

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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*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* is published by the Dialogue Foundation. Editorial Office and Subscription Department, 1081 Westwood Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90024. Dialogue has no official connection with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or with any college or university. Second class postage paid at Los Angeles, California. Printed by Anderson, Ritchie and Simon, Los Angeles. Contents copyright © 1975 by the Dialogue Foundation.



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*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* is published quarterly. Subscription rate in the United States is \$20 per year; single copies, \$5. Subscription Department, 1081 Westwood Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90024. *Dialogue* welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, notes and comments, and art work. Manuscripts should be sent in triplicate to the Editor, accompanied by return postage.

# Letters to the Editor

## juanita brooks

It is rare to find absolute integrity, complete honesty, and a firm testimony in a Mormon historian dedicated to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Such a one is Juanita Brooks, the historian's historian of our culture. I was most happy to see the recognition given her in your last issue.

I was well acquainted with Ettie Lee, granddaughter of John D. Lee, and she told me that she offered to subsidize Juanita Brooks during the writing of *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, but Mrs. Brooks refused, not wanting to be beholden. Subsequently, when Mrs. Brooks was working (in secret) on *John Doyle Lee—Zealot—Pioneer Builder—Scapegoat*, Ettie Lee feared she might not be able to finish it without help, and offered a monthly salary to enable the author to devote full time to the project. Again Juanita Brooks refused. However, to help research, Ettie Lee hired a member of her family to work at the Church Historian's Office for three years. Mrs. Brooks spent twelve years writing the book, which certainly must be considered a classic of Mormon biography.

One of our most cherished myths, born of our persecution complex, is that anyone who writes an "unfriendly" book is selling out for gold. ("Unfriendly" translates to anything not done in the idiom of a missionary tract.) I have encountered this: the curled lip, and "I suppose it made you a lot of money." Saints firmly believe that New York editors beg for "anti-Mormon" books, and that anyone selling out for gold is assured of \$1-million—not a cent more nor less. As the interview disclosed, Mrs. Brooks made very little from *Mountain Meadows*—I would estimate about 5¢ an hour for the time expended. When her *John Doyle Lee* appeared, I interested a Hollywood producer in the subject as a documentary. He authorized me to offer \$5,000 for motion picture rights. But Mrs. Brooks replied that she didn't own any rights to the book; she'd had to give up everything to get it published. So much for selling out for gold. (The producer dropped the project.) Incidentally, no New York editor has ever asked me for an "anti-Mormon" book, nor has any writer of my acquaintance been asked for this. Quite the contrary; New York would love to supply the Mormon market, but finds it impossible.

So why write about Mountain Meadows

and John D. Lee, if you don't make money and will be branded an apostate? You do it for the same reason you climb the mountain, because it's there. Truth is its own reason for telling. The truth about Mountain Meadows had never been told, and the longer you keep the lid on a mess, the worse it smells. The book is the definitive answer to wild Gentile claims. It, and the biography of Lee, correct a grave injustice done one man saddled with the blame. John D. Lee did not help plan the massacre. He simply obeyed orders, along with some fifty-five other obedient Mormon men of the vicinity.

Incidentally, the two books were an important factor in the restoration of John D. Lee to his former priesthood and blessings. This culminated a struggle that lasted more than a hundred years by the Lee family for justice.

Samuel W. Taylor  
Redwood City, California

## freedom's just another word . . .

I was appalled to read in the July 18 issue of *Africa News* that a group of singers from my alma mater, Brigham Young University, had toured South Africa and Rhodesia in support of the white supremacist South African military.

The group, known as "The Sounds of Freedom," changed their name to "The Brigham Young University Sounds" because (according to *Africa News*) "it was feared that the word 'freedom' might be offensive [to whites], since it is normally associated with the struggle for black majority rule."

The group performed with the South African Defense Forces Band and proceeds from the concerts benefitted the South African Border Relief Fund and the Rhodesian Terrorist Victims' Relief Fund. According to *Africa News*, "Both funds were set up by whites to support military efforts against African [black] guerrilla movements seeking majority rule."

At a time when so many Mormons are struggling with the Church's policy on priesthood and blacks and are attempting to build bridges of understanding between the Church and the black community, how could the BYU administration and the Board of Trustees (assuming they knew of it) be so insensitive as to approve this tour of BYU and (unofficially) Church representatives?

One can only assume that BYU officials were manipulated into sending the group

(the tour was arranged by a Mormon South African businessman) or that they endorse the apartheid policies of the South African and Rhodesian governments. If the former, then an official statement of apology to the South African guerrillas and explanation to Mormons are in order; if the latter . . . well, we're in deeper trouble than we realize.

Joseph Smith  
San Francisco

### **sunstone**

Your readers may be interested in a new journal organized and operated by LDS students and young adults. *Sunstone*, a forum for discussion of Mormon experience, scholarship, issues, and art, will be published four times during the school year, beginning this spring.

The most frequently asked question is, given *Dialogue*, why *Sunstone*? To provide an opportunity for young people and older amateurs to express their views and meet their peers in an atmosphere more compatible with their informal lifestyle and more conducive to their participation—an arena for lively discussion with high student, rather than professional, academic and literary standards. Geared more specifically to the interests and expressions of students and young adults, *Sunstone* sees itself more as a companion than a competitor of *Dialogue*.

To that end, *Sunstone* will publish a wide variety of Mormon-related articles and essays.

*Experience*—Gospel living in a secular society, the status of single persons in the Church, the early years of marriage and family life, humor, what it means to be “an inactive,” etc.

*Scholarship*—Church history and doctrine, contemporary American theological thought, philosophy, social and physical sciences, etc.

*Issues*—the Gospel and social responsibility, Mormonism and world hunger, the Church and non-American cultures (and American sub-cultures), ecology, politics, etc.

*Art*—photographic essays, illustrations, design, “high art,” music in worship and entertainment, drama, poetry and fiction-writing, book reviews, etc.

Space will also be set aside for questions for your Gospel answers, brief notices to contact researches in similar fields, supplemental material for Gospel Doctrine classes, reports on youth activity from overseas correspondents, and a grab bag of other miscellany.

Organizing committees have been formed to raise funds and manuscripts at the U of U, BYU, USU, Weber State, Stanford, and Berkeley. Others are in process, and we are

actively searching for committed youth in other areas who wish to be involved.

To raise seed money, *Sunstone* has published a Mormon history calendar using photos of pioneers and early Church leaders, Temple Square under construction, polygamists in prison, and old lithographs, and including important dates in Mormon history. They are available for \$6.

Inquiries, contributions, manuscripts, calendar orders, names of potential subscribers and authors, and/or an encouraging word are earnestly solicited. Write *Sunstone*, Box 4200, Berkeley, Ca. 94704.

Scott Kenney, Editor  
Berkeley, California

### **antidote for ennui**

After more than fifty years of cultural-habitual-family tied association with the Church, your articles come as a refreshing breeze from over the great waters. Our home teacher recently commented, on seeing an issue of *Dialogue* on my desk, that the Church was not warm to intellectual probing and discussion. I agreed, observing that complete faith and obedience were the requirements constantly stressed and certainly, I added, this type of structure and government is not new to the human race.

I do not regard your work as destructive—on the contrary, it would seem the cloying sweetness of expensive media releases needs some offset, if for no other reason than to relieve the situation from boredom.

May you last, as you say, “until the Millennium!”

Floyd C. Miles  
San Diego, California

### **the poor ye have always among ye**

Based on the table provided for the computation of subscription rates, I should come through with a check for about \$2.30! “Being poor is no disgrace, but it’s no great honor either,” as has been wisely observed.

I shall “request renewal at \$10” as the envelope allows, for I must confess to being one for whom “\$20 . . . poses an extreme hardship.”

I initially subscribed to *Dialogue* while on my mission, and had hoped, once returned to the academic world, to be able to monetarily express my gratitude for the many hours of stimulation provided by your journal; but as you might imagine, I jumped from the frying pan into the fire.

Maybe, if you are indeed “publishing . . . until the Millennium,” I’ll be able to express my appreciation with something more than a letter.

Douglas F. Bennett  
Salt Lake City, Utah

### **a bargain**

The letters to the editor alone are worth the price of subscription.

Ruth A. Iverson  
Brigham City, Utah

### **a long standing affair**

As a long-time *Dialogue* subscriber and supporter, may I commend you on the outstanding recent issue on science and religion. The back cover of the issue was the highlight of my entire week, and the mere thought of it was enough to elevate me from the drudgery of dishes, diapers, or dirty floors and transport me either into contemplation or half audible chuckles.

I found the dialogues with various scientists to be of special interest, and, as usual, I found Douglas Thayer's story exceptional. All together a fine issue, surpassed only by the special women's issue, which remains my favorite.

If I can be of any help or assistance to you with *Dialogue*, please feel free to contact me. I love you dearly, and it has been a long-standing affair!

Lou Ann Dickson  
Tempe, Arizona

### **the loneliness of the long-distance thinker**

I am depressed by those genial mentalities who believe that they should develop their talents and abilities but then look with suspicion upon the machinations of their own minds, as if they would lead them astray against their will. I believe that some avoid thinking and searching out the truth out of an irrational fear that if they do so the truth they now clutch within their grasps will prove untrue. It is strange that man, who will stretch his grasp for spirituality to the stars (albeit sometimes on time-worn platitudes, the yearning is still there), will yet shrink within himself lest his thoughts should grope beyond the familiar; as if he could kill reason without injuring perfection!

I have never found a shortage of ideas to explore or new (which is to say, unknown to me) truths to discover. Only the seekers are in short supply. The full impact of the loneliness of my search never struck me until I recently read my first issue of *Dialogue*. When this gift subscription expires you can be certain I will renew.

David M. Sorensen  
Hopkinsville, Kentucky

### **symposium on mormons and the west**

On November 13 and 14, 1975, an interdisciplinary symposium on the Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West will be

held at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, as a part of the Centennial observance of the University and under the auspices of the Department of Geography and the College of Social Sciences. Abstracts of papers on topics relating to the Mormon role in the settlement in the West are invited. The following list should be viewed as illustrative of the types of topics rather than exhaustive:

Settlement (including immigrants, expansion, settlement type, architectural styles, etc.)

Economic Impact (including agriculture, industry, mining, etc.)

Exploration and Geographic Knowledge  
Development of Transport (railroads, overland routes, etc.)

Diffusion of Technology (irrigation, etc.)

Papers accepted will be published in either the *BYU Studies* or in a volume entitled, *The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West*. Those interested in either presenting a paper or attending the symposium should contact:

Richard H. Jackson  
Department of Geography  
167 HGB  
Brigham Young University  
Provo, Utah 84602

The deadline for abstracts of proposed papers is May 1, 1975. Abstracts should be no longer than one double-spaced page of typescript. Information on housing and the program will be sent in May to participants and others who have indicated an interest in attending.

### **science and religion**

Thanks for another superb issue of *Dialogue*. The issue on Science and religion was most timely. One would wish that every teacher from the Mormon ranks would read it and come to mental grips with the problem of what constitutes the basics of our religion and what should be left to scientific study. I find it quite disheartening to observe what is often fed to our young people as religion and doctrine—ideas presumably to save their faith in God and His Church. Why should many teachers of Mormonism feel so insecure in the principles of Mormonism that they reach out and grasp any hair-brained idea or fantasy under the sun to "prove" Mormonism is true? Must we close and seal the minds of our people to protect them from having to come to mental grips with realities?

Yes, I have a knot in my stomach! I have seen too many minds closed by well-meaning teachers who thought they were saviours of the cause. You see, I am a geology teacher and too often have the opportunity to observe these mind sets in action.

I enjoyed very much the articles by Rich-



ard Hagland, Duane Jeffrey, et al.; however, their very scholarly presentations cause me to wonder where I missed the boat. I have never been aware of any conflict between science and religion. I always thought that religion, dealt with "Who did the job and why," while science dealt with the physical world and "what has happened, and how." I didn't know they were the same subject! But, it's my mother's fault! She taught me to not blame religion for everything religionists thought or did, and not to blame science for everything scientists thought or did. I guess I am just naive. I still can't attribute differences of opinion as differences between science and religion. For heaven's sake, let us not blame science and religion for the stupidities of human beings! They only demonstrate conflicts between egos, not of subjects.

Laurence C. Cooper  
Southern Utah State College  
Cedar City

Diminishing eye power at 81 has delayed my reading of the recent issue on science and religion. The planning of the discussions was superb, and the contributions of generally high-level quality. I congratulate you. I must say, however, that Hugh Nibley's attempt to overwhelm us with his scholarship succeeded in my case. I was unable to face the reading of 13½ pages of footnotes in addition to the 9½-page article.

I was especially delighted with the visit-by-proxy-with my long-time friend, Henry Eyring. It served to recall another such visit some thirty years ago, when, surprisingly, we found ourselves on the train from Chicago to Minneapolis. He was on his way from Princeton to give a lecture at the University of Minnesota; I, on my way home from a meeting in Chicago.

Our common "universe of discourse," naturally, was science and religion. Inevitably, I asked about Einstein. "He's in a fog," said Henry. Indeed, as I recall it now, about the only person in the "clear" was President Heber J. Grant. Henry had no doubt that President Grant was in direct communication with Heaven. About science: "It's a game; just a game." Henry has an amiable way of provoking one to think. I had always thought that man's scientific endeavors were part of his drive toward the ultimate goal of perfection. I am sure Henry believes that also.

A remarkable person, Henry. His reputation as a scientist and churchman is such that he can dispute the word of an apostle that the world is a few thousand years old, and maintain it to be between four and five billion years. He can do this in his charming

manner and get away with it. "May his tribe increase."

Now, may I add my two-cents worth (inflation value, of course) on the main theme? I believe that the conflict between science and dogmatic theology is inevitable, because many dubious principles become imbedded in dogma, and from the standpoint of theology are not to be altered. Historically the classic example is geocentrism.

The hardy souls who challenged that dogma, and who failed to recant, were treated with fire and the rack. There are plenty of other dubious notions in the Scriptures. While deviants and critics are not treated today as violently as formerly, they *are* still "treated."

Science has no messianic quality, but it is a method of finding truth. The scientists can test by experimentation the validity of his hypotheses. In religion we formulate our hypotheses but have no corresponding method of testing. Man seems to be the only creature who realizes that he will die. Yet he has refused to accept the finality of the grave. Instead, he hypothesizes the duality of body and spirit, and ascribes immortality to the latter. Furthermore, he hypothesizes God, heaven, hell, the Millennium, and so on. None of these lend themselves to any known test such as we carry out in science. The hypotheses become accepted as fact. Many persons testify that they "know," but others are not able to verify their knowledge, as can be done in science.

Henry Eyring has achieved a comfortable and satisfactory accommodation to and resolution of the conflict. His example will be helpful to many, many others. Still others will have to struggle to find their own solution, if possible, and at the very least, learn to live with the dilemma.

Lowry Nelson  
Provo, Utah

#### thomas f. o'dea

Professor Thomas F. O'Dea died at his home in Santa Barbara, California on November 12, 1974. With his passing the Church has lost a true friend and a dedicated student and critic of Mormonism.

Professor O'Dea had studied the history and contemporary sociological development of the Church for well over twenty years. His interest began after World War II when he joined with other scholars in a project entitled, "The Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures" sponsored by the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard University. The project studied the religious influences on five different cultures—Zuni, Navajo, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Mormon—all located in one geographical area in northern New Mexico. O'Dea was assigned to study the Mormons. Out of this

grew his continuing interest in the religion of the Latter-day Saints. Leonard Arrington has said of O'Dea's writings, especially his dissertation on Mormon values and his major book, *The Mormons*, that "The articles and books published from his research, offer unquestionably the best 'outside' view of Mormon thought and practice now available."

O'Dea's writings have often been controversial and his conclusions have at times sparked heated debates. But few would deny that he has brought one distinctive quality to his studies of Mormonism—an abiding sensitivity to the religious dimensions of life and a determination to view and attempt to understand the phenomenon of Mormonism as first and foremost a religious movement. This above all else will insure a meaningfulness to his studies and elevates him above the rank and file of Mormon critics.

It is obviously difficult to sum up the scope and depth of this man's interests as well as to convey something of his personality. What I consider to be an insightful attempt was made by Professor Robert Michaelsen, of the Department of Religious Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, who was a long time friend and colleague of O'Dea. I have permission to quote from Michaelsen's remarks delivered at O'Dea's funeral.

