with those used outside the Mormon group.³⁵

I have argued thus far that the distinctiveness of the Mormons is ultimately based upon their unique world view. Secondly their social and physical circumstances distinguish them. Specific local settings in various parts of the world provide variations for the expression of that world view—primarily variations in emphases in beliefs, values and knowledge. The best known cultural expression of Mormon world view was formed in the Great Basin in western North America in the last half of the nineteenth century. Normal processes of sociocultural change have affected that particular cultural configuration in noticeable ways. Superficially there may appear to be major cultural differences between the early Mormon form and that prevailing in western America today, yet the world view itself is basically unchanged. The same world view has been, and is now being spread into diverse cultural settings around the world without major change. In those exotic places localized cultural forms have arisen as vehicles for the world view. While these variants undoubtedly constrain the expression of Mormon fundamentals in certain ways, they appear to be of secondary significance to the remarkable uniformity in ideology, values, knowledge systems, and communicative symbols which the administrative apparatus of the Church is able to maintain.

How the Reorganized Latter-day Saint people are to be accommodated in this view of culture is not clear. They and other groups which share the Mormon tradition, on a historical basis at least, belong to the same cultural family, yet I am impressed that the differences in world view which now characterize the smaller groups are substantial enough that it would be misleading to count them as part of a single cultural whole today.

It may well be that cultural splintering will continue, just as it has to some extent since Joseph Smith's day. Not only might we anticipate that some Latter-day Saints in the United States may break off (compare schisms occurring, nominally at least, over the issue of plural wives and leadership powers within the last generation), but nationalism abroad most likely will lead to break-offs there too.

Studies of the Nigerian "Latter-day Saints" as well as the Mexican schism of the 1930's (subsequently mended) would be enlightening about this process and prospects for its further occurrence. While the administrative structure of the Church succeeds in constraining most extreme change in mission areas, there remains sufficient variety in Mormon thought and behavior to suggest the possibility of further splits. (There are evidences that the Church authorities in Salt Lake City are sensitive to this possibility, particularly with regard to American Indian or "Lamanite" members.)

Regardless of the observations above about the degree to which Mormons are different from non-Mormon Americans, nothing said should be taken to imply that the Latter-day Saints today are not heavily influenced by U.S. patterns of thought and behavior. Elder McConkie's talk quoted earlier implies his recognition of this important fact. Furthermore the Mormons in general seem unaware of the distinctions which do prevail between Mormon and American ways. Missionaries and mission presidents, as scores of anecdotes illustrate, are frequently Americanizers abroad as much as preachers of the gospel. On the popular Mormon level awareness of the place of cultural difference in the Church is little advanced over what Robert N. Rapoport reported twenty years ago for "Rimrock" in New Mexico.³⁶ There the LDS members appeared to have failed quite completely to appreciate the point of view of the Navahos whom they were trying to convert. Conversion was seen by the members as largely a theological or spiritual phenomenon not directly connected to the structural factors or cultural concepts which were of great importance to the Indians.

Times are changing in this regard. Occasionally, Church leaders emphasize the need for awareness of the role of cultural difference in transmitting the gospel and implementing Church programs. "Transculturizing" is both formally and informally emphasized at Church headquarters today with the intent to avoid some of the disastrous cultural *faux pas* of the past while taking advantage of cultural emphases to facilitate the work among different peoples. There is as yet little evidence, however, that the membership of the Church has been much affected by these impulses.

The whole concept of the gospel world view being embedded in local, largely arbitrary, cultural forms bears implications which could have profound impact. Broadly speaking, Mormons in the United States consider culture as something that foreigners have, while what they have here in "Zion" are simply gospel truths. When the time comes that Mormons in the central homeland come to the realization that they too are constrained by cultural ways which have nothing directly to do with the gospel they espouse, the result could be a kind of Copernican revolution with attendant new insights into the Church and the Scriptures and the meaning of life.

The budding self-consciousness about Mormon culture, of which this article is symptomatic, leads not only to the question of the influence of the gospel on culture but also of the reverse. Even more fundamentally it arouses curiosity about the meaning of culture in terms of the gospel. One statement in the Doctrine and Covenants (93:38-40) suggests an interpretation of culture:

Every spirit of man was innocent in the beginning; and God having redeemed man from the fall, men became again, in their infant state, innocent before God. And that wicked one cometh and taketh away light and truth, through disobedience, from the children of

men, and because of the tradition of their fathers. But I have commanded you to bring up your children in light and truth.

If "the tradition of their fathers" is read as "culture," the phenomenon is seen as a negative force on men, reminiscent of Freud's characterization of culture ("civilization") as a burden imposed on the proper condition of man.³⁷ Joseph Smith and Brigham Young saw "tradition" in a similar light.

We frequently see some of them [the Saints], after suffering all they have for the work of God, will fly to pieces like glass as soon as anything comes that is contrary to their tradition.³⁸

There is nothing, no law of God nor of men, that makes men conform to certain actions and beliefs, at certain times, as tradition.³⁹

In the light of the above quotation from the Doctrine and Covenants, the concept of a "celestial culture" articulated by Arturo and Genevieve De Hoyos, may be called into question.⁴⁰ If to live by truth ("things as they are") is the ultimate gospel goal, the only "culture" ultimately ought to be "light and truth" rather than any "tradition" at all. In any case we might well operate on the assumption that even "Mormon culture" is but a temporary expedient, inescapable given our present limitations, but in no sense approaching an ultimate.

NOTES

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⁵See footnote 2.

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¹⁴See the editorial introduction to James L. Haseltine's article in *Dialogue*, 1 (Summer 1966), 17, as well as Stanley B. Kimball's usage on pp. 14-15 of the same issue.

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BY MARK LEONE

WHY THE COALVILLE TABERNACLE HAD TO BE BAZED.

Mormonism has been subject to rapid renovation since its founding. The Prophet Joseph made it quite clear that God's revelations were continual and that if things were withheld for the moment, it was because His Saints were not yet ready to receive them. The Prophet built a greater degree of change into the system than most of his faithful understood. He established a system that was far more dynamic than many of his spiritual descendants recognize. Mormonism is so successful today, not because it remains the religion nineteenth century farmers knew, but because it has easily undergone very crucial changes. There is some understanding among Church leaders that such change is fundamentally good. They of course sense that it must be centrally controlled to avoid disruption. There appears to be, however, another sense in which the rate of change within Mormonism must be disguised, and one of the most useful ways to disguise change is to localize the writing of history—have everybody in the community do it and

center it on kinship. This produces genealogical history and at the same time eliminates the need for professional historians. Taken together these two factors facilitate rapid reinterpretation and rewriting of history.

Another pattern in the Church indicates this tendency toward reinterpreting history—that is the inclination to destroy visible remains of the past by tearing down nearly all of the Church's nineteenth and early twentieth century buildings in Utah. Those left standing are renovated (not restored) beyond recognition of their original craftsmanship and style.

Apparent Principles of Church Planning

The following generalizations are drawn from observing modern Church architectural practices. They are offered here as suggested and tentative explanations for some observed, patterned behavior among Mormons.

1. Artifacts from the past symbolize attitudes and behavior of the past. Symbols motivate behavior. Therefore, the artifacts (symbols) of the past may conflict with and even impede new and different behavior.
 2. Space affects behavior. Behavioral changes require spatial changes.
- Therefore, in anticipating change, Church architecture requires that buildings:
- a. have no unique qualities which would stand in the way of their easy replacement—they must be disposable;
 - b. have symbols with limited existence.

Over the last several years, the Church has earned notoriety both in Utah and the rest of the country for its willingness to tear down old chapels and stake centers.¹ While some individuals, with the help of historical societies, have tried to preserve the more famous and visually appealing of these structures, with most, like the Coalville Tabernacle, they have been unsuccessful.

The attitude of the Church with regard to its own old buildings merits considerable attention because that attitude is but an index to what could be considered an unusually knowledgeable and even avant-garde approach to architecture and architectural planning. The Coalville Tabernacle is an especially important example here. This moving building was razed with the permission of the Church hierarchy.

The official reasons for the destruction had to do with the changed nature of the activities to be carried on by the modern wards using the building, with concerns of space, flexibility and convenience. The underlying reasons Coalville had to be torn down are very close to the reason some wanted it preserved: it was too completely the symbol of those who built it.

Nineteenth Century Buildings

Mormons turned nineteenth century necessity in architecture into an activity of deep religious significance. Many of the immigrant converts were skilled carpenters, masons, and builders. Most became farmers and belonged to communities that were not rich, but whose economies were underwritten against failure by the Church. These communities were responsible for constructing their own church buildings and were allowed to use tithing for part of the costs. But basically they built and paid for their churches, schools, tithing houses, factories and other community buildings by themselves. By and large they did a careful, appealing, and substantial job.

The bond between the people and the building was complete. They worshipped

in what they built. The same may be said of their fields, dams, homes; in fact it is quite clear when looking at the small and unadorned ward chapels in the Great Basin that the whole of redeemed Zion was where one worshipped.

The stake centers, often called tabernacles in the earlier days, were another matter entirely. They were large since they had to accommodate many hundreds of people for quarterly conferences. Often the tabernacles were designed by professional architects and could be imposing. It was still the labor of the farmer-craftsmen who executed the design and since they were attempting to give concrete expression to Mormonism in their particular area, the tabernacles were powerful statements—witnesses to what the people who built and used them stood for. Even more to the point is that the people who worshipped in them understood that the building stood for them.

In Coalville, forty miles northeast of Salt Lake City, the tabernacle was built between 1879 and 1899 at great cost and personal sacrifice. For the immigrant converts, it was the symbol of what they had become and of what they, under the ministrations of their Church, had achieved. If the building can be judged on its unique qualities, the people of Coalville had achieved a great deal. This building of simplified Victorian Gothic design dominated the town which was in turn dominated by surrounding mountains. In anybody's terms it was an aesthetic marvel regarded as one of the finest nineteenth century Mormon buildings.² But more than that, it was probably one of the best American buildings built in the West in the nineteenth century. It was an extraordinary example of taste, proportion, and spatial harmony. It was great. And it got torn down without much trouble. Certainly the bulk of the Mormon population did not give its going a thought, even if they managed to know about it at all.

The Coalville Tabernacle had achieved such a high degree of symbolic success for its nineteenth century builders it could not appropriately represent its twentieth century users. Not only did it misrepresent them, it reminded them every day of all that they were not, and all they had stopped being. Aesthetically and functionally it stood for a form of Mormon religion and society which was gone and which should be forgotten if the present is to be adjusted to adequately. If the past sits around speaking eloquently of what it was, especially if it is the past of your immediate ancestors, the differences between you and it can be discomfiting.

We must ask if there is something in a coherent, cogent witness from the nineteenth century that may damagingly or unflatteringly contradict something Mormons are currently doing or believing. With these buildings, too much of the past is too close and well-represented to be lived with easily in a society that is busy perfecting the means for rapid rewriting of the past. What the buildings were and represented can be more readily dealt with in memories, journals and photographs.

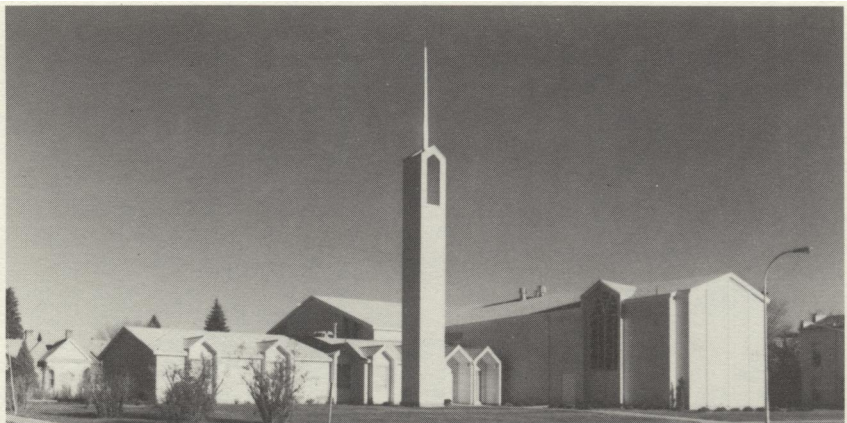
Influence of Architecture on Attitudes Within

Mormon architecture comes out of the tradition of eighteenth century utopian planning. In America there were dozens of utopian groups, Mormons being one of the most successful. Utopian planning considered the physical environment as an element that could and even had to be manipulated to bring about some utopian aims. Utopianists as a whole believed not just in environmental determinism, but in its peculiar offshoot, architectural determinism. The buildings that people



The Coalville Tabernacle

The new Coalville Stake Center



lived in were to be built according to principles that would reinforce basic utopian principles.³

Illustrative of his interest in the manipulative power of architecture is the direction the Prophet Joseph gave to the construction of the temples at Kirtland, Ohio, and Nauvoo, Illinois. He seems to have employed a number of special features that were also used in later Utah structures, but he does not seem to have elaborated a philosophy of architecture with the same comprehensiveness as his Plat of the City of Zion did for town planning. The temple at Kirtland has a set of raised pulpits at both ends with seats between having backs that could be swung either way depending on which set of pulpits was in use. The main floor could be divided in half with a sliding partition creating two rooms which could be used for smaller, simultaneous meetings. This built-in flexibility was not to reappear in Mormon architecture until later in the twentieth century.

By studying the internal arrangement of a building we can infer some of the principles of social and religious organization that produced the building. We see that nineteenth century chapels and stake houses and tabernacles were not social centers. They consisted of a large room with a sea of pews arranged before a raised platform with tiers of seats.

The tabernacles were high, formal and designed for preaching by a few to the many. The arrangement did not include plans for a congregation that might be mobile during the service, or which might break up into smaller groups of various sizes after the large meeting—or at any other time. Congregations were arranged in a specific way to perform well-understood rites. Meetings other than worship services were held in other buildings in the town, which, by virtue of the pervasive religious life style, were an extension of the chapel.

As a result of their design, the nineteenth century tabernacles generate attitudes of hierarchy, distance, passivity and separateness. Early Mormonism needed a powerful hierarch, social classes, and an obedient population to survive the rigors of settling a wilderness. Modern Mormonism does not need, nor does it foster any of these attitudes. Therefore the buildings which express and reinforce them are less than useful—they can be a definite detriment.

It is difficult to modify old buildings, and regardless of how well they are modified, they still evoke some of the effects the original builders put into them. Tabernacles are not meant for the participatory religion Mormonism has become. Echoing acoustics, shouting voices to counter them, vaulted ceilings, ornate decoration, distances between speakers and those spoken to all counteract the informality, freedom and closeness of a contemporary sacrament service.

The nineteenth century ward chapel, small, simple and informal, would be architecturally adequate for a modern worship service. However, it could not accommodate all the other meetings Mormons now hold in the complex of rooms within a modern meetinghouse. Adding on to an old chapel produces a disjointed arrangement that does not enable a Mormon to see so easily the unity of all the activities carried on within it—that religion is in everything and everything is religion.

Pioneer tabernacles are too big and cannot be easily subdivided. Pioneer chapels are too small and cannot conveniently be made larger. So the nineteenth century structures are functionally obsolete and, more than that, they are statements pointing out changes that work better unnoticed. Since Mormonism does not

maintain museums to its former stages, the old buildings are useless and even detrimental.

Contemporary Mormon Architecture

Today all Church building programs are centralized. The financing is directed by Salt Lake; the plans, construction, even the size of the lot to be purchased are specified by Church headquarters. Depending on the size and financial condition of a local ward, the Church will pay anywhere from 50% to 90% of the cost of the local building. Rarely does a ward pay more than 50% of the cost. This is one way Church members directly benefit from a portion of their tithing. And this is also one of the key ways Church headquarters redistributes wealth within the Church, thereby giving every congregation, no matter how small or poor, a respectable and comfortable place for Church activities.

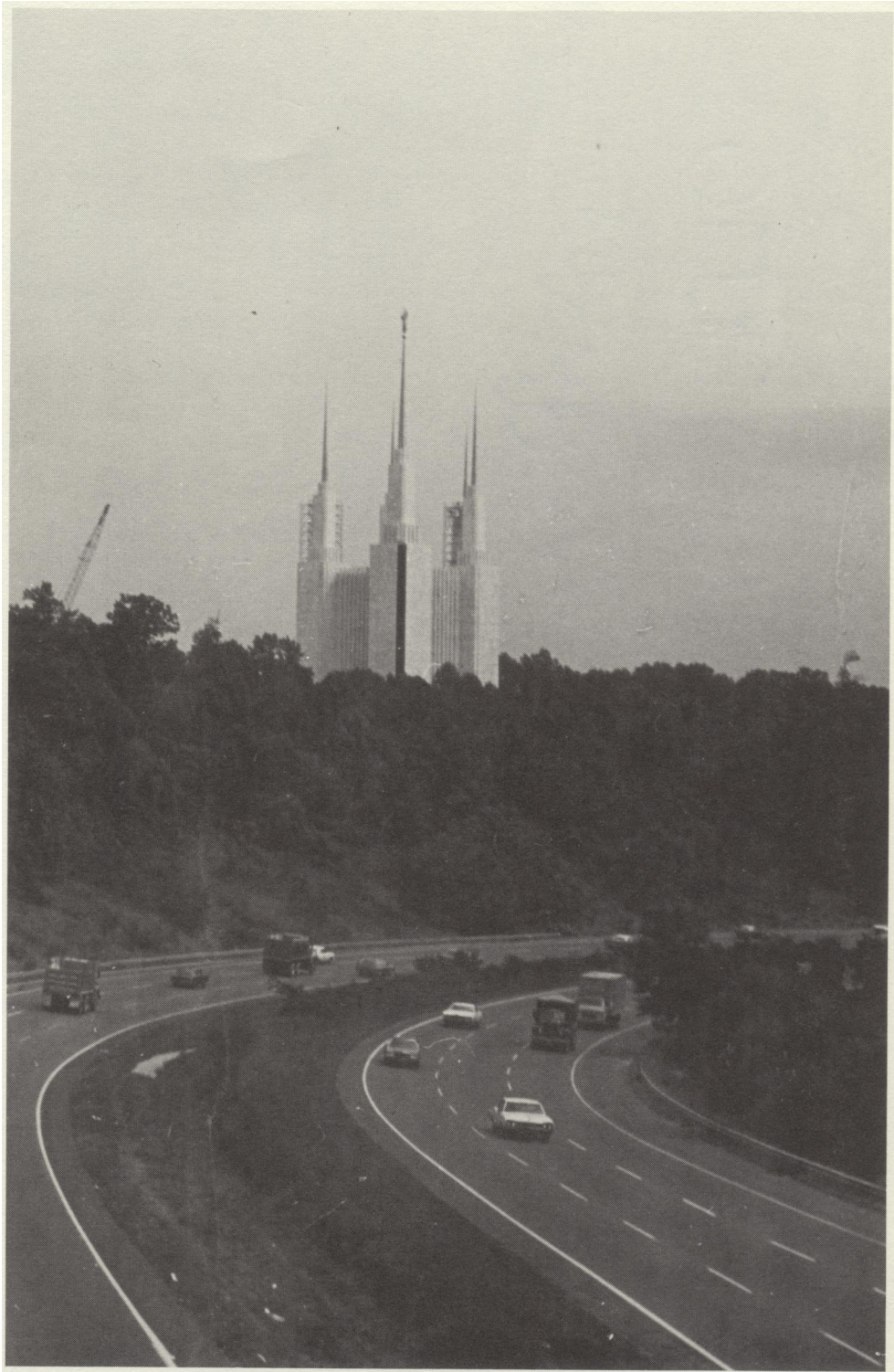
Two or three basic meetinghouse designs have been standardized for use throughout the Church. The designs are supplied by Salt Lake, sometimes with modifications requested by local wards, sometimes not. A local architect may be employed to create an exterior suitable to local conditions, but he provides little more than the veneer for the building.

Today's Mormon meetinghouse contains a small chapel with an adjacent gymnasium separated by movable walls to increase the congregational seating when necessary. There are eight to ten classrooms, one of which is appointed with more care for such additional special uses as small receptions and viewing before funerals. Nearby is a large kitchen equipped with professional capacity appliances. There is a library, a generous entrance hall, bishops' offices, and various supply rooms throughout.

The rooms are in almost continual use, not only on Sundays, but all during the week from early morning seminary classes until the end of evening meetings, rehearsals and classes. The varied activities are accommodated in the flexibly neutral rooms. Everything is movable; student desk chairs, the scaled down pews for the junior chapel, blackboards and, again, some walls, for that indispensable adaptability Joseph Smith so recommended.

As a result of the interchangeability of room functions, the religious nature of the chapel is more easily diffused to all the rooms and lends itself to all the functions conducted within the building. In the older meetinghouses where the activity complex had been added on, the chapel is still isolated and cannot be expanded by opening into a gymnasium. And the old chapel is usually too formal for anything other than worship. The advantage of the adaptable chapel is in the idea that all functions performed under the meetinghouse roof are sacred to some extent. It is hoped that the aura of sanctity will pervade all the rooms of the chapel complex and influence attitudes throughout.

The hope is only partially realized. The spirit of Mormonism certainly does pervade all the many things done in a meetinghouse. But the visitor will notice occasional signs in the foyer and other entrances to the chapel cautioning "Reverence in the Lord's House," and there might be a "Reverence" reminder in view of those on the stand facing the congregation. Such signs indicate that a certain amount of secularizing has gone on in the sacred space as a result of bringing so many activities close to the area where formal worship occurs. Mormon church designers have tried to use building techniques to make activities that are ordinarily secular more sacred. But clearly, while they have been Mormonizing many



The new Washington, D.C. Temple

activities, they have risked secularizing their own worship service and its locale. The signs express a feeling that worship may have become a little too informal, permitting behavior that is a little too ordinary. In spreading out the effect of sacred space it has diluted its effect in modern chapels.

Nor is there much help coming from the interior decoration of the chapel which has more than a movable wall in common with the gymnasium. Actually there has been more effect to dignify the gymnasium by changing its designation from "recreation hall" to "cultural hall." There is much complaining in Mormon circles about the low quality of building design. They are criticized as stripped down boxes with a thin layer of Georgian veneer. Inside there is a lot of blond wood; metal framed, ordinary windows, some with neo-Tiffany colored glass; surprising amounts of ceramic and plastic tiles of the kind commonly seen in locker and rest rooms; and minimal amounts of dull-toned commercial carpeting. Critics feel the buildings are neutral at best, relentlessly banal at worst. Not all meetinghouses to be sure, but most of them.

The buildings are nonetheless important emotionally to ward members. That is managed in a rather interesting way. Formerly a community actually built its chapel. Today, of course, a building contractor is hired. The contractor is, however, given to understand that as much of the building will be built by the congregation as is technologically and legally possible. Even today that may include a great deal. Some money is saved that way, but more importantly, the idea of labor invested by a people in their own building is preserved. This facilitates a level of involvement and personal identity otherwise unlikely in so expressionless a building. They paint, put up ceiling tiles, plaster, hammer and clean up. They landscape, make curtains and so on. Things that require labor, not skill, care, not craftsmanship. Their accomplishment is not demonstrated in carved woodwork, intricately painted ceilings, feathered oak pews, finials, towers or a dozen other ways of hand-crafting structures designed to last forever.

Instead you can find the accomplishments of ward members represented in the lobby display case where trophies for everything from basketball championships to speech awards line the shelves. The positive emotions evoked by the trophies are, it is important to note, not tied to the church building, but to the movable objects that are universally recognized tokens of accomplishment.

Human energy and emotions are tied up in a Mormon building today. No mistaking that. But they are not tied up in ways that are visible, immovable parts of the building. Accomplishment is demonstrated in the transitory, even traveling, trophy—a symbol that ceases to mean anything specific to anyone a decade after it is won.