For his colleagues and myself I speak chiefly of the quality of Tom O'Dea's mind. Those of us who knew him well never ceased to be amazed at the breadth of his learning, the brilliance of his insights, the sharpness of his analytical powers. He had a special capacity to see polarities in human experience, including his own, and to hold these polarities in creative tension: sacred and secular, conservation and breakthrough, tradition and change, individual and community, reason and faith, alienation and reconciliation. So he wrote with such keen perception, such accuracy and delicacy of sources of strain and conflict in Mormonism that one Mormon reviewer called his book—*The Mormons*—the "best account and interpretation" yet produced. Thus, in his *Sociology of Religion*, he dealt sensitively with the ambiguities, conflicts, and dilemmas of religion. So also he wrote two slim but major volumes—*American Catholic Dilemma* and *The Catholic Crisis*—in which he penetrated quickly and deeply into tensions, problems and promises within Catholicism. And in one of his more recent works he described our current human situation as one which "harbors within itself both great promise and great threat" (*Alienation, Atheism and the Religious Crisis*, 8).

As he described polarities so he lived himself as a scholar in creative tension between distance and involvement, critical analysis and prophetic utterance. Never conventional, frequently controversial, a man of passion, fierce pride, and firm convictions, yet he had a capacity to change, a keen ability to absorb new knowledge, and a mature appreciation of and commitment to the spiritual life. In a "Concluding Unscientific Postscript" to one of his books he wrote:

*To rediscover the relevance of his heritage, man must achieve authentic transcendence and genuine community. Institutionalized religion must contribute to this goal to the best of its capacity. To be relevant today, religion must translate into a contemporary idiom the "foolishness of the cross." By synthesizing joy and tragedy in a new way, man could become at home in his world, even while remaining forever a sojourner and a pilgrim in the midst of his fondest, this-worldly achievement and values. Religion must nourish and sustain an interiority that makes external relationship and accomplishment possible. But this interiority must never lose itself in its products; it must be able to find its own way among the many ways it creates in the world. To be relevant today, religion must support those human aspirations that cry for fulfillment in terms of the modern technological capacity. It must become relevant to the effort toward a more abundant life for man. It must teach not only the appropriateness of justice, wisdom, fortitude, and courage, but it must also bear witness to a faith, hope, and charity rendered relevant to the new world man has made and the new man whose promise it contains. Institutionalized religion and institutionalized learning must strive to beget honesty and transmit seriousness in facing problems, eschewing fixated ideologies and petty interests. Then, spirit and reason will find their own embodiment, for one may still hope that the spirit bloweth where it listeth. Let men learn, in the words of Dag Hammarskjöld, to become recipients out of humility and to be grateful for being allowed to listen, observe, and understand. (Alienation, Atheism and the Religious Crisis, p. 188-189).*

We are grateful for having had him in our midst. He lived, he loved, and, in deep and penetrating ways, he understood. We are the better for it.

M. G. Bradford  
Department of Religious Studies  
University of California  
Santa Barbara

**HANGING  
BYA  
THREAD:  
MORMONS  
AND  
WATERGATE**

EUGENE ENGLAND

*It is said that brother Joseph in his lifetime declared that the Elders of this Church should step forth at a particular time when the Constitution should be in danger, and rescue it, and save it.*

—ORSON HYDE, 1858

We Latter-day Saints not only declare that the Constitution of the United States was divinely inspired but also think of ourselves as standing ready to make a prophesied defense, perhaps even a rescue, of it when it is in particular danger, at some time when it is to “hang by a thread.” Our republic has recently passed through one of its three or four most serious Constitutional crises, probably the severest in this century: Nearly thirty of the President’s closest associates, including Cabinet members, and finally even the President himself, have been found to have used the power of the Presidency and the agencies it controls to wage illegal political warfare on their “enemies” and then to sidetrack the justice that should have pursued them. Because of a set of fortunate coincidences—a night watchman noticing a piece of white tape ineptly placed on a Watergate door lock, an off-hand revelation by a former White House aide during the Senate Watergate hearings that President Nixon had secretly recorded his own conversations, the appearance at the right time and place of two determined and resourceful young reporters and two stern and persistent judges and, even more, because of a series of miscalculations that can be seen to have grown directly out of President Nixon’s tragic flaws of overweening pride and paranoid insecurity—because of these our country has very narrowly escaped having a President succeed in massive, consistent abuse of his Constitutional powers, destruction of our Constitutional protections and undermining of Constitutional legal processes. It would seem useful to assess how Mormons, given our great expectations, responded in this crisis.

Mormons, it seems, have always been quite taken with Nixon; we have approved of his public emphasis on traditional, conservative values—strong anti-communism, personal morality, law and order, respect for established authority, “peace with honor.” We have liked the way he sounded—moralistic, patriotic, not at all threatening (as McGovern was) to our new and hard-won economic privileges as generally comfortable, middle-class Americans. I certainly liked that kind of talk in 1960 and voted for Nixon despite my intuitive attraction to Kennedy. Utah went strongly for Nixon then and again in 1968 and 1972. In fact, during the election campaign of 1972 I visited Utah and found that even mentioning McGovern among my Mormon friends and family was not a mere political foible, it was an irreligious act!

About that time an article on Nixon appeared in *McCall’s* magazine which included a quote, about the kind of people Nixon likes, from Charles W. Colson (then the President’s Special Counsel, recently released from prison where he was serving one to three years for his part in violating the files of Daniel Ellsberg’s psychiatrist):

He has no use for soft people. He has disciplined, believing people around him. Mormons, Christian Scientists, conservative Jews, conservative Catholics. . . . They have a sense of mission, are believers and are moralistic like he is.

We were then still innocent enough to see that as a compliment to the Church,



but can now, I trust, recoil from such an association. However, we need to look closely to see what we should have learned in the meantime.

By April of 1973 some of those “disciplined, believing” people around the President were starting to desert him; as cracks developed in the “stonewall” that, as it now turns out, he had erected through lies and misuse of his powers, he went on TV to appeal directly to the American people, who had recently elected him with the largest majority in our history. I wanted to trust him, but as I looked and listened I felt strongly, through what I had come to believe was the spirit of discernment, that he was not being truthful, that he was indeed covering up. But later, I was surprised to find that most Mormons I knew had fully believed the President—and were already beginning, at his cue, to turn their anger on the press and then on Congress for building this “third-rate burglary” all out of proportion.

The people I’m talking about are in most cases devoted Latter-day Saints of towering goodness and integrity; they are not merely “moralistic” (in Colson’s revealing word), but deeply *moral*, and, though most of them are not sophisticated in the usual sense, they are deeply insightful about things I know are important. I decided to reassess my discernment. But I found, as the Watergate Senate hearings proceeded, that I could not escape a growing sense that Mitchell and Haldeman and Erlichman were lying; worse, they were doing so with open contempt for the Constitutional rule of law and with self-righteous loyalty to what they considered to be the higher, the absolute, power of the President and to his judgment about the best interests of the nation. But again I found Mormons generally sticking with the President.

During one discussion a friend gave some good advice: “You’ve always preached against quick or harsh judgments of people; you should assume the President is innocent until there is clear evidence otherwise.” So I waited, and the evidence began to build as Nixon was forced into a series of strange blunders and strategic retreats: the firing of Archibald Cox, whose investigations we can now see were getting too close to the truth; the missing and erased tapes, which we now know there was good reason for someone to tamper with; defections and confessions by other involved aides that brought implication of involvement in the coverup closer and closer to the President; and finally his own release of tape transcripts last April. Nixon claimed those transcripts would fully clear him, but (despite, as we learned recently, being heavily doctored) they not only revealed in stunning detail what Republican Hugh Scott, earlier one of the President’s most vocal defenders, call “deplorable, disgusting, shabby and immoral performances,” but by any objective reading indicated the President’s complicity in paying “hush money” to keep the Watergate burglars quiet.

With increasing anxiety I found the sentiment of many Mormons I knew remaining with the hard-core twenty-five per cent of Americans who loyally continued to approve of the President and to see his problems as the creation of a left-leaning press and a vindictive Democratic party. But as I visited Utah in December, 1973, and then in April and June of this past year, I began to see some things in that support less admirable than the patience and charity my friend had earlier counseled. People I love and respect, their extreme loyalty confronted with awkward evidence, began to grope toward a frightening kind of situation ethics that they have rightly condemned in others. I saw them following the line of

commentators like William Buckley and Paul Harvey, who now, contrary to the strict "law and order" moralizing that had characterized their past attacks on hippies, draft evaders, left-wingers, etc., had fallen into saying that even if Nixon was guilty what he did was not very serious (or was outweighed by the good he had done or justified by the ends he was serving)—and besides it was just what every president and politician has done.

This is the most insidious poison that Nixon has injected into our system—this ethical confusion and relativism—and it perplexes and worries me that many of us in the Church seem to have been infected by it. In this lies Nixon's profoundest betrayal; leading into a moral swamp many sincere and honorable loyalists, who because of his moralistic pretensions gave him their sacred trust. Perhaps some of the qualities we Mormons value most in ourselves—such as our moral seriousness and our high estimation of all human beings as potential gods—make us gullible, easily taken in by *moralism* or *legalism*, the appearance rather than the substance. Perhaps we need to cultivate other, more neglected, Mormon values, like anxious pursuit of the truth and realization that its sources are many and its refinement never-ending—that it is something after all that requires continuous discovery and revelation. We need to read more often and apply more pointedly the Lord's own warning in the Doctrine and Covenants about power: "... it is the nature and disposition of almost all men, as soon as they get a little authority, as they suppose, they will immediately begin to exercise unrighteous dominion."

But I have also seen another profound danger in the effects of Nixon's betrayal on Mormons, a turning from gullibility—from perhaps too unthinking approval of Nixon—to cynicism about all politics. It is another in the long list of tragic ironies of Watergate that Nixon, whose oft-repeated boast (which might now serve as his epitaph) that "At bottom I am a political man" and who took pride in the pragmatic flexibility and skill at assessing and exploiting the popular will that he associated with that label, should perhaps have irretrievably confirmed the common suspicion that all politics and public employment are necessarily "dirty tricks" and self-serving manipulation of others and improper use of power.

This is especially tragic because we are clearly at a time in our history when we need more than ever to attract good people to the honorable and crucial profession of public service. And Mormons in particular need to keep faith in such service: It seems to me more and more likely that if we are to have a hand in preserving the Constitution—its guarantees and freedoms—it will not be in some dramatic way at a time of crisis but in the steady, supportive service of a large number of Elders and Sisters at all levels of appointed and elected government. Politics is *not* an intrinsically compromising activity. It is not necessary to take the road of win at any cost or to gather amoral yes-men around you (or be such) in order to be an effective politician or public servant. Mormons in Congress and in the various federal departments, both the influential and the unassuming, are now contributing and could contribute more effectively in the future to our nation's political life.

Fortunately, there has been a sharp contrast to Nixon's kind of "politics" provided by the dignity and courage of thirty-eight members of our Congress in the televised debates of the House Judiciary Committee—especially in the painful decisions and statements of the Republicans who voted against their President



and their party leader in the face of what many of them were certain would be great political cost. Nixon helped heighten the comparison when he had his press secretary label that extremely cautious and responsible proceeding a "kangaroo court." Surely it was one of the proudest episodes in our history and in the defense of our Constitution.

Loyalty and means and ends. These are the central issues, and we Mormons have some great theology that should have helped us with those issues in the Nixon Era. On Sunday morning, June 10, our family was at the choir broadcast in the Salt Lake Tabernacle when it was announced that then Vice President Ford would be there after the broadcast to be honored by a special choir program. He was accompanied by the First Presidency and introduced by President Spencer W. Kimball, who conveyed, in moving sincerity, a special response to the growing cloud over the White House, a message for the man who is now our nation's President: "We know there have been problems, but we are a loyal people, deeply loyal." I said (and say) amen to that, but, because I know and am troubled by the interpretation of that statement by some who were there in the Tabernacle, I have to ask us all, "Loyal to what?" I feel certain President Kimball would say he meant loyal to the Constitution, to principle, to the law—not, as Nixon asked of his aides and finally of the American public, blind loyalty to mere authority, or acceptance of evil means in pursuit of good ends dictated by that authority.

A unique and central characteristic of the Restored Gospel (setting it clearly apart from most traditional Christianity) is that it is "rationalistic" in the technical theological sense—that is, not "voluntaristic." It is based in faith in an

ordered, *rational* universe, rather than one arbitrarily *willed* by a sovereign and inscrutable God and thus beyond man's understanding. James Reston has said, reviewing the many strange but morally fitting circumstances surrounding Nixon's downfall, "There seems no end to the irony of this drama, and so many odd and unexpected revelations and punishments have come about that it almost sustains the moral interpretation of history." Mormons do accept that moral interpretation of history, because we believe in a moral universe: "There is a law, irrevocably decreed in heaven before the foundations of this world, upon which all blessings are predicated." God does not decide what is right and good and true from moment to moment, nor did He in the beginning. The laws of goodness and truth are *natural*, inherent in the very nature of things which have always existed, "co-eternal" with God and man (and physical laws) and "irrevocable"—and thus knowable through human experience and analysis as well as through revelation. Truth is something that can and should be *discovered* and that then directly demands and merits our loyalty, not something we wait for some authority to decide for us. To be sure, some truths, especially moral principles and the central truths of the process of salvation, are hard or dangerous to get at by our own experience alone, and so we are rightly cautioned to take seriously accumulated human insight and experience, especially that available in the Scriptures, and to listen to prophets through whom God can point to truth and right action. But we are continually warned, *commanded*, that we must still study a matter out in our own minds and hearts and be loyal to it only when it thus becomes *our* truth. And the truth about what is evil, harmful, unlawful, does not change when it is done in the service of high authority or high-sounding purpose—like "national security." We believe that we are accountable not just to leaders, but to the universe, to the nature of things; and leaders are accountable to the universe too. We believe that even God is God because He knows the nature of the universe and obeys. And the Lord made it clear to Joseph Smith that the central principle of (and reason for) the Constitution, which had been wrought "by the hands of wise men, whom I raised up unto this very purpose," was that human rights are not a matter to be given or taken away at the will of a government (even a President) but were "inalienable," inherent in existence; the government's chief responsibility, the central reason for maintaining the Constitution, was "for the rights and protection of all flesh, according to just and holy principles."

I have been disappointed over this past two years that too many of us in the Church have seemed less loyal to those principles than to a man and his "politics." And perhaps my greatest hurt and shame has been that not only have the defenders of the Constitution in the Church seemed few and late, but, besides a BYU student who got caught up in White House political spying (*The Chronicle of Higher Education*, January, 1973), a few other "Elders of Israel" seem to have been among those cutting the few threads still holding the Constitution up. One, ironically, was spying on Nixon rather than for him, but he did it with the same unquestioning, overzealous devotion to the direction and approval of his superiors as did the President's men; using his position as a stenographer for the military liaison unit attached to the National Security Council, and thus sometimes a traveling secretary with Henry Kissinger, he stole hundreds of copies of top-secret documents, notably reports by Kissinger for President Nixon on negotiations with



China, and passed them on through his superior officers to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In an interview about his actions, this spy for the Pentagon explained, "I've always done whatever I was asked to do with complete dedication and loyalty to the government."

A few Mormons have, of course, played honorable, some even rather important positive roles in this crisis: Judge John Sirica's law clerk, Todd Christopherson, who did much important research for the case, is a Mormon; columnist Jack Anderson very early got hold of the Grand Jury transcripts, publication of which helped keep the pressure up that finally led to exposure of the cover-up; Utah Congressman Wayne Owens acted and spoke effectively as a member of the House Judiciary Committee ("... the history of tyranny is very long, and the principal source of oppression has always been the unrestrained power of the state"); Utah Senator Wallace Bennett was one of the six senior Republican Senators who met, after the President's release of tape transcripts absolutely proving his involvement in the cover-up, and helped set up the meeting of Nixon with John Rhodes and Senators Hugh Scott and Barry Goldwater that was perhaps the decisive factor in the President's facing of reality and reluctant decision to resign. But even these few stalwarts played no crucial role—nor could be expected to; they played out the part history gave them with honor and, yes, with the assistance of their Gospel training and convictions. And that, again, is perhaps the best we should hope for. In fact, it seems that some of the most dangerous people during this time have been those who, with religious intensity, arrogated to themselves—or their leaders—the unique power to "rescue" the country or the Constitution and in tragic pride destroyed the rule of law in order to "save" it. What we have needed, and I believe can best provide as Mormons involved in the political process, is a steady, courageous integrity to basic Gospel principles concerning the proper relationships between freedom and authoritative leadership.

During this shameful time we have been made aware of the opposite kind of leadership from that of Nixon and his cohorts—by a person also caught up in the problems of loyalty and means and ends, but with very different results. We have seen the anguish and triumph of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Russian author who, with far greater excuse to do otherwise than those involved in Watergate, refused to bow to unrighteous authority or to submit to evil means; false accusation of others, acquiescence, even the mere silence that nearly all of his countrymen adopted when in danger—all these means he declined to use, even in pursuit of the high ends of preserving his freedom or life or staying in his homeland. And because he did so refuse, he was able to perform an incalculably precious service; singlehandedly, perhaps, he saved the truth of Russian history of this century for his people and the world. And what is that desperately important truth? That any authority which cares only for its own survival, for "winning," and calls all opposition its "enemies"—and then is supported unquestioningly in its "high purpose" of preserving "national security" by its people—can quickly become a monster of destruction, devouring those very people into giant prison systems (the "Gulag Archipelago") and destroying them by the millions.

Republican Congressman William Cohen sounded the warning for us in the impeachment debate: "When the Chief Executive of the country starts to investigate private citizens who criticize his policies or authorizes his subordinates to

do such things, then I think the rattle of the chains that would bind up our constitutional freedoms can be heard." Solzhenitsyn shows us conclusively that when good ends are used to justify evil means those means invariably corrupt the ends. When the admirable, idealistic dreams of the Russian Revolutionists were used to excuse mass harrassment of their countrymen who disagreed with them—and then in natural progression to excuse mass arrest and mass execution—the dreams turned into the hellish nightmare of a police state worse than the Czarist tyranny their dreams had led them to rebel against in the first place. But Solzhenitsyn also gives us an unforgettable vision of an alternative, of the *refusal* to accept evil means to achieve defensible ends, even survival. He tells of people—a few—in the prison camps who, despite the unimaginable pressures on them to lie and inform and steal and take advantage of each other, remained true to their sense of the moral nature of things, responsible to a moral universe even at the cost of suffering and death; and they thus achieved a kind of inner peace and outer radiance that Solzhenitsyn likened to sainthood.

My fellow Saints, you may ask why we should review all this. I certainly have no desire to take some kind of verbal revenge on Nixon; I hope he—and all of us—can find forgiveness and atonement. But first Nixon—and all of us—must look at all the evidence and face his unique guilt, which his resignation speech and his reaction to President Ford's pardon indicated that he has incredibly still failed to see. He is still thinking of this as another of his "crises," an impingement on him of unfortunate events for which he has no real responsibility; he even cravenly blamed his decision to resign on lack of support in Congress, where a band of loyalists, the last of the many he had sent forth to a doomed fight without giving them the weapon of truth, had risked all to support him and found themselves absolutely betrayed by his final revelation of lies and withheld evidence. The missing element in this otherwise classical tragedy is that of recognition. Most of the felled protagonists seem to have learned *nothing*. The recently convicted Haldeman and Erlichman and Mitchell continue to claim complete innocence.

But have *we* really seen the pattern of government abuses, the kinds of attitudes and behaviors that were wrong here? Have we recognized that Nixon introduced an entirely new and terribly dangerous dimension into our political life? He, for the first time, used both the moral perspectives and the techniques of international espionage within our own *national* election process. He broke entirely the sense of an ultimate bond of honor and trust between even the bitterest opponents that had before characterized our Constitutional election process. He promoted the belief that a political opponent was an enemy of the nation, to be defeated by any means—and even then further pursued and punished, not only by "dirty tricks" but through harrassment by the Internal Revenue Service and the CIA. This is clearly the first step toward the Gulag Archipelago. We narrowly missed taking it, and without careful understanding of the past and great vigilance in the future, we still could take it. Our great Mormon tradition of being special defenders of the Constitution can serve us well in maintaining such vigilance, if we can learn the lessons of Watergate well and can commit ourselves to understanding the Constitutional freedoms and the special dangers to them posed in our time.

Do we really see this or are too many of us merely infuriated at a hero's—or glad at an enemy's—fall, unwilling to perceive a standard of truth in the universe

that goes beyond politics and that we must also apply to other leaders, including ourselves, in government, business, and Church? Is Andrew Hacker's comment true of us: ". . . the only people who reflected seriously on the Watergate affair were those few Republicans on the Judiciary Committee who first shifted and voted against Nixon. They were beginning to see a pattern of lawlessness that bothered them down to their moral marrow. I am not sure that message got across to most Americans." Or are we willing to be loyal to *truth*, wherever it leads and whatever it costs us personally?

Despite our being, according to Colson, one of the groups preferred by Nixon, a man of somewhat questionable judgment, it seems, my sorrow and shame is not that we Mormons responded worse than others in this time—we didn't. But there is no evidence that, despite our pretensions and traditions, we responded any better. I realize it may seem that I am preaching to the converted, that most *Dialogue* readers—particularly those in Washington, D.C., who, in shock and anguish, discerned Nixon's guilt quite early—might claim to agree with me to this point. But we are *all* involved, at least potentially, in this failure: We didn't—and don't—speak out early enough or clearly and effectively enough; we too misuse our authority—as community, school, and Church leaders—not grasping our opportunities for moral leadership, for pointing to the moral nature of things, but rather keeping silent or speaking only within our own dogmatic political "truths" and loyalties. (I know I was at times vindictive in conversations with my friends, wanting mainly to prove I was right; I know that, as a branch president and husband and father and teacher, the tendency to exercise unrighteous dominion is always with me.) We need, in Thomas Mann's apt phrase for true religiousness, "attentiveness and obedience," not to the arm of flesh but to discovered and revealed truth. We must consider carefully and speak out now in this time of reassessment so that the lessons we as a nation might have learned will not be lost in mere relief to be done with the nightmare. If there is to be a catharsis of guilt, it must still be earned, gaining for us, the spectators, if not for the protagonists, lucidity and change.

And there are some special questions for us to consider in this process:

*Were we (and are we) guilty of greater reverence for authority than for truth?* Do we tend too easily to transfer our well-founded veneration for our religious leaders over to our political leaders, so that we neglect other Gospel values?

*Why didn't our great doctrines and traditions help us be more perceptive and true to principle?* Why were we so anxious about avoiding embarrassment to our leaders that we refused to see the evidence until we were clubbed by it—and then still tended to slip off into ethical relativism in order to excuse those leaders?

Given our great faith in Constitutional government and our natural optimism, *why have we been willing to fall into the cynicism of other Americans following the Watergate exposures?* Can we recover sufficiently to give the kind of humble, intelligent service that might best help preserve the Constitution? In fact, can our tradition of being potential rescuers of the Constitution be turned from what it has been for many of us, a rather presumptive and passive waiting for a crisis like Watergate (where we didn't show much saving perceptiveness), to being anxiously engaged in efforts to understand and increase the Constitutional guarantees and freedoms—rather than merely being loyal to leaders who claim to be protecting those freedoms for us? (How would we fare, for instance, on the survey

conducted a few years back, in which a majority of a group of Americans, asked to comment on unidentified quotations from those Constitutional guarantees, rejected them as communistic or radical?)

I share President Ford's heartfelt wish for peace for Nixon and his family—and wish it for us all, but only as we work out our salvation in fear and trembling. As Archibald Cox, the man Nixon fired for pursuing the truth too closely, said of him after the resignation, "The destruction of any man is a very, very sad occasion." And this was a tragic fall—though there was no hero—an occasion indeed for pity and terror.



BRENT N. RUSHFORTH

# **WATERGATE : A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE**

*Let no man break the laws of the land,  
for he that keepeth the laws of God  
hath no need to break the laws of the land.*

D & C 58:21

*... for we have made lies our refuge,  
and under falsehood have we hid  
ourselves.*

ISAIAH 28:15

As a lawyer, I have had a professional interest in the unfolding of Watergate. Lawyers have, of course, played a central role in the saga. A staggering number of the key players were lawyers—those who were involved in the criminal activities and cover-up conspiracies as well as those involved in the unravelling of the conspiracies and the prosecution of the guilty.

Perhaps the overriding question binding the entire Watergate story together has been whether we are a government of law. This is, of course, not a new question. But Watergate has posed it to us in a new context and has given it new shapes and contours. Fortunately for us all, the prosecution and conviction of Nixon's former attorney general and his highest aides have brought us almost full circle. The principle of rule by law and the corollary that each person is accountable to the law no matter how high his position of power have been reaffirmed.

My position as a public interest attorney brought me into closer contact with one of the most troubling aspects of Watergate—the participation of large segments of the respectable American business community in illegal campaign financing. Without the illegal participation of several of America's largest and most prestigious corporations, many of the abuses of the Watergate scandal could not have taken place.

Years ago, Congress, recognizing the tremendous financial power of American corporations to influence elections, passed a law making illegal the contribution of corporate funds to federal political campaigns. The law also prohibits, according to most interpreters, corporate contributions to state and local elections. When politicians approach the managers of major corporations with requests for large campaign contributions, they are aware that they are placing tremendous pressures on those managers to respond by illegally using corporate funds. Much of the responsibility for the campaign abuses which have occurred in the past must therefore rest on the politicians' shoulders. When a senator conducting a campaign for reelection receives a cash contribution at lunch from a corporate vice-president without asking any questions regarding the source of that money, it can only indicate that the senator does not wish to know the truth. While the senator has not violated any criminal statute, he has certainly participated in an activity which he must suspect to be criminal and has tacitly condoned it.

Two points should be made with regard to the fund-raising for the 1972 Nixon presidential campaign. First, in fairness, it was by no means the first time that managers of corporations had been requested to finance political campaigns in disregard of federal laws. The practice had been going on for years and, indeed,

had established a pattern of accepted conduct. But there is no question now that Nixon's men raised the art of pressuring companies for money to a new level. The stories of Maurice Stans's list of companies with assigned shares for each, of thinly veiled threats of unfortunate consequences if the potential sources failed to produce, of approaches to companies which had important business matters before governmental agencies of the Nixon administration by lawyers representing competing companies have been substantiated. The fund-raising for Nixon's election was by far the most financially successful in the history of American politics and it was so successful, in large part, because it was conducted with utter disregard for the criminal laws of the United States.

But this fundraising effort owes much of its success to the absolute moral and ethical vacuum into which American business has fallen. A case in which I became involved provided me with a vivid picture of the amorality of the business decision-making process. It was an enormously educational, if equally disheartening, experience.

During his testimony to the Senate Watergate Committee in the summer of 1973, Herbert Kalmbach revealed some of the fund-raising activities he had carried out on behalf of the Nixon campaign. He also described how he had distributed some of the money he had raised to Watergate defendants. He stated, among many other things, that he had received \$75,000 in cash from Thomas Jones, president of the Northrop Corporation, a large Southern California aerospace manufacturer. The cash was delivered in Jones's office in Los Angeles and was taken home and counted by Kalmbach. Later, this money was delivered to E. Howard Hunt, one of the original Watergate defendants, as what we now know to be one of a series of hush-money payments designed to ensure the silence of the original defendants. This "contribution" was in addition to an earlier \$100,000 which Jones had given to the Nixon campaign after receiving a personal visit and request for such an amount from Maurice Stans, Herbert Kalmbach and Leonard Firestone. Jones was at a Paris airshow when the story broke, and when contacted there, he maintained that the money had come from his own personal funds.

On May 1, 1974, Jones and James Allen, a Northrop vice-president, pleaded guilty to charges of violations of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act brought by the Watergate Special Prosecutor. Northrop Corporation also pleaded guilty. The criminal information filed by the Special Prosecutor's office told the story that the \$100,000 which Jones had contributed to the campaign and the money (either \$75,000 or \$50,000, depending on whether one believes Kalmbach or Jones, respectively) which he had later delivered to Kalmbach came from Northrop Company funds. In order to conceal the true nature of the funds (because it would have been criminal conduct) the money had been sent to a Northrop "consultant" operating out of Paris and then secretly returned to the United States. This procedure is quaintly referred to as "laundering."

The same day the guilty pleas were entered in Washington, the company issued a public statement in Los Angeles describing the illegal contributions as an abnormal departure from the high standards of Northrop. The statement said that Jones was sorry for what he had done and announced that the company had decided to retain him as the head of Northrop.

About a week later, a lawyer from New York called me on the phone. He said

he was a shareholder of Northrop and was most unhappy to learn that the company had been involved in the illegal activities described above. He wanted to retain the services of our law firm (The Center for Law in the Public Interest, a Los Angeles public interest law firm supported primarily by the Ford Foundation and other public foundations) and asked whether I would be interested. I said yes and began to put together a lawsuit seeking restitution to the company of all money illegally contributed and all expenses arising therefrom, full disclosure of the illegal activities to the shareholders, removal of Jones and others involved in the scheme from positions of responsibility in the company, and the appointment of an independent "investigator" in order to determine whether the contributions to the Nixon campaign were an isolated instance—a "departure from high business standards"—or part of a larger pattern. We filed the complaint toward the end of May and immediately launched into an investigation of the case by subpoenaing and reviewing company documents and taking the sworn testimony of the company officials involved, including Jones.

The investigation proved to be a fascinating, sometimes shocking, often disheartening journey into the world of American business in the sixties and early seventies. There were times during intense and difficult deposition questioning of Jones when I would have liked nothing better than to have folded up my briefcase and gone home. At those times, Jones seemed nothing more nor less than a decent man who had gotten caught up in the pressures of the 1972 presidential campaign and had made a serious error in judgment. But as the real facts became clear, what began to emerge was a pattern of conduct dating back many years.

Long before the 1972 Nixon campaign and Watergate, Jones had made a conscious decision to funnel company funds illegally to politicians campaigning for federal, state and local office. Together with James Allen, he conceived a scheme of forwarding money to William Savy, a Northrop "consultant" in Europe and having Savy return substantial amounts of cash to New York. Savy would carry the cash on his person into the United States and either deliver it to James Allen in New York or deliver it to a third party from whom Allen would retrieve it and bring it back to Northrop's Los Angeles office and deposit it in his own and Jones's safes. At various times, money would be distributed in cash to political candidates of both parties. Over a thirteen year period, nearly \$1.2 million was sent to Savy of which approximately \$130,000 was his basic retainer as a "consultant" and approximately \$400,000 was laundered in the manner described above. The remaining \$600,000 is still unaccounted for.

I tell this story not because I believe it to be unique among prestigious American companies. On the contrary, it appears to have become the norm. A lawsuit brought by Common Cause forced the Committee To Reelect the President to turn over the so-called "Rosemary's Babies" list—a list (kept by Mr. Nixon's secretary, Rosemary Woods) containing the names of over eighty American companies which had contributed illegally to the 1972 Nixon presidential campaign. While this list has never been made public, the names of certain companies on the list are known—some have come forward and pleaded guilty (e.g., American Airlines and Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co.), but the majority remain silent.

During the course of vigorously prosecuting the Northrop case, I asked myself what had gone wrong with these men. Many of those involved had high reputa-



tions for integrity and honesty. All of them occupied positions of great trust and responsibility. Their communities looked upon them as highly capable and successful men. But somewhere, each had lost his "moral compass," to use the words of Jeb McGruder, and had seemed to drift into a philosophy of amorality with regard to business and politics.

Several factors have been at work to encourage this state of affairs. First, there are many laws on the books which have gone unenforced for years. The Federal Corrupt Practices Act is one of them. The United States Justice Department apparently decided over the years to devote its resources to other areas. Whenever criminal laws go unenforced, contempt for the system of justice results. Further, those who break the law appear to achieve an advantage over those who do not (in this case access to political influence) and go unpunished. This provides the stimulus for others to consider the advantages of violation of law as compared to the relatively minor chance of being punished.

Perhaps the most important factor in the development of the present sorry state of morality in the public and private sectors has been the philosophy that winning the election justifies nearly any means to that end. John Mitchell stated this philosophy succinctly in his testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee during the summer of 1973, but his was perhaps only the most brutal statement of a principle shared by many in politics. The spiralling costs of running a campaign for federal office have placed such an enterprise off limits to all but the super rich—and those who have been willing to accept money from American business without asking questions. More often than not, the impetus for the illegal campaign contributions has come not from the business community, but from politicians desperately seeking sources for the huge war chests they have had to accumulate.

Another element in the state of mind which lead otherwise respectable and upright men to violate criminal laws was, as I have tried to indicate, a sense that the federal campaign laws were not to be taken all that seriously. That notion was encouraged by the long standing failure of the government to enforce its own laws regarding campaign financing. Selective enforcement, in other words, breeds selective obedience. Many otherwise law abiding citizens were led into the dangerous belief that the nonenforcement of the laws was justification for non-compliance. Much of the illegality can be written off to a belief that one would never be caught, but there also seemed to be a genuine feeling that to violate laws which had never been enforced was not wrong and to punish such violations would be unfair.

I see a parallel between such an attitude and our own sometimes selective compliance with the Lord's commandments. I believe that I personally need to exercise a greater standard of care with regard to my own selective compliance with the principles of the gospel. Undoubtedly some laws are more important than others. It is easier to repent of a failure to do some home teaching than to repent of adultery. But the consequences of consciously ignoring any of the commandments may be more serious than we can presently anticipate.