Deliberate Neutrality

The whole rationale for undistinguished buildings is not clear, but a few factors seem to be clearly related to the pattern. Not only is the Mormon population growing at a tremendous rate, but, like most Americans, Mormons are highly mobile. No longer tied religiously to a Great Basin Zion as the necessary and preferable place to live, they are spread across the world in varying degrees of density. With many conversions and high mobility, the membership of a ward is continually in flux.

Today the group who builds a chapel is never exactly the same group who uses it after it is built. In fact the group is always changing. Yet the building stands

for the people who use it as well as for the people who built it. So the means for personalizing a Mormon building lie in its familiarity of design for the newcomer. This allows for less confusion of identities and easier transference of emotions from one ward chapel to the next. The religion is the same, the activities are the same, the attitudes are the same; why not have the same buildings? Once inside, a Mormon can see in the new building the area where he performed some construction task in the one he left and he can see how the same job was done by some other Mormon.

The uniformity protects the mobile population from jarring discontinuity in symbols and activity. The plain and neutral decor is as undisturbing to live with as it is easy for the lay-builder to execute, and it is equally easy to leave. When a Mormon moves, he can be fairly certain his new ward will present no jolting adjustment. The people will be different, but the organizations and the chapel will be the same. As one Mormon put it, "Coming upon a Mormon meetinghouse in a strange town is like finding your favorite food franchise when you are traveling. Once you've located the church and Colonel Sanders it's as if you never left home."

Deliberate Disposability

The neutrality of design works not only for the emotional calm of a Mormon leaving his ward, but also for the calm of a ward replacing its building. Now, when a ward's needs change, the abandonment of the old meetinghouse cannot represent flagrant disregard for the symbols of the accomplishments for a whole generation of Mormons. Trophies won years ago in some forgotten contest can be moved and the personal labor performed on some inconspicuous part of the old building will be represented in whatever inconspicuous building replaces it. There will be no smashing of imported glass, breaking up of carved woodwork, pulling apart hand hewn beams, or pushing over walls of hand polished bricks. It is all much more neutral, much more replaceable.

To the extent that is practical and feasible, Mormons have produced the disposable building. It can be easily abandoned by the family who moves away or by the entire ward whose requirements have changed. This is a building philosophy only now being suggested by some experimental schools of architecture. Japanese Metabolists⁴ and the British Archigram groups⁵ believe that the best strategy should involve buildings put up to suit an immediate purpose and which can be disposed of with a minimum of effort and expense when that purpose no longer exists. The purpose may last a long time so the building need not be shoddy. But if society changes its preferences, then why should it be stuck with a useless monument to its past?

If this philosophy fits, it must be admitted there is a prominent exception to it. The Church is not thinking about demolishing the major buildings on Temple Square in Salt Lake City. Apparently it has never even been considered. The Square is the center of the city, the center of Mormondom. It is the Church's history in the West. The towers of the temple are iconographically significant to the Church and the pioneer history of the West. The major buildings in the Square—the temple, tabernacle and assembly hall—are classic nineteenth century structures. The temple, although unique in many ways, is clearly Victorian as is the assembly hall. The tabernacle defies classification, but does not come across as modern.

Here then are all these antique buildings laden with history and emotion, reminiscent of a heroic past. If the Church sponsors disposable architecture, what is it doing about these monuments to its own past? Shouldn't they be torn down? Or altered?

The latter is what has been done. During the 1960s the Church renovated Temple Square. The temple was sandblasted to remove all the stains and weathering of the last eighty years. A new promenade was constructed across the short axis of the Square running between the tabernacle, to which the visitor has easy access, and the high cement wall enclosing the temple. At one end of the wide walkway a large visitors' center was built. The promenade can be called a swath of mid-twentieth century laid across the traditional symbols of Mormonism. A piece of Southern California landscaping in downtown Salt Lake.

In the middle of all this is a flagpole—a single tall pole. At its base and set into the wall separating visitors from the temple are four plaques inscribed with quotes from the Bible and Book of Mormon. But there is this flagpole. You look up at it. There is the American flag flying high enough to share the sky with the pinnacles of the temple. With the quintessential symbol of America fluttering before the purest symbol of Mormonism, the identities of the two become fused. Here the Mormons have taken what stood for all that was particular, peculiar, unique—even loudly anti-American at one point in its history—and attempted to turn it into a piece of Americana.

While the Coalville tabernacle was completely eradicated, the Salt Lake temple had only the first eighty years eradicated. The sandblasting removed the masons' chisel marks, including the personal names that many of the stonecutters had lightly chiseled on the surface of the granite blocks. In the process of Americanization, the hand-hewn surface of the temple and the personality of the generation that defied America to build it have been smoothed beyond recognition.

Using history and architecture, Mormons take the data of the past and its monuments and disguise them both. The past is infinitely reinterpreted. The monuments are either demolished or renovated—not restored. For the most part, the concrete symbols of Mormon architecture are neutral and disposable. It is not just that nineteenth century buildings have been replaced by new ones in the twentieth century. It is that anything created now is created with the anticipation that it will soon be changed into something else.

NOTES

¹Wallace Turner, "Mormons Are Distressed By Razing of a 92-Year-Old Tabernacle," *New York Times*, March 14, 1971, 3:58.

Gary D. Forbush, Preservation Director of the Utah State Historical Society, and Hanno Weber of the School of Architecture and Urban Planning, Princeton University, have provided much assistance and advice in the research and writing of this essay.

²Anonymous, "The Coalville Tabernacle: A Point of View," *Dialogue*, 5 (Winter 1970), 50.

³See Robin Evans, "Bentham's Panopticon: An Incident in the Social History of Architecture," *Architectural Association Quarterly*, (April-June 1971), 21-37; and Robin Evans, "The Rights of Retreat and the Rights of Exclusion: Notes Toward the Definition of Wall," *Architectural Design*, 41 (1971), 335-39.

⁴See Gunter Nitschke, "Tokyo 1964," *Architectural Design*, 34 (1964), 481-508; and "The Metabolists of Japan," *Architectural Design*, 34 (1964), 509-524.

⁵See Peter Cook, *Architecture: Action and Plan* (London: Studio Vista Ltd., 1967); Peter Cook, "Control-and-Choice Living," in David Lewis, ed., *Urban Structure* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968); and David Greene and Michael Webb, "Drive-in Housing: A Proposition," in *Urban Structure*.

BY MICHAEL COE

MORMONS @ ARCHEOLOGY: AN

“Mormonism” must surely be the only major religious movement whose founder was fascinated by archaeology and whose members are imbued with a mystique based upon archaeological findings.¹

Because of this element of faith, scientists who are not Mormons have found it exceedingly difficult to evaluate in a fair and objective manner the achievements and failures of Mormon archaeology and its practitioners. Members of the faith have often accused outside critics of ignorance, and often rightly so, on the grounds that almost none of them has ever read the Book of Mormon, and are unacquainted with Mormon history, values, and scholarship. While not myself a believer in the Mormon faith, I should warn readers that I have tried not to commit these sins of omission.

Most outside critics and many Mormons seem to be unaware that neither the Church in Salt Lake City nor the Reorganized Church in Independence takes an official stand on the identification of the places and events described in the Book of Mormon. Nevertheless, the flyleaf of a Book of Mormon sent to me by a Reorganite friend has the following:

Have you ever wondered about the source of the prehistoric ruins now being discovered on the American continents? Have you ever been curious to know who some of the prehistoric forefathers of the American Indian were? In the Book of Mormon you'll find answers to these questions, and many others.

In hundreds of motels scattered across the western United States the Gentile archaeologist can find a paperback Book of Mormon lavishly illustrated with the paintings of Arnold Friberg depicting such scenes as Samuel the Lamanite prophesying on top of what looks like the Temple of the Tigers in Chichén Itzá, Yucatán. Any curious archaeologist can hear guides in L.D.S. visitor centers from Sharon, Vermont, to Los Angeles confidently lecturing that the Nephites built the Maya “cities” and expounding on other subjects that are usually the preserve of experts in these matters. Small wonder that the outside archaeologist often feels bewildered-

OUTSIDE VIEW

ment if not downright hostility when confronted with things he is sure cannot be true.

How did this all come about? One must go back to Joseph Smith himself and the milieu in which he lived to find an answer. During the 1820s, in the "burned-over district" of western New York and probably generally throughout the eastern United States, there was a great interest in the mounds that had been left by the former Indian inhabitants. Among white Americans, the belief was widespread that they had been built by a fair and intelligent race that had been overwhelmed by the dark-skinned and savage Indians. Occasional and highly informal excavations in these mounds sometimes disclosed copper plates and other artifacts which seemed to confirm this view of the superiority of the "Mound-builders." There is some evidence that the young Smith might have participated in some of these treasure-hunting digs, and it is certain that he was fully acquainted with the speculative literature on the subject. The influence that such ideas and activities might have had upon the contents of the Book of Mormon can be judged in two different ways, depending on whether one accepts it as divine writ or not.

Joseph Smith's involvement with the pre-European past of the New World continued to be strong, long after 1830, when the Book of Mormon was published. In 1834, for instance, his volunteer army (known as Zion's Camp) encountered Indian remains in Spring Hill, Missouri, where some of his men excavated a large mound. In it, they found a skeleton of a man with an arrowpoint in his ribs. Smith enthusiastically declared this to be a "white Lamanite" named Zelph. The year 1835 saw the arrival of the famous Egyptian papyri in Ohio, and Smith's subsequent translation of part of them as a supposed "Book of Abraham." But probably the most significant year for Mormon archaeology was 1842, when the Prophet read *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* by the founder of Maya archaeology, John Lloyd Stephens. Smith immediately reprinted extracts in *Times and Seasons*, along with the editorial comment that in his opinion, the ancient cities described in the Book of Mormon lay in Guatemala (which then included Chiapas). He explicitly stated that Palenque was "among the mighty works of the Nephites." Thus, despite the present day reticence of the Church on this subject, its founder had no qualms about placing Book of Mormon geography in what we now know as Mesoamerica.

Finally, in 1843 (the year before his death) the Kinderhook Plates incident took place. Six brass, bell-shaped plates were brought to him with the claim that they had been dug up by one Robert Wiley in a mound near his house in Kinderhook, Illinois. Again, as in the case of the papyri, Smith made a translation of the "hieroglyphs" which were incised upon them, presumably with the expertise derived from his decipherment of the "Reformed Egyptian" plates shown to him by the angel Moroni. This time, the Prophet stated that the text dealt with the history of a descendant of Ham.

These are the facts concerning Joseph Smith and the New World past. Mormon archaeologists over the years have almost unanimously accepted the Book of Mormon as an accurate, historical account of the New World peoples between about 2,000 B.C. and A.D. 421. They believe that Smith could translate hieroglyphs, whether "Reformed Egyptian" or ancient American, and that his translation of the Book of Abraham is authentic. Likewise, they accept the Kinderhook Plates as a bona fide archaeological discovery, and the reading of them as correct.

Let me now state uncategorically that as far as I know there is not one professionally trained archaeologist, who is *not* a Mormon, who sees any scientific justification for believing the foregoing to be true, and I would like to state that there are quite a few Mormon archaeologists who join this group. This is in spite of a host of well-intentioned books and articles by Mormon intellectuals (whom I shall later discuss) trying to justify these claims.

First of all, there is an inherent improbability in specific items that are mentioned in the Book of Mormon as having been brought to the New World by the Jaredites and/or Nephites. Among these are the horse (extinct in the New World since about 7,000 B.C.), the chariot, wheat, barley, and metallurgy (true metal-working based upon smelting and casting being no earlier in Mesoamerica than about 800 A.D.). The picture of this hemisphere between 2,000 B.C. and A.D. 421 presented in the book has little to do with the early Indian cultures as we know them, in spite of much wishful thinking.

There is also little doubt in the minds of non-Mormon scholars that Joseph Smith had no ability whatsoever to read "Reformed Egyptian" or any other kind of hieroglyphs. The papyri translated as the Book of Abraham in the Pearl of Great Price are, in the opinion of qualified Egyptologists, a series of fragments of the Egyptian "Book of the Dead," something which Smith could not have known since Champollion's decipherment of the Egyptian script had not yet been published. As for the Kinderhook Plates, W. P. Harris (one of the men involved in the supposed find), wrote in 1855 that they were a hoax perpetrated by Wiley, W. Fugate, and B. Whitten, and in 1879 Fugate revealed that the hieroglyphs had been etched with beeswax and nitric acid, rather than incised. When one of the plates was rediscovered recently in Chicago, a member of the University Archaeological Society at Brigham Young University attempted to discredit Harris' statement by securing the opinion that the object had not been etched.² But definitive tests have been carried out at Princeton University by Dr. George M. Lawrence on the one surviving plate (Number Five), which conclusively proved it to be a low zinc brass or a bronze. "The dimensions, tolerances, composition and workmanship are consistent with the facilities of an 1843 blacksmith shop and with the fraud stories of the original participants," states Dr. Lawrence, and he concludes that the inscriptions almost certainly *were* produced by a combination of the acid-wax etching technique and engraving.³

Following the great exodus to Utah under the leadership of Brigham Young, there seems to have been little interest in antiquarian studies for many decades on the part of Mormons. Perhaps this was because the Church and its people, now effectively isolated from their gentile enemies and greatly strengthened politically, felt little need to convince the outside world of the historical truth said to be contained in the Book.

The close of the nineteenth century saw the inauguration of the intellectual movement called "Book of Mormon geography." Probably the most careful scholar to work in this tradition was Louis E. Hills of the Reorganized Church in Independence, a man whose contributions to the subject have been systematically ignored by Salt Lake City circles. Prior to his work, it was generally assumed that the locale of most of the cities in the Book of Mormon was to the south of the Isthmus of Panama, in contradiction to the stated belief of Joseph Smith (among those subscribing to this view were James Talmage and the Reorganite "Ameri-

can Archaeology Committee"). In 1917, Hills published his *Geography of Mexico and Central America from 2234 B.C. to 421 A.D.* He went over many of the Mexican historical sources (admittedly at secondhand, since he based himself largely upon Bancroft) to arrive at his main conclusion: the narrow neck of land described in the Book of Mormon was the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, so that Zarahemla comprised the lands immediately to the east of it (Guatemala and British Honduras), and Bountiful the lands to the west. According to Hills, the Jaredites were to be equated with those earliest settlers who were said to have landed at Pánuco and proceeded south, according to several early sources. The 1917 study was followed in 1919 by *Historical Data from Ancient Records and Ruins of Mexico and Central America*.

Hills' pioneering work has had many successors. I suspect that Book of Mormon geography is still the primary interest of most of those Reorganite Church members who consider themselves archaeologists. Few, if any, of these "archaeologists" actually carry out excavations, but rather engage themselves in antiquarian speculations which are all too frequently slipshod. For instance, as far as I know, the Society for Archaeological Research, the membership of which is drawn from the Reorganized Church, has never set spade in an archaeological site, although it has conducted tours among the ancient ruins of the New World. Many Book of Mormon geography studies are interesting and well-written (such as the Reorganite scholar Paul Hanson's *Jesus Christ Among the Ancient Americans*), but they are unlikely to convince any nonbeliever who knows something of the subject.

Next, we come to "Book of Mormon archaeology," which I would define as an attempt by Mormons to establish the historicity of the Book of Mormon by means of "dirt" archaeology, or by analysis of archaeological findings made by non-Mormons; this has been dealt with in a scathing review by Dee F. Green.⁴ I think that it is still a viable field of study in spite of Green's assertion that "The first myth we need to eliminate is that Book of Mormon archaeology exists" (p. 77).

Before plunging into this fascinating but somewhat bewildering topic, we might first consider the useful distinction which has been made by Richard Poll between two intellectual schools within the Church. Using metaphors from the Book of Mormon, Poll calls one group "Iron Rods" and another "Liahonas."⁵ Iron Rod intellectuals, whether archaeologists, historians, or geographers, believe the Book of Mormon to be literally true, and use archaeology to "prove" it. Far less conservative are the "Liahonas," scholars who tend to view the Book of Mormon as a source of mores and guidance and for whom Book of Mormon archaeology would probably represent a waste of time and effort. What Liahonas exist would seem to be concentrated in the liberal wing of the Salt Lake City Church, since the members of the Reorganized Church appear to be solidly Iron Rod.

As far as Mormon archaeology is concerned, the Iron Rod bastion appears to be the Society for Early Historic Archaeology. This started out, under the leadership of M. Wells Jakeman and Ross T. Christensen of Brigham Young University, as the University Archaeological Society. It changed its name to the present one in 1965. The masthead of its *Newsletter and Proceedings* says that it is published for

the dissemination among its members of information on new discoveries in archaeology throwing light on the origins of civilization in the Old and New Worlds, on the earliest

periods of recorded history in the two hemispheres, and on the important historical claims of the Hebrew-Christian and Latter-day Saint scriptures. . . .

An amazing amount of information on Mesoamerican archaeology is presented in its pages,⁶ along with highly orthodox articles and editorial matter interpreting this information as proof of the historical validity of the Book of Mormon. Practically every LDS archaeologist, whether Iron Rod, Liahona, or apostate, has authored an article in this publication.

One of the most curious pieces of scholarship in the Iron Rod tradition is by Jakeman, in his own right an outstanding authority on Mesoamerican ethnohistory. This appeared in two published versions, both in the year 1958, and both dealing with the very complex scene carved in relief upon Stela 5 at Izapa, a Late Formative to Proto-Classic site on the Pacific plain of Chiapas in Mexico. This monument shows seated and standing figures, richly garbed, arranged on both sides of a world tree, an iconographic element to be found elsewhere in Mesoamerican religious art (for instance, among the Classic Maya and in central Mexican ritual books). Version number one, issued as a number of Brigham Young University's series, *Publications in Archaeology and Early History*,⁷ is a sober and quite insightful analysis of this scene. While comparisons are made with Mesopotamia and an Old World origin is suggested, no mention is made of the Book of Mormon, and the reader is left to draw his own conclusions. Not so with version number two. This is sumptuously published by the University Archaeological Society with blue covers stamped in gold, and is obviously meant only for members of the Church.⁸ It sets out from the beginning to prove that Stela 5 is a record of the vision or dream of Lehi about the Tree of Life, an event that supposedly took place about 597 B.C. near the Red Sea, while Lehi and his followers were headed for the New World.

Green has commented extensively upon the accuracy of Jakeman's reconstruction.⁹ Regardless of inside and outside criticism, Stela 5, at least its miniature polyurethane replica, has by now taken on the function of a kind of cult object in the living rooms of Latter-day Saints around the world. I fear that nothing would convince the faithful that non-Mormon archaeologists are more likely to view Jakeman's twenty so-called "correspondences in main features" and eighty-two "detailed agreements or similarities" as a matter of mere chance based upon only superficial similarities.

Unlike the Book of Mormon geographers, the Book of Mormon archaeologists of the UAS and its successor, the SEHA, have undertaken real field work in southeastern Mexico. By so doing, some of its members have changed themselves from Book of Mormon archaeologists into archaeologists who happen to be Mormons. But more of this later. At the same time, several ambitious books in the Iron Rod tradition appeared, the most noteworthy being Thomas Stuart Ferguson's *One Fold and One Shepherd* (1958) and *Great Civilizations and the Book of Mormon* (1970) by Milton R. Hunter. Both of these well-illustrated studies have tried to show that the latest archaeological research in Mesoamerica has completely demonstrated the accuracy of the Book translated by the Prophet from the "Reformed Egyptian." Ferguson, a lawyer by profession, went so far as to present his case as a series of legal exhibits that only the most prejudiced and ignorant judge and jury could fail to find convincing. Suffice it to say that non-Mormon archaeologists have remained totally skeptical of such claims.

Field excavations by Mormon archaeologists, sponsored in one way or another by the Church or Brigham Young University, got under way in the 1940s and 1950s, with two groups represented whose approaches to the subject were in total opposition. The first of these was the Iron Rod approach of the University Archaeological Society and its leader, Jakeman. Setting out with an expedition to confirm his belief that the Xicalango region of southern Campeche was "Bountiful," and the middle Usumacinta drainage as "Zarahemla" (without ever mentioning the Louis Hills geography of 1917), Jakeman and students made excavations and explorations that represented a small but significant contribution to Mesoamerican archaeology.¹⁰

Of far greater import were the events that culminated in the program of the New World Archaeological Foundation. While the guiding light of this endeavor, Ferguson, was also an Iron Rod, from the beginning everything was put on what non-Mormons would consider a scholarly underpinning. Based on Book of Mormon geography studies made by himself and others, Ferguson and Hunter conceived the idea "that a great Pre-Classic center should have existed in very early times adjacent to the Grijalva River." He obviously hoped that such a center would be one of the cities mentioned in the Book of Mormon. Unlike Jakeman, however, with his rival Zarahemla on the Usumacinta, Ferguson set up his program as an undertaking in modern anthropological archaeology, and created a committee that included not only Mormons like Milton Hunter and himself, but also non-Mormon experts in New World archaeology, such as A. V. Kidder, Gordon R. Willey, and Gordon F. Ekholm. The first field directors of the New World Archaeological Foundation were non-Mormons. By 1952, funds were made available by the Church, and the largest and most ambitious archaeological project ever funded by a religious institution (including the Vatican) got under way.

Some outsiders may wonder why the NWAFA, and Jakeman, have been exclusively concerned with the Pre-Classic or Formative period. The answer can be found in modern editions of the Book of Mormon itself. The Book describes three migrations to the New World by groups from Palestine, and all the events that transpired after their arrival in this hemisphere. Early editions of the Book of Mormon fix no dates to these happenings, but the precedent of the King James Bible, with its detailed chronology added as footnotes by the seventeenth century Archbishop Ussher, led Mormon scholars such as James E. Talmage to attempt the same thing. Accordingly, the time span for the first migrants, the Jaredites, runs from the Tower of Babel incident, around 3000 (or 2000) B.C., to their self-destruction between 600 and 200 B.C.; scholars like Hunter thus identify them with the archaeological Olmec, even though research by myself and others into Olmec remains has failed to reveal any basis for this assertion. The Nephite story, the main subject matter of the Book, includes Lehi and his followers and the Mulekites, and extends from about 600 B.C. to their final annihilation in 385 A.D. This chronology means that a Book of Mormon archaeologist would necessarily have to concentrate on the Formative period in Mesoamerica. But how is one to reconcile this dating with the flat statement of Joseph Smith himself that Palenque was a Nephite city? This Maya center was built *after* 600 A.D., according to all modern scholarship, some 215 years after the Nephites had been wiped from the surface of the earth. I can only sympathize with the Mormon scholar who has to work that one out!

There can be no question that the New World Archaeological Foundation's program has been an unqualified success. Its twenty years of excavations and exploration in Chiapas have put that state on the archaeological map and have established one of the longest and best archaeological sequences for any part of the New World. Credit for this goes to the foresight of Ferguson and the original directors, but especially to the first-class archaeologists who have carried out the program. First and foremost among them, I would name Gareth W. Lowe, who has been field director for a number of years and who has established himself as the outstanding expert in the field of Formative Mesoamerica. And full praise must be given to the generosity and wisdom of the Church leadership in providing financial backing for the Foundation. "Mormon archaeology" is no longer something that brings chuckles in Gentile circles.

Green has termed the Church's current approach to Mormon archaeology as a "back door" one, and he is right. There is here a close parallel to the Vatican, which, while encouraging and even financing excavations in its own foundations, has carefully avoided making official statements on the remains, while the faithful have assumed that the archaeologists have actually found St. Peter's church, tomb, and bones. No matter whether Zarahemla has been found or not, or whether Nephite cattle and metals actually turn up in excavations, or fail to do so, the Church, by remaining neutral, is always right. In this, the LDS leadership has shown itself to be far wiser than that of the SEHA.

The bare facts of the matter are that nothing, absolutely nothing, has ever shown up in any New World excavation which would suggest to a dispassionate observer that the Book of Mormon, as claimed by Joseph Smith, is a historical document relating to the history of early migrants to our hemisphere. The archaeological data would strongly suggest that the Liahonas are right about the Book of Mormon. To me, as a sympathetic and interested outsider, the efforts of Iron Rod archaeologists to go beyond the moral and ethical content of the Book of Mormon arouse feelings not of superiority but of compassion: the same kind of compassion that one feels for persons who are engaged on quests that have been, are now, and always will be unproductive.

What has gone wrong, therefore, with Mormon archaeology? Even the Soviets, wedded as they are to a nineteenth century doctrine of social and economic evolution, have not remained so far removed from the main stream of archaeological and anthropological thought as the Iron Rod archaeologists. Mormon intellectuals, it seems to me, have taken three ways to extract themselves from the dilemma. The more traditionalist, such as my friend John Sorenson, have tried to steer their stern elders away from Book of Mormon archaeology on the grounds that not even the best and most advanced research has ever been able to establish on purely archaeological grounds the historical details of the Bible, for instance the very existence of Jesus Christ. According to Sorenson, all one can hope to do is to "paint in the background," which in his case has meant building up a convincing picture of trans-Atlantic diffusion by presenting New World-Old World parallels.¹¹ This is of interest to non-Mormon archaeologists, and Sorenson has done much to work out the methodology of such comparisons, but few non-believers have been swayed when faced with the indigestible cattle, horses, wheat, and so forth.

The second escape is to take a Liahona approach to the problem. This is ob-

viously Green's way, as it is that of several other Mormon archaeologists of my acquaintance. But then what does one do with the Book of Mormon itself? Even the most casual student will know that the LDS ethic is only slightly based upon the Book of Mormon, which has very little in it of either ethics or morals; rather, its ethic is heavily dependent upon such post-Book of Mormon documents as the Doctrine and Covenants.¹² And what does one do with Joseph Smith, great man though he was, with his outrageous claims to be able to translate "Reformed Egyptian" documents, with the ridiculous Kinderhook Plates incident, with the "Book of Abraham," with Zelph the "white Lamanite," and with all the other nonsense generated by a nineteenth century, American subculture intellectually grounded in white supremacy and proexpansionist tendencies?

The third way out of the dilemma is apostasy. I will not dwell further on this painful subject, but merely point out that many unusually gifted scholars whom I count as friends have taken exactly this route.

It would be supremely arrogant for any outsider to recommend any of these escapes from the dilemma of Mormon archaeology. But for those practitioners of archaeology who happen to be Latter-day Saints, and perhaps for those Church leaders for whom the discovery of the past is an urgent task, I would like to be the advocate for a kind of research that has only begun: the archaeology of the Mormons themselves. In all parts of the western world, and in Latin America, scholars are discovering that there is no more important research than the study of how we ourselves came to be what we are. There is a tremendous amount of information about our Euro-American background which just does not appear in history books or in the documents on which they are based. In the Pilgrim settlements of Plymouth, in frontier forts of the French and Indian War and the American Revolution, in industrial sites of the early nineteenth century, archaeologists are not only throwing light on the material culture of our forebears, but are adding new theoretical dimensions enabling us to interpret the social, political, and economic aspects of *all* ancient societies.

There can hardly be any part of American history more exciting and inspiring than the story of the Latter-day Saints, from their humble beginnings in New York State, through the turbulent years in the Middle West, to the triumphs of Utah. The excavations of Nauvoo are illuminating an important facet of what was once the largest city in Illinois. But think of all the Mormon remains which simply cry out for excavation! I would begin with early nineteenth century cellar holes in the hill country of Vermont, in the villages of Sharon and Whitingham which nurtured the young Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. How much do we really know of Palmyra and the "burned-over district" in which the Book of Mormon was born? What about Kirtland, its Temple, and its way of life? The great city of Nauvoo itself is only partly known from excavation, recent findings there represent only a fraction of what could be learned from this site.

And how many excavations have ever been carried out in the homesteads of those unsung heroes, the Mormon pioneers? We have the numberless quilts, chests of drawers, family portraits, and so forth in room after room of the fascinating pioneer Museums of Salt Lake City, but what about the day-to-day life, spatial arrangements, division of labor, and family structure that resulted in such products? Only the spade and trowel of scientific archaeology could answer such questions.

In conclusion, an outside observer like myself would make these suggestions. Forget the so-far fruitless quest for the Jaredites, Nephites, Mulekites, and the lands of Zarahemla and Bountiful: there is no more chance of finding them than of discovering the ruins of the bottomless pit described in the book of Revelations. It has been Hugh Nibley himself, the Mormon philosopher and historian, who has pointed out the futility of such endeavors.¹³ Continue the praiseworthy excavations in Mexico, remembering that little or nothing pertaining to the Book of Mormon will ever result from them. And start digging into the archaeological remains of the Saints themselves.

NOTES

¹I wish to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Randolph W. Linehan, whose Yale Senior Thesis, "Of Mormons and Indians: The Development of a Mormon Empire in the Western United States," and anthropology 33b term paper, "The Mormon Church and Archaeology," brought important background material to my attention. I also thank Alfred Bush and Dee F. Green for help in the preparation of this article. Neither of them is responsible for errors of fact and opinion which might appear in it.

²Welby W. Ricks, "The Kinderhook Plates," *Improvement Era*, 65 (1962), 636-660.

³"Report of a Physical Study of the Kinderhook Plate Number 5," Princeton University, May, 1966. Unpublished MSS. Original in Princeton University Library.

⁴"Book of Mormon Archeology: the Myths and the Alternatives," *Dialogue*, 4 (Summer 1969), 71-80.

⁵"What the Church Means to People Like Me," *Dialogue*, 2 (Winter 1967), 107-117.

⁶See Ross T. Christensen, ed., *Progress on Archeology: An Anthology* (Provo: Special publication of the University Archeology Society, 1963).

⁷"The Complex 'Tree-of-Life' Carving on Izapa Stela 5," *Publication in Archeology and Early History, Mesoamerican Series*, No. 4 (1958).

⁸"Stela 5, Izapa, Chipas, Mexico," *The University Archeological Society* (Special Publication), No. 2 (1958).

⁹Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-76.

¹⁰See, for example, Ray T. Mathney, "The Ceramics of Aguacatal, Campeche, Mexico," *Papers of the New World Archeological Foundation*, No. 27 (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1970).

¹¹John L. Sorenson, "Ancient America and the Book of Mormon Revisited," *Dialogue*, 4 (Summer 1969), 80-94.

¹²See Thomas F. O'Dea's *The Mormons* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 119-154.

¹³*An Approach to the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1957).

MORMON ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE 1970S: A NEW DECADE, A NEW APPROACH. BY DEE GREEN

Both within and without the LDS Church Latter-day Saint archaeologists traditionally have been regarded as scriptural archaeologists. Although this was probably accurate through the 1950s, in the past decade a new generation of Mormon archaeologists has appeared espousing a new archaeology. This new archaeology is sometimes referred to as "Processual Archaeology" since its focus is on the anthropological understanding of the processes of human behavior rather than a simple historical documenting of events. This does not deny the historically oriented scriptural archaeologists either their interests or approaches. It only emphasizes that other archaeological interests have now become a legitimate part of archaeology as explored by Latter-day Saints. The purpose of this article is to illustrate the development of these trends in the last decade, to acquaint the reader with the particular scientific orientation of processual archaeology, and

to demonstrate some of the contributions which processual archaeology can make to Mormon culture.

I shall begin by discussing three areas which have had major impact on the formation of processual trends among LDS archaeologists. This will be followed by a discussion of some of the individuals and organizations within the Church which are contributing to this development. Finally a few words will be advanced about prospects for the 1970s.

Those Latter-day Saints who are currently active professional archaeologists and whose research and thinking most closely coincide with processual archaeology received their early impetus in this direction at BYU. Dr. M. Wells Jakeman, while primarily trained as a historian and whose best work is historically oriented,¹ nevertheless encouraged his students to seek the broader perspectives of anthropology. Dr. Ross T. Christensen, Jakeman's colleague, conveyed a spirit of enthusiasm for archaeology essential to all good students of the discipline. In addition, both men laid important foundations in general archaeology on which their students have built. The important anthropological background was provided by Dr. John L. Sorenson whose theoretical insights and breadth of knowledge were essential to those undergraduates who went on to successful graduate training.

A second area of importance was the research opportunities provided by the Brigham Young University New World Archaeological Foundation (BYU-NWAF). In the early 1960s President David O. McKay appointed Elder Howard W. Hunter chairman of a Church Archaeological Committee. This committee was called to supervise the activities of the BYU-NWAF which had been organized several years earlier by Thomas S. Ferguson of Orinda, California. The foundation has as its goal the investigation of the rise of Preclassic cultures in Mesoamerica (Central and Southern Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, and Honduras) and has received a warm reception by American archaeologists due to its scholarly work and prompt publications.² Many of us who were at BYU during the 1960s received important and necessary field training through the auspices of the Foundation and under the expert and patient guidance of its long-time director, Dr. Gareth Lowe.

The third development of importance was a change within the discipline of archaeology itself. This change occurred during the 1960s, a period when most of us who now espouse processual archaeological models received our graduate training. Archaeology began as an historically oriented study interested in time and things and has evolved into a sub-discipline of anthropology interested in cultural evolution and process. The essential focus of archaeology is no longer on *who*, *what*, and *when* but on *how* and *why*. This is not to say that *who*, *what*, and *when* questions are not important, but only that their importance has diminished in terms of archaeological interests. They furnish valuable frameworks but are not the end products of research.³ This trend in American archaeology became evident at least as early as 1958 with the publication of Gordon Willey and Philip Phillips' landmark book entitled *Method and Theory in American Archaeology*, in which they state:

It seems to us that American archaeology stands in a particularly close and, so far as theory is concerned, dependent relationship to anthropology. Its service to history in the narrower sense, i.e. as the record of events in the past with the interest centered on those events, is extremely limited.⁴

The weaning of archaeology from the narrow time and event focus of history to the broad man-oriented science of anthropology became an accomplished fact in the 1960s. For example, James Deetz in his 1967 publication, *Invitation to Archaeology*, said:

We cannot define archaeology except in reference to anthropology, the discipline of which it is a part. Anthropology is the study of man in the broadest sense, including his physical, cultural and psychological aspects, and their interrelationships. Archaeology concerns itself with man in the past; it has been called the Anthropology of extinct peoples.⁵

Concomitant with the introduction of processual theory in archaeology, a change occurred in approaches to field work and a renewed emphasis on training in anthropological theory and ethnographic data was generated. Archaeologists are anthropologists and their excavation techniques should reflect this training. As Lewis R. Binford has stated:

The field strategy executed within the framework of the research design must be directed by a well-trained anthropologist capable of making interpretations and decisions in terms of the widest possible factual and theoretical knowledge of general anthropology, and the types of questions must be drawn up which his data may be useful in solving.⁶

Thus the modern archaeologist must not only be a capable field technician, but more importantly he must have at his command the theoretical tools necessary to operate within the scientific framework of anthropology.

The following is a summary of what a modern processual archaeologist is and does: First, by training he is an anthropologist which means that he has the theoretical constructs and scientific approach necessary to delve into the past on a basis designed to produce information about the cultural evolution of man. Second, he formulates scientifically testable hypotheses about the nature of man as a culture bearing animal. Third, he engages in archaeological field work including survey and excavation utilizing anthropologically formed models to guide his technique toward the testing of the hypotheses formulated in step two. Fourth, he analyzes the results of his field work, again within the framework of the scientific models which he has chosen, bringing into play the numerous new laboratory techniques now available. Fifth, he interprets the results of his excavations and laboratory analysis in light of his hypotheses and with an eye toward continued hypothesis formulation and modification, always keeping in mind his research design and theoretical models. And sixth, he publishes the results of his investigations paying particular attention to their value for the elucidation of cultural evolution both within the framework of the specific culture under investigation and for mankind as a whole.

These six steps—1. anthropological training, 2. hypothesis formation, 3. hypothesis testing in the field, 4. hypothesis testing in the laboratory, 5. interpretation, and 6. publication—are carried out not as isolated entities, but rather as an integrated approach bound together by science as the method and anthropological theory as the vehicle for hypothesis testing about the whole cultural background of man.

As we have already indicated a new generation of anthropological archaeologists committed to the approach outlined above has arisen in the Church. Foremost in institutional reflections of support for this approach is the BYU-NWAF. The Foundation has made several important contributions to the culture history of southern Mexico especially through its work at Chiapa de Corzo in the High-

lands of central Chiapas and at Izapa, an archaeological site on the Pacific Coast near Guatemala. At Chiapa de Corzo the Foundation has established a cultural sequence from before 1000 B.C. to the present. This sequence now serves as the major reference point for most of the archaeology conducted in southern Mexico and has implications for the study of various cultural traditions throughout the rest of Mesoamerica. One seldom sees a publication in Mesoamerican archaeology anymore which does not refer to the Chiapa de Corzo sequence and to Dr. Lowe and others of his staff. While the Izapa material is just coming into print,⁷ enough is already known to insure the importance of the work there, especially in terms of the early developments of Maya culture and art and the influences which the earlier Olmec culture seems to have had on this development.

The BYU-NWAF has also investigated the very early village cultures of the Mesoamerican Preclassic period. Two sites, Padre Piedra and Altamira have already been reported⁸ and additional investigations are presently underway. Dr. Lowe's summary discussion of these two sites is a good example of the anthropological approach to archaeology. He focuses on the evolution of culture in Chiapas during the Preclassic period without neglecting the important ramifications for other areas, especially the Olmec heartland. He also discusses the implications for the development of classic Maya civilization demonstrating a concern for community and religious development, ecology, social organization and other aspects of non-material culture.⁹ Due to Dr. Lowe's work at Altamira the time sequence for this early village Preclassic period has been pushed back at least as far as 2000 B.C.

A number of other projects have also been undertaken by the Foundation during the past few years including an extensive site survey of the Central Depression of Chiapas, considerable excavation at the site of Mirador on the La Venta River, a number of excavations in the Mal Paso Dam area and along the middle reaches of the Grijalva River as well as some limited testing at a number of other sites including El Cayo on the Usumacinta River. Finally, the recent work of the foundation in Campeche, Mexico, should be mentioned. These investigations have been conducted under the direction of Dr. Ray T. Matheny, Associate Professor of Anthropology at BYU, and include preliminary testing at the sites of Santa Rosa Xtampak, Dzibilnohac, and Xcalumkin. Extensive excavations at Edzna are underway with Dr. Matheny testing the site's important canal system and ceremonial center. In addition, his ceramic report on Aguacatal, a classic site on the Gulf Coast of Campeche, has been published.¹⁰

In the field of Historical Archaeology LDS archeologists have been most active in Nauvoo. Initial investigations were conducted by this writer during the summer of 1962 on the temple site.¹¹ We succeeded in removing most of the rubble down to the level of the outside basement rooms but only probed the front room although we did discover a large stone drain for the font.¹² Since then Nauvoo Restoration, Inc. has completed excavation of the temple site as well as many other structures in the Mormon portion of the town, including the home of Brigham Young and the *Times and Seasons* building. An archaeological report on the Nauvoo Temple excavations has been published by Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.¹³

Recently under Dr. Dale L. Berge, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, BYU, excavations have widened to include sites in New York such as the Peter Whitmer

farm house where the Church was organized in 1830.¹⁴ While publication of most of the investigations is still awaited, the results are already affecting our understanding of Church history as well as our views of cultural development within our own society and on the American Frontier.

A few years ago the Brigham Young University Administration organized a new department of Anthropology and Archaeology with Dr. Merlin Myers, a social anthropologist, as its head. This move, along with the hiring of Dr. Berge and the retaining of Dr. Matheny, both of whom are anthropological archaeologists, made it possible for the BYU archaeology student to receive the kind of training which will ground him in scientific method and anthropological theory as well as provide the field experience necessary to apply classroom principles.¹⁵ BYU archaeology students now have opportunities for field experience in at least four different culture areas providing broad time ranges, but more importantly there are now available a wide variety of theoretical problems all of which will greatly contribute to our understanding of man and his cultural background, especially in the New World.

Cooperation with the BYU-NWAF and Nauvoo Restoration Inc. allows students the privilege of working in Mexico and with early Mormon materials as outlined above. In addition, the department provides some work in the Desert and Fremont cultures of central Utah. Recently excavations have been conducted on Fremont period mounds near the shores of Utah Lake and at Spotten Cave in Goshen Valley.

Establishment of a summer field school by the department has enabled students to work with the Anasazi culture of southeastern Utah on an extended basis. Involvement on Cedar Mesa, Elk Ridge, and the field school operation in Montezuma Canyon presently cover archaeological sequences from Archaic through Pueblo III or a time period roughly from 6000 B.C. to 1300 A.D. The important anthropological questions being investigated include prehistoric settlement patterns and demography; cultural continuity and change, especially in light of modern Hopi ethnography; a variety of ecological problems including land use, deforestation, horticultural practices, and water control; as well as trade and diffusion studies both within and without the Anasazi cultural sphere. Some tend to look at Anasazi cultural development from the perspective of the grand sites such as Mesa Verde, Hovenweep, or Chaco Canyon, when in fact most of the people were living in the smaller villages scattered throughout the Four Corners area. Excavations by the BYU Anthropology Department over the next several years should do much to augment our understanding of how these people lived and their relationships to the greater centers.

Since the above programs have reached their present stages of development only in the last few years, publication of the results is still premature;¹⁶ however, we can anticipate, as with Nauvoo Restoration Inc., that in the 1970s a great deal of new information will be made available through the combined efforts of LDS anthropologists.

Based on the above foundation what can we anticipate from LDS archaeology during the next decade? If present trends continue, we foresee in Mexico a continuing emphasis on the Preclassic investigations already underway, especially along the southern Chiapas coast at a number of very important early village sites. Dr. Matheny's investigations in Campeche should also receive some atten-

tion, especially Edzna and perhaps other sites such as Dzibilnohac or Santa Rosa Xtampak. In addition new investigations may be undertaken in some of the remote jungle regions of Chiapas. Publications, especially the important series on Izapa, will continue to win friends in the profession.

In historical archaeology, Nauvoo may continue to see some excavation but will not hold the entire stage as it has for the past few years. More emphasis may be placed on Church origins in New York with some attention given to the Ohio and Missouri periods as well. In addition, we can anticipate excavations in various parts of Utah. Our pioneer heritage has largely been conceptualized in terms of its religious motivation and by numerous museum artifacts. By the end of the decade we should have almost overcome the inertia of the "time and things" approach to the point where Mormonism can be viewed in the larger framework of its contributions to the evolution of culture. A new generation of LDS historians influenced by processual models is already beginning to make their influence felt in this direction along with the archaeologists.

Brigham Young University will produce a new core of well-trained students as well as a publication series of its own embodying the results of present and future research in the Fremont and especially the Anasazi culture areas. Near the end of the decade we might even anticipate some contributions in the areas of theory and model building, although trends in this direction have not fully emerged. As an aside, we look for the BYU Anthropology and Archaeology Department as a whole to develop a better balance between social-cultural anthropology and archaeology, with perhaps even some interest in applied anthropology developing.

In addition to the institutions mentioned above, several independent contributions by LDS anthropologists can be expected. We would anticipate important contributions by Dr. Sorenson who has already completed an archaeological synthesis of the Mesoamerican Preclassic period. Dr. Lowe, who has already contributed more to archaeology than any other Latter-day Saint, will continue to publish important work on Mesoamerica. In addition, a number of other individuals such as Evan I. DeBlois, U. S. Forest Service Archaeologist, Region 4; Bruce Warren, completing a Ph.D. at the University of Arizona; this writer and several students in graduate school can be expected to make their presence felt on the LDS archaeological scene.

In summary, it may be said that the past decade has produced within the Church a new generation of archaeologists dedicated to the furtherance of the scientific goals of anthropology. These goals are focused on man not solely in the present but in the past as well; a past which has much to teach us about how the cultural institutions of man have developed on this planet and the implications of that development for solving the problems of today and the future. We believe that these anthropological goals are in harmony with the gospel of Jesus Christ and that both work for the better understanding of the human condition and the cultural universals which make all men brothers and children of God. We believe that both have much to offer in this regard and that a constant striving for truth through a wedding of theology with science is preferable to warfare between them. In the coming decades we anticipate that LDS archaeology with its anthropological perspectives will make important contributions to the broad goals of human understanding based on the important foundations laid in the 1960s.

NOTES

¹See especially *The Origins and History of the Mayas* (Los Angeles: Research Publishing Company, 1945), *The Ancient Middle-American Calendar System: Its Origin and Development* (Provo: Brigham Young University Publications in Archaeology and Early History, No. 1, 1947), and *The Historical Recollections of Gasper Antonio Chi* (Provo: Brigham Young University Publications in Archaeology and Early History, No. 3, 1952).

²The BYU-NWAF publication series now has over 30 titles in print, all of which report and interpret straight from archaeology without ever mentioning the Book of Mormon. The series has received consistently good reviews in the professional journals, and the Foundation has the best reputation for prompt publication in the profession.

³Stewart Struever, "Problems, Methods and Organization: A Disparity in the Growth of Archaeology," *Anthropological Archaeology in the Americas* (Washington, D.C.: Anthropological Society of Washington, 1968). "As general anthropological theory has advanced, new and exciting problems have been conceptualized for archeology. Chronology building is an initial step to the solution of broader problems, not an end-result of research. The introduction of cultural ecology, general systems theory and more sophisticated evolutionary concepts have made the quest of cultural process, not a slogan but an operational problem for archeologists" (p. 131).

⁴(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 1.

⁵(New York: Natural History Press, 1967), p. 3.

⁶"A Consideration of Archaeological Research Design," *American Antiquity*, (April 1964), 441.

⁷Susanna M. Ekholm, "Mound 30a and the Early Preclassic Ceramic Sequence of Izapa, Chiapas, Mexico," *Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation*, Number 25 (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1969).

⁸Dee F. Green and Gareth W. Lowe, "Altamira and Padre Piedra, Early Preclassic Sites in Chiapas, Mexico," *Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation*, Number 20 (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1967).

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 53-79.

¹⁰Ray T. Matheny, "The Ceramics of Aguacatal, Campeche, Mexico," *Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation*, Number 27 (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1970).

¹¹Dee F. Green, "The Beginnings of Excavation at the Nauvoo Temple Site," *The Improvement Era*, 65 (June 1962).

¹²Dee F. Green, "Successful Archaeological Excavation of the Nauvoo Temple Site Project," *The Improvement Era*, 65. (October 1962).

¹³Virginia S. Harrington and J. C. Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple: Report on Archaeological Excavations* (Salt Lake City: Nauvoo Restoration Inc., 1971). (Reviewed in *Dialogue*, 7 [Spring 1972], 122-123.)

¹⁴Richard L. Anderson, "The House Where the Church was Organized," *The Improvement Era*, 73. (April 1970), 16-25.

¹⁵Those students who may wish to pursue scriptural archaeology may still do so under Drs. Jakeman and Christensen.

¹⁶Ray T. Matheny, *An Archaeological Survey of Upper Montezuma Canyon, San Juan County, Utah* (Provo: Privately Published, 1962); Dee F. Green, *Archeological Researches on Cedar Mesa, Southeastern Utah, Second Season 1969* (Ogden: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Weber State College, 1970); and Ray T. Matheny and Dee F. Green "A Pueblo II Structure, San Juan County Utah," *Utah Archaeology*, 18 (March 1972), 9-14.

GOODBYE TO BY EDWARD GEARY POPLARHAVEN.