How did this case affect me? Let me be as candid as I can. I went into the case with a great sense of enthusiasm. Here was an opportunity to attack one of the most insidious evils of the modern corporate state. Here was a recognizable wrong to be righted. But it is difficult to describe what a troubling set of vibrations the

case set up within me. It is one thing to intellectualize and theorize about the amorality and corruption of the world. It is quite another to come face-to-face with real people and real situations which vividly illustrate the lack of integrity and moral standards which seems to permeate modern society. It was extremely unsettling. My wife said to me that it was the first case I had ever handled which seemed to take complete possession of me for several months. I could not shake it loose. I am sure that no case I have ever worked on has affected me as deeply.

It was not so much that the men we were suing were immoral—it was the sense that morals had no place whatsoever in the market place. The considerations which went into the establishment of the illegal scheme did not seem to include a weighing of whether it was right or wrong. The thinking stopped at whether it was necessary for the business of the company—and perhaps an assessment of the chances of being discovered. Sometimes this sense of apathy threatened to overwhelm me and turn the experience into an exercise in frustration and hopelessness.

It was during the investigation and prosecution of the Northrop case that I came to appreciate anew the values which the gospel can provide anyone who determines to live by its tenets. Those values took on more than an abstract meaning. They became a practical guide to assist me in maintaining my moral equilibrium which was challenged daily by the experience I have described.

The Church and the gospel provide us with concrete experiences designed to focus our attention on the higher moral purposes of our lives. During the time I was litigating the Northrop case, I was also studying the scriptures, holding family prayer, partaking of the sacrament and doing missionary work. There is no better antidote that I know of for the erratic swings in the needle of one's moral compass than the magnetic attraction of the Lord's spirit which can be experienced during participation in such gospel exercises.

Through these experiences and others, such as weekly priesthood and Sunday school lessons on the life of the Saviour, I was reminded of the moral example established by Jesus during his ministry. He was familiar with moral apathy in His world. He made moral judgments and did not hesitate to exercise moral leadership when necessary. He always seemed more harsh in his condemnation of the member of the establishment who broke the law while giving the appearance of rectitude (the Pharisees) than of those who sinned but were not hypocrites (the publicans and sinners). He contended with the great conspirators of his day and overcame them by the sheer force of his supremely moral will.

I wish neither to overstate the case nor to convey a sense of moral superiority. I wish merely to convey the strong sense of personal peace and comfort I found in the gospel and in my contact with many who are trying to live it during a difficult time.

Watergate has shown us and the Northrop case has shown me in particular how easy it is to rationalize behavior which is seriously wrong. There seems to be no good alternative to a continual assessment of one's own thinking and performance as measured against a set of standards. It is of immeasurable value to be associated with people who are engaged in that process on an ongoing basis and who can provide a sense that the moral life is possible.

# THE POLITICS OF B.H. ROBERTS

D. CRAIG MIKKELSEN

Among the second generation of latter-day Saints, the Church had few more zealous or versatile advocates than B. H. Roberts. In his day he was the Church's most prolific writer, its leading historian, one of its most popular and exciting speakers, a missionary, theologian, journalist, and widely admired champion of Mormonism before the world; and Roberts' day was a long one—for nearly forty-five years he served as a general authority of the Church. Yet many of the same qualities which equipped him to be defender of the faith—his oratorical skill, polemical ability and total lack of aversion to controversy<sup>1</sup>—suited him as well for public life. Roberts was also a politician.

Not surprisingly, politics and religion in Roberts' career were closely connected; by force both of circumstances and his own nature, he was required to pass judgment on his Church as a political influence, on its teachings as a guide to policy and on its authorities as temporal directors. Roberts' reconciliation of church and state was not done in a corner but before a generation of fascinated Utah voters who came to regard him variously as apostate, embarrassment and political hero.

Roberts entered public affairs at a crucial period in Utah's political life. After years of chafing under the rule of federal appointees, Mormons throughout the Territory ardently wished for statehood and attendant self-rule. Church leaders were trying to be accommodating; they had silenced the nation's two major objections by renouncing polygamy in 1890 and approving, the following year, dissolution of the People's Party, the vehicle of Church political influence.

Yet despite its formal abdication of authority in politics, the Church retained considerable sway over a people accustomed to looking to its religious leaders for guidance in all things—and Mormon leaders remained most solicitous for Utah's temporal welfare. To avoid perpetuating the Mormon-Gentile rift that had characterized territorial politics, the Saints—nearly all of whom had been members of the People's Party—were instructed to join with the national Democratic and Republican organizations. Yet, as Apostle Abraham Cannon wrote of the First Presidency, "They did not want [Church members] to go *en masse* to either party. If [the Saints] can divide about evenly between the parties, leaving an uncertain element to be converted to either side, it is thought the best results will follow."<sup>2</sup> Members of the Presidency also were convinced that the interests of statehood would best be served by courting favor of the Grand Old Party; and when it appeared a majority of the Mormons would vote Democratic, the leading brethren decided to tip the balance a little. At a meeting of highest Church officials, as Joseph F. Smith reported, "it was plainly stated . . . that men in high authority who believed in Republican principles should go out among the people, but those in high authority who could not endorse the principles of Republicanism should remain silent."<sup>3</sup> With the Presidency's approval, Apostle John Henry Smith and others embarked on a campaign to promulgate Republicanism. When some of the other brethren expressed their disapproval, Joseph F. Smith, a counselor in the Presidency, explained: "We have received the strongest admonition from our Republican friends, that we must not allow this Territory to go strongly Democratic. We favored John Henry's going on the stump so as to convince the people that a man could be a Republican and still be a Saint."<sup>4</sup>

In 1892 Mormons held their first election along national party lines, and the campaign was an enthusiastic one. The politics of religion was much at issue.

The two parties circulated rival pamphlets—both called “Nuggets of Truth”—arguing that Republicanism—or Democracy—was in the true political tradition of the Church. The campaign also featured the novelty of political encounters between leading churchmen, and among those most anxiously engaged was Roberts. The *Semi-Weekly Herald*, of which he was editor, published biting editorials condemning as “moonshine” the foolish opinion “that the population of the territory should be about evenly divided between the two great national parties in order that Utah might be favored of both parties, sought for and petted and at last secure her full rights.”<sup>5</sup> The paper also criticized attempts to insert religious argument into the campaign, branding some political utterances of John Henry and Joseph F. Smith as “an appeal to the prejudice and passion of the Mormon people” and “utterly unworthy of the gentlemen” who made them.<sup>6</sup>

As the election approached and the political climate followed a definite warming trend, the campaign activities of general authorities became distressing to the highest Church leadership. In early October, at a meeting of the First Presidency and the Twelve, it was decided that general authorities should no longer take the platform to make political speeches.<sup>7</sup> But some Church officials, convinced that the “damage” had already been done by the blatant partisanship of other authorities, would not be quieted.

The day following the Council’s decision against political stumping by Church leaders, eager Democrats by the thousands rallied and marched the streets of Provo before crowding into the new stake tabernacle for the state convention of their party. Among the highlights of the evening was an oration of “fiery eloquence,” enthusiastically described by the partisan *Herald* as “deserving a permanent place in current Democratic literature.” The speaker was the youngest of the First Council of the Seventy, thirty-five year old B. H. Roberts. “I shrink from the task you have assigned me,” he told the Convention,

perhaps for the reason that I do not account myself a politician and am little experienced in actual political work. But however limited my experience may be in practical politics, I have devoted some attention to the study of civil government, especially to the principles upon which our own government is bottomed; and after such reflection upon and analysis of the subject as my humble abilities will admit of, I arise from the self imposed task with the deepest conviction that I am a Democrat.<sup>8</sup>

The young general authority showed himself fully aware of the significance of his presence at the Convention:

There is another reason why I am pleased with this opportunity of speaking to you—I trust the fact of my doing so will be an evidence to you and all who may hear of it, that Democratic Mormons no less than their Republican brethren are free to affiliate with the political party of their choice, and give full and free expression to their honest convictions.

Anxious to dispel any notion of Church sanction for Republicanism, Roberts continued with the canvass until the election, which the Democratic candidate won by a wide margin.

After the election, Roberts found himself—along with two other general authorities who had continued to work for the Democratic campaign—subject to the discipline of the Church. Apostle Marriner W. Merrill describes a meeting of the Presidency and ten of the Twelve in which “the subject of Apostle Moses Thatcher, B. H. Roberts, and C. W. Penrose was discussed at length; they all went

in direct opposition of the First Presidency policy in the last fall political campaign. . . . After a long discussion . . . it was agreed upon that the Brethren above named should not attend the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple until they made matters right."<sup>9</sup> The three errant authorities thereafter apologized and made reconciliation; for a time at least, Roberts' political activities were ended. The next year his efforts were devoted entirely to the work of the ministry.

Eventually, however, as Utah moved closer to statehood, Church authorities found it expedient to lift the ban on political participation. An 1894 act of Congress had authorized the election of delegates to a state constitutional convention, and the Church, desirous that its interests be represented there, decided to permit Mormon officials to become candidates. Roberts, as delegate from Davis County, was among four general authorities elected. But that he was no part of any Mormon lobby was soon evident.

Three weeks into the convention, Roberts drew the attention of people throughout Utah by single-handedly turning what most had supposed to be a routine issue into what the *Herald* called "the greatest legislative fight in the history of the Territory." The subject was woman's suffrage. As women had previously voted in Utah elections—until denied the right by the Edmunds-Tucker law—and since neither party dared alienate the ladies by opposing female suffrage, the measure was expected to pass easily. Besides, the Church favored enfranchisement, as Roberts knew. As he later wrote, "Mormon Church leaders could see the practically doubling of the vote they could control in the event of their resorting to the exercise of ecclesiastical authority in politics. . . . In fact they had expressed a wish to see suffrage included in the Constitution."<sup>10</sup>

But the Davis County delegate was adamant in opposition. He excused himself from any obligation to support his party's position on the issue, saying political platforms were like "the shifting clouds of a summer day, and may be wafted where they may."<sup>11</sup> Expediency required that woman's suffrage not be included in the constitution, he argued, since it would endanger chances of ratification; Utah's Gentile population would certainly object, and President Grover Cleveland was known to oppose the measure.

When another delegate challenged him to argue the merits—not just the politics—of the question, Roberts obliged with two lengthy orations on successive days; Utah's womanhood attended to both with the keenest interest. Abundantly documenting his position both scripturally and from secular literature, Roberts demonstrated that woman's role was domestic, not political. Anticipating his detractors, he assured his audience,

There is not a suffragist among you all that has a higher opinion of her and of her influence than I myself entertain. But let me say that the influence of woman as it operates upon me never came from the rostrum, it never came from the pulpit, with woman in it, it never came from the lecturer's platform, with woman speaking; it came from the fireside, it comes from the blessed association with mothers, of sisters, of wives, of daughters, not as democrats or republicans.<sup>12</sup>

He opposed female suffrage, he told the convention, because it was both unnecessary and unwholesome. Utah's women were effectively represented already by husbands, sons, and brothers. And politics was a sordid business, no place for ladies. If suffrage were passed, he predicted, the sensibilities of the gentlewomen would cause them to shun the polls, while "the brazen, the element that



# SALT LAKE CITY

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, SATURDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 5, 1898.



Ha! Ha! Ha!  
There's My Pa,  
He'll Go to Washington,  
But He Won't Take Ma.

county will go Republican by 200. The entire ticket has been elected.

Mt. Pleasant, Nov. 3.—The Republicans of Sanpete elect their entire ticket by majorities ranging from 50 to 300. The entire county is blazing with enthusiasm over the splendid victory.

Republican majority on the ticket

Democrats have carried everything except possibly Clerk.

Payson, Nov. 3.—At present counting Roberts has 255, Eldredge 183, straight; about 183 votes yet remaining uncounted, most of which are for

## CONGRESSMEN-ELECT.

Following Have Been Elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

The district shows the presence of the pres-

The forty-third their relative the

In Nebraska elected 20,000 and Legislative joint ball of a Republican in place Nebraska election 2000 majority Legislative Massachusetts State by New Jersey State the will retain Senators.

In Colorado elected by 650.

In Michigan very large ing 1900.

Minnesota Governor the Legis-

In Indiana State, about

relatively to the pres-



is under control of the managers and runners of saloons, will be the ones to brave the ward politicians, wade through the smoke and cast their ballot."<sup>13</sup> Eventually political involvement would prove debasing: "Let [suffrage] operate twenty years, let it operate fifty, a hundred years, we will have a womanhood from whom we will dispose to flee."<sup>14</sup> Roberts was in earnest. (When his Davis County constituents threatened to demand resignation if he did not cease to oppose suffrage, he wired back, inviting them to do what they would. They reconsidered.)

Roberts' widely acknowledged eloquence notwithstanding, Utah females were granted the vote by a large majority. But that was not the end of the matter for him. The extensive publicity given his arguments made Roberts' name practically synonymous with anti-suffrage in the minds of many; in subsequent years he was often challenged to defend his "misogynous" views. Four years after the convention had adjourned, the Y.M.M.I.A. *Young Women's Journal* could still ask Roberts to explain his feelings on the political status of women in Utah. He responded:

It was not contempt for women that led to my opposition to her enfranchisement, but my deep regard for her. It was not because I despised woman's influence that I was opposed to equal suffrage, but because I feared that influence would be lessened. . . . It was not because I wanted to see man lord over woman. . . .<sup>15</sup>

The second issue of the convention to involve Roberts deeply concerned the attitude state government should adopt towards private business. Roberts saw corporate power as "that one great evil . . . which promises to overthrow the institutions of our country more than any other danger."<sup>16</sup> Corporations, he warned, "have no bodies that you can kick, and they have no souls that you can tempt, and they are the most difficult things to contend with that ever confronted our civilization."<sup>17</sup>

He spoke in favor of a state anti-monopoly law and proposed sections to restrict all corporations to "one general line of business." He also urged that the state be prohibited from subsidizing private concerns, warning that otherwise legislators would be incessantly courted by men begging public aid to build private fortunes.<sup>18</sup> A question was quickly raised regarding Utah's young sugar industry—in which the Church had invested heavily, and for which the territorial legislature had been persuaded to grant a bounty. Roberts insisted it should be no exception:

. . . I am not willing even that this enterprise, laudable as I grant you that it is, should be sustained and supported at the expense of the people of this State, because, however laudable this enterprise might be, it is very likely, sir, that other companies will form and other projects will be inaugurated which will not be so laudable. . . .<sup>19</sup>

The question of statewide prohibition inspired one of the liveliest debates of the convention, and it was the final issue to which Roberts addressed himself at length. Here, too, Mormon leaders had made their wishes known; while doubting the wisdom of inserting prohibition<sup>20</sup> into the Constitution for fear of alienating the Gentile population and thereby endangering ratification, President Woodruff did endorse a petition urging that a bill outlawing the sale and manufacture of spirits be put before the voters as a separate proposition.<sup>21</sup>

Roberts fully agreed with Church leaders as to the political unwisdom of writing prohibition into the Constitution; however unlike the Presidency, he could not muster much enthusiasm for any subsequent attempt to outlaw liquor.

To Roberts, prohibition was a species of law governments had no business making and he opposed it—on moral grounds.

I believe in the liberty of the individual, and if you want to know how dear to me the liberty of the individual is, I want to tell you that . . . notwithstanding all the array of blood curdling incidents that may be related as growing out of the acts of men under the influence . . . so dear to me is the liberty of the individual that I would pay that price for it, and if I could, I would not destroy the liberty and agency of man.<sup>22</sup>

"May I ask the gentleman a question?" said another delegate. "How about the weaker ones—the wives and children of the unfortunate men?"

"You may add that to the list also, if you will," Roberts replied. "I recognize, sir, that Omnipotence has the power to blot this thing out of existence and yet He withholds His Hand."<sup>23</sup>

Even if passed, Roberts argued, a prohibition law would not succeed in its aims, and ineffective law was worse than none. "I am of the opinion that there are things worse than even intemperance in the use of intoxicating liquors, and one of those . . . is disrespect and disregard of law. . . . I say that it is easy to evade this class of law, and when you teach a community to disregard law, you create a greater evil even than the evil you attempt to crush by law."<sup>24</sup> Utah didn't have to give up its liquor that year.

Despite his well-known stand against prohibition at the convention, Roberts reversed his position in the next decade when a popular movement to make the state dry was throttled in the legislature by the powerful Republican political machine. While still acknowledging his original misgivings about enforced temperance, Roberts said in 1910,

I recognize the right of majorities to have their way and try such experiments in government as shall seem to them best. Therefore, since the liquor interest has stretched forth its hand to defeat the sovereign will of the people [he claimed a "deal" had been made with the Republicans]—I am for prohibition—for putting these corrupters of our government out of business.<sup>25</sup>

Roberts' sudden zeal for outlawing liquor seems to have been attributable to his desire for a Republican defeat, rather than to any latent conviction he may have harbored as to prohibition's virtues; after the Eighteenth Amendment imposed the Great Experiment on the entire nation, Roberts was advocating repeal. In 1928 he even went on radio in support of "wet" presidential candidate Alfred Smith. "What I mean to say," he told his Utah listeners,

is that the national prohibition enactments, have not reduced the nation-wide evils of intemperance; and that the experiment has given birth to innumerable other evils that in the sum of them constitute a graver menace to our national life than the use of liquor under previous conditions prevailing in the United States.<sup>26</sup>

Despite the much-publicized activities of President Heber J. Grant, David O. McKay, and others of the apostles in favor of prohibition, so outspoken was Roberts for repeal that the *Salt Lake Times* could cite him to show that the Mormon Church as such took no position on the issue.<sup>27</sup>

In contrast to the claims of many Church leaders that prohibition was but the secular complement to the revealed injunction against the use of strong drink, Roberts wrote in 1933 of the "so-called moral reform,"

There is no identity between the L.D.S. Church's Word of Wisdom and what is known as Prohibition. The former rests upon persuasion, upon teaching, upon education and that

without compulsion or constraint. The other, State Prohibition, should be enforced with fines, imprisonment and often it has proven to be at the cost of life in pursuance of such enforcement of law and if the Church undertakes to enforce it by penalties or should turn it over to be enforced by the state through pains and penalties, then the Church would be changing and relegating its discipline to enforcement by the state and thus grossly depart from the high moral and spiritual grounds upon which its supplanted Word of Wisdom has been placed by the Almighty.<sup>28</sup>

The independence of the positions taken by Roberts at the convention vis-a-vis the Mormon Church did not go unnoticed or unappreciated. As a prominent Utah Democrat later recalled, Gentiles and young Mormons especially "admired . . . the man's courage and ability; and they thought then . . . that B. H. Roberts was the Moses who was going to lead us out of our political troubles. . . . They believed that with the stand he was taking, and the independence of the man, and his ability to lead, it would result in his leading the people away from church domination."<sup>29</sup>

In the fall of 1895 the Democratic party made the young Seventy their candidate to become the first congressman from the new state. (They chose another prominent Church leader, Apostle Moses Thatcher, to run for the Senate.) Soon Roberts was vigorously stumping the Territory, delivering well-documented speeches on the political questions of the day—the tariff, silver, the issue of bonds, and "hard times." But before election day, the issues of the campaign were to change.

During a session of the October General Conference of the Church, Joseph F. Smith of the First Presidency gave a talk in which he censured two high Church officials for their disregard of Church authority in entering the political arena without first obtaining the permission of the Presidency. Although no names were mentioned, the identity of the pair was never in doubt; soon political opponents were gleefully suggesting that Roberts and Thatcher, in running for office, were derelict in their Church callings and that their election would be contrary to the will of the Brethren.

Coming as it did just before the November elections, and from an "intense Republican," as Roberts described President Smith, the statement was strongly resented by Democrats as an "ecclesiastical interference." The *Herald* described the controversy that ensued:

Never in ten years has there been so much deep excitement as there was in political circles yesterday. Men were wondering what the church authorities would do, what the Democrats would do, and what the Republicans would do. Everywhere speculation was rife. . . . Mormons joined with Gentiles in saying that the time has come when it should be forever settled as to what position the Mormon church officials shall occupy in our politics.<sup>30</sup>

In his private journal, President Woodruff described the situation more succinctly: "All Hell is stirred up with the whole Democratic Party against the Church. A Terrible War. . . ."<sup>31</sup>

Roberts soon made clear his position in the controversy. One week after Conference a long "interview" written by himself came out on the front pages of two Salt Lake dailies.<sup>32</sup> Describing the recent history of his political involvement, Roberts recounted how, before the Constitutional Convention, he went to one of the First Presidency for his approval. "I said to him that my acceptance of the nomination for delegate . . . would involve me again in active politics. . . . The

gentleman in question [later identified by Roberts as Smith] said that would be all right, and I again entered the political arena. . . ."<sup>33</sup> Since accepting his party's nomination, Roberts said, he had met privately with the First Presidency to discuss various matters, and was in no way reproved for his political activity. Thus, while acknowledging both the right of Church authorities to restrict the political activities of Church officials, and the duty of those officials to either submit to such regulation or else resign their offices, Roberts insisted, "In this case I consider that I have violated no church rule, and if arraigned before my quorum or any church tribunal on such a charge I should answer NOT GUILTY. . . ."<sup>34</sup>

If the Church permits its general authorities to enter politics at all, Roberts continued, then "those men ought to be absolutely free to follow their own discretion as to what their politics shall be. . . . I do not believe that Democratic church officials ought to be expected to go to Republican superior church officials for counsel in political affairs," as that would give the Church too much influence in public affairs. For Roberts there was "no middle ground between absolute and complete retirement on the part of high Mormon Church officials from politics, or else perfect freedom of conduct in respect to politics. . . ."

His own intentions, he declared, were to resign if so requested by his party—otherwise to continue in the race in order to "crush this church influence—not used by the First Presidency of the Mormon Church but by the Republicans who have taken advantage of this unfortunate circumstance. . . ."

I do not know what the results will be to my religious standing, but in this supreme moment I am not counting costs. I shall leave all that to the divine spirit of justice which I believe to be in the authorities of the church of Christ. I shall trust that spirit as I ever have done, and I say to the Democratic party that while my position in the church of Christ is dearer to me than life itself, yet I am ready to risk my all in this cause.<sup>35</sup>

In short order the Democratic party reconvened its state convention, voted to renominate all its original candidates—and then lost every contested office except a few seats in the legislature. Roberts was defeated by 897 votes. (In the same election the Constitution was accepted by the voters, and on January 4, 1896, a proclamation of Utah statehood was signed by President Grover Cleveland, a Democrat.)

The First Presidency were not pleased with the conduct of the campaign. John M. Whitaker, at the time Secretary to the First Council of Seventy, describes a meeting with the Church leaders shortly after the election:

. . . I was called into the office of the First Presidency and in the back office President George Q. Cannon called my attention to the "severe and caustic statements of President Roberts against the unwarranted interference of the First Presidency and some of the Twelve in political matters and whispering Campaign and had manifested such a bitter spirit that we have had the matter under discussion for some time. We do not wish in the least to do anything to give color to the thought that we sustain his political talks and his actions in the last campaign; or that we in the least countenance his words and actions and his course; at the same time we do not wish to do anything that would hurt him in the least; but the course he has taken if followed by the members of the First Council would lead to disunion and disruption, and we cannot fellowship him until he has made them right." At this point President Wilford Woodruff came in and told me practically the same thing and further that they would handle Brother Roberts now, and some other men of the authorities also, if it were not for statehood. . . ."<sup>36</sup>

In February 1896 a meeting of the general authorities was held in the temple to consider the Roberts case. (Moses Thatcher was in ill health and unable to attend.) Brigham Young, Jr., of the Council of the Twelve described the session in his journal: "I was appointed to open the case which I did reading many extracts from an interview Br R had with a Herald reporter. He denied nothing & took back nothing. Made some explanations on some unimportant points but repeated his obnoxious expressions as the sentiments of his heart now."<sup>37</sup> Apostle Merrill describes the same meeting:

Brother Roberts made a statement justifying himself in his course, after which all present condemned Brother Roberts' conduct and asked him after 8 hours' meeting in laboring with him to make reconciliation with his Brethren and the Church, which he refused to do. Then meeting adjourned . . . to give him time to consider and report further at some future meeting. . . . All of the Brethren present felt bad, even to tears with many, for the stubborn disposition Brother Roberts manifested.<sup>38</sup>

In March, a second meeting was called. The situation was reviewed and again discussed by the general authorities. As Young recorded it, when asked to state his feelings,

Bro R. said he felt just as he did at last meeting. Bro Golden Kimball asked Pres. what was demanded of Bro Roberts. I asked privilege of answer—only I said a broken heart & contrite spirit, Bro. R. could not give this; I fear for him. Adjourned for three weeks. Bro R. was dropped from his position until then; if he repents, all well, otherwise he will loose his standing among the Seventies.<sup>39</sup>

At the direction of the First Presidency, a document known as the "Political Manifesto" was prepared, setting forth as the rule of the Church that

before accepting any position, political or otherwise, which would interfere with the proper and complete discharge of his ecclesiastical duties . . . every leading official of the Church should apply to the proper authorities and learn from them whether he can, consistently with the obligations already entered into with the church . . . take upon himself the added duties . . . of the new position. To maintain proper discipline and order in the church we deem this absolutely necessary. . . .<sup>40</sup>

Before being presented to the Church at General Conference, the document was to be signed by each of the general authorities, thus "giving [Roberts and Thatcher] an opportunity also to sign it, and thus show whether they were in harmony with their brethren."<sup>41</sup> This, according to the *Journal History* of the Church, "was considered necessary at once, in view of the precarious condition of Thatcher's health, and the importance of having the question involved settled for all time to come."<sup>42</sup>

But Roberts was of no disposition to sign. His autobiography recalls his suspicions:

. . . it can not wholly be disregarded that it is an instrument to be used with exceeding great care, because it could be so easy either by the giving or withholding of consent to indicate the wishes of the administration of the Church as to the desirability or undesirability of men in opposite parties running for office. Especially in a community where is much anxious willingness to comply with the slightest wishes of ecclesiastical authorities. . . . That there had been good ground for suspecting ecclesiastical intention to control the political affairs of the state can scarcely be denied. . . .<sup>43</sup>

A committee composed of Heber J. Grant and Francis M. Lyman was assigned

to persuade the recalcitrant Seventy. After days of trying to convince Roberts, the two received the following letter.

I submit to the authority of God in the brethren. While I cannot for the life of me think of anything in which I have not acted in all good conscience, and with an honest heart, since they think I am in the wrong, I will bow to them, and place myself in their hands as the servants of God. This day thirty-nine years ago I first saw the light, and now after this trouble, I feel lighter. I thank you for your goodness to me.<sup>44</sup>

To the disappointment of some and the surprise of many, when the Manifesto was read at April Conference, Roberts' name was signed to it.

He did not, however, abandon his ambitions to someday sit in Congress. In 1898, after returning to Utah from a period of service in the mission field, Roberts got the permission of President Lorenzo Snow to seek public office, and at his party's convention in the fall, he was chosen to run again for Utah's seat in the House of Representatives. Roberts was a polygamist, but his marital status had not been a major issue in his earlier campaign, and he was confident the matter would not be politically disabling. But events did not justify his hopes; times were not propitious for a candidate with three wives.

Throughout the campaign Roberts was pilloried by the *Salt Lake Tribune* and various sectarian groups on a number of counts, especially for his polygamy. Meanwhile, the Church did little to defend him; the Church-owned *Deseret News* avoided discussion of specific campaign issues, and President George Q. Cannon's timely opinion (announced a few days before the election)—that "any man who cohabits with his plural wives violates the law"<sup>45</sup>—was no help.

Roberts nevertheless managed to win the election, and he arrived in the nation's capital the following year to be sworn in to office. But his difficulties were not ended; he found in Washington strong sentiment against seating a polygamist. Objections to the admission of Roberts into the House prompted several weeks of intermittent discussion. Meanwhile the forty-two year old Mormon drew the attention of the national press, as many papers devoted entire pages to the question of Roberts, the Congress, and the wives. Finally, by a vote of 268 to 50, the Fifty-Sixth Congress ruled that the Representative-elect from Utah should not have place in the House.

Roberts' failure to retain his Congressional seat was a damaging blow to the prestige of the Democratic party in Utah, and he felt sure that it had effectively ended his career in politics. Yet he continued to be an influential figure among Utah Democrats. Years later the *Intermountain Republican* could still call him "the biggest of his party in Utah." Roberts enjoyed a great reputation as an orator, and his political utterances continued to command much attention—particularly when the subject was Church influence in politics; and for the next decade it often was.

In 1903 Utah's state legislature elected Senator Reed Smoot, Republican and member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. The spectacle of an apostle—one sustained by the Church as prophet, seer, and revelator—taking part in the heated wars of partisan politics—created something of a dilemma in the minds of many Mormon Democrats who were anxious to be good Saints but who disagreed with the Senator's politics. To such the remarks of President Joseph F. Smith at the 1906 General Conference must have been less than reassuring; as Whitaker records,

he made it clear that . . . when the people vote to sustain anyone in a political position, that person is at liberty to accept if he or she so chooses and Reed Smoot had the confidence and support of the General Authorities of the church in his present position as Senator from Utah.<sup>46</sup>

By 1908 when Smoot first came up for re-election, several in the leading councils of the Church openly questioned the propriety of a man's serving as both Apostle and Senator. But President Smith, convinced that the Lord willed Smoot's continued service in Washington, never revealed any such misgivings. To the contrary, in a fast meeting (attended by Roberts), the Prophet condemned "the cowardice of some of our brethren who felt to regret that we had an apostle in the Senate. He characterized such sentiment in the strongest language he or any other man could use," and expressed his desire to see Smoot re-elected.<sup>47</sup> Two of the Senator's closest associates wrote to him that Smith had instructed the editor of the *Era* to support Republicanism<sup>48</sup> and had promised them, "I will take my counsellors and the twelve one by one and tell them what I want done, then I will see Bishop Nibley and some of the others."<sup>49</sup> Criticism of Smoot by the general authorities thereafter subsided. Roberts was the conspicuous exception.

A few months after President Smith's fast meeting remarks, Roberts composed a letter detailing his opposition to Smoot's re-election. It immediately obtained wide circulation in Utah political circles and eventually appeared in the Salt Lake papers. The letter protested patronage of Smoot by the Church, and urged that the

candidacy of Reed Smoot and all other political issues should be regarded in the light of absolute certainty that Utah is destined to become a non-Mormon state. . . . It is for those who are directing the policy of our church to consider whether they will have it anti-Mormon as well. . . .<sup>50</sup>

In Utah, Roberts wrote, there were 500 persons as qualified as Smoot to represent the state—and without perpetuating the "old antagonisms." True, Smoot was an apostle—that was undeniable; ". . . as I must needs believe that this gentleman was called to his apostolate by inspiration, it removed him beyond my criticism in that capacity." But Roberts could not resist: "My observation leads me to the conclusion that God accomplishes his purposes at times as well through weak instrumentalities as through strong ones. . . ."<sup>51</sup>

Shortly before the 1908 election Roberts delivered a second well-publicized statement of personal policy regarding Smoot and the Republicans. Before a large crowd in the Sixteenth Ward amusement hall, he gave a two hour speech, reported in detail under the headline "Roberts, Stalwart Saint, Trains His Guns on Smoot."<sup>52</sup> The speech contained harsh remarks on "gumshoers," petty Church officials, self-appointed messengers of the Brethren, who, in the words of a *Tribune* editorial, went about in political campaigns "brothering and sistering" Church members, enlightening them as to the supposed will of the authorities. Roberts accused the Republican organization of scheming to subvert his influence by such a "whisper campaign"—

The men who go gumshoeing in this political campaign represent me as untrue to my people and my church, and a traitor to them, and that I am on the highway to apostasy and not to be trusted. It is about time that some manhood should stir in me and I should urge those whom I can influence to stand against such damnable infamy as this.<sup>53</sup>

Roberts and the Democrats were anxious that Smoot not get the votes of the



undiscerning merely on the strength of his prestige as an apostle. Roberts assured his audience, "Whatever honors a man may hold do not grant him a priori supremacy as a governor." Issues—not extraneous credentials—should decide the election.