Paradise lost, according to Marcel Proust, is the only real paradise. Proust's lost Eden was Illiers-Combray, a village whose medieval church tower and encircling wall gave to his childhood, by their great age, a sense of permanence and continuity. The town of my childhood, Huntington, Utah, is no older than my grandparents and contains nothing that is likely to outlast my grandchildren; yet from it has come whatever sense I have of human continuity. Huntington lies at the west end of a large valley extending from the Wasatch Plateau, that mountain backbone of central Utah, eastward to the canyonlands of the Green and Colorado Rivers. Castle Valley, as the region is called by its inhabitants, is a dry and barren place even by Utah standards. A party of trappers who passed through in 1830 described it as "the most desolate and forlorn dell in the world" and preferred to "forego the acquisition of any benefit in the world" rather than remain there.

However, there was water in the creeks that flowed down from the snowbanks of the Wasatch Plateau and made their cottonwood-marked way across the valley, and this seemed sufficient promise that the land could be made habitable. So a call for settlers was issued in Sanpete Stake conference in 1877, and by 1881 several villages had been established, their people one of the last groups to have the sense of destiny that came with such a call. At Huntington they laid out a mile-square townsite with sixty-four ten-acre blocks separated by wide, straight streets and each divided into four lots big enough for a corral and cow pasture, an orchard and a kitchen garden, as well as a house and dooryard. Thus the uncompromising geometry of the Plat of the City of Zion was imposed upon the valley floor while it was yet nearly as dry as the newly created earth before the Lord sent up the mist which watered the whole face of the ground. The mist never did rise up in Castle Valley, so the settlers diverted the water of the creek into a Town Ditch and a Field Ditch and watered the land themselves. Then they planted trees in the treeless land, trees for fruit, trees for shade, and, to break the constant winds, row upon row of Lombardy poplars lining the streets east and west, north and south.

The Lombardy poplar grows rapidly to an imposing height, but it is not a long-lived tree; its limbs are brittle and its soft wood subject to decay. This pattern of early growth and early decline held true for the town as well as its trees. In the 1880s the streamflow was steady, and the feed on the high summer range to the west and the desert winter range to the east seemed sufficient. The Rio Grande Railroad was coming west from Denver, its construction crews providing a ready market for the valley's produce. More important, the railroad brought the hope of commercial and industrial development, for there were thick seams of coal among the ledges of the Wasatch Plateau, and who knew what undiscovered mineral wealth in the desert badlands? But the railroad was re-routed to the north through Price Canyon. With this change, Price, which had been a smaller village than Huntington or Castle Dale, became the chief town in the region, and in 1894 Carbon County, with Price as its seat, was split off from Emery County. With access to the railroad, large mines were opened in the Carbon County coalfields while the Emery County veins remained undeveloped except for a few small wagon mines for local use. The desert yielded up no great wealth, and even the agricultural base fell short of expectations. The rangeland was soon damaged by overgrazing, leading to erosion of the watersheds and reduced summer streamflow. Moreover, to the problems arising from a shortage of water were added the problems of excessive water in some places. The Mancos shale which underlies much of the valley floor holds moisture like a sponge, inhibiting drainage and allowing dissolved alkali salts to rise to the surface. So while some lands were abandoned for lack of water others were lost through this "swamping" process. As a result of these factors, Huntington reached its highest population in the 1890s then, less than two decades after its settlement, stopped growing and began a long, gradual decline.

It was into this gradual and gentle decay that I was born, and I grew up in an old town. The people were old as the majority of each new generation left the valley and only a few, like my parents, remained out of nostalgia or hope to have in their turn children who would grow up to move away. The houses, some of them spacious two-story structures built of an earthy yellow brick from Charles

Green's brickyard, were old too. The barns and sheds, clustered in the center of the large blocks, had the gray patina of aged and weathered spruce. And the trees, those that remained (for few had been planted since the early days), were big and old, the black walnuts starkly massive, the apple trees gnarled and thick, and here and there the towering cones of the spruces. The poplars were mostly gone, but enough remained to give the sense of the original rows. From a distance, where you couldn't see how many gaps there were, how many trees broken and dying, the town still looked like a big grove set amid the green hayfields, an oasis, a haven from the surrounding plains of shadscale and prickly pear. Indeed, my private boyhood name for the town, replacing the prosaic Huntington, was Poplarhaven, and I used to imagine myself immortalizing it in fiction someday as Joyce did his Dublin or Faulkner his Jefferson.

A friend of mine, an easterner, once remarked that to enjoy the Utah landscape you must persuade yourself that brown is beautiful. But it is not brown I think of when I think of Huntington, nor the blue-gray that more precisely describes the color of the soil there. I think of the intense green of an alfalfa field in early June, before the first cutting, a green made the more vivid by contrasting dry earth above the ditchline. I think of water, running fast and cold from the mountains in the creek, running quietly and slowly between the willow-grown banks of the canals, seeping out of the little desert springs, a miraculous trickle out of the rock, overflowing a mossy watering trough to make a brilliant spot of grass and shrubbery against the reds and ochres of Bull Hollow or Buckhorn Draw. I think of open space, the wonderful sense of room-enough: wide, empty streets, vacant pastures between houses, openness all the way to the horizon, fifty miles distant yet visible in precise detail through the clear air. I think of the seasons, of winter nights when my freshly combed hair froze stiff while I was walking to a basketball game in the tiny, crowded, and steaming gymnasium; of summer days when I sat unsteadily atop a load of hay (Grandfather always tried to get the whole field into a single load) lurching along a rutted road, leaving dry wisps on the branches of overhanging trees, breathing the hot dry air, air which always turned moist and cool, no matter how hot the day, when the sun went down and the evergreen-scented breezes drifted down the long canyon from the forested slopes. It is not barrenness I remember, but richness, though a casual passer-through might see only barrenness.

There was a rich variety of people too, solid citizens and town eccentrics (categories which often overlapped): Heber Leonard, who had once been the bishop but whom I remember as a bearded old man carrying on endless theological debates with Heber Brockbank, his neighbor across the street (every village used to have its scribes and theologians in those days before theology was taken over by the seminary system); old Sister Allen, who used to go around buying the carcasses of dead animals for a nickel or a dime in the expectation that she would have a sizeable livestock holding in the hereafter. Then there were the old bachelors, chief among them Bert Westover who reputedly had fought at San Juan Hill with Teddy Roosevelt and who lived, a bent and bow-legged old man, in a one-room cabin across the road from my grandparents. Bert had three great loves: his Bull Durham tobacco, his horses (none of which ever pulled a load, an occasional one of which would occasionally run in local horseraces, but most of which spent their lives grazing along the ditchbanks in unmolested leisure), and his talk-

ing. He had got some radical ideas from somewhere and used to carry on at length about the superiority of the Russian system. Except for his own funeral, I don't ever remember seeing him inside the church house. However, he used to declare his intentions of moving away somewhere before the Millennium because his house would be the first place they hit coming over the hill from the cemetery and they'd eat him out of house and home.

The old people are all gone now, of course, gone and mostly forgotten and with the very marks of their existence largely obliterated. Where Heber Leonard's house stood beneath its two tall spruces on Main Street now stands the two-ward chapel built during the 1950s and looking like all the other two-ward chapels built during the 1950s. Across the street, where mulberry trees shaded the wide front porch of Heber Brockbank's house, nothing now shades the parking lot of a concrete block grocery store. Bert Westover's cabin and the sheds and corrals where his horses made their home are all gone too, and the unused ground whitens with alkali year by year. There is nothing there now to attract the attention of the troop coming over the hill on resurrection morning.

The general tenor of life in Huntington was quiet and uneventful, leading us at times to long for an excitement and stimulation that we imagined as existing somewhere beyond the valley (and which we have not yet found), but there were several big occasions each year. One was the annual basketball game with the high school from the other end of the county, on the outcome of which our self-respect seemed importantly to depend. The others were more widely observed holidays which we celebrated in our own peculiar way.

Before dawn each Twenty-fourth of July, town officials set off a charge of blasting powder, and we all awoke to its horrific thunderclap. Then the high school band, or at least those members who could be gathered up in the summertime, made a tour of the town on a hay wagon, playing martial airs somewhat off-key to children sitting in their pajamas on front porches and old women out in their gardens to gather the produce before the sun shone on it. After that there was a two- or three-hour break while chores were done and water tended, then at nine o'clock (or more commonly about twenty minutes past) the parade: the marshal of the day, always costumed as Brigham Young, leading the way on horseback or buckboard, depending on his age and abilities, followed by wagons garnished with sagebrush, cars and trucks with strips of crepe paper strung on them, the inevitable hayrack full of Primary children with a big sign on it saying "Utah's Best Crop," and bringing up the rear a crowd of boys on horseback and bicycle. The parade made its way northward up Main Street for four blocks then turned around and made its way back down again, making it twice as long and allowing everybody to see both sides of the floats. After the parade we all gathered in the old meetinghouse for the program. Here, in the arched and galleried hall (now only a memory like so many other pioneer meetinghouses), under the direction of "Brigham Young," a program of songs and readings and tap-dances unfolded, presented by a succession of Miss Deserets, Miss Utahs, Miss Castle Valleys, Miss Huntingtons, enough symbolic misses to accommodate, with their attendants, nearly all the teen-age girls in town. At the end would come Brigham Young's oration, in which we were exhorted to remember that this was Zion and that we in these valleys of the mountains had a great destiny. The whole program was punctuated not only by applause but by one old man after another rising to his

feet in the audience and crying out, "Three Cheers for Brigham Young and the Pioneers!" or "Three Cheers for the Constitution!" (the Fourth of July and the Twenty-fourth tended to merge into a single event in our town). Then we all joined in—the younger ones of us rather self-consciously—not with the staccato cheers they give in the movies, but giving each syllable its full value: "H-i-i-p, h-i-i-p, hooaaay! Hip, hip, hooray! Hip, hip, hooray!"—the leader describing large circles in the air above his head with his hand to mark the time. After the program it was home for dinner then back to the "square," the dusty block across from the meetinghouse, for games and races, hamburgers and hot dogs cooked in make-shift booths by red-faced men, and bottles of soda pop from ice-filled washtubs. At night there would be a dance on the tennis court, dark except for the lights over the band, the air, cleansed of the day's heat and dust by the canyon breeze, filled with the sounds of popular songs from the nineteen-twenties and thirties. It was a big day.

But Memorial Day—we called it Decoration Day—was even bigger in its way, for it involved not only those living in the community but also the larger number who had moved away and the still larger contingent of the dead, as we all gathered for the day in the cemetery for a massive reunion and homecoming. People decorated the graves with bridal wreath and bleeding hearts and peonies, if they were blooming early enough, and in the case of those back home for the day from Provo or Salt Lake with store-bought wreaths. Then the grown-ups strolled from lot to lot, renewing acquaintances, while the children ran about stroking the stone lambs on children's graves, gathering wildflowers from the dry hill behind the cemetery, half welcoming, half challenging the kids from out of town who didn't quite belong though their parents did. When I think of community and continuity, of the hearts of the children turning to the fathers, I think of those Memorial Days in Huntington. My city-bred wife is constantly amused at Utah obituary notices, in which someone who has lived in Salt Lake City or Los Angeles for fifty years is listed as being from Beaver or Ephraim or Wellsville and is taken back there for burial. But for me the roots put down in the harsh soil of Castle Valley have proven impossible to transplant, and though I shall probably never live in Huntington again I cannot imagine consigning my bones at last to any other spot than that old graveyard.

I am being nostalgic, of course. But what strikes me as I remember back is how little nostalgia there was in Huntington when I was growing up, how little nostalgia and how much expectancy, of a kind scarcely anyone seems to have anymore. For Huntington didn't just happen; it was established by design, and surely the design had not yet been fulfilled. My grandfather, always an enterprising man, remarked to me shortly before his death that all his life the town had seemed just on the verge of some great development, but the development had never come. After the railroad boom there was the gold boom, then the oil boom, the gypsum boom, the uranium boom, but they all, together with assorted lesser booms, fizzled out.

Now prosperity has at last arrived. The land boom has reached Castle Valley. You can read the pitch in the classified ads of any newspaper as high-powered real estate companies peddle the old farms: "Eighty-acre ranch in Utah valley, close to town with half-mile border on county road." "Utah hideaway—forty acres near hunting and fishing." Farmers are selling their land for more money

than they have made from it in a lifetime of hard work, and their place is being taken by new people moving in from the West Coast to seek some dream of their own. But theirs is a different dream, the Hollywood dream of the cowboy on his own spread, not the pioneer dream of building a society. They don't build houses or plant trees but live in mobile homes. And it is not only the new people but the younger generations of the old families who are bringing in a new life style. For example, I can remember only two of my grandfather's contemporaries who habitually wore cowboy boots, while today every second person appears in "western" attire. Community events used to include drama, concerts by a men's glee club, weekly baseball games by the town team (an ill-equipped and not very highly skilled but zestful contingent), and an annual Hereford Days celebration dedicated to improving breeding stock on the farms. Now there are only rodeos.

Industrial development is arriving too, in the form of a power generating plant being built in the mouth of the canyon to exploit the extensive coal deposits. Farmers sold their water rights to attract the plant (they find that Californians will buy land without water as readily as with it), and it was expected not only that several hundred new jobs would be created but also that the county's tax base would be doubled. The jobs have come, and with them dozens of new families to crowd the schools and strain municipal facilities, but in a piece of traditional Castle Valley hard luck a legal technicality has forestalled the tax bonanza. So now the people have joined with the power company in seeking an exemption from air quality laws so that another large unit can be added to the plant. They have been poor in the clear air long enough, they say, and are willing to breathe a little smoke if it means prosperity.

Today the generating plant with its massive smokestack stands on a bluff overlooking the creek, looking very much like a permanent fixture in the landscape. No one seems to care whether the canyon breeze will smell the same once it is in operation. Business is booming at the grocery stores and beer parlors, though prices have risen so high that the older residents now do most of their shopping in Price. The town itself takes on an increasingly temporary look. The poplars are nearly all gone now. No one approaching the town today would guess that they once lined the streets. Not even a scar remains on the earth to show where the old meetinghouse stood, and many of the old brick houses are gone too. The high school is gone, merged into a county high school in Castle Dale. Barns and corrals are being pulled down at an astonishing rate to make room for trailer parks (parks only in the sense of places to park). What few houses have been built in the last several years are mostly pre-fabs that appear suddenly and are capable of disappearing just as fast. Indeed, one feels that when the last of the old mature trees are gone the whole town could be moved somewhere else almost overnight, leaving the valley floor as dry and bare as that party of fur trappers found it in 1830.

Not long ago I attended Sunday School in the already deteriorating "new" chapel that stands on the site of Heber Leonard's old house. The lesson in the gospel doctrine class had something to do with the idea of Zion, and at its conclusion the class president, the daughter of old Bishop Leonard, announced number six as the closing song and took her place at the organ, the only thing salvaged from the old meetinghouse. She didn't have to look at the songbook, and neither did the older singers.



*Beautiful Zion for me,
Down in the valley reclining. . . .*

The younger members of the group tried to follow the obviously unfamiliar selection in the book or merely sat silent, but the older ones knew by heart the words that expressed their conviction that this little town settled by their parents in this remote valley of the mountains was really Zion.

*Clasped in the mountain's embrace,
Safe from the spoiler forever. . . .*

*Robed in the garments of peace,
Virtue the crown of thy glory,
God shall thy kingdom increase,
Angels delight in the story.*

Did they think of what was happening around them as despoliation or as the long-awaited increase of the kingdom? Or did they think of it at all? Did the conviction inhabit some part of their minds immune to the pressure of actual events? That the conviction was there was unmistakable in the final ringing declaration of love for the fields of home:

*When through the wide world I roam,
Naught on the land or the sea
Charms like my own mountain home.
Beautiful, beautiful Zion for me.*

THE WILLOWS

BY
EILEEN KUMP

Amy was a child when Congress passed the Edmunds Bill, assuring the end of polygamous living in Utah, but she was old enough to know that Aunt Edna was not her aunt at all but Will's mother and that Will was her favorite brother even though he was three years younger than she was and therefore not quite an equal. And when the heavy snows of 1884 had melted up north allowing the U.S. marshals through to do their duty in the south, when fear hung around their hunted mothers and father like weeping willows, she and Will still had to bundle their dolls and dishes in the green scarf and head for the orchard.

As they walked, Amy poked Will hard.

"I looked already," he growled.

"Did not!"

Amy knew he liked to watch his toes nuzzle the dust but she also knew that looking up was a lot more exciting than looking down because red hills wiggle under hot sun. Besides, God probably watched over from up there. Probably he did. That high he could even see Pa and the secret place.

Will followed Amy in and out the young trees that grew down the middle of town. They saw a woman out on the porch bending over her big wooden tub. Of course they did not stop. You could tell when a mother pretended to look but did not really look at what she was doing that it was not a good day to visit. The children walked slowly past and Amy poked Will every time he forgot to look up.

The cooper shop was still empty. Amy ran toward the closed door and slid her fingers along four new churns. Every day they felt smoother, rounder,

newer. Oh, she hoped they would sit there forever! But the wish was a stone in her stomach and she tugged at Will to hurry.

By the time Amy and Will got to the orchard, the Sevy boys were up a plum tree. Amy frowned in their direction and let go a long groan. This had been a perfect place, private and perfect. She and Will had cleared away rocks and bee weeds. They had even dug themselves their own pile of dirt. The trees spread shade big enough to sit in and nearby was City Creek for mud-making. Amy made up her mind that she would not leave and she would pay no notice to the Sevys.

Amy and Will crouched side by side over a dirt house, their small hands shaping, smoothing, caressing. Their real houses were just alike but Will's ma had planted sweet peas along each side of her broad plank walk. In Amy's dooryard, there was only violet tamarisk.

Amy was pushing a twig into her tiny yard when a green plum struck the dirt house. She glared upward at four dangling legs.

"Damn, that was a fine one!" shouted Fred Sevy.

"Damn, this is a fine one, too!" yelled Phil.

Amy couldn't stand it. Not only did the Sevy boys have a pa who walked down the street in broad day but they said swear words in a painless way that made Amy shudder and tingle at the same time. Clamping a hand tight over each ear, she threw back her head and stuck out her tongue.

"Gentiles!"

Then she looked at Will. He had become worshipful. He bent toward her and put his mouth against her ear. "I hate them Sevys," he whispered.

Amy cupped her hand around his ear and whispered back. "They are gentiles, Will. Both of them."

"We hate gentiles," he said. "We hate 'em."

Amy nodded twice, long and slow, looking Will right in the eyes the whole time. Then she sat up straight and began to pat and mold the dirt house as if nothing had happened.

"I forgot, Pa said we don't hate anybody. Not even the Sevys. Now let's play." Sometimes Amy got tired explaining, but there were some things even a five-year-old ought to know. Of course, there were big folks' secrets they were too little to know, like why John Saunders disappeared into Red Canyon every afternoon with a lunch basket and a water keg, or why the brethren took lookout turns on top of the canyon wall. At first sight of the marshal's buggy a boulder would come crashing down. Of course little children like Will were too young to know that.

But he still leaned toward her, whispering, waiting. "The Sevys swear, huh."

"Gentiles don't know better," Amy said.

"Why don't they?"

"Because they're Gentiles." Amy had heard Brother Swenson tell Pa when the Sevys moved in that Mr. Sevy was one, so likely it had to do with not going to meeting or building uneven fences or letting your beard go.

"What is a gentile?" asked Will, his voice way above a whisper now.

"Something going to hell!" yelled Phil Sevy. "Something going right down to hell, dammit!" A splatter of wet pits hit Will square in the face and he was instantly on his feet, red faced and funny looking because the knees of his

overall's caked into bends even though he stretched on tip-toe. He did not wait for Amy to come up with another of her wonderful words that wasn't swearing.

"You—you muh-gar-ries you!" he screamed. "You mean old muh-gar-ries!"

Amy caught herself or she would have fallen right over at the sound of that word. She could not have heard what she thought she heard! Not said aloud, shouted even. And not from Will! Why, he was a child! She had been almost eight when she was told about McGary.

"They are muh-gar-ries, aren't they, Amy?"

But she had heard. There he went again.

"Shhh," she said. "Shhh!"

She could not think what to do and there was nobody to ask. Aunt Edna would probably scold Will good.

"Will Taylor," she said, "What do you know? You tell me right now what you know."

"He's bad."

"You never saw him, I bet!"

"I didn't see him, but Ma said she'd tie knots in his beard and yank it out." Will leaned so close to Amy that his mouth made her ear wet. "You seen him?"

Amy stiffened and rubbed her ear. "Course I have, almost. And I bet Aunt Edna didn't say that either." Amy had heard her own mother say she would like to put epsom salts in the marshal's mush, but somehow Aunt Edna's threat was better. Did she really want to hurt him? Was he wicked? Maybe he was a gentile like the Sevys. She could see Aunt Edna stretching on her tip-toes, reaching but unable to reach the bigness with just the tip of its huge beard showing.

"Aunt Edna wouldn't say that so you could hear."

"She did, though. She did honest, Amy," pleaded Will.

Amy still doubted it, but she was weary with envy and disappointment and her voice fell. "You're too little to talk about McGary, Will, let alone see him. Besides, if you saw him you might have to lie, and you can't even lie yet."

"Could you lie?"

Amy felt old and wise again as she watched Will's eyes grow big and his mouth slowly come open. "Sure I could. Most of the big kids can. But Abbie Smith can't, and she's ten. One day she almost told."

"What did she tell?"

"Where her pa was, of course. Anyway, she sure got it, too." Amy handed Will two small tin cups and wrapped the wooden dolls in her green scarf. She could suddenly think of nothing but Pa. He was somewhere for sure, somewhere high, and he missed her too probably. He—

"We shouldn't talk about it, Will," she said. "Come on, let's play Salt Lake City."

Will obeyed, as always, and with a few quick stamps of his bare feet the house was flattened. He ran to the creek with cups and then watched in awe as Amy molded mud into disks the exact size of the tin saucers. As always happened when Will was delighted with her, he giggled as he watched. She handed one saucer to Will and took the other between small hands red with dirt.

"We better play or it will be supper time and we'll have to go. You be the pa and I'll be the ma."

"Where's the other ma?" yelled Phil Sevy. "Mormons can't have just one ma!"

"This is only play, Phil Sevy, so you shut up!"

"You shut up," echoed Will bravely.

"Shhh, Will," said Amy. "Remember what I told you."

The magic of mud pies and the frown with which Will played the papa withdrew Amy completely from thoughts of McGary and the swearing Sevys. She lifted her cup with her fingers instead of her whole hand and she talked fine. Soon she was in Salt Lake City and, in her finest cape and manners, chatting over store pastries.

The warning sound broke Amy's make believe into a million pieces. There was the sudden clap of rock against rock, of something hurling its way down the mountain. It was not a loud sound but it might as well have broken the earth right in two. Amy sat motionless, staring down the road past the trees and the silent shops and the empty porches and knowing there was nobody in the world except her and Will.

"Here comes McGary," yelled the Sevy boys as they leaped from their tree and sped laughing up the road. "Run, Mormons, run! Run from the black buggy, ya woman lovers! Run to Arizona!"

Amy did not move.

"They're just foolin', aren't they, Amy? Who is muh-gar-rie, huh?" whispered Will.

Amy tried hard to enjoy being eight and knowing. Her whole self hurt to tell Will all about it. But of course she must not, and she must hide, and hide Will, too, and not tell. They ought to hide somewhere right now!

"He's coming, Will. He's coming around the east bend right now." She thought about Pa and about Abbie Smith almost telling and she wished she was with her mother at the mill. But Mama would not be at the mill. By now she would be hid. If she had heard the boulder she would be safe by now. *If she heard the boulder—*

Suddenly Amy was on her feet and running. "Ma's at the mill! She's tending the mill and she won't hear," Amy shouted back. You better go somewhere so McGary won't ask you things." Amy's bare feet sank in the soft earth along the ditchbank like wooden spoons in new butter and the tall grass sliced at her legs. The wooden plank slapped against her feet where she crossed Lund's dooryard and she stumbled over a hoe in the ploughed field where she had dropped potatoes that very morning. Without slowing, she ran the long trail up to the mill, the trail that no amount of walking could pack. Here and there rocks had been bared and rounded, but the earth had remained sand soft.

"Ma!" Amy screamed as she ran through the mill. "Ma!" Her voice sounded hollow in the empty room. She found Lee Robertson out back waiting for flour. "Where's Ma?"

"She's hid, thank God."

God! Of course! He could help! He had brought them Aunt Edna, and he had saved Pa's life when he got poisoned with sheep dip.

"Where did God hide her?"



But Lee didn't say. Instead he stiffened and looked past Amy. At the sound of a boot against the wood floor, she whirled, almost backing into the water wheel. The boot belonged to a body that filled the doorway. It was in Sunday clothes, nice ones, and behind it at the end of the path was a black-topped buggy. Across the road stood the Sevy boys, half smiling, pale.

"Where's the miller?" The marshal looked at Lee, then at Amy. She swallowed hard two times and tried to stand tall. She tried to see the knives and pistols big kids said were hidden in the beard that lay on McGary's black vest. But the beard was no bigger than Pa's and it was combed.

"You're a pretty little thing, aren't you."

Amy backed up another step.

"How old are you?"

"Pa's gone."

The big man squatted and smiled. His voice was gentle. His eyes, almost buried in bushes of eyebrow, were kind. "I just want to talk to him," he said.

"Pa isn't around," Amy said. Maybe she wouldn't get to lie. Pa hadn't been home since the night Zephyr was born and the only way she had known he was home then was by going outside and peeking through a tear in the blind.

"Where is he?"

"Pa's been gone a long time. I don't know where."

"Who runs the mill?"

Amy hesitated. "Ma."

McGary's face brightened. "Well, I'd like to see your mother. Where is she?"

"I don't know."

The eyes turned. They looked slowly around the room and Amy wondered as McGary stood how Aunt Edna could even think of hurting anyone so big. He hurried through the mill, looking everywhere. Suddenly he seized a sack of grist and threw it against the wall. "Damn cohabs," he muttered. "*Damn smart cohabs.*"

Amy moved behind Lee. Cohabs! A new word! A new word that might not be swearing!

"Your bird has flown," said Lee. Amy felt brave behind him, and she thought the way he said things exactly right.

McGary's face was dark and worried as he came toward Amy again. He squatted once more and looked into her eyes. "Are you sure you don't want to tell me where your folks are?"

Amy shook her head. "I don't know where."

McGary stood up and looked across at Lee before hurrying out the door. "This is a hell of a mill to run without a miller, young man." He ran down the path.

Lee laughed as he took his full sack of flour from the mill. "You sure got spunk, Amy Taylor. Weren't you scared?"

Amy could not answer. She sat in the doorway and watched the buggy go. By the time it was out of sight her insides ached and she noticed that her legs were shaking.

"Your ma's at the willows. She's safe enough," said Lee. "McGary won't likely be back today now he knows we've outsmarted him again."

Amy knew that Lee meant she might as well go home, and she started down

the trail. Slivers from the mill floor stung as her feet spread the warm sand and she did not know why but her eyes suddenly stung too and made tears that tasted sandy and salty, and then she was running again, through her own mother's dooryard and garden spot, past the tithing house, along Swenson's fence and under it. Across the wide field lay a sea of green willows, taller than tamarisk and almost as thick where their clumps began. Long ago when Pa broke his leg she had gathered the long saplings and sat for hours watching him weave baskets. The firmest and greenest willows he kept out to slit and tap into whistles.

As Amy slid into them, the willows gave way, falling wide. Amy moved quickly, tearfully among the tiny clearings. In each, two or three women sat, their knees drawn up to make an arm rest or to make room for someone else. Mary Swenson was crying, her head back, eyes shut as if she were at prayers. One old woman stitched on patches. Aunt Edna was looking straight ahead as if she were thinking about her sweet peas. The black curls on her forehead were wet.

Amy stopped. There were so many women. But when she finally saw her mother seated alone among the thickest willows she ran and fell into her lap.

"Ma! Ma!" The tears were gone and Amy's heart leaped. "I saw him, and I almost lied, and he's got a combed—"

"Amy!" The single word and her mother's strong arms jerked Amy to her feet and then two coarse hands held her face tight between them. Strands of her mother's long hair, usually piled smooth and shiny, hung loose around the browned cheekbones that looked to Amy like fists.

"Amy Taylor, you ought to be whipped!" The hands were too tight against Amy's face. "How old are you, Amy?" The hands shook her and the eyes in which Amy had read so many nice things were different than she had ever seen them. "Are you five years old?"

"I'm eight. Will's five."

"Then go right home, and don't ever, ever look for me again!" The hands turned her but held on. "What would we do if Pa had to go away and not come back? What if Aunt Edna and her children all went?" Then the hands pushed.

Amy slipped from the willows. Will could not go away. Some of the children and mothers had disappeared, but Will would not. Pa might go to jail though if she did not remember she was eight. How would it be different for Pa to be away in jail instead of away hiding? Some way it would be different. Amy slid slowly under the fence. Her tears made pebbles in the dry earth as she tried to fit the woman in the willows inside the mother who talked about Pa as if he were God. She tried to remember the excitement and the new word, but her cheeks still burned and her head was fuzzy inside. When Pa got angry, he thumped her head with his big thumbnail. Ma did not get angry.

As Amy turned the corner of the tithing house, she heard a noise behind her and looking back saw her mother in the shadow of the building. "There's bread and milk in the coolroom, Amy. Maggie is at Aunt Edna's so you put the babies to bed."

It was black outside by the time Amy had set the milk and bread back in the coolroom and convinced Ben that Ma would be in bed with him when he woke up. She rocked Zephyr until she slept, then climbed into the corner bunk that

hung suspended by big ropes laced through holes in the wall. She sank deep into the mattress to wait for Maggie. The moon stared through a knot hole just like the eyes of a coyote, and she wished Maggie would hurry up.

Amy wasn't sure what woke her, whether it was the talking or the quickly moving feet or the light ridging the door, but her father's voice, low and flowing, became suddenly clear. She slid from the bunk, opened the kitchen door, and slipped inside. Aunt Edna was rushing back and forth and so was Ma, like they did when they bottled or got ready for a picnic. The table was piled high with things Amy barely saw because there, sitting in front of the fireplace with his back to her, was Pa. She stared at the big bent shoulders, wanting to climb right over them into the lap. But her mother's voice came anxiously.

"Get into bed, Amy. Please."

Pa turned so fast that Amy fell against the door, startled. He smiled at her and before she could even smile back he reached out and picked her up. He drew her tight against the big buttons, the rough shirt, and held her. The chair began to tip back and forth, to the edge of a squeak but not full on it. Warm in the fire, unbearably happy, Amy did not say anything for a long time. Then she started wishing Will was there, too. It was wrong, him not knowing. Amy curled there, remembering Will and McGary. She could hardly stand it. She must not talk. She must act her age.

But the squirms could not be helped finally and she was sitting up, pushing herself loose and looking into Pa's face. His hair was not as black as it had been and the beard that had shamed all other beards in town when Pa babied it was too long. But the eyes were the same.

"You're every bit as big as McGary, I bet," Amy said.

"Bigger," said Pa. "With the Lord, I'm bigger." He spoke softly and squeezed her again and Amy laughed and was bubbly inside at the sound of Pa's voice.

"I saw McGary today," said Amy. "And I didn't tell him anything." She waited for Pa to reply but he just pulled her tight against him. "Will and me were at the orchard alone when the rock fell." Pa didn't seem to be listening. He lifted her high and carried her back toward her bunk. "McGary begged me to tell, Papa, but I remembered."

When Papa laid her down, she felt the big hands with their softening callouses slip back over her forehead to the tips of her braids. He kissed her cheek. She must not ask questions. She must not. But she touched his sleeve. "Will you be here when I wake up?"

"Not this time. I've got to play hide and seek with Brother McGary a little longer." Pa stood for a long time looking about him, then stepped over to Zephyr's crib and straightened the quilt.

"Go back to sleep, Amy." Pa shut the door behind him.

Amy lay for a long time hearing the voices and trying to see Pa move through the light around the door. Why had Pa come and why didn't Aunt Edna and Mama act happier about it? If he was *Brother McGary*, was he good? How could that be? He had to be bad. But there were no knives and pistols in his beard. She was sure of that.

Daylight usually teased Amy awake, but morning was full on her face before she woke. She and Will might not have time for a single make believe before she had to drop potatoes! As she dressed she listened for Will outside. He would

be calling her. Then suddenly there were footsteps moving along the porch. Good. Mama was home. As Amy pulled on her dress she could hardly wait to see Will's eyes grow big and his mouth flop open when she told him the new word that McGary had said. It didn't sound like swearing. Probably it wasn't.

She stepped out the door into the shade of the tamarisk at the foot of the rise separating Aunt Edna's house from her mother's. "Will!" She waited. When he didn't run out the door and toward her, she climbed on, calling again, much louder than she had intended. She stepped to the porch. "Will!" Aunt Edna would scold her for sure for being unladylike.

The door of the house was ajar. Amy stepped inside. The rooms were empty. Except for the wash bench and a table and the black stove, the house was bare. Even the corn husk beds were gone and the ladder to the garret where Will slept lay on the floor. Beside it, bundled around the dolls and dishes, was the green scarf. Amy's heart pounded. Will didn't know hardly anything! But he was gone and so was Aunt Edna and Emma and baby Seth. And so was the oval mirror from Salt Lake City.

Amy wanted to run down the hill to Ma. She would know all about it. Mama!

But she must not ask. She thought about Pa's shirt that scratched and tickled her face. She must help. She must lie and she mustn't ask Mama questions, no matter what. She must remember she was eight.

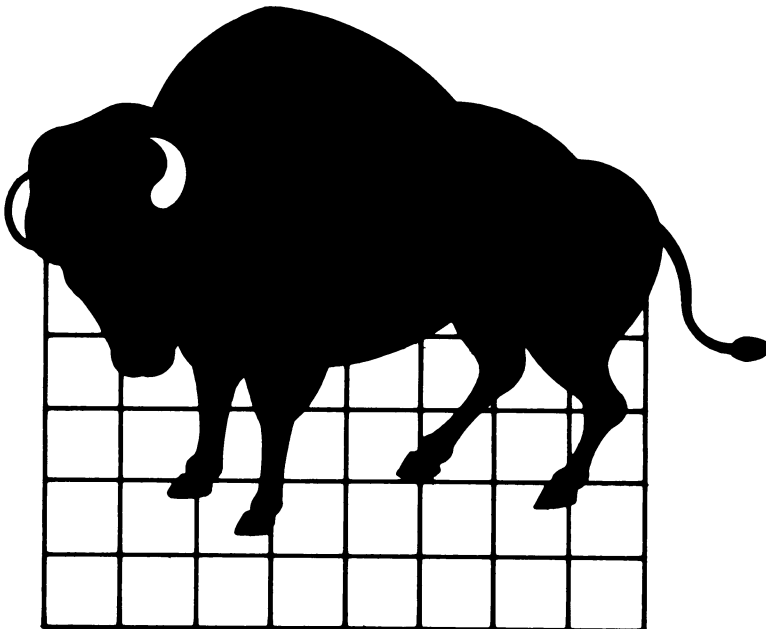
Picking up the scarf of toys, she walked outside and sat on the edge of the porch, pushing her toes into the dust the way Will did and feeling as if she would burst with things about Pa and McGary and cohabers. Slowly and tenderly she undid the chain of knots Will had tied around their toys and laid the dolls and dishes in a neat row. She tried to make believe, but she kept hearing the Sevys laughing from the tree and she kept seeing Ma in the willows and feeling her strong hands. Damn Sevys. The words pushed to come out but could not. "I guess I won't play," she said aloud, as if she hoped the dolls and dishes would not care. "I don't have a pa anyhow." She looked up and then she saw the shadow. McGary was standing in the back doorway of her mother's house, his face dark and worried again. Then he saw Amy and the face was not as dark and the legs moved toward her. Your bird has flown, McGary. As he came rapidly up the rise, his enormous silver belt buckle gathered light. Amy stood. The marshal's beard was combed but the marshal was a gentile. He had to be. She arched her back against the porch post and waited.

LINDA SILLITOE

The Buffalo and the Dentist

Frontier Village, restored and furnished
with relics of ancestral time
includes live anachronisms.
So we saunter to see the buffalo, laughing,
swinging up between corral boards
and nearly boot it in the rump as we demand,
“Where’s the buffalo?—oh!”

It revolves its huge head and looks
(we are wordless) then slowly swivels back.
Its tail quivers
but it will not heave up its woolly, dung-clotted bulk
and trot about.
It stares with bitter eyes
at the diagonal corner of its little brown yard.



In outrage the buffalo is penned
adjacent to obtuse oxen and pioneer ponies ;
for it is autumn and Indian summer scorches
the prairies ; he gallops in rhythm
with the intent, rumbling herd, writing a thunder
over a landscape ; then butts a close, humid cow
toward violence beneath shadowing trees,
bellows an alarum to the young bulls.
And the smells of heated grass and cow,
the river below and sweating sun ripen his blood ;
the noise of his fellows is warm in his ears.

Thinking these things you are transported in time
past the buffalo's eyes to a tidy office
rank with sweet antiseptics, close as your foolish
mortification. You pose tilted, hands gripped,
hating the trifling pain and the roar and vibrating charge
of the drill to your bone.
The pert nurse frisks her short skirt away
from you, pats crisp hair. Mouth agape,
you drool ridiculous blood trying to recall something
profound you once said, and stare humiliated
at a dentist's ski-sunburned head.

Though the buffalo could preside in the center and roar
at the sides, it slakes in the corner and slobbers,
ignoring its viewers with weary hostility ;
mud melts beneath its indifferent loins,
and a domestic sparrow feeds between the tips of its horns.

DENNIS CLARK

Meadow

(to my daughter—in explanation of her name)

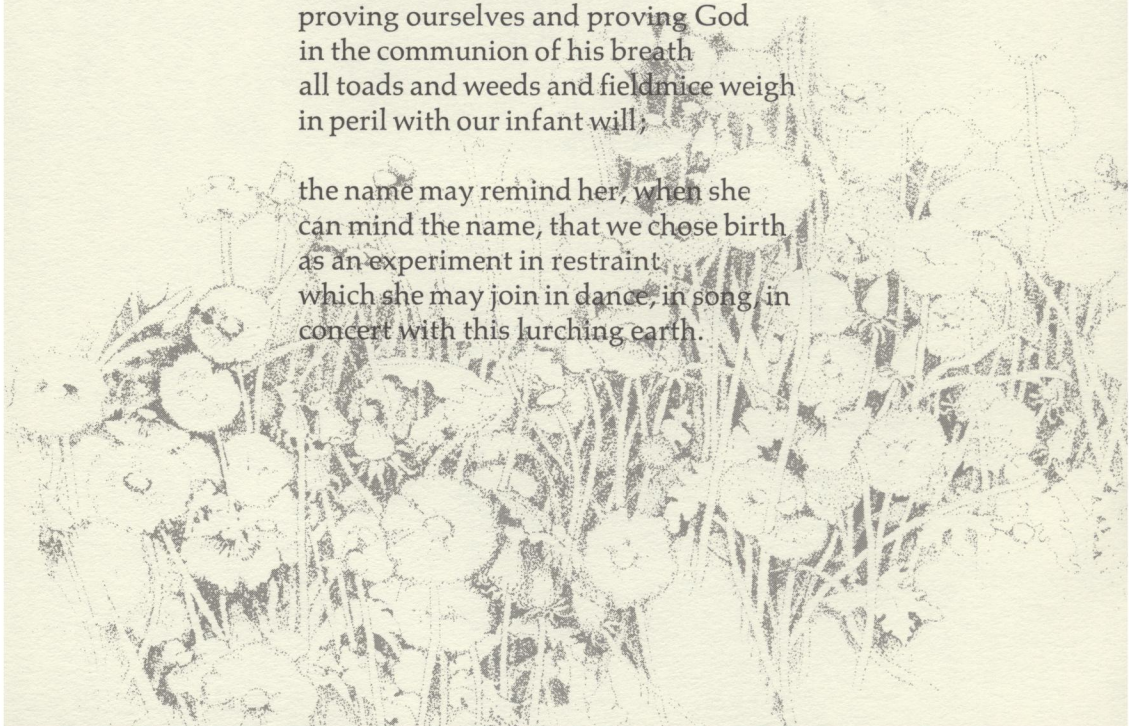
Balance is what we mean the name
to tell her when she's suckled news
into her brain that birth knits her
into the nervous system of
the spastic, plastic planet,

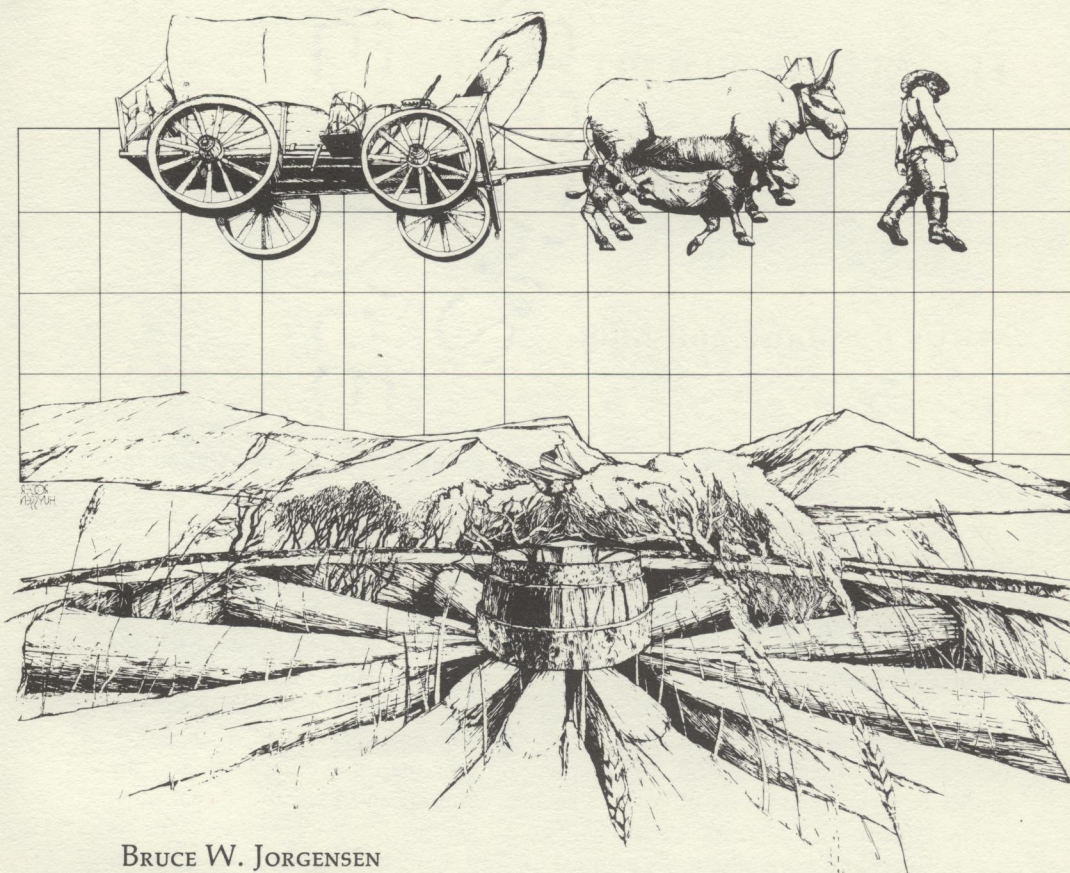
the mediation of the seen
oases in the dance of heat
viewed sidewise by desert fathers
as a vision of the presence,
greasy burden of dominion;

a coming with the world to know
why we gather and shape to life
germ, egg, milk, grass-seed, tree-seed, meat,
to live—share and plowshare—with beasts
and trees working God's own green fate,

a community with the elect—
proving ourselves and proving God
in the communion of his breath
all toads and weeds and field mice weigh
in peril with our infant will,

the name may remind her, when she
can mind the name, that we chose birth
as an experiment in restraint
which she may join in dance, in song, in
concert with this lurching earth.





BRUCE W. JORGENSEN

Near an Abandoned Canal Bridge in Southern Utah

Infinite distance: old conceit.
These hills bound sight, define the length
Our fathers, innocent of defeat,
Might seed their strength.
This was their range. The field
In drouth rescinds what yield

They thought, and vision meets
Viability's barren edge.
The westward scarp casts avid night;
Waking, the chastened will regards
The juniper in dark
Procession on the ridge.

FROM THE PULPIT

Mary's Response and Mine

FRANK L. ODD

At Christmas time I like to read the Gospels again. Partly out of tradition, no doubt, and the love of tradition. For in tradition lies much of the special charm and cheer of holidays. But also, I suspect, out of the quiet hope that a new reading, with another year lived, might yield some new understanding. So I read them all again: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John: the four interpretations of what was significant and essential in the life and mission of Jesus Christ.

But I save Luke for the last. For just as I believe, as I suppose most Christians must, that the greatest drama in the history of mankind was the revelation of God to man through the life and mission of Jesus Christ, I also believe that no drama is complete without an audience to receive and respond to it. In effect, the drama of divine revelation is complete only as man responds to it, and the drama is an ever on-going one, since each generation and each individual must attempt to make that response anew. Thence my predilection for Luke, for he is sensitively and sympathetically attuned to the dynamics of this human response. He sees and gives us to see that one of the peculiarities of faith is that though thousands and tens of thousands may believe, each individual must in a certain sense believe alone. He intimates to us that although the truth and significance of Christ are abiding and unchanging, each individual comes to that truth and grasps it and molds himself to it in his own manner, as is manifest, for example, in the lives of Peter and Paul.

And as is manifest, also, in the life of Mary, the mother of Christ, as related by Luke. For Luke sees into Mary's heart, and introduces the strivings and yearnings of her heart as a recurring, poignantly human, and humanizing refrain amid the solemn sweep and cadences of divine events.

Consider Mary in her human-ness. She stands out as an admirable figure against the tension of her own, private drama as she attempts to grasp the overwhelming significance of the events in which she is caught up. Witness, for example, the announcement to her of the angel Gabriel, and her reaction to it, as recorded in Luke I:28-34:

And the angel came in unto her, and said, Hail, thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.

And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be.

And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found favor with God.

And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name JESUS.

He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David:

And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and there shall be no end.
Then said Mary unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?

The young girl Mary is convincing in her reaction to this startling event. The promises made to her are most sweeping and portentous. To anyone raised in the historical and religious traditions of her people, even to a young girl, they must have carried strong resonances. But Mary brushes them aside in going directly to the matter of immediate concern to her: her own purity and the question of the birth. She is ingenuous, in harmony with her years, but her instincts are sound and uncluttered. The words she speaks in submission to the charge laid on her—"Behold, the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word"—reflect not so much comprehension as a courageous openness. In the midst of her perplexity, she has the humility to respond to and serve that which she senses to be good, even when the service to be rendered cannot be fully grasped.