Men come, men go; men die, men change, but the truth remains. Principle remains. The only admonition that my church gives to me, and the only law by which I will be governed in this particular, is this: Son, sit down, take counsel with thine own soul; investigate these doctrines, think them over, make up your mind as to what is the truth . . . make up your own mind, for you by these methods are in tutelage for higher things.<sup>54</sup>

Despite all Roberts' efforts to the contrary, 1908 was a Republican year in Utah, and Reed Smoot was returned to the Senate for another term. Things did not look bright for Utah Democrats after that. Smoot was successful in defeating a popular movement—endorsed by Roberts and his party—to bring about statewide prohibition; when owners of the Democratic *Herald*—no longer optimistic about the future of their party in Utah—sold the paper, Reed Smoot and the Church purchased controlling interest and merged with another paper to form the *Herald-Republican*.<sup>55</sup> At the same time, President Smith showed no signs of flagging in his support for the Republican senator. For Roberts the situation was discouraging. Writing of political conditions, he complained to a friend,

The betterment forces move so slow in Utah. . . . Meantime, here and there, are dropping from the rank of our Church some of the brightest intellects and best souls that we have. Not openly and defiantly but just quietly dropping out—losing interest, and patience and faith. The situation to me is only tolerable, because I have an abiding faith in the higher and deeper principles of Philosophic Mormonism with which I am interesting myself and which the errors of administration and sometimes the stupid inefficiency of Church officialdom cannot affect.<sup>56</sup>

For years the intrusion of the Church into politics remained a sore spot with Roberts. When an editorial appeared in the Church-owned *Deseret News* minimizing the extent of ecclesiastical influence in political affairs, he shot back an angry letter, calling it "the most palpable thing in this world that such influence is used," and offering for publication a review of such interferences in Utah politics which he had prepared.<sup>57</sup> The *News* wasn't interested, but the issue did bring about a lively exchange of letters.

Editor J. M. Sjodahl responded to Roberts' assault by blandly asserting that Church officials no less than other citizens have political rights and suggesting that it was inappropriate for Roberts, of all people, to make such complaints. (Republicans commonly charged Roberts with hypocrisy; for all his supposed grievances against "Church influence," had not *he* run for office while a general authority, and had not *he* campaigned for Moses Thatcher, who was at the time an apostle?)

Roberts claimed a distinction was in order. While acknowledging "a certain influence" exercised by Church leaders who entered politics, it was to be considered personal—not Church—influence "so long as the individual confines himself to usual political methods—speaking from the political platform exclusively, etc."<sup>58</sup> The troubles in Utah, Roberts insisted, had arisen "through Church officials *not* confining themselves 'to usual political methods,' " but using "ecclesiastical authority in Political matters" such that "the individual upon whom it is

exercised may not resent or resist without the sense of feeling that he is resisting an authority which to him, represents God."<sup>59</sup>

Roberts again volunteered a list of interferences in recent elections; it included remarks by President Smith to the effect that the Lord willed the re-election of Utah's congressional delegation. And Roberts volunteered his appraisal: "I say it is abominable! Disgraceful alike to the Church and to those who participate in it. It is an act of bad faith. Damnable!"<sup>60</sup>

Sjodahl countered, justifying Church leaders in speaking to any subject—politics included—if they felt so inspired. But Roberts, who no doubt thought the political inspiration of any Smoot loyalist to be highly suspect at best, prudently based his objections on other grounds.

. . . From this violation both of usual political methods and the declared principles of the Church, comes our political woes, anger, and bitterness—and they will continue and be intensified until a halt in such methods shall be called, for they are intolerable in American politics and will have to be abandoned.<sup>61</sup>

"I appreciate your learning, your character and what I believe to be your good intentions to aid the work of God," wrote Roberts at the conclusion of a letter to Sjodahl, "but unhappily we are fallen upon unpropitious times, where men of best intentions may easily misunderstand each other. Most earnestly do I pray that God will inspire the men charged with the administration of our affairs to change conditions."<sup>62</sup>

In public as well, Roberts continued the protest. Before the 1910 election, he gave a speech in the Salt Lake Theatre, repeating the old refrain: "I hope yet to see the Mormon church free from the dishonor of unholy alliances with political tricksters . . . until the church shall make it her sole business to make men, and leave men to make the state. . . ." <sup>63</sup>—the perennial complaint. And yet within the statement is contained the irony of Roberts' long political crusade: he was a prime example of men the Church made. And while he could seethe when the authorities seemed to lend the sanction of Church office to their political predilections, Roberts himself habitually perceived affairs in terms of the gospel and expressed himself in the idiom of the Church. For one who believed the principles of the Democratic party to be "self existent," "eternal as God is, and . . . no more to be created by man than gravitation,"<sup>64</sup> the temptation to offer the Saints political counsel was irresistible at times.

The great League of Nations controversy was one of those times. Almost from the beginning Roberts perceived great meaning in the war in Europe. In his October 1914 General Conference address he declared his belief that from the conflict would emerge "higher planes of civilization."<sup>65</sup> From the same pulpit a year later he predicted the formation of a league of nations that would "establish an empire of humanity" by suppressing feelings of nationality.<sup>66</sup> And in 1917, after America had entered the War, he assured the Saints, "If there ever was a holy war in this world, you may account the war that the United States is waging against the Imperial Government of Germany as the most righteous and holy of wars."<sup>67</sup>

To a Sunday crowd in the Tabernacle, Elder Roberts expounded at greater length on the religious meaning of the Great War. "Amid plot and counterplot, glory and defeat, you may observe if you study well the course of history in this

world, you may see being builded up as by unseen hands a mighty progress in the accomplishment of God's purposes in the advancement of higher phases of civilization. . . . That is what I regard as the triumph of righteousness in the war. . . ."68 He added,

I believe, in my soul, that the kingdom of humanity is coming; that the long-predicted world peace is at hand. . . . As sacrifices bear some proportion to the blessings that follow . . . behold then in the presence of all the sacrifices that the world has made during these last three years of dreadful war—can the heavens themselves contain the blessings that God has in store for the world. . . ?69

By 1918 the vehicle of God's blessing to a troubled mankind had become clearly identifiable to Roberts—the League of Nations proposed by Woodrow Wilson as part of the peace settlement. When, in the next year, citizens throughout the country were debating the advisability of American entrance into the League,<sup>70</sup> Roberts commenced an evangelistic campaign to convince Utahans of their duty in the matter. God's purposes would succeed—of that he was sure—but only after overcoming the determined opposition of such men as Reed Smoot and Major J. Reuben Clark, Jr., who traveled about speaking against U. S. entry.

When the Mountain Congress for a League of Nations held its convention at the Tabernacle in February, 1919, Roberts delivered a major address (which he had published a month later in the *Era*).<sup>71</sup> It was probably his most impassioned effort in the League's behalf. Citing Isaiah's prophecy of a peaceful time of plowshares and pruning hooks, Roberts asked his audience, "Are these dreams of a golden age of peace to be realized, and is such a thing possible? I answer for myself, yes! Most emphatically, yes!" for "God has decreed that it shall come to pass, and who can disannul his word or stay his hand? And secondly . . . because it has become recognized as a world's need by enlightened minds in all nations. . . ." And moreover, he added,

is the time now, and is it to be the high privilege of the men of this generation to inaugurate the means which shall establish and maintain through its infancy this universal peace age?—I answer, again for myself, yes, most emphatically, yes! God's hour has struck! Man's opportunity has come. The next step in the world's progress is to organize a League of Nations. . . .

But to Elder Roberts' great dismay, the League was not so highly regarded in Washington. By March, 1920, the plan had met its death in the Senate. Still, the dream died hard with Roberts. As late as 1928 he would proclaim to a "Peace Sunday" gathering in the Tabernacle,

I regard the establishment of this League as the finest effort made to realize the song of the angels at the birth of the "Prince of Peace." . . . if my voice could reach the whole people of the United States, I would say to them what I say to you, and that is: Reverse the policy into which we have fallen in the matter of withholding from membership in the League of Nations . . . it was a mistake and time is proving it to be so.<sup>72</sup>

The League was not the only political topic on which Elder Roberts spoke from the pulpit. In 1921 he made the Washington Conference on disarmament the subject of his General Conference address. He admonished the Saints,

. . . while I do not know whether [the disarmament talks] will be successful or not, I think I do know that it is the duty of the membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to put forth every effort within their power to further the probability of the limitation of armaments among the nations of the earth. . . .

... since this international conference proposes to limit the armaments of both land and sea forces, I for one hail it as an indication that the Spirit of the Lord is working in the hearts of the people and the leading statesmen of the world to bring to pass peace among the nations, so I want the privilege, for one, of standing in the midst of my fellows and at least raising my voice in good cheer toward the achievement of that noble end. . . .<sup>73</sup>

Elsewhere he raised his voice for other causes, urging Church members to protest plans to increase American naval strength, and to support a movement to outlaw the use of airplanes, submarines, and women in warfare.<sup>74</sup>

Roberts must have raised some eyebrows, too, such as when, as the Church's representative to the "World Fellowship of Faiths" at Chicago in 1933, he declared, "There is a necessity and a demand for planned and controlled industry by government, or government agencies;"<sup>75</sup> or when he said, speaking of massive government expenditures,

Let us hope that as an emergency policy it will meet with such success as will place the people in a position to construct a new economic policy, for a new age, to take the place of the capitalistic system and its spirit, wherein shall exist more equality and more justice than in the age now passing; a policy wherein there will be a more consistent division of the profits of the conjoint products of capital and labor than heretofore; where the wealth produced by that conjoint effort shall not forever flow into the possession of the "one," while the "ninety and nine" have but empty hands!<sup>76</sup>

Other Church leaders must have resented what they considered to be Roberts' unwarranted politicizing from the pulpit, his attempts to make religious issues of political options. Several of the general authorities were known to oppose the League, and many were less than delighted with the economic policies of the Roosevelt administration. Did not Roberts' pronouncements on these and other subjects contradict the burden of his own crusade—to remove ecclesiastical influence from politics?

Roberts probably did not think so. He explained at the 1912 General Conference of the Church his belief that there exist for Latter-day Saints two separate realms of thought.<sup>77</sup> One comprised the "essentials"—the realm of theology and ethics. ("... there is no ground for serious division among us in respect of what is truth, and justice, and righteousness, and morality in all things, and in all relations.") The other, comprising everything else, was the realm of "non-essentials"—"where one man's judgment may be as good as another's." That Elder Roberts located religion in the first realm and politics in the second seems clear; that he found the boundary between the two clearly distinguishable does not.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>73</sup>In considering Roberts' political career, it is important to remember that his recalcitrance against Church authorities was not confined to matters of politics. Docility was never his hallmark, and he felt little compulsion to make a show of unity with the Brethren when in fact he felt at odds. His correspondence reveals other incidents of dissent—over policies of the Church, points of doctrine, and the writing of Church history.

<sup>74</sup>MS Journal of Abraham H. Cannon, June 10, 1891, Brigham Young University Library, Special Collections.

<sup>75</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, May 10, 1896. Spoken by Joseph F. Smith to the Cache Stake High Council in reference to a meeting held in 1891. In general, spelling, grammatical and punctuation errors have been silently corrected in citations from MSS and early publications.

<sup>4</sup>A. H. Cannon Journal, *op. cit.*, July 9, 1891.

<sup>5</sup>"False Lights," editorial in *The Issues of the Times*, a pamphlet composed of materials appearing originally in the Salt Lake *Semi-Weekly Herald*, n.d.

<sup>6</sup>"Some Bits of History," editorial reprinted in *The Issues of the Times*, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>Journal of Wilford Woodruff, October 4, 1892, cited in Brigham Henry Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (6 vol., Salt Lake: Deseret News Press, 1930), IV:331, n. 9.

<sup>8</sup>Salt Lake *Herald*, October 9, 1892.

<sup>9</sup>Journal of Marriner Wood Merrill, March 23, 1893, cited in Melvin Clarence Merrill, *Utah Pioneer and Apostle: Marriner Wood Merrill and his Family*, n.p., 1937, p. 162.

<sup>10</sup>Brigham Henry Roberts, unpublished autobiography, 1933, photocopy of typed MS with Roberts' penciled corrections in Brigham Young University Library, Special Collections, pp. 379-380.

<sup>11</sup>Utah, *Official Report of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Assembled at Salt Lake City on the Fourth Day of March, 1895, to Adopt a Constitution for the State of Utah* (2 vol., Salt Lake: Star Printing Co., 1898), I:427.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, I:424.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, I:472.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, I:588.

<sup>15</sup>Brigham Henry Roberts, "The Political Status of Women in Utah," *Young Women's Journal* (March, 1899), 104.

<sup>16</sup>*Convention, op. cit.*, II:1469.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, II:1553.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, I:899.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, I:924.

<sup>20</sup>Roberts, *Autobiography, op. cit.*, p. 380.

<sup>21</sup>*Deseret News*, January 5, 1895.

<sup>22</sup>*Convention, op. cit.*, II:1459.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, II:1458.

<sup>25</sup>*Deseret News*, November 1, 1910.

<sup>26</sup>Talk reported briefly in *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 16, 1928. Full text in B. H. Roberts Papers, Church Historical Department, Salt Lake. A hand-written note on the front page, "A very unwise speech by a very unwise man," is signed "J. F. S."

<sup>27</sup>*Salt Lake Times*, June 6, 1930, cited in George H. Skyles, "A Study of the Forces and Events Leading to the Repeal of Prohibition and the Adoption of a Liquor Control System in Utah" (unpublished Masters thesis, Brigham Young University, 1962), pp. 21-2.

<sup>28</sup>Roberts, *Autobiography, op. cit.*, pp. 391-391½.

<sup>29</sup>Testimony of Orlando W. Powers, in *Proceedings before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate in the Matter of The Protests Against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold his Seat* (4 vol., Washington: Government Printing office, 1904), I:927-8.

<sup>30</sup>*Salt Lake Herald*, October 13, 1895.

<sup>31</sup>Journal of Wilford Woodruff, October 14, 1895. Microfilm copy of original MS in Church Historical Department, Salt Lake.

<sup>32</sup>"Roberts' Strong Position," *Salt Lake Herald*, October 14, 1895. Also *Tribune* of the same date.

<sup>33</sup>*Herald, ibid.*

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup>Journal of John M. Whitaker, December 1, 1895. Copy of Typescript in Brigham Young University Library, Special Collections.

<sup>37</sup>Journal of Brigham Young, Jr., February 13, 1896. Microfilm of original MS at Church Historical Department, Salt Lake.

<sup>38</sup>Marriner W. Merrill Journal, February 13, 1896, cited in Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

<sup>39</sup>Young Journal, *op. cit.*, March 5, 1896.

<sup>40</sup>The document is reprinted in James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency* (5 vol., Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), III:271 ff.

<sup>41</sup>*Journal History of the Church*, March 12, 1896. This is a daily compilation of documents, newspapers, etc., pertaining to the history of the L.D.S. Church.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup>Roberts, *Autobiography*, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

<sup>44</sup>Reproduced in *Journal History*, March 13, 1896. At a stake conference two months later Apostle Heber J. Grant gave an account of the circumstances leading to Roberts' signing of the Manifesto. As reported in the *Tribune*,

Day after day and night after night they [Grant and Lyman] went to him and wept and prayed, and he [Roberts] wept and prayed, but insisted that he had done no wrong. This continued for nine weeks, at the end of which time he yielded. One morning he appeared before the authorities and told them he was ready to acknowledge his wrong, and would sign any paper they might ask him to sign, or do anything they might tell him to do. His dead relatives, he said, those who had died outside the church, had appeared to him in a vision and had asked him to bow to the will of the authorities, and retain his standing in the church, in order to do temple work for their salvation.

This was the story of B. H. Roberts's submission as told by Heber J. Grant. [*Journal History*, May 10, 1896.]

<sup>45</sup>*Salt Lake Tribune*, November 7, 1898. Cited in R. Davis Bitton, "The B. H. Roberts Case of 1898-1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 25 (Jan., 1957), 27ff. Bitton's article contains a good discussion of the issues involved in the decision to bar Roberts from the House.

<sup>46</sup>Whitaker Journal, *op. cit.*, October 8, 1906.

<sup>47</sup>Letter from Susan Young Gates to Reed Smoot, January 5, 1908. Cited in Milton R. Merrill, "Reed Smoot, Apostle in Politics," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1951) p. 129.

<sup>48</sup>Letter from James Clove to Reed Smoot, January 16, 1908. Cited in Merrill, *ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>49</sup>Letter from E. H. Callister to Reed Smoot, January 10, 1908. Cited in Merrill, *ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>50</sup>Letter to Richard R. Lyman, March 30, 1908. Copy in *Journal History* of that date. First published in the *Intermountain Republican*, May 7, 1908.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup>*Salt Lake Tribune*, October 30, 1908.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup>Report of speech in *Salt Lake Herald*, October 31, 1908.

<sup>55</sup>MS Journal of Reed Smoot, September 2, 1909. Brigham Young University Library, Special Collections.

<sup>56</sup>Letter to Isaac Russell, September 9, 1910, in B. H. Roberts Papers, Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City.

<sup>57</sup>Letter to Editor of *Deseret News*, November 21, 1910, in B. H. Roberts Papers, *ibid.*

<sup>58</sup>Letter to J. M. Sjodahl, November 23, 1910, in B. H. Roberts Papers, *ibid.*

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup>Letter to J. M. Sjodahl, December 8, 1910, in B. H. Roberts Papers, *ibid.*

<sup>62</sup>*Op. cit.*

<sup>63</sup>*Journal History*, November 5, 1910.

<sup>64</sup>Notes for "Jackson Day Speech," n.d., in B. H. Roberts Papers, *op. cit.*

<sup>65</sup>Conference Report, October 1914, p. 167.

<sup>66</sup>Conference Report, October 1915, p. 140.

<sup>67</sup>Conference Report, October 1917, p. 100.

<sup>68</sup>Deseret News, September 5, 1917.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup>The controversy as it affected the Mormons is the subject of an article by James B. Allen, "Personal Faith and Public Policy: Some Timely Observations on the League of Nations Controversy in Utah," *BYU Studies*, XIV (Autumn, 1973) p. 77 ff.

<sup>71</sup>*Improvement Era*, XXII No. 6, April 1919, p. 474 ff.

<sup>72</sup>*Journal History*, January 8, 1928.

<sup>73</sup>Conference Report, October 1921, p. 194 ff.

<sup>74</sup>Deseret News, January 14, 1928.

<sup>75</sup>"Economics of the New Age," published in Brigham Henry Roberts, *Discourses of B. H. Roberts*, (Salt Lake: Deseret Book Co., 1948), p. 117.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

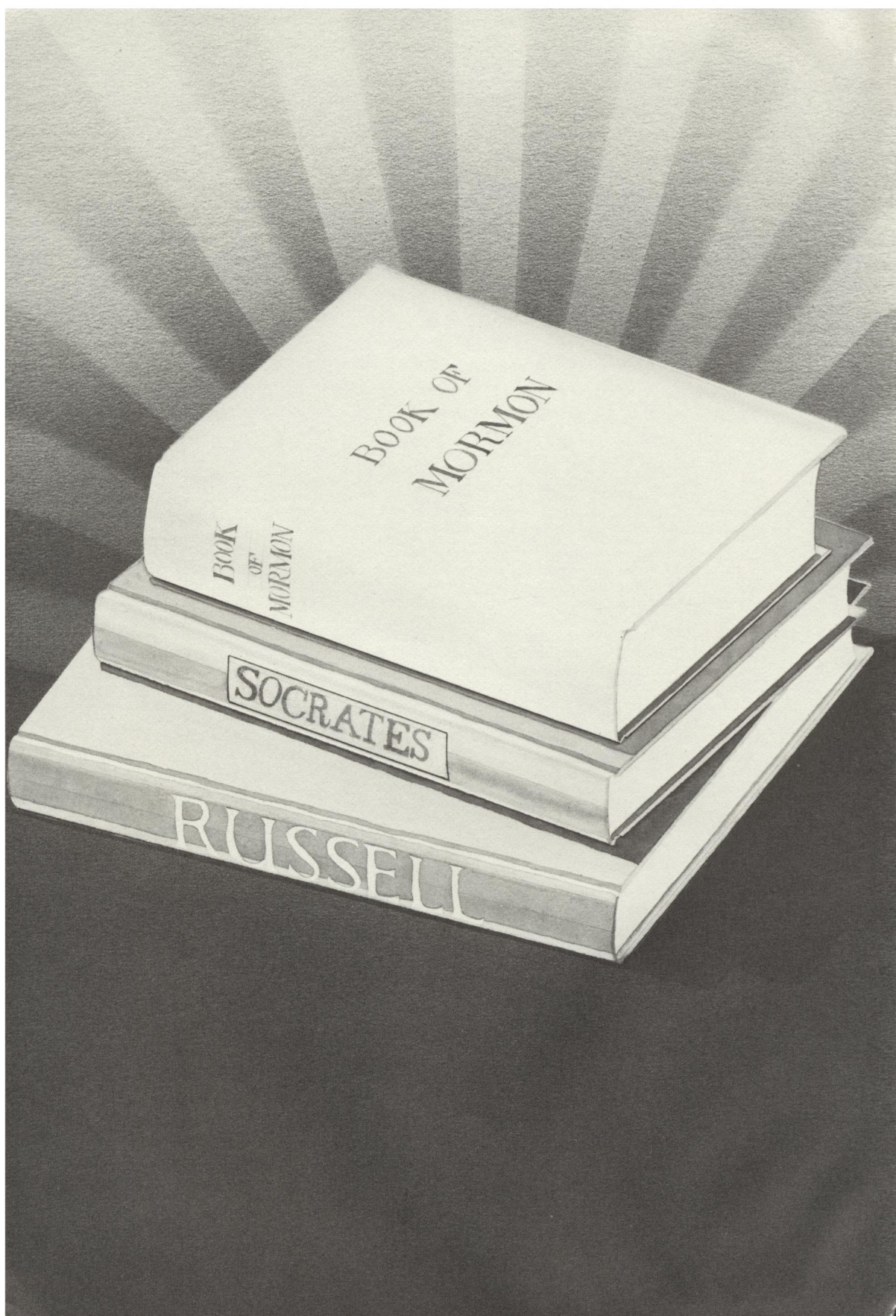
<sup>77</sup>Conference Report, October, 1912, p. 30 ff.

<sup>78</sup>President of the Church Joseph F. Smith responded to Roberts' analysis in some extemporaneous remarks at the conclusion of the session in which the Seventy spoke:

If my brethren and sisters will indulge me just a moment I have this to say with reference to the discourses we have heard this morning: I believe in all that has been said, and I also believe a little farther than that which has been said. . . .

I think that in the realms of liberty, and the exercise of human judgment, all men should exercise extreme caution, that they do not change or abolish those things which God has willed and has inspired to be done. . . . God in His boundless wisdom and gracious mercy has provided means, and has shown the way to the children of men whereby, even in the realms of freedom and the exercise of their own judgment, they may individually go unto God in faith and prayer, and find out what should guide and direct their human judgment and wisdom; and I do not want the Latter-day Saints to forget that this is their privilege. I would rather that they should seek God for a counselor and guide, than to follow the wild harangues of political leaders, or leaders of any other cult. I felt like I ought to say that much; and I know that I am right. (Conference Report, October, 1912, p. 41.)





FROM THE PULPIT

# SOME THOUGHTS ON A

# RATIONAL APPROACH TO MORMONISM

CARLOS WHITING

As an exercise in empathy, it would be well for us Mormons to project ourselves into the thoughts and feelings of those who may be quite different from us. For one thing, our missionary program is not at all directed toward a rational approach to Mormonism, and few of us can even begin to appreciate the inner workings of a rationalist.

Some sixteen or seventeen years ago, when I first inquired into the Mormon faith and its practice, I took a non-emotional approach. This tack was calculated as a defense against these new ideas. In effect, I threw up a buffer against the attractive personalities and spirit manifested by the young missionaries. I thought it necessary to analyze rather thoughtfully the content of their message and not be swayed by emotional bias.

I am sure that anyone who fancies himself a rationalist—that is, an intellectual—would have to take a similar approach. In addition, I presume that anyone who has had some experience with another faith where earnestness is demonstrated in

prayer, testimonies, Bible study and the like, and emotion plays a key part in the faith, might also prefer a rational approach to Mormonism in his or her initial investigation.

There is not necessarily any conflict between rationalism and emotionalism; ideally, one merely recognizes that some evidences of faith are manifested through the intellect and others are felt through the Spirit.

No fair-minded person would belittle or criticize strong feeling and an upwelling of emotion. Even those physiologists and psychologists who understand the chemical and visceral basis of emotion would not try to analyze in such terms their feelings for their wives or children, the pleasures of a spring day or a beautiful sunset or the awe of seeing the Grand Canyon.

Many of the great rationalists of history have been deeply emotional people who, for the sake of finding the truth, actually struggled to be rational. That is, they disciplined their minds to function apart from the upwelling of emotion which might otherwise dictate a different answer, because they felt that such an emotional answer might be wrong.

I don't think a rational approach to Mormonism is entirely satisfactory or even possible, as I hope to demonstrate before I am through, but I am convinced that we must give some thought to it. We must do this particularly since we live in a society which (because of its science and technology) pays so much respect to intellectualism. Today, I believe, very little attention is given by Mormons to explain their faith to others on an intellectual plane.

There is some question within the Church as to the validity of intellectualism and as to whether it is possible to be both intellectual and have a strong testimony. I have known many individuals born in the Church who question the faith and testimony of converts who have been trained to learn things through standard disciplines of exploration and discovery (that is, by asking questions in the broadest sense). This surely must be lamented. As long as we have a God who declares that His glory is intelligence, and as long as we have a Church which stresses higher education, we are apt to have Mormon intellectuals. Such individuals must be made to feel welcome and accepted.

In such an "exercise in empathy," which I am calling for in this discussion, I wish to sketch a picture of three well-known rationalists.

The first is Socrates. He is the man who is considered the father of rationalism in Western civilization. I am reminded of the little boy in school who was asked in an examination to write on Socrates. The paper was remarkably brief, but it was pointed. He said:

Socrates was a good man.

He went around showing people how to think.

They killed him.

Socrates was homely and a pest. He was a pest because his basic approach was one of asking questions, not necessarily because he doubted, but because he knew that the thinking person learns more than the one who accepts blindly. Socrates was also humble. He was humble because he knew enough to know that he didn't know very much, which was another reason for asking questions. Because Socrates taught people to think, because he taught them to ask questions, he was charged by the old fogies of his day with corrupting the young.

Socrates was sentenced to death, which was really no more than a form of public censure (because he could easily have escaped the death sentence by admitting that he was wrong and promising not to question orthodox religion). But since Socrates didn't believe he was wrong, he accepted the cup of hemlock, and for his courage we are eternally grateful. No one remembers his accusers, and it seems unlikely that they will be found in the Celestial Kingdom with a God whose glory is intelligence.

One of the most celebrated modern rationalists is Bertrand Russell, who died several years ago at the age of ninety-six. I have always enjoyed reading Russell as a philosopher (but, as I always feel compelled to explain, this is not because I agree with his ideas about the elite and free love, but because in reading him I am forced to think). In his autobiography Russell says that in his youth he was greatly swayed by emotion and that he felt great love for people, but he had to discipline himself rigorously to rational thinking, which he thought of great importance to himself and to his ambitions in mathematics.

To Bertrand Russell there was no way to learn truth except through rational processes and he wanted to know the truth. Poor Bertrand Russell, principal apostle of rationalism in our day. I am sure he knew nothing about Mormonism, and if he did it seems unlikely that he could escape the bonds of rational thinking to test its spiritual truth.

All this has been, in part, in preparation for a discussion of an article by Corliss Lamont in *Humanist* magazine (Jan.-Feb., 1967) entitled "The Crisis Called Death." If read with sympathy and empathy, this statement of disbelief in immortality can scarcely fail to squeeze out a tear. It provides us with an uncommon understanding of an intellectual who knows nothing about Mormonism and probably couldn't (at this late date) accept it, because it would require a spiritual experiment which takes great courage.

Lamont, relating his humanistic philosophy, makes a dogmatic statement on immortality. Curiously, it does little offense to Mormonism. He states:

Humanism, in line with its rejection of belief in any form of the supernatural, considers illusory the idea of personal immortality, or the conscious survival of the self beyond death. . . . The basic reason for regarding a hereafter as out of the question is that since a human being is a living unity of body and personality, including the mind, it is impossible for the personality to continue when the body and the brain have ceased to function.

The sciences of biology, medicine, and psychology have accumulated an enormous amount of evidence pointing to the oneness and inseparability of personality and the physical organism. And it is inconceivable that the characteristic mental activities of thought, memory, and imagination could go on without the sustaining structure of the brain and cerebral cortex.

He then goes on to admit that traditional Christianity supports the humanist position on the unity of the body and personality by insisting that man can gain immortality only through the literal resurrection of the physical body. The trouble for humanists, he says, is that they cannot possibly accept the resurrection doctrine.

In his discussion Lamont attempts to "face with equanimity" the necessity of death. His rationalization soon becomes emotional however:

To philosophize about man's immortality, as I have been doing, or to take seriously religious promises of afterlife, may soften slightly the impact of death, but in my opinion nothing can really counteract its bitter sting.

Then, with eloquence, he looks at the nearness of what he sees as his own extinction and exclaims:

I myself am almost 65 and have the familiar experience of looking back on my life and finding that it has all gone with appalling swiftness. Days, years, decades have slipped by so quickly that now it seems I hardly knew what was happening. Have I been day-dreaming all this time?

Today, more than ever, I feel the haunting sense of transiency. If only time would for a while come to a stop! If only each day would last 100 hours and each year 1000 days! I sympathize with everyone who ever longed for immortality and I wish that the enchanting dream of eternal life could indeed come true. So it is that as a humanist I deeply regret that death is the end. Frankly, I would like to go on living indefinitely. . . . And I would be most happy if anybody could prove to me that there actually is personal survival after death.

Here is a rationalist who has bared his soul. He is aware of the traditional Christian answer, which requires an acceptance of an idea by faith and by grace. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, however, stands alone in offering a rational theology—in the reason for man's existence and in his ultimate destiny—which supplies the very answers Lamont is seeking.

As far as I am concerned, only Mormonism is compatible with rationalism and science. It provides answers with reasonable logic for every question. And because of this I believe our Mormon faith deserves better exposition than it has been getting.

Lamont worries about the dissolution of the mind and soul when the body and brain are destroyed. This is very reasonable, and a simple faith that somehow personality will be preserved in a vaguely-defined spirit world (where we have little objective evidence for its existence) is not sufficient for many trained, analytical minds.

Science knows a little about how information is incorporated chemically and molecularly in our brain cells. As far as I know, only Mormonism provides for a spiritual body which occupies our material bodies—arm for arm, organ for organ—with a corresponding engraving of memory on the spirit mind with the engraving of memory on the molecules of our material body. On the basis of the pattern thus being created right now, a new body can someday be reconstituted. Mormonism teaches that every principle of mind and character we attain today will become part of our new (or resurrected) bodies.

Science fiction writers, so often in the vanguard of scientific knowledge, have already predicted that someday through science we can achieve a kind of immortality. However fanciful, it deserves consideration. A giant computer, they say, will gather every shred of information about a person, it will "read out" of his or her mind the retained information and molecular codes, and then when a perfect "robot" body is built (an android, in science fiction), that computer will feed into it and construct the molecular codes on which genetic and memory information have been retained and the new body will come to life with all the characteristics of the old person. Now, if science fiction and science can foresee this possibility, not merely on the basis of fantasy but by extrapolation of known facts, why can't we accept the fact that God has planned this and will do it?

As rational as I have tried to be personally, I have had spiritual experiences which are remarkable and which cannot be easily related. Let me briefly relate



something that happened to me twenty-six years ago. I was in the hospital and had been given up for dead. Perhaps I did "die." I sat up on my hospital bed, rising up out of my body, as it were. I looked around at the medical people, who did not see me, I passed through the oxygen tent, turned around again, recognizing my own body on the bed, and then (rather reluctantly) began to walk away on a path of light, watching the scene behind me disappear.

I didn't want to die, I wanted to do many things, I wanted a wife and family, I didn't feel ready to go. Then a voice stopped me, told me to return, promising me that I would have the things I was missing, and declaring to me a purpose for which I was being returned. I did return, through the same stages, and I lay down in my body again, and immediately awakened, pushed away the oxygen tent, startled the medics, and began at once to get well.

I relate this to show that I know something first-hand about this spirit body and how it works.

To Corliss Lamont my story might not be convincing. However, for Mormons, who may not be inclined to empathize or understand rationalists, it may be instructive. It may indicate that humanists and rationalists can be "reached" . . . if we choose to reach them, and if we try to understand people who perceive the world rationally.

It scarcely seems necessary to retell my own story: that I joined the Church by the rationalist route, fighting off a great desire to believe, resisting an emotional answer to a spiritual problem. I freely admit that it would have been better had I sought a spiritual conviction.

My experience with conversion to the Church taught me that rationalism is not enough. There is a "secret" which must be learned: unless a person commits himself in prayer to seek the truth, no matter what the trials, and asks his Heavenly Father to reveal the truth to him, there is no possibility of his finding the answer. The story of my conversion is better told in an essay in *Dialogue* (Spring, 1967) and therefore does not need restating here. My point is that a person who is trained in rational processes and who is cautious about the reality of visions, mysticism and emotionalism can accept Mormonism.

For most people with a background in another faith—and for everyone who has been trained in science or through his own exploration of knowledge—truth is relative. In the absence of authority (for the Mormon this may be revelation through prophets, primarily), a person can never be certain of truth and is constantly weighing and re-evaluating the facts (if he wishes to be rational).

Let me affirm my own belief in the theology and history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. I have compelling evidence that Joseph Smith was a prophet, as is his successor today. I believe in the revelations which God gave his prophets for our edification and guidance, and I accept and sustain them in their leadership. But more than anything else, I have experienced things, and I have thought things through, and through personal discovery and experiment I have developed a faith which is unwavering. This, more than anything else, permits me to learn things by asking questions.