Shortly after the annunciation, Mary went to visit her cousin Elizabeth, who was in the sixth month of her pregnancy. Luke tells us that Elizabeth, on seeing Mary, felt the babe jump within her and was filled with the Holy Ghost and bore witness to the divine mission of the child that Mary carried in her womb. But of greater importance to our understanding of Mary is Luke's revelation that Mary herself was touched by the Holy Ghost and spoke her joy and her gratitude with great power. "My soul doth magnify the Lord," she proclaimed,

And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.
For he has regarded the low estate of his handmaiden: for, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.
For he that is mighty hath done to me great things; and holy is his name.

After telling her own special relationship with God with such depth of prophetic discernment, moreover, her attention turns outward and broadens to magnify and praise the Lord in all His works of justice, love and compassion among men, and particularly in His remembrance of and mercies to Israel. The ingenuous girl of the annunciation here speaks with the voice of a prophet.

But the exalted moment passes into time, and the visit ends, and Mary returns home to wait the time for giving birth. We have all heard and read and sung the events attending on that birth, but let me rehearse briefly with you Luke's account of the arrival at the manger of the shepherds—who had just heard such extraordinary things about this child, all of them in joyous confirmation of the promises made to Mary:

And they came with haste, and found Mary, and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger.
And when they had seen it, they made known abroad the saying that was told them concerning this child.
And all they that heard it wondered at those things which were told them by the shepherds.

To which he then adds:

But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart.

Sometime later, upon completion of Mary's confinement, she and Joseph brought the child to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice. On entering the temple they found

. . . a man there whose name was Simeon, and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Ghost was upon him.

This man Simeon had been promised he would see the Messiah before dying, and after he has taken up and blessed the child, he exclaims:

Lord, now lettest thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word:
For mine eyes have seen the salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people;
A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.

This witness was not new to Mary and Joseph but rather a confirmation of what had already been made known to them on earlier occasions, and yet in the following verse there appears the refrain:

And Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him.

As though perceiving that thought, Simeon blessed Mary and Joseph also, and then, speaking directly to Mary, he said:

Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which shall be spoken against;
(Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also,) that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.

Moreover, there was immediately joined to this witness, with its shadow of pain, a supporting one, for there was a prophetess named Anna in the temple in Jerusalem, a woman widowed for some eighty-four years, who never left the temple "but served God with fastings and prayers night and day." This Anna came up to the group in the temple in the very instant in which Simeon blessed Jesus and his parents, and "gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem." With these words echoing in their minds and pushing at their hearts, Joseph and Mary returned with the child to Nazareth, where Jesus, in their care and company, "grew and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him."

That wisdom and grace, which must have been a steady, daily unfolding to his mother, bursts upon us suddenly some twelve years later in Jerusalem, where the family has gone to be taxed. Jesus is found to be missing and is located in the temple in the midst of the doctors only after three anxious days of searching. On finding Him, His

. . . mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou dealt thus with us? behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.
And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?
And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them.

All the manifestations and the witnesses and the years, and they don't quite understand. But there is still the struggle to understand:

And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them: but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart.

Now Mary had talked with an angel, had received great promises and assurances from him, had duly conceived and carried a child in a virgin state, had on various occasions heard others testify to the mission and divinity of the child

through the Holy Ghost and had herself prophesied under His influence. And yet, when Jesus is born and as He grows under her care, we see her constantly marvelling and pondering in an unceasing attempt to comprehend His nature and destiny.

What, then, are we to make of Mary's life, she who was so greatly favored and yet seemingly so slow to comprehend? I believe that Don Quixote, that battered but inimitable Christian knight, illuminates her life as well as his own when on one occasion he tells Sancho Panza, his squire, that it is not given him to know the end from the beginning, but only to commit himself to a willing striving within the opaque immediacy of every moment after that ideal which he perceives to merit his loyalty and sacrifice. His work was a work of faith, and his faith a faith of works.

Mary's life manifests this ethic of faith, this intuitive wisdom of love. She had been given to know remarkably much, as we note from the scope of her marvelous sayings on meeting Elizabeth, but she had to grow into an understanding of what she knew—had to flesh it all out with the tissue of her own experience. How was she to reconcile those awesome foretellings with this child she nursed, taught, cared for and watched grow? Yet how could she witness that "increase in wisdom and stature" and not feel her heart resonating to the prophecies? She must have hoped and feared greatly. The essential thing is that she had the initial meekness to respond to the promptings of the Spirit even when she could not grasp their purpose. Through all the years she found the courage to serve in the midst of perplexity and the greatness of heart to love unstintingly in the face of uncertainty, with a love swelling imperceptibly to veneration, for at the marriage of Cana (as John records it) she could turn to the servants of the house and say with simple assurance, "Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it." And of this same love and veneration, surely, was forged the sword to pierce her soul, as Simeon had foretold, when she beheld Jesus raised on the cross.

Though as a young girl she gave herself to be "the handmaid of the Lord," it took her a lifetime to complete the transaction. And (need it be said?) this process of living, loving and serving was a more essential and a better teacher by far than had been the angels themselves. Ultimately, of course, it is the only teacher. Angels can announce the gospel to us, but only we can get it into our bones.

Latter-day Saint scripture posits a very real partnership (however unequal it may be) of God and man, rooted in the eternal principles of free agency and man's uncreated being. And Mary, for all that she was "favored of God," demonstrates that human souls do indeed have "the power in them" to reach out for God and to complement and complete His ends.

I find courage and integrity in Mary's response. And, as a Church member, some comfort. For I confess that I often do not know what is meant by "know" when it is used with respect to God and the eternal scheme of things. I confess that there are many things I do not understand about the Gospel and one or two things I find it hard to feel harmonious about in the Church.

There are, on the other hand, many things that I greatly love, appreciate and respond to. On a wholly subjective level, I feel that I have at times been touched and moved by the Spirit of the Lord and I try always to remain mindful of that fact. There are also reasons on a perhaps less subjective level which strongly draw me to love and esteem Jesus Christ. I am grateful for the marvelous lucidity and

coherence of His ethical teachings, and for the consistency with which He embodied them in His life. He speaks, to my mind, more penetratingly and illuminatingly to the noblest potentialities of man than has any other individual that history has recorded. His teachings, life and mission imbue life with an enduring purposiveness that wonderfully mitigates the tragedy of mortality. I love Him, finally, because His claims to divinity are dignified and dignifying and speak powerfully to the deepest hopes and yearnings of my being.

I love and am committed to the Church, to its requirements and activities, because I believe it furthers the work of Christ, that it develops and ennobles men. I appreciate it because it provides me with opportunities for service and growth—for getting outside myself and next to others.

These are the principles and the feelings around which I attempt to build my life, discipline my actions, order my resources and project my aspirations. If I cannot state emphatically and categorically that I “know” them to be *the* truth, I nevertheless hold them to be the finest, truest things I know in life and seek to give my life over to compliance with them, trusting in Christ’s admonition that only through doing the commandments can we learn of their, and His, truth.

And having said all this, and beyond all this, I continually ponder these things in my heart.

REVIEWS

Edited by Davis Bitton

The Many Phases of Eve

JAN L. TYLER

The Joy of Being a Woman. Compiled and Edited by Duane S. Crowther and Jean D. Crowther. Salt Lake City: Horizon Publishers, 1972. 326 pp. \$4.95.

Alone but not Lonely. By Wayne J. Anderson, Ph.D. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1973. 156 pp. \$3.95.

The Joy of Being a Woman, a feminine companion to *Win If You Will* by Paul H. Dunn, could undoubtedly be used for illustrating talks and Relief Society lessons dutifully woven to bind sisters tightly into patterns of acceptable behavior.

The Crowther team has created a compilation of feminine self-reports. Their goal was to present "the wisdom and values of outstanding Latter-day Saint women concerning woman's role in the modern world." But this objective was diluted when the contributors were invited to write something "useful, . . . suggestions concerning things which had worked well for them." Unfortunately the contributions *are* mostly useful. When glimpses of wisdom and values appear, they are only appetizers teasing the reader with a desire to engage in conversation uninhibited by oversimplification.

Obviously this book is in part the reaction to much current talk regarding "the place" of women, a legitimate concern for men and women. Discussions on this subject suggest that we are in the process of evolving higher levels of individual and social integration. But before a new level is reached there is necessarily a trying period of positive disintegration, which breaks down the old system of ineffectual approaches. Void of this kind of understanding, *The Joy of Being A Woman* often idealizes and stultifies female roles instead of analyzing and elevating them to more mature heights. One example in this regard is the beauty queen syndrome.

Most of the twenty-three women included in the anthology are either from or now living in Utah. This encourages a traditionalism that many raised outside the state find shocking, for the Utah culture often discourages women from achieving the kind of joy that results from using one's mind, spirit and body as an integrated whole with no apologies, no defined limitations. One woman, Laraine Day, risked hinting at this when she stated, "I have long felt that one of the greatest weaknesses of the membership of our Church has been its habit of gathering together to the exclusion of meaningful social contact and association with other people not of our faith."

These twenty-three women speak of their roles in very traditional ways, but fortunately many of them behave in uncommon ways. Examples are Elaine Can-

non, Virginia Cutler, Laraine Day, Ettie Lee, Jackie Nokes, and Lenore Romney. Their actions speak louder than words, and these uncommon actions serve as the greatest source of inspiration. Hopefully our cultural reward systems will one day allow actions and words to become united.

Alone But Not Lonely contains "thoughts for the single, widowed, or divorced woman." According to the Foreword, this book is the natural result of Dr. Anderson's counseling experiences with "hundreds of single women, who have repeatedly asked, 'When are you going to put the things we have talked about into book form?'" There are some who might wish that such books about the lives and experiences of Mormon women would be written by women. Has our traditional conditioning under the Patriarchal order led us to always expect men to speak for women? Those given to Freudian interpretations might see this book as an example of a man giving rebirth to women in order to balance the scales for his having been born of woman.

Alone is painfully basic in its step-by-step approach to the concerns of those who find themselves in a Mormon environment, which values coupling to the point of excluding, in a very un-Christian way, those who are single for one reason or another. The book does have one redeeming chapter, "Information About Divorce Procedures," which demonstrates an acknowledgment that human people, who might also be Latter-day Saints, do in fact get divorces.

Providing "proven guidelines for more confident living" begs the issues. One does not tell others how to live in order to lead them to greater happiness; a higher principle encourages the teaching of principles and then leaving it up to individuals to discover their own approach to life. The bromides of "Guides to Confident Living" might well have been omitted.

The superficial skipping through problems of singlehood, without considering some of the positive experience of singleness, makes one wonder if the author has only heard what it is like to be alone but never truly empathized with or experienced the agonies and the ecstasies. It would have been more rewarding to have had more explicit reports from individual women. *Alone But Not Lonely* serves as a satisfactory primer, but one who is single would do well to move on to Moustakas' investigation of loneliness, Buber's examination of I-Thou relationships, and Maslow's freeing suggestions about self-actualization.

The existence of both of the books reviewed here re-emphasizes the need of enlightened Mormon women to define the divine within them. They should stop consenting to the attitudes of men, cultures, and traditions that have little to do with the fact that they were created in the image of their Mother in Heaven. Women will be punished for their own sins and not Eve's transgressions.

Establishing the Kingdom Along the Little Colorado

NELS ANDERSON

Take up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing Along the Little Colorado River, 1870-1900. By Charles S. Peterson. Tucson, Arizona: Arizona University Press, 1973. 309 pp. \$9.50.

Charles Peterson is a man of history who, like a sociologist, examines the chang-

ing aspirations and problems of the Mormons who lived along the Little Colorado during the latter part of the nineteenth century. I review his book as a sociologist with what may be called a hobby interest in the frontier experiences of the Latter-day Saints. *Take Up Your Mission* fills many gaps and corners in the picture I already had of the Utah "Dixie" settlement and its spill-over into Nevada. The book concentrates on the later extension of the settlement into Arizona.

A gratuitous explanation may be useful. In July 1908 I was on my way from Salt Lake to the West Coast, where I hoped to work my way on a ship to Panama to get a job on the canal under construction there. A week before I had worked in the harvest fields of Kansas. I was put off at the Nevada-Utah line and by early evening arrived at a green spot called Clover Valley, where I was taken in and so made at home that I never asked pay for the few days of work I did there. A job was found for me at the Terry Ranch on the Utah side of the border.

During the following winter I was alone at the ranch much of the time. I used most of that time reading several volumes of Church history and other books as well as Church journals. The following spring I returned to Clover Valley to work for the venerable "Grandpa" Lyman L. Woods, who had been called to take possession of that valley and its water sometime around 1865. Although in poor health, he would not leave to obtain medical care. He had never been released from his mission and he feared he might die while absent.

Grandpa too had many Church books and my reading continued. He had not read much but he was a matchless narrator as he had been a fearless guide and colonizer. I joined the Mormon Church during the next winter.

Several years later came an opportunity to teach in the Church academy at St. Johns, Arizona, where I met many families with kin in Dixie (Southern Utah) and some of the old timers who had been called to that mission. They had endured the hardships, the prejudice of gentile neighbors and the pursuit of the marshals hunting down polygamists. They were now of the Arizona community. Most of those names I meet again in this book.

It has often disturbed me that so few Mormons I have known have more than a limited acquaintance with their own history. That holds too for most missionaries I have met in Canada and Europe as well as in the United States. Asking them about the Intermountain settlement, one is likely to hear not much more than the story of the handcart companies crossing the plains, or some story about one's own great-grandmother or great-grandfather. Those not of Arizona have little knowledge of the Little Colorado settlement, perhaps the greatest ordeal in the Mormon settlement of the West.

Peterson's book is valuable for the solid information it contains from diaries, letters, church records and public records. It is obvious that he has invested years in searching these materials. Especially important are the frontier journals and diaries, which the Church encouraged the first settlers to keep. There were hundreds of these and many have been preserved. The keeping of such personal records was not, I think, characteristic of other frontier settlements.

Mormon leaders, even early in the 1850s, visualized a southward extension of the "Kingdom," perhaps to Mexico and beyond. Scouting parties had been sent into the Arizona region even before the Dixie settlement was launched. They were missionaries to the Indians. These explorations, Peterson reminds us, had much to do with maintaining peaceful relations with the Indians. There were

very few Indian-Mormon confrontations in this area. The movement of colonists into Arizona began in the mid-1870s.

Expansionism was the motivation for the southward thrust, but it was accompanied by another ideal, identified by Peterson as separatism. Separatism meant the tight Mormon community, gentiles excluded (or, when necessary, tolerated). At one time, longer in Arizona than elsewhere, it meant the United Order of communal living, the community being one total family of cooperating individual families. For a time it also meant Mormon industries—a sugar mill, an iron smelter, a textile mill, wineries—all under the auspices of local Church authority guided by the high authorities. It meant Zion's own mercantile system, of which there were branch stores in every community, designed to keep gentiles out.

Peterson sees the compact community as a natural consequence of the Mormon type of irrigation agriculture, each family having its own garden and buildings in the village and its farm outside it. Separatism served well, holding people fast to their faith and their goals, maintaining loyalty to authority, however hard the times or resistant the natural environment. Separatism meant continuing order and purpose; without it, especially in Arizona, the colonists would not have held their individualistic urges in check and settlement would have failed.

As the Little Colorado settlements were able to take root, as they came to identify themselves with the wider community, as they felt themselves more accepted than formerly, the idea of separatism slowly relaxed. The earlier effort to maintain a tight separatism had been difficult to maintain and, due to human fallibility at local levels, had not always been equitably administered; the marvel is that there was so little of such bad faith. The balance between the levels of authority, as seen in the story of this settlement, had been such that extreme abuses of stewardship were held in check.

If the Church failed to meet expectations, this was often because it lacked the means or it was contending with other threats. As must be expected, there were many mistakes among leaders from the top down. But the organization during those times was able to backtrack. They were more the mistakes of acting in the face of limited information, information which could not be had before some action had been taken, a characteristic of all pioneering.

The settlement of the Little Colorado, in addition to its severity, was remote from Church guidance. Indeed, the managing ability of the organization was as much tested as the settlers themselves. I take the liberty of quoting from the opening paragraph of Peterson's final chapter:

Rarely have human lives been more engulfed by a single institution. At birth, at death, on each special occasion, in the routine of Sabbath days, and in the rhythm of daily life the church stood predominant. It was foremost in the fact of the Little Colorado. . . . Its force drew eyes across the territorial border to Salt Lake City. It made the primary decisions of life. It provided hope in the future and lent meaning to the present. It buoyed heavy hearts, and its failure to fill the full measure of expectation brought despair. It contested the elements and challenged other social forces. It built dams, laid railroads, founded villages and established schools.

Peterson keeps attention on what people did and how and when they did it. He has put on the line much that is new, avoiding praise, blame and sentiment. One quotation that captures the essence of the hardships and the faith of these pioneer Mormons is a sentence from a letter by Lucy Hannah White Flake, com-

menting on the wind: "It has damaged the crops and covered them with sand, filled up the ditches and made it very unpleasant, but our Heavenly Father must know what this wind is for."

Moral Tales for Our Times

GEORGE D. SMITH, JR.

Chloe in the Afternoon, a film by Eric Rohmer.

Chloe is the last and one of the most evocative of Eric Rohmer's "Six Moral Tales." The previous stories include *La Collectionneuse*, *My Night at Maud's*, *Clair's Knee*, and two shorter works for television.

These films, in contrast to the standard action movie, portray internal moral conflict involving decision more than action and verbal more than physical expression; they are literate and philosophical. Rohmer's stories are usually about a man who has made a decision to be true to one woman being tempted by another. The character then struggles with a moral choice which becomes more and more intense.

In *Chloe*, a happily married man is shown in a comfortable, somewhat uneventful existence. His wife teaches school and the evenings are spent quietly; he reads while she corrects papers. The duration of silence, brief smiles and small talk is punctuated by the ticking of a clock. He plays affectionately with his children in the morning before going to the office where things seem pretty much under control: two attractive secretaries, a few phone calls and ample time to walk about Paris in the afternoon.

Strolling after lunch in the afternoon is tempting but harmless. It is a time for introspection, for reflection upon his relationship with women, defining his sense of maleness. He catches the eye of one striking Parisienne after another—but only for a moment. In a literate ambiance he narrates his thoughts to us—how stunning each passing woman is, how he is reminded of past days when he might pursue and win the affections of such women. Now, he assures himself, he is satisfied with a glance, sufficient to indicate that there might be a mutual attraction. He tells himself, perhaps trying to convince himself, that these fleeting moments of eye contact along the avenue only serve to remind him of how much he loves his wife. Further, they make him love her more.

Enter Chloe, previous lover who unexpectedly reasserts herself in his life, showing up at his office and eventually accompanying him on his walks in the afternoon. He finds an interest in Chloe somewhat akin to the brief visual engagements with the various anonymous females he sees on his walks. But he has known Chloe, she knows him, and she is there repeatedly, persistently. At one point while visiting Chloe at a dress shop where she is temporarily working, he watches her change clothes. She is strong willed and invites him to make love to her. He is tempted but resists.

The story is subtle and the tension builds casually. Boy meets girl, but a lot happens before he does or doesn't get her. The involvement is internal, a test of

will. The presumption of an underlying moral commitment creates tension which would not exist in an amoral story where attraction to a woman would find easy resolution.

Without understanding the protagonist's moral commitment, and perhaps impatient with the internal, cerebral "action" that takes place as he faces a conflict between his loyalty to his wife and the continuous beckoning of Chloe's body, some viewers have interpreted his resisting temptation as a lack of decisiveness or masculinity. His reaction to Chloe is certainly atypical in contemporary society. He shows restraint even though he finds Chloe appealingly tempting. Because he delays his decision until the last possible moment, his decision is made more difficult—and the movie more entertaining.

Chloe carries a vivid message for those who presume a moral dimension in their lives.

Opposition in all Things

GEORGE D. SMITH, JR.

A State of Siege, a film by Constantin Costa-Gavras and Franco Solinas.

At the time that Costa-Gavras' new film, *A State of Siege* was cancelled at the American Film Institute's inaugural festival at its new movie theater in Washington's Kennedy Center, it was described as "rationalizing political assassination," and thus conflicting with the spirit of an event honoring the late President Kennedy. However, a further reason is evident—that it insinuates American undercover agents in the uncomely role of advisor-trainers of repressive police in a South American dictatorship.

It is ironic that the appearance of this film and its rejection by the festival in Washington coincided with growing embarrassment of exposed illegal political repression within the United States. The necessity of political opposition, desirable without political violence, is the reality brought in focus by both this film and the network of political espionage and repression being unraveled by the Watergate hearings.

Costa-Gavras expresses his moral outrage at American involvement in the internal affairs of Latin America, using as a basis for the story, the 1970 kidnap-murder by the Tupamaros, Uruguayan urban guerillas, of Don Mitrone, a United States Agency for International Development official, ostensibly assigned to advise the Uruguayan police in communications and traffic control, but subsequently reported to be involved in Uruguayan internal security and closely associated with those responsible for the systematic torture and liquidation of the revolutionary opposition. Much of the film's direction was conceived after talking to people involved in the kidnapping and listening to tapes of Mitrone's interrogation by the Tupamaros.

The result is a combination of documentary and fiction, difficult for the viewer to distinguish. Costa-Gavras has said: "The movie is about political violence, rather than about political assassination. It tries to speak about violence from

each side." However, the film is not at all neutral. The Tupamaros are clean—they have the role of just inquisitors, clear-eyed, logical, knowing, of measured temperament. They try not to hurt the kidnap victims and they release an American agronomist and other non-political persons. They are grass-roots democrats, even going through a complicated voting procedure—meeting one-by-one on a moving bus—to determine whether to put the American agent to death when the Uruguayan government refused to negotiate the release of political prisoners. By contrast the police and government oligarchs are grossly overweight, pompous and insensitive, awash in self-righteous hypocrisy. A journalist asks whether the terrorists will demand release of political prisoners—the official's answer: "We have no political prisoners here, only common criminals."

The music and sequence reinforce the film's moral conclusions. The industry and purpose of the elaborate guerilla efforts in organizing and effecting plans is underscored by industrious and purposeful music, quick paced and optimistic, sometimes resembling the musical background of industrial training movies.

The film begins with the search and discovery of the assassinated American, Philip Michael Santore. The body is found in the back of a Cadillac with Montevideo license-plates, one of the many cars methodically appropriated for the kidnapping. At this point the viewer is naturally revolted by the assassination. At a pompous funeral procession it is curiously observed that the places reserved for the university president and faculty are empty. The irony is developed when the eulogy calls Santore a victim of terrorism and violence. The ensuing account of Santore's history with Brazilian and Dominican policy and his close involvement with those who inflicted electric torture, tends to leave us in sympathy with the clear-eyed revolutionaries.

The use of Yves Montand as the protagonist agent lends a subtlety to the argument, primarily because of his demeanor and objectivity. He is not by nature such a bad person. In fact, he is likeable; it is his job that condemns him. He responds to his interrogators briefly and pragmatically, trying to preserve his integrity as the evidence within each question exposes half truths and lies eroding his attempted innocence. The camera cuts from the interrogation room to scenes of the agent's life, amplifying for the viewer the irony of the questions and answers.

Although Costa-Gavras has suggested that he has attempted only to show two enemies facing each other, each trying to rationalize their actions—execution by the Tupamaros and torture by the police—and that he never made moral judgments, the judgment against repression of a political opposition is powerfully concluded, as it was in his two prior political films, *Z*, based on the assassination of Gregorio Lambrakis in Greece, and *The Confession*, a film about the Slansky trial in Czechoslovakia.

The underlying subject of each of these films is *opposition* and attempts to control or eliminate it. In resolving political and social conflicts within the United States we rely upon representative government, checks and balances, an adversary judicial system and a free press. The absence of these forms of political opposition often results in climates of political repression, such as those observed by Costa-Gavras in Greece, Czechoslovakia and Uruguay. Repression to create unity is a violence and it often breeds counter-violence.

The message of *A State of Siege* in demonstrating the alternative to legitimate

political opposition is amplified in meaning as we attempt to understand and dismantle the efforts to centralize political power in our own country.

This message applies equally to totalitarianism of the left—with its slogan “power to the people”—as to totalitarianism of the right. Wherever power is concentrated, it is wielded by specific individuals (never all the people) who often become a self-perpetuating “New Class” of functionaries.

Mormons believe that there “must needs be opposition in all things” (Nephi II). Yet how are we to respond to the oft expressed call for unity within the Church? Is there not one truth, one path? Is opposition desirable even within the Church? Maybe the practical question is what we do with opposition when it appears. Is a dialogue maintained or is expression outside of the litany of unified thought quieted? Does the comfort of unity insulate us from the responsibility of examination? Can the purpose of our life be simply prescribed by someone else, or must we sense and judge the evidences of our purpose, each person in his own heart coming to terms with the meaning of his life? *A State of Siege*, which explores a political state bridled by unified political control without the ideas or influence of a working opposition, is an effective vehicle for reminding us of the value of opposition.

Establishment Bias

WILLIAM D. RUSSELL

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.

These twelve essays are dedicated to the memory of the late B. West Belnap of Brigham Young University. Most of the writers have been or are associated with the College of Religious Instruction at Brigham Young University.

There are five essays this reviewer rates as well done: Brigham Young’s attitude toward the environment is impressively summarized in Hugh Nibley’s “Brigham Young on the Environment”; C. Terry Warner has an interesting discussion of two paradigms: the “natural man” and the “spiritual man”; Leonard Arrington’s “Centrifugal Tendencies in Mormon History” does what is needed: he analyzes the careers of people who defect from the Church, without being judgmental; Richard L. Anderson’s account of Oliver Cowdery’s non-Church decade is informative; and Martin B. Hickman’s defense of the system of sustaining officers in the Church is well-written, even though this reviewer cannot accept the merits of the system he defends. (Where is the check on bad leaders if the members are taught to remain loyal to a leader long after the leader ceases to merit support?)

One essay that requires comment is “Mormonism and the Nature of Man,” by Chauncey C. Riddle. Riddle contrasts what he calls the monistic view of man and the dualistic conception. His monistic view is one which few Christians would accept, as it is basically agnostic and naturalistic. It is a “straw man” which is easy to shoot down from a theistic perspective. Riddle contrasts this monistic concept with the “correct,” dualistic view, where the real man is spirit, which must contend

against the flesh. Compare Riddle's analysis with the view of the eminent theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, who in *Christian Realism and Political Problems* states that St. Augustine broke with the dualism of the classical philosophers in favor of a biblical conception of man as an integral unity of mind and body. The Augustinian view is "monistic," and is held by many thoughtful Christians. It would have been more responsible for Riddle to have matched his dualism with a Christian monism of the Augustinian-Niebuhrian variety.

The collection has several general weaknesses. One is the lack of a central theme. Although billed as "essays on great issues," the issues dealt with are not the great issues, and some of them seem hardly to be issues at all.

The treatment of some of the issues is disappointing. For example, David Yarn's "Peace—Whither?" turns out to be about the need for inner peace rather than world peace. He should have explained his view that "many so-called peace advocates" actually "love Satan more than God" (p. 116). Neal A. Maxwell should have explained his statement: "The scriptures give us a balanced approach to poverty through the gospel of work, which provides the ultimate parameters for the solution of poverty" (p. 98). Does he mean that the solution to poverty is to instruct the unemployed to get busy and work?

The strong "establishment" bias running through the essays was a particular disappointment for a book dedicated to the memory of a great scholar and teacher. Great scholars are not generally known as expounders of orthodoxies. Maxwell even goes so far as to glibly state that "the scriptures tell us about the thrill of orthodoxy" and that "orthodoxy takes great courage" (p. 99). While there may be situations where orthodoxy takes courage, it is more often the case that orthodoxy is the safe way out.

Another example of this establishment bias is Nibley's statement that after Joseph Smith's death, "only the faithful remnant of the Church went West" (p. 26). It would be more accurate to acknowledge that not *all* of the faithful nor *only* the faithful went West. Some scoundrels went West and some good, faithful Mormons chose not to follow Brigham, for many reasons, including concern about polygamy and the political directions in which the Church was moving.

A noticeable evidence of the uncritical acceptance of established orthodoxy is the recurring tendency to accept unquestioningly the teachings of Joseph Smith. This is particularly evident when dealing with issues that relate to biblical scholarship. The literalistic, pre-20th century view of the Bible is reflected in the citations of biblical passages. There are passages cited as "Paul to the Hebrews," even though the vast majority of scholars are convinced that "Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews" was not written by Paul, was not an epistle, and was not addressed to the Hebrews. Warner labels a passage from the book of Revelation as "The Lord to the Churches at Laodicea and Sardis" (p. 37) and Maxwell does the same (p. 97).

The Book of Mormon is also approached uncritically. Robert K. Thomas cites several Book of Mormon stories as "clearly in Hebraic tradition" (p. 135), but he has not demonstrated such to be the case. He refers to strange Book of Mormon words such as "neas and sheum" and "cureloms and cumons" as "persuasive internal evidence" of the book's claims because the existence of *hapax legomena* is regarded as evidence of the authenticity of ancient records (p. 155). He fails to consider the fact that here we have an English "translation" from an unknown language, so there is no way to examine the entire Book of Mormon in "reformed

Egyptian." Therefore, we have no way to authenticate these as *hapax legomena*. Thomas' view that Nephi's slaying of Laban was a sign "he has started to grow up" (p. 153) is difficult to accept, since the rationale for the slaying seems essentially the same as the rationale for the Inquisition: "Behold the Lord slayeth the wicked to bring forth his righteous purposes. It is better that one man should perish, than that a nation should dwindle and perish in unbelief."

So while these essays are generally stimulating and worthwhile, they fail to demonstrate the kind of independent analysis that men with such credentials ought to be producing.

On The Way to Obsession

RICHARD H. CRACROFT

Surely the Night by Claire Noall. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1972. 288 pp. \$6.00.

Here is yet another novel about the sensitive and soul-torn nineteenth century Mormon woman, another proclamation that if it took men to match our mountains, it was only because both had been long overmatched by women. Claire Noall, however, has stirred another ingredient into the usual stew of the sensitive-woman-confronted-with-the-spectre-of-polygamy: woman's liberation. Yet Noall's is a carefully seasoned woman's lib, for the heroine, Lucy Muir, remains a faithful Latter-day Saint—she has her stew and eats it, too. Virginia Sorenson and Maurine Whipple rank with the gourmet chefs, but Claire Noall, who died in 1971, showed signs of being a highly respectable Mormon cook.

Surely the Night (the title is adapted from Psalm 139, "Surely the darkness shall cover me; even the night shall be light about me") is the highly readable, thoroughly enjoyable story of Lucy Muir, a young and attractive Mormon who lives and loves in the Weber Valley of pioneer Utah. Trained by her Scottish mother as a midwife, Lucy becomes obsessed with the idea of becoming a medical doctor after a mother-daughter debate, following the death of a young mother in childbirth, as to whether the Lord or the Devil willed the woman's death. Lucy determines that she will devote her life to medicine and become a doctor. She finds support for her aim in a sermon by Brigham Young.

Enroute to Lucy's dream, Mrs. Noall leads the reader through some vivid and thoroughly researched insights into Mormon life in polygamous Utah in the late 1860s and early 1870s. A performance of the "Messiah" by a stake choir; a Mormon cornhusking and rag-carpet bee; a picnic, complete with rendition of "A Mormon Boy"; and a talk by Stake President and Apostle Lorenzo Snow—all provide lively and colorful insights into Mormon life in that era, as does her description of the coming of the railroad and the Mormons' recognition of the change and conflicts and gentile influence which the railroad will bring. In the Salt Lake section of the novel Noall vividly portrays the tensions between Mormon and gentile, and in her description of the Jordan River House, a large west-side mansion belonging to an apostle but used as a lying-in home for underground

wives, she captures realistically the ubiquitous fear of Mormons for the wrath of the "Spotters" who would send Mormon men to prison as "Cohabs." Lucy through her skillful handling of a serious typhoid case, her silence about Mormon underground affairs, and her hard-won reputation as one who, regardless of her peculiar goals and life, has remained true to her people, comes to serve both Mormon and gentile women, and thereby becomes an exciting vehicle for Noall's commentary on gentile and Mormon life during the period.

Lucy, like some modern women liberationists, may be too obsessed, too strident in her insistence on achieving her goal, and though Noall's characterizations may be often too shallow, too one-dimensional—especially in her treatment of Lucy's father, husband and children (the boy, at four, is still saying "Dadda"—either a slip or firm evidence that a mother's place *is* in the home)—still Noall's vivid portrayal of farm and city life in late nineteenth century Mormondom is a rich and valuable one. Her brave attempt to link the problem of the Mormon wife to the problem of the modern, unliberated Mormon (or gentile) woman, is a neat one, but the male (chauvinist) reader may find himself intellectually sympathetic with Lucy while emotionally grateful that she is, *laus deo*, somebody else's wife.

There are other faults: Some of the ends, if tied, are tied in slip knots. The appearance in the book of gentile Alec Strange is fraught with foreshadowing—but nothing ever comes of it, though a feeble attempt is made to link him to the scholarship awarded at the novel's end. Similarly, the use of a symbolic lake which Lucy ever desires to visit, but to which neither her father nor her husband will take her, is not very effective in its blatantness; and the transformation of the giddy sister into the solid and loving wife of the stake president is a bit sudden. On the whole, these flaws do not get in the way of the novel's readability, however, and occasionally Noall balances flaws with genuine touches of excellence. Such a touch is the symbolic opening, wherein Lucy is seen returning from helping her father aid a ewe that was having difficulty in dropping her lamb. Lucy's statement, "O aye, the ewe needed Pa, and Pa needed me," is a nice foreshadowing of the events of the novel, in which Lucy becomes convinced that the Lord needed her to assist Him in the birthing of His ewes.

Surely the Night is a good Mormon novel, full of the same kind of scholarship and good writing which characterize Noall's *Intimate Disciple*, about Willard Richards, and *Guardians of the Hearth*, about Mormon midwives. But, good as it is, *Surely the Night* lacks—what? Mythic dimension, perhaps. Or perhaps it is that Mormon readers today crave examination in fiction not of the well-documented plight of the polygamous wife, but of the universal and significant human experiences which such an anomaly as polygamy prevents us—and writers—from confronting. If we were to place our world-worn Mormon fingers on that spot where our mortality most hurts us, it would probably be on the spirit-flesh tension, on the in-the-world-yet-not-of-the-world challenge that defeats us regularly. Mormon novels which attempt to deal with such problems in a nineteenth century context somehow miss the mark, for polygamy garners the attention and the emotions of the reader, which, as in this novel, should rightfully be focused on the inner tensions on Lucy Muir Whumper.

Perhaps Mormons ought to have a root-beer toast similar to the Jewish toast, "Next year in Jerusalem"—perhaps "Next year—THE Mormon novel." Perhaps. Until then, *Surely the Night* is a thoroughly enjoyable diversion.

A Photographic Trip through Ancient America

BENJAMIN URRUTIA

Early America and the Book of Mormon: a Photographic Essay of Ancient America. By Paul R. Cheesman. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972. xiv + 109 pp. \$6.95.

There are beautiful pictures in this book. Some, like the take of Monte Albán at dawn, are works of art. The volume could make a valuable gift or an adequate addition to a photographic library. It provides a good substitute, or a companion, to a tour of the fallen cities that were built on the soil of the American continent long before our more recent ancestors so rudely invaded these shores.

Nevertheless, there are flaws. I mention them here only in a spirit of helpful criticism, in the hope that the author will be able to correct them in a future edition, and that other writers will avoid making the same mistakes.

Although the maps on pp. xvi, xvii and 68 are fairly accurate, those on pp. xi, xiv and 64 are atrocious. Why use bad maps when good ones are available? Furthermore, Dr. Cheesman defines "Mesoamerica" as "Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador" on page xiv, but the accompanying map contradicts him, as it leaves out Baja California and Honduras. The definition, at any rate, is different from the geographical one (all of Central America and Mexico) and the anthropological one (which leaves out most of Mexico and reaches down to Costa Rica).

The words "thought by some" on page xix are superfluous. It is not a matter of opinion, but a fact, that the Maya calendar was "more accurate than the Christian calendar in use at the time of Columbus." That was the hopelessly inaccurate Julian calendar. The Gregorian calendar, developed a century afterwards, is much better, but still not as good as the Maya.

Another needed correction, I'm happy to say, does *not* stem from an error of Dr. Cheesman's. On page xvii, the terminal date for the peak of the "Olmec" flourishing is given as 400 B.C. However, the development of dendrochronological calibration of C-14 dates—a system that gives radiocarbon a far greater accuracy in dating than it ever had before—sets the termination at ca. 600 B.C. This reinforces the view that 600 B.C. must be seen as the dividing line between the Middle Preclassic and the Late Preclassic (the chart on page x also needs correcting on this point).

Coming to Chichen Itza, Dr. Cheesman discusses the ritualistic Ball Game and correctly notes that the use of hands was forbidden, though neglecting to mention that the feet and head were also banned—making it very unlikely that the game will ever be in vogue again.

Monte Albán does *not* mean "sacred mountain" (p. 23). It means "white mountain." It is regrettable that the section on Palenque (pp. 24-26) contains two photographs of the Palace (the second adding nothing to the first) but none of the interiors of the Temple of Inscriptions or the Temple of the Cross. The Teotihuacán section (pp. 38-41) omits the information that the city's ceremonial center suffered severe destruction around 400 A.D.

Passing on to Perú, we are told incorrectly that the country's name is derived "from a river in southern Colombia." Actually, it is a hispanicized version of the Quichua word for "south."

The two pages (104-105) on Petroglyphs from the continental United States come as a complete surprise, in view of the stated intention (p. xiv) to concentrate on Mesoamerica and Perú.

My main complaint, however, is that the title (though not the subtitle) of the book is misleading. Of 123 pages, only 4 have anything to say about the Book of Mormon, and what they say is not always accurate; sometimes it is even unfortunate. For instance, the statement on page 107: "The record centers around a strongly religious governing body, constantly at war with those who oppose their teachings." Actually, the wars in the Book of Mormon were not of a religious nature, but they originated when powerful Nephite rulers made an attempt to gain even greater power by inciting Lamanites to join them in warring against their own people. Furthermore, the Nephite religious leaders were always on the defensive rather than the offensive during these wars.

Dr. Cheesman is wrong in thinking that reducing the Book of Mormon and the ancient American cultures to their lowest common denominator is proof of any sort, for that same denominator fits a number of real and imagined societies. Far more detailed and specific evidence could be provided. Indeed, from Chiapas (Zarahemla), during the centuries of the Nephite peak, there come sculptures in stone of muscular figures with trim, elegant beards and Semitic noses. This leads us to think that it can be profitable to concentrate on the times and places that best fit the background of the Nephite record.

Yet I would not over-criticize. Cheesman's work is indeed what it announces, "a photographic essay of Ancient America," with excellent plates that are the work of Dr. Cheesman himself. With the addition of a bibliography and the correction of the errors noted above, it could even be more than a tourist guide, and actually serve as primer for the general reader interested in Pre-Columbian archaeology.

One cannot help longing, all the same, for a comprehensive volume that would contain a scientifically sound scheme of correlation between the Book of Mormon and the culture history of the Mesoamerican Preclassic. When eventually this is provided, Book of Mormon archaeology will truly begin to exist.

Brief Notices

Ina Coolbrith: Librarian and Laureate of California. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1973. 531 pp. \$11.95.

A well written, slow-paced biography of a woman primarily significant in the literary history of California. Not until her death was it revealed that she was the daughter of Don Carlos Smith and the niece of Joseph Smith, Jr.

The Joyous Journey of LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen: An Autobiography. Glendale, California and Denver, Colorado: Arthur H. Clark, 1973. 335 pp. \$11.50.

A poignant, personal story, intertwining the lives of the two authors from their

early days in Bunkerville, Nevada, through their tender courtship and on to a life of professional achievement as historian (LeRoy) and poet (Ann).

Four Essays on Love. By Truman Madsen. Provo, Utah: Communications Workshop, 1971. 71 pp. \$2.95.

Thoughtful, sometimes lyrical essays entitled "Joseph Smith and the Sources of Love" (first printed in *Dialogue*, Vol. 1, No. 1), "How to Be Loved and Beloved," "The Language of Love at Home," and "Human Anguish and Divine Love."

Conference on the Language of the Mormons. Provo, Utah: Language Research Center, Brigham Young University, 1973. 88 pp. \$2.00.

Fifteen papers presented at the conference held May 31, 1973. Two of the most substantial papers are by the co-chairmen: John L. Sorenson, "The Language of the Mormons: A Social Perspective"; and Harold S. Madsen, "Historical Aspects of Mormon Language Studies." Neologisms, translation problems, and tentative suggestions for a lexicon round out this provocative, introductory collection.

AMONG THE MORMONS

Edited by Ralph W. Hansen

A Survey of Current Literature

*Yet at the resurrection we shall see
A fair edition, and of matchless worth,
Free from erratas, new in heaven set forth.*

—JOSEPH CAPEN, *Lines upon Mr. John Foster.*

The literature surveyed for this quarter's bibliographical essay is from periodicals. Even the casual reader of this impressive list of recent works will notice that a high proportion of the reviewed literature concerns the "World Church." From India to England, Tin Can Island to Finland, South Africa to Central America the *Ensign* and other journals report on the activities of the Church and present (albeit often superficially) introductions to the cultures of these lands.

Other articles touch on population and birth control, temples, migration, astronomy and photography as related to early Church leaders and places of historic interest. There is something for everybody, especially that strange breed of "scholar" who searches bibliographies in order to abstract material for use in still other bibliographies.

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POTPOURRI

Among the manuscripts recently acquired at the Marriott Library, University of Utah, are the following, as reported by Sharon Pugsley, Manuscripts Librarian in Western Americana at the Marriott Library.

Joseph E. Johnson

Pioneer, journalist, and printer, Joseph E. Johnson was postmaster at Council Bluffs, Iowa, for five years and established the *Council Bluffs Bugle* in 1852. He opened the first store on the site of Omaha and in 1854 published the *Omaha Arrow*, the first paper published on Nebraska soil. Besides various other publications in Nebraska and Council Bluffs, he published *Our Dixie Times*, afterward *Rio Virgen Times*, in St. George, Utah, and the monthly *Utah Pomologist and Gardener* for several years. This collection, donated by Mrs. J. H. Hutchinson, includes Johnson's diaries and journal for 1850, 1852, 1860, 1870, 1873, and 1876 and a brief autobiography of his photographer son, Charles Ellis Johnson.

Joseph Corodon Kingsbury

An early convert to Mormonism, Joseph C. Kingsbury was intimately acquainted with Joseph Smith and other Church leaders. He kept two journals, one covering the years from his birth in 1812 to his home in the Great Salt Lake Valley in 1864, and the other giving a day by day account of his trip to the West with the George B. Wallace Company in 1847. Also included with these papers, donated by Ronald and Ilene H. Kingsbury, are genealogical sheets on Kingsbury and his three wives and photographs of him and Eliza Partridge Warren Kingsbury.

A. C. Lambert

Dr. Lambert is a former professor and dean of the Graduate School at Brigham Young University, former dean of the College, Los Angeles State College, and has been very active in state and local educational planning. In addition to the many papers he has already given the University, he recently donated the following (all produced by himself unless otherwise noted):

Bibliography of Some of the Productive Work of A. C. Lambert 1924-1970, third version, October 1970 (unpublished manuscript).

Saint Germain: One and one-half linear feet of notebooks on "Saint Germain," the central figure in a cult composed of various groups across the United States. "The followers and literal worshippers of the fake 'Saint Germain' make great use of the concepts of reincarnation, Karma, astrology, clairvoyance, 'dictations,' or revelations from 'Ascended Masters,' from the 'Hierarchy' of this planet, of all other planets, and of all mankind, collectively and individually. There are some similarities, and some sharp differences, between all this 'theosophy,' 'Saint Germainism,' and Mormonism."

A Study that Gives Some Special Attention to Martin Harris, 1973, 449 pp. (unpublished manuscript).

The Most Probable Sources of the Book of Mormon "Characters," revised and expanded, August 1972, 2 vols. (unpublished manuscript).

Trail of the Serpent, by Inquire Within, The Christian Book Club of America, Hawthorne, California, reprinted 1969, 325 pp. (handwritten annotations by A. C. Lambert).

Junius S. Romney

Junius S. Romney was President of the Juarez Stake, Mexico, from 1908 to

1912 and directed the evacuation of Mormons from their Mexican colonies in 1912. This collection consists of a speech he gave July 13, 1966, about the evacuation experience and a six volume autobiography (1903-1970) of his son, also Junius S. Romney, a prominent Salt Lake City attorney.

John Taylor Family

Recent additions to the papers held on the John Taylor family include letters written 1953-1972 by Raymond W. Taylor to Samuel W. Taylor and others, with some carbons of answers from Samuel. The bulk of these letters concerns uranium land deals, their book *Uranium Fever*, the reinstatement of John W. Taylor's "former priesthood and blessings," and work on their forthcoming biography on John Taylor, Third President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. There are also typescripts of letters and other papers of John Taylor written 1838-1887 and a preliminary manuscript biography of John Taylor by Raymond Taylor. The material on John Taylor is restricted until after publication of the biography.

Also donated were a manuscript supplement to Samuel Taylor's *Family Kingdom* and manuscripts, notes, reviews, etc., of *Uranium Fever* and Samuel Taylor's *Nightfall at Nauvoo*.

Women's State Legislative Council

Materials donated from this organization include minutes (1926-65), scrap-books (1948-69), News Bulletins, and various other materials concerning the Council's election information services and its activities regarding such issues as the problems of drug abuse and the status of women.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Edited by Maryruth Farnsworth

Mormons and Blacks: A Response to Hugh Nibley and Eugene England

MARTIN R. GARDNER

The publication of Lester Bush's important article on Mormonism's Negro doctrine in the last issue and the responses to Bush by Gordon Thomasson, Hugh Nibley and Eugene England have stimulated further dialogue on the subject. Some of these responses appear in Letters to the Editor. A more substantive and provocative response is the following by Martin R. Gardner.

Dear Editors:

As a longtime *Dialogue* fan, I feel prompted to voice my expression of support for the continued publication of this vitally important and necessary journal.

I consider myself an active and devoted member of the Church. But like so many others these days, I have had my problems reconciling conscience with certain Church policies. While kicking against the pricks has never been easy, some have trouble learning the lesson. *Dialogue* has been an important vehicle for keeping a great many of us misfits hanging in and around the Church. With every issue it renews hope that honest and free inquiry is not anathema in the context of today's Mormonism.

I wish to compliment you particularly on the latest issue. The thorough and careful discussion of the Black Issue by Lester E. Bush is far and away the most significant contribution *Dialogue* has rendered to Mormon thought. Not only is the piece itself excellently done but the subject is of vital importance to us as a people and is hideously misunderstood by the average Mormon on the street. I hope the Bush effort will stimulate much future study and dialogue concerning a subject each of us, if we claim to be morally minded people, must come to grips with.

I read with great interest the responses to the Bush article from Brothers Nibley, England, and Thomasson. I should like to comment on some of those responses and throw out a few thoughts of my own regarding the race issue. There can be no arguing with the "testimony" of another. Hence Eugene England and Hugh Nibley and all others claiming direct revelation from God showing them the divinity of the present racial policy are immune from attack by way of argument. But it does seem to me that some criticism of the thoughts of both England and Nibley can be leveled, not as to the basis of their personal beliefs, but regarding the way they read the Bush paper.

It seems to me that the discussion by Bush illustrates that there is no basis in doctrine, scripture, or reason supporting the policy denying blacks the priesthood.

England would seem to agree with that conclusion stating that his convictions have been confirmed that the policy is rationally untenable except from the perspective of "ecclesiastical authority." He never explains how the appeal to "ecclesiastical authority" makes this policy "reasonable." But I suppose the argument must go something like the following: The racial policy is supported by the prophets, the prophets by definition are inspired and therefore ultimately reasonable, therefore the policy must be reasonable. But this is not to say that the policy is in any meaningful way reasonably understandable to us. Indeed it is not to say that the policy is "reasonable" at all but only to affirm one's testimony of prophets. England would seem to be saying then that the policy is unreasonable in *every* way, but because of his conviction of the prophetic callings of our Church leaders he must nevertheless give his support to the practice. England does not stop here, however; his "Mormonness" will not allow him to live with a doctrine or policy without having a reason to support it. So he does what he criticizes others for doing, he creates a rationale; not a very good one, but certainly better than the curse of Cain explanation or the old first-estate-fence-straddling rule still alive in parts of Orem and Granger.

In succumbing to the temptation to try to make this whole thing reasonable, England suggests that God has given us the present lower law to prepare us for the time when we can learn to fully share all of the Gospel with all of our brothers and sisters. This strikes me as grasping at doctrinal straws. Why do *we* (any more than any other group of people) need to be *prepared*? Why does England assume that we as a people *at this time* lack the capabilities of lots of other groups of white Americans, indeed whites everywhere, to love and intimately associate with our black brethren? If a previously all white fraternity house at an Alabama campus can peacefully and lovingly admit blacks, why not a temple at Provo? Is England suggesting that the Mormon people are really the least tolerant bunch of moral bantamweights to grace the earth?

One thing does seem certain, the present policy is making matters worse. The Phase I restrictions on ordination suggested by England are not working very well to prepare us for Phase II acceptance of blacks into the priesthood. Of course England recognizes this and suggests the value of Bush's work might lie in helping reverse the trend, knocking down the myths so that Mormons and blacks may begin to know one another.

Assuming England's rationale is not acceptable, do we dare face the facts that his "Mormonness" found intolerable? The truth of the matter seems to be that there simply is no rational explanation of the present racial policy from which we can obtain comfort, allowing us to live with the attacks upon our senses of morality and justice generated by the practice. If we are to accept the policy as God's we must do so through an exercise of very profound faith, the kind of faith few of us know little of. I say "faith" and not personal revelation which is a form of "knowledge" because some of us can testify to contradictory "revelations." While we know the Church is led by inspired men, we know also that the present policy is immoral and inconsistent with our testimony of Jesus Christ and the spirit of His Gospel. And we know both through revelation and our exercise of reason that God does not contradict Himself and He has said that He is no respecter of persons. But while our reason and conscience may cause us to reject as ungodly the black policy on priesthood, our faith may allow us to affirm it as God's will. To

make such affirmation we must take a heroic leap, become Knights of Infinite Faith. To do so we are required to deny our reason, our sense of morality, our conscience, the very whisperings of the Spirit on which we have been taught to rely. However inconsistent with scripture the black policy may be and however contrary to our notions of God as a loving Father the practice appears, we must nonetheless completely abandon our own desires for understanding and throw ourselves behind the Brethren in the terrible hope that we are indeed supporting God. Such denial of our own integrity is the supreme test of our faith and devotion to the Lord and His Church. It is the most perfect manifestation of our humility, of our ability to give ourselves completely to God. It is a recognition that when it comes right down to it, we lack the powers of even beginning to comprehend our Father.

None of this is pleasant; working out one's salvation in fear and trembling was never meant to be a church picnic. But agony and despair and *angst* are the seeds from which true faith blossoms. We are to support the Church and hopefully our Heavenly Father in this morally intolerable matter. To support this racial policy is in short the truest possible test of our faith. But a caveat should be noted. All of this is a far cry from playing the favorite Mormon game of Follow the Leader Blindly. The players in that game are so joyously doing what they are told to do that they never become sensitive to the moral issues raised by a policy denying the Gospel fullness to people for no other reason than the accident of their ancestry. By failing to enter into the moral struggle with themselves, these happy sheep never exercise "faith" in its most commendable and heroic form.

I admire England's support of the Brethren in this matter and that of anyone else who does so for the right reason. (Or as I have mentioned the right lack of reason.) But everyone in the Church is not made of such stern stuff. Are these other souls who call themselves Mormons such spiritual weaklings that they are to be denied a place in the Kingdom because they just cannot seem to abandon their own consciences and believe this thing is of God? And the problem is not as simple as Dr. Nibley suggests, *viz.* that there is really no problem at all. My experience does not bear out the validity of Nibley's view that if one will only study hard enough and pray hard enough God will let him know this policy is His will. Lots of otherwise good Mormons spending lifetimes of study and prayer about this matter are not getting the same testimony Dr. Nibley has received. Quite the contrary. Is there any possible way for committed seekers after truth to reject the policy but still stay in the Church and maintain a general testimony of the fact that the Church was divinely restored and still is led by living prophets? The Bush paper suggests such a possibility.

Nibley suggests that Bush's study shows the leadership of the Church constantly embarrassed by the Black Issue and therein is evidenced the divinity of the policy. I fail to see much "embarrassment" in the words of Brigham Young, however. (And he does seem to put forth his opinion as revelation contrary to Nibley's view.) In fact it is the constant lack of "embarrassment" on the part of the Brethren, at least the early ones, which I find so troubling in the Bush study and everything else I have seen on the subject. There seems to be an almost cavalier dismissal of this whole matter by the Church leaders by appeals to tenuous scriptural grounds and appeals to just about any dicta, taken out of about any context by about any general authority. None of the general authorities seems

to be particularly bothered by the sandy foundations of the policy. While I see little "embarrassment," I see no agonizing by the Brethren over the moral implications (and of course I believe they are many and profound) of the practice. Even if God did command, it would seem to me that it still merits profound soul-searching by all moral men who claim to believe it. God commanded Abraham to slay his son too.

I do not mean to suggest that today's prophet is not a compassionate and loving man who is sincerely concerned about the welfare of all mankind. Nor that the Church is not guided by revelation. The Prophet may very well struggle every minute of his life with the burden of this practice, praying for the Lord to allow a change in policy. I have no way of knowing such things. But Bush's study does seem to raise the possibility that due to some racism, perhaps understandable but not justified, on the part of some early Brethren and even more understandable lack of sensitivity to race problems by later leaders, the Church got saddled with the present policy. This is not necessarily inconsistent with the notion of revelation. It simply indicates that the Lord grants considerable latitude to the Brethren to make policy on their own. They are not infallible and sometimes make decisions which are not as wise as they might be. Is it unreasonable to suppose that prophets do not lose their free agency, that they do not become automatons upon ordination?

Once stuck with the policy, reluctance to abandon it is understandable, especially since the denial of priesthood to blacks has been couched by the Brethren in terms of "doctrine" both through scriptural reference and modern revelation. (It seems futile to argue that Brigham Young wasn't claiming "revelation.") Any change in the policy would thus result in significant numbers of Church members losing a degree of faith in the Church as divinely inspired. To change the policy because it is a freak anachronism (even though change would be required morally and sound theologically in such circumstances) might seem to admit to some that the process of revelation has not worked very well. There is thus understandable reason for the Brethren to try to weather this storm in some way other than admitting the policy-doctrine was only a quirk of history not relevant in our society. Is it not at least conceivable that the Lord may not intervene and issue an express revelation either affirming or denouncing the policy? Why should He repeal a policy He never made? Hasn't He already made Himself clear that the Gospel is to be the means of salvation for *all* mankind, that He is no respecter of persons? But if the Lord has never "revealed" the black policy-doctrine, is it not reasonable to expect Him to do so if He in fact wishes to withhold the priesthood from blacks? Is it possible that He is withholding light on this subject to allow the Brethren to make *their own* decision? Is this a kind of moral test for them? To adopt some Nibleyisms, are the Brethren as well as the rest of us being "pushed into the water to learn to swim," and to "stew in our juice" until we do something about a problem which should never have existed? If the policy originated by man, it may as easily be abandoned the same way.

I certainly do not claim any inside knowledge in this matter, and I raise questions only to suggest that we know very little about how the policy on blacks and the priesthood originated and what is required to change it. We especially know little because the Brethren have never really discussed this matter. Until such time as they do (and I hope that they will) we must be allowed to speculate, and

to live our lives by the light we possess. I do know that I can have no final say in this matter. The Prophet alone can make or change policy for the Church. I must trust in his judgement.

I for one am weak, not yet initiated into the Order of the Knighthood of Infinite Faith. Every part of my being is offended by the present policy. But at the same time I love the Gospel with all my soul. These conflicts are a source of constant suffering. Whether a revelation is required to enable us to share the Gospel fully with all the human family, or merely a policy decision by President Lee, I pray with all my heart that we will soon see the day when the present racial policy is changed.

Very sincerely,
Martin R. Gardner
Assistant Professor of Law
The University of Alabama

Cornerstone: Meeting Place of Past and Future

FREDERICK S. BUCHANAN

Dialogue introduced its readers to Cornerstone, "An Organization of Latter-day Saints for the Preservation of their Architectural Heritage," in its roundtable on the Coalville Tabernacle (Winter 1970). Since its organization, Cornerstone has played a significant role in the attempts to preserve buildings that are of historical importance to Mormon heritage. In the following note Frederick S. Buchanan tells more about Cornerstone and its activities.

Many of the recent writings about society and its problems reveal heightened awareness concerning the impact of the future upon man. According to the "experts," the steadily accelerating speed of change will be so great that man will become, and is perhaps now, a victim of something akin to culture shock. The impact of this "future shock" is one factor which has stimulated a group of Utahns into giving considerable time and energy to the serious consideration of the place of the past in the present and future. For the past year this group has been actively promoting the objectives of "Cornerstone," a non-profit organization dedicated to the preservation and continued use of buildings having a significant historic and aesthetic place in the Mormon experience. From its inception in December 1971, Cornerstone has identified its mission as two-fold:

1. Research—so that the significance of such buildings as the Bountiful Tabernacle or the 18th Ward in Salt Lake City can be demonstrated and documented, historically and architecturally, and so that alternate uses of buildings will be considered should they cease to be a functional part of the religious community.
2. Education—so that the communities which built these places of worship and service can become more aware of their unique contribution and be more sensitive of the need that modern communities have of maintaining their physical, spiritual and aesthetic heritage.

To accomplish these objectives members of Cornerstone have been surveying nineteenth century Mormon buildings for the purpose of gathering data relating to their architectural and historical significance. A number of public meetings have been held at which the need for concerted attention to the problems of preserving these examples of the Mormon architectural heritage have been graphically portrayed. Some small measure of the success of the group's efforts was the recent addition of the Bountiful Tabernacle to the Utah Register of Historic Sites and its subsequent nomination to the National Register of Historic Sites.

In December 1972 a new Board of Trustees for Cornerstone was elected consisting of Dale F. Beecher, Ph.D. candidate in history, University of Utah; Frederick S. Buchanan, Assistant Professor of Cultural Foundations of Education, University of Utah; Bevan Chipman, School Social Worker, Jordan District; Jeffery O. Johnson, Manuscript Curator, Church Archives; Lee Last, Interior Designer; Myron L. Sorensen, Attorney; Sharon Lee Swenson, Ph.D. candidate in English, University of Utah; Maureen Ursenbach, Editor, Church History Department. At a subsequent meeting of the board, Maureen Ursenbach was elected President with Bevan Chipman as First Vice President and Sharon Lee Swenson as Second Vice President. Myron L. Sorensen was chosen to serve as Secretary-Treasurer.

At the December meeting of Cornerstone Dr. Leonard Arrington, Church Historian, made an interesting presentation on the history of the Logan Temple and Tabernacle. He stressed the fact that such buildings were a means of enriching the spiritual, social and the economic life of the communities. From 1885 to 1900 the Logan Temple was used as an educational center with regular lectures on history, natural philosophy, and political economy as well as theology being conducted for some 150 students each season. For Dr. Arrington the Logan Temple "demonstrates the early settlers' belief that life is more than a struggle for physical survival"—for them it was a "visual reminder of the omnipresence of eternity."

The task of Cornerstone is essentially of a long-term nature—one of changing Mormon community attitudes toward their history as it finds expression in the bricks, stone and mortar of meeting houses, tabernacles and chapels. Perhaps the spires, the rock foundations, or the murals depicting early church leaders taken singly and alone are not always sufficient reason for preserving pioneer buildings, but when taken together with the spirit of Mormon history, these perishable materials come to symbolize a way of life which will never return and to which we owe a great cultural debt. The spirit of community which "pioneer" buildings symbolize is not something to be lightly set aside in this day of rapid change and "future shock." Cornerstone exists to help the Mormon community meet the future not by looking backward nostalgically, but by discovering the strength of its religious heritage through its architecture.

Mormon Students In Great Britain

MICHAEL BLACKWELL

The Latter-day Saints Student Association is a rather recent organization for college age youth who are not attending a Church school. The following note dis-

cusses LDSSA activities in Great Britain. We hope in future issues to include LDSSA events and activities on other campuses in the United States and abroad.

The British education system is organized in such a way that only 22% of each yearly batch of graduates are able to obtain a place in higher education (8% at Universities—the rest in Colleges of Education and Polytechnics). This means that higher education is effectively reserved for an elite compared to the wider intake of the U.S.A. and many other countries. There is also a tradition, facilitated by generous government grants, that education be continued in an institution away from the student's home town. Great advantages can be derived from this system—undergraduate teaching is at a high level and the departure from the family home gives a sense of independence to the young people—but there are also some disadvantages, some of which are particularly felt by LDS students.

Although Church membership is growing steadily in the British Isles, it remains a predominantly working-class group. In this country there is a very strong correlation between social class and educational achievement; therefore, there is still only a small number of young Church members in higher education. Of these, the great majority find themselves the only "Mormon" on campus. The biggest problem the LDS student has to face is making a satisfactory accommodation between the teachings of the Church and the new knowledge he is gaining in his academic life; between the traditional views of the Church membership and the often contradictory social attitudes of fellow students. Being alone on campus can make this task immeasurably more difficult and, sadly, can be hampered even further by some local Church members who are wary of "liberalism" and who discourage the student in any efforts to build bridges, by overemphasizing the "simplicity" of the Gospel and the immutability of traditionally held views. (As an example, a very literal interpretation of Genesis is still seen by a great number of members as the only permissible view.)

There are basically three ways the student can react to the situation:

- (1) by giving up the fight and rejecting the Church.
- (2) by compartmentalising conflicting views, repressing challenging ideas and waiting for the post-university period when they can be conveniently forgotten or at least assimilated in a less concentrated form.
- (3) by thinking through the problems and conflicts and establishing a method of inquiry that will enable him to work towards the life-long goal of "embracing all truth."

It was with these problems in mind that the British Isles LDS Student Association was formed nearly five years ago. The main work it undertakes is personal contact with students through student counsellors and a yearly convention. The Association has on the whole been successful and the impression exists (although no figures back it up) that the percentage of students falling away from the Church has lessened.

The last convention was held at Edinburgh with the theme of "Whate'er thou art, act well thy part." It consisted of the traditional mixture of talks, discussion groups, socials, visits and a concluding testimony meeting. Some speakers stood at opposing points on the conservative-liberal axiom with, on one occasion, one group being lectured on the evils of family planning next door to another group

being told that political activity, conservative or socialist (the English interpretation at least!) was essential in order to love one's neighbour. On the whole, however, most speakers kept to an open-minded middle ground. The keynote address was perhaps the one given by Dan Workman (Church Seminary and Institute Program) who showed the untenability of a conservative/liberal dichotomy by reference to the life of Christ. But just as at the great International Conferences, the main worth was that done "in the corridors"—the spontaneous discussion groups that sprang up among students and above all the dedication of Elder Marion D. Hanks, his wife and the other leaders who attended each moment of the convention and made themselves largely available for personal conversations. More than one student came away with a realistic new appreciation of the Church after an informal discussion with Elder Hanks.

Some students expressed the idea as they left this weekend of camaraderie and fraternity that it would be great to see strong LDS Student Associations on each campus. This situation would certainly make life a lot easier, but in the meantime perhaps these pioneer students will benefit from the difficulties that they face.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP,
MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

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

1. Title of publication: Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought.
2. Date of filing: September 20, 1973.
3. Frequency of issue: Quarterly (4 times each year).
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5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publication: 900 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, California 90024.
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7. Owner: Dialogue Foundation (a Utah Foundation), 900 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, California 90024. A non-stock corporation.
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9. (Not applicable).
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11. Extent and nature of circulation:

	<i>Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months</i>	<i>Actual number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date</i>
A. Total No. copies printed (net press run)	4813	6000
B. Paid circulation		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	219	276
2. Mail subscriptions	3105	3522
C. Total paid circulation	3324	3798
D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means		
1. Samples, compli- mentary, and other free copies	250	402
2. Copies distributed to news agents, but not sold	0	0
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/s/ Robert A. Rees, editor

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Dialogue has been blessed from its inception with a dedicated staff of editors who have not only served with distinction but who have given thousands of hours to reading manuscripts, editing, proofing galleys and the countless other chores that keep a journal going. When one considers that the vast majority of the hundreds of manuscripts submitted to *Dialogue* are read by a minimum of five editors, one begins to get some idea of the time and energy which are contributed to this enterprise. Unquestionably, this effort has done much to raise the quality of thinking and writing among the Mormons.

The editorial staff continues to change, as the inside front cover of this issue illustrates. Of the original Board of Editors, only Karl Keller and Michael Harris remain, although Kent Lloyd and Kendall Price now serve in another capacity on the Executive Committee. Other members of the original staff still serving include Richard Bushman and Kent Robson (Board of Editors), Edward Geary (Associate Editor), Ralph Hansen (Among the Mormons editor), Brent Rushforth (Publisher), and Managing Editors Eugene England and G. Wesley Johnson (Advisory Editors).

Released from the Board, "with a vote of thanks," are M. Gerald Bradford, Mary L. Bradford, and Richard Cracroft. New members of the Board include Donald B. Holsinger (Comparative Education, University of Chicago), Louis Midgley (Political Philosophy, BYU; formerly Notes and Comments Editor), Kathryn Hanson (Religion, Harvard Divinity School), Jan L. Tyler (Dean of Women, Weber State), and Jan Shipps (History, Indiana). Professor Shipps, an authority on the Mormons with a special interest in the relationships between Mormons and non-Mormons, is the first non-Mormon (excluding RLDS) to serve on the Board. She brings to nine the number of women serving on the Editorial Staff (nine more than the other leading Mormon journal!).

Other new staff members include Maryruth Farnsworth (Notes and Comments Editor), Kay Linebeck (Assistant Editor), Pirkko Angelikis (Subscriptions), Dave Willardson (Art Editor, Los Angeles) and John Casado (Design).

NELS ANDERSON has earned the gratitude of Mormon scholars for his fascinating and incisive *Desert Saints* (University of Chicago Press, 1942; reprinted in paperback, 1966), which has introduced Mormon history to thousands of students.

MICHAEL BLACKWELL is a student in European Studies at the University of East Anglia. He is Teacher Development Director in the Norwich Ward and is involved in LDSSA activities.

FREDERICK S. BUCHANAN, a member of the Board of Trustees of Cornerstone, is an assistant professor of the Cultural Foundations of Education at the University of Utah. A native of Scotland, he can "swing a wicked kilt and play the bagpipes."

JOHN CASADO, a graduate of the Art Center College of Design in Los Angeles, has won top awards for design in New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles. He and his wife Barbara have their own Design Company in Los Angeles.

DENNIS CLARK, still unemployed in Seattle, hopes to die of gout on 15 April 2020 or live forever in his sins. He returns to the pages of *Dialogue* after much tears and fumbling, eager for glory. He is also eager to point out that "Meadow" is the second of a cluster of three poems about his daughter's birth; the other two, "Statement Before the World Expands" and "A Name and a Blessing" have already appeared in these pages in previous issues.

MICHAEL D. COE is professor of anthropology at Yale University and a leading scholar on the archaeology of Mesoamerica. His numerous publications include: *Mexico, The Jaguar's Children, The Maya, America's First Civilization*, and the soon to be released *The Maya Scribe and his World*.

RICHARD CRACROFT, a specialist in the Literature of the American West, teaches in the English Department at B.Y.U. He is currently co-editing an anthology of Mormon literature.

MARTIN R. GARDNER teaches law at the University of Alabama. A graduate of the University of Utah, he has also taught at the University of Indiana Law School. He serves as Executive Secretary of the Tuscaloosa Branch.

EDWARD GEARY has been associated with *Dialogue* from its inception, serving as copy editor, manuscript editor, Book Review Editor, and presently as Associate Editor.

DEE F. GREEN has done archaeological research and publication on Mexico, Utah, Illinois, and Arkansas. Formerly an assistant professor of anthropology at Weber State College, he is currently an archaeologist with the U.S. Forest Service. Green is responsible for soliciting and editing the articles in this issue by Sorenson, Leone and Coe which were to have formed part of a special issue of *Dialogue* devoted to "Anthropological Perspectives on the Mormon Culture." While that special issue did not materialize we are grateful to Dr. Green for the excellent articles which appear in this issue.

LOUISE HANSEN has had a number of one woman shows both in this country and abroad. She lives in Terre Haute, Indiana.

ROGER HUYSEN is an aspiring young illustrator who lives in Los Angeles.

BRUCE JORGENSEN, a member of *Dialogue's* Board of Editors, teaches writing at Ithaca College and is in "the last agony of Ph.D. work" at Cornell where he is writing a dissertation in American literature.

MIKE KAWASAKI is a designer and illustrator for BYU Graphics.

EILEEN G. KUMP has studied creative writing at USU, Stanford, and BYU and has taught creative writing at BYU and USU. "The Willows" is one of eight stories dealing with early Mormon life which have the child Amy as a central character. Two of these stories have been published previously, one in *Western Humanities Review* and one in *Out of the Best Books*, Vol. II.

MARK P. LEONE is assistant professor of anthropology at Princeton University. His major research has been among Mormon communities on the Little Colorado River in Arizona. He has written several articles on the Mormons, including "The Evolution of Mormon Culture in Eastern Arizona," and is currently preparing a book based on his research.

FRANK ODD, who teaches Spanish at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, gave this sermon in the nearby Faribault Branch of the L.D.S. Church, where he serves as Sunday School President.

WILLIAM D. RUSSELL, of Graceland College, is the author of *The Word Became Flesh* (1967) and *Treasure in Earthen Vessels* (1966). He is also the editor of *Courage: A Journal of History, Thought, and Action*.

LINDA BUHLER SILLITOE recently won second prize in the Utah Fine Arts Literary Contest. Her poem "Trip Toward Prayer" won First Prize for Imaginative Literature in the 1971 Dialogue Prize Competition.

GEORGE D. SMITH, JR. is the chairman of the New York Dialogue Chapter. By day he is an investment counselor for First National City Bank in Manhattan and by night an inveterate movie critic. He writes his own annual commentary on the movies entitled "Smith's Fearless Film Index" with an international circulation of "about 40 copies."

JOHN L. SORENSON, a former member of *Dialogue's* Editorial Board, is professor of anthropology at BYU. He has done major research in contemporary society especially among Utah Mormons. Recently he co-edited a collection of papers entitled *Conference on the Language of the Mormons* (BYU, 1973).

JAN L. TYLER is Director of the Women's Environ Institute and Dean of Women at Weber State College. She is a new member of *Dialogue's* Board of Editors.

BENJAMIN URRUTIA, a native of Uruguay, is a graduate student in anthropology at the University of California at San Diego.

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