Leo Pondo



MARGARET RAMPTON MUNK

*Three portraits of women from the Old Testament*

## Hagar

I am old now.  
How will He judge me,  
My husband's God,  
If He and I indeed must meet?

Cruel?  
I mocked a woman for her childlessness,  
As if my body,  
Heavy with her husband's child,  
Had not been mockery enough.  
I was a girl then,  
Far from home,  
And fancied I was meant for better things  
Than servitude to an imperious mistress.  
She had everything,  
Except the thing she wanted most;  
And that my young flesh gave him easily.  
It galled her,  
And I gloried in it.

But cruel?  
It was from them, those two,  
I learned the meaning of the word.  
I never loved him, that old man.  
I paid him the respect due age and station,  
Receiving back a kindly condescension,  
While my youth, so strictly rationed,  
Was spent for him  
Whose heart belonged to her.

But the boy—  
All the love I could not give a husband  
Or kinsmen I left behind in Egypt,  
All for him.  
The old man loved him, too;  
And for the space of fourteen years,  
The son whom I had given life  
Gave life to me—  
My pride, my bulwark, my security.

And then, another child,  
Who came defying Nature,  
Winter fruit of a tree nine decades barren,  
Dry and sapless,  
Ready for its death,  
But giving life instead.

And I,  
And Abraham's firstborn,  
Cast into a desert waste,  
A flask of water and some bread  
The token of his love of fourteen years,  
And left to die,  
For all he knew.

Have you seen Beersheba?  
Do you know the thirsty death  
That stalks the air  
With swollen tongue  
And haunted, heat-glazed eyes?  
Have you seen the camel drivers  
Coming to the market in the town,  
Beards dry as sand

And parched hands blackened by the searing sun,  
Faces old beyond their years,  
Eyes clenched against the suffocating wind?  
In the wilderness from which they came,  
The water gone,  
The scorpion our only fellow moving thing,  
I laid the boy to rest,  
And turning from him,  
With a heart as arid as my throat,  
Addressed a final cry  
To Him my husband said had sent us there—  
“Let me not see him die!”

I did not ask Him to prolong my life,  
Too long to me already.  
But someone came,  
Giving us to drink,  
And promising a kingdom to my son.

A generous prophecy?  
Or cruel?  
I have forebodings  
Of the cruelest things to come,  
And yet, a vindication.  
I see my children,  
Outcasts still,  
Butchers, fools and cowards  
In a blind world's eyes;  
But Isaac sits uneasy still  
Amid a birthright falsely claimed,  
The thorn of Ishmael ever present in his flesh,  
Allowing no repose  
And no forgetting.

## Esther

Listen, my elder brother—  
Listen, babe of the rushes of Egypt—  
And advise me.

Your moment came in anger,  
Suddenly.  
The dead Egyptian and your destiny  
Together lay before you,  
And all your princely childhood lay behind.

For me, the choice is harder.  
I have more time to think.  
And the price of my allegiance to our kinsmen  
May well be somewhat greater than my crown.  
My sovereign looks on me more fondly  
Than Pharaoh did on you;  
But past events remind me  
Even beauty which has shared  
His sceptre and bedchamber  
May not deter his wrath,  
Once kindled.  
And if I light that spark,  
I fear that no Red Sea  
Will open up for me,  
Or quench the flame.

Staring into darkness,  
Pondering my appointment on the morrow,  
I ask you this, my Levite cousin:  
Have you had regrets?  
Some second thoughts?  
You struggled with a mulish people  
In the desert, forty years,  
And never saw your promised land.  
If I risk everything tomorrow,  
What chance that I shall ever see  
My scattered tribe's salvation?  
And if we live, what then?  
Your people made a calf of molten gold  
While God was on the mount before them.  
Here, the calf surrounds us, overwhelms us;  
And Sinai's hill is far away,  
And silent.

Your answer's hard.  
Your deed is done,  
Your reputation made.  
If I confess my lineage tomorrow,  
And die for it,  
How will Esther be remembered?  
A martyr by my people?  
A traitor by my husband's?  
A fool by all?

So be it, then.  
The band that fled from Pharaoh's armies  
Were not more stubborn than their leader.  
If I am condemned,  
I may have more to say to you  
While waiting for a still more dreadful dawn.  
If I succeed,  
Then be assured  
Your vengeful dictum will not go unheeded.  
There shall be slaughter in the Persian realm  
Worthy of all ten plagues.

Enough now.  
Day is coming,  
And the cooks need supervision.

## Hannah

It's almost time to go—  
Of course; it has been time now for a year.  
But isn't there just one more door to be secured,  
A window still unlatched,  
Some bin of grain where mice could still intrude,  
To call me from this cradle for a moment  
And delay a little yet the keeping of the pledge,  
The giving of the gift so sorely gained?

He sleeps so soundly.  
Always, even swaddled in the womb's dark, dewy blanket,  
He was quiet—  
So quiet that I often felt my heart constrict in fear,  
A moment's thought that all was as before,  
That once again my hope had died e'er it had time to live;  
That where in woman there should lie  
A tiny nest where life's first kindled spark  
Could draw its breath and grow,  
God placed in me a bleeding, fruitless orb.

How hard it was for him—  
He who waits now at the door,  
His arms outstretched in grief and gentle strength,  
His kind face saying I must come  
And hold no longer back  
Fulfillment of a vow in anguish made,  
The rendering up of this, our long-awaited and firstborn,  
To Him who heard my heart's depth's prayer at last  
And let my barren soil give life—



How hard for him to listen to my cries,  
Day in, year out,  
At times a peevish, shrill complaint,  
Showing me worthier to be  
The child I longed to bear  
Than mother to a child;  
At other times a deep-welled anguish,  
Tearing at the fibres of my heart,  
And leaving it  
As empty as the womb beneath.  
"My heart," he often cried,  
Dismayed by yet another fount of tears,  
"Am I not better to thee than ten sons?"  
And how to make a meeting of man's pride and woman's longing?  
To tell him how the very love that drew me  
To unite with him in spirit and in flesh  
Demanded living fruit from seed thus sown?

At last, pouring that day upon the shrine  
Tears from a well I thought long since burned dry,  
I asked once more.  
The priest believed me drunk.  
How could he know  
I groaned and stumbled in the desperate blindness  
Of a spirit that has long its view of God?  
I asked once more,  
And knowing now

My tears were not enough,  
I added yet one thing—  
That bargain full of dread:  
A servant for a son.  
I would not keep him long,  
But send him from me as a child  
To serve the Giver all his days.  
If this proved not enough  
I would not ask again;  
For I would know  
There was no one to hear,  
Or one too void of feeling  
To be any kin to us.

The pact was made.  
I dare not to deny  
He did His part.  
I must do mine.  
But how could I have known  
I had not plumbed  
The depths of pain yet after all?  
And kneeling here,  
To wake my son  
From babyhood's last sleep,  
I feel He asks too much.  
Did I?

JAY WRIGHT

## The Mormon Missionaries

Who knows what day  
they keep as the Sabbath?  
You can see them almost any day  
come dusty down the middle  
of the streets,  
as if they were afraid  
of gates and sidewalks.  
In their Brutus haircuts,  
clean white shirts and ties,  
they seem to give the lie  
to their gentle Bibles,  
tucked in their stern arms.  
I have seen them march so  
through towns where their  
Gabriel-scented tongues were strange,  
clipping names to their boards,  
intransigent as sirens.  
They know no questions  
that were not formed  
in the tongues of prophets.  
They know no death  
that has not been redeemed  
in Jesus' flesh.  
They are certain as the still movement  
of birds' wings caught in God's air.  
Ah, if we,  
searching for that undiscovered point,  
could stand as steady as these witnesses,  
as chosen as they,  
as lost as we.

## Still-Life Study of an Ancestor

Warren Walling (seed of fishers of the sea  
who warred to birth a nation of vast vision)  
studied thrift, hard labor, common sense,  
belief in God and good; grasped the Word

and with his outcast wife and six offspring  
plodded to Iowa in time to see the Saints  
escape; settled, nevertheless, printed, thrived,  
sired two more children (who lived past birth),

and on a prudent day incautiously looked West;  
Captain of saints, he urged legendary oxen  
from privation into Zion's turmoil, confronting  
disease, purges, Johnson's Army, Anti-Bigamy

laws, Brother Brigham's counsels; battled  
soft-haired Emma's joining with a married man  
her father's age, wept for granddaughters  
dying one by one, born to that union;

gathered all but Emma and her sister, Rachel,  
abandoned eight years' land and cattle, dreams;  
and not foreseeing through despair a century  
when scores of his seed blossom in the Rose

valiantly singing old hymns of belief  
in things he knew, un-flicked by his scourge,  
he died in Iowa and laid his shattered dust  
beneath the stone of reasoned sacrifice.

## PERSONAL VOICES

### The Hosanna Shout in Washington, D.C.

EUGENE ENGLAND

The first time I participated in the “Hosanna Shout” I felt the presence of actual beings from another world joining us in that cry of praise and the following “Hosanna Anthem.” That was in the Celestial Room of the Oakland Temple in 1964, following President David O. McKay’s dedicatory prayer. My heightened spiritual sensitivity was partly due, I am sure, to the power of that prayer and my special feelings about President McKay—but also to the way in which President Hugh B. Brown led us in that unique ceremony (apparently performed only at temple dedications and deriving in part from the jubilant waving of palm branches during Ancient Israel’s Feast of the Tabernacles). The experience, especially that first time, could have seemed awkward or even bizarre—mature citizens of the down-to-earth twentieth century, in business suits and college tweed and stylish bouffant hairdos, waving handkerchiefs over our heads and actually shouting hosannas. But President Brown, in explaining the procedure to us and then leading us with his own special dignity, which is intellectual and moral as well as physical, helped invest the experience with a solemn joy that was overwhelming; it was a full-hearted and full-voiced response to the prophetic prayer we had just heard. And I do believe, strange as it perhaps seems for me—a skeptical, rationalistic, university-trained professor of English—to be saying this, that we were joined by spiritual beings—whether former prophets, angelic messengers or repentant sinners—who had similar reasons to our own to rejoice.

Elder Brown was also present at the recent temple dedication in Washington, D. C., and he again gave our experience a special poignance; though he did no officiating because he is no longer in the First Presidency and only spoke briefly in an early session we did not attend, friends reported the spirit and content of what he said, and it set the tone for that week in Washington for us: He merely told of his long involvement in the planning of the Washington Temple and its special, personal meaning to him; at the same time he spoke forthrightly about his long illness and more than once said, in effect, “This is a departing point for me. Perhaps a final preparation for an assignment to another field.” That unusual emotional openness, even bluntness, on the part of General Authorities who spoke in the various sessions was a characteristic of the dedication that my wife Charlotte and I most valued. We had traveled from one of the farthest outlying Branches in the Temple District (which includes most of the Mid-West as well as the Eastern United States) and were able to stay most of the week with friends in Washington and enjoy some of the city’s historical and cultural richness and see the lovely wooded reaches of the Potomac River. But it was our particular good fortune to be able to get some extra unclaimed tickets from one of those we stayed with who is a bishop and thus to attend two of the ten sessions. A dedicatory service for a temple is much like a session of General Conference, but it is also profoundly different, and attending an extra session made us especially conscious of this.

Tuesday we traveled to Mount Vernon through the muted colors of Virginia's late fall countryside, and Wednesday we spent the morning and early afternoon with our friends Claudia and Richard Bushman from Boston; we briefly visited both houses of Congress (our representatives were disappointingly casual and inattentive to each other or to basic issues, in my untutored opinion), roamed the statuary halls in the Capitol Building to find Brigham Young (impressive in seated but prophetic grandeur, though at present pushed into a rather inconspicuous corner because of Bicentennial renovations), and watched with unfeigned awe the closing minutes of an argument before the Supreme Court (the only one of our institutions, Richard noted, which we can say, without reservation, has worked). At lunch we talked about the growing self-consciousness of Mormon women (Claudia is Editor of the new independent journal for LDS women, *Exponent II*, and of a collection of essays on nineteenth century Mormon women soon to be published by Peregrine-Smith), and that led naturally to a brief consideration of the merits of polygamy in the hereafter (Richard seemed to be the only one in favor); but mainly we used that reunion to strengthen each other by reviewing the special joys and opportunities and challenges we are experiencing in raising our large families outside Mormon Country. We then dashed to the new Hirshhorn Museum of twentieth century art for a quick walk through before the 4:30 dedication session. The Bushmans left early because Richard, as President of the Boston Stake, had been asked to give the closing prayer and was to be on the stand in the Solemn Assembly Room even well in advance of the fifteen minute period before each session when we were to be seated and thoughtfully preparing ourselves for the service. Charlotte and I lingered a bit at the museum and then drove out the Baltimore Expressway to the northeast so that we could come back to the Temple along the Beltway from the east and enjoy that spectacular view of the Temple rising directly out of a grove of trees and growing dramatically as you approach almost to its base and then turn with the Beltway along its side.

After the turnoff from the Beltway, the road back to the Temple passes through nearly a mile of richly wooded park. Our first closeup view dispelled some of our anxiety, aroused by early sketches we had seen and by some of the recent Gentile appraisals of the Temple's architecture ("reminiscent of Disney-world"; "like a suburban hotel"), because it certainly is a striking and successful conception, particularly in its setting, and we feel certain it will soon establish itself as "beautiful" in the hearts of Church members of all varieties of aesthetic training and preference, much as the Salt Lake and Hawaiian Temples have done. Of course, that is largely because of the emotional significance of what happens in Temples, and we felt that immediately as we entered and took our places before one of the television sets in the annex (the Solemn Assembly room seats about 100, and other thousands were gathered before closed circuit TV in other rooms and halls, from the Celestial Room to the foyer). We meditated for the fifteen minutes, with the image before us of the First Presidency, all in white suits (that unusual attire at first somewhat startling but soon seeming quite apt and becoming), seated behind the highest level of the white tiers of triple pulpits that have characterized Solemn Assembly Rooms since Kirtland. Then President Marion G. Romney, in the opening sermon of the session, sketched the history of temples ancient and modern, and formed an expansive image of the temple as both a sacred enclosure, a place for Christ to dwell, and also a point of continuity, opening out to connect earth

with heaven and the living with the dead—serving through redemptive love to unite in one great family all generations as well as all nations of the children of God. I thought, yes, surely it is for us the center of things, the spiritual navel, the still point of the turning world.

As we listened we remembered again that purely architectural standards are secondary to some other things, and even our one criticism (the subtly delightful highlighting of the six towers with abstract stained glass columns at the corners is marred by rather harsh color combinations in the glass that seem to suggest an excessively appropriate red, white, and blue) faded quickly into the background as we heard President Romney recount the deeply moving stories of the dedication and sacrifices, the nearly rash idealism of the early Saints who built the Kirtland and Nauvoo and early Utah Temples. He reminded us how comparatively costly those Temples were, given the frontier economy and the relative destitution of the Saints, told of their responsiveness to the Lord's commands for haste in preparing a place in Kirtland for him to send His messengers and in Nauvoo for them to perform sacred work for the salvation of their dead loved ones, of their immense care in crafting the buildings, even in their haste, and yet their marvelous non-chalance in leaving those mere buildings (in Nauvoo, immediately after a secret nighttime dedication under threat of mob interference) when they had to move on with the Prophets. I remembered my own favorite story about temple building—of the Nauvoo women who collected their few remaining pieces of china to be crushed into the mortar used on the temple face so that it would shine with the rays of the westering sun. And I thought of the fifty years of building the Salt Lake Temple and the seventeen days of celebration that marked its dedication—what it must have been like for those people, my actual and my spiritual ancestors, to shout hosanna in the House of God. Those rough and ready frontier people, living at first in sod huts, struggling in the Great Basin sand and dirt to stay alive, those people whose direct, pragmatic, even violent ways I know from reading their diaries and from my own early life; I think of them going up to the House of the Lord in St. George, or Logan or Manti—and finally in that loveliest of all buildings, in Salt Lake—and washing themselves and making themselves clean, looking on their own finest craftsmanship, that imaged for them the possibilities of gentleness and progress and perfection, seeing the religious history of the world acted out before them and themselves joining in that action in such a way as to give them a clear sense of their place in that history, having their hearts turned to their fathers and their children and to their wives and husbands in sacred covenants, being given, in short, a tremendous charge of idealism to work its slow transformation on the clay of their lives. I thought how the same thing was happening now, the gathering there of people, like ourselves, from far-flung, struggling mission Branches and, like our East Coast friends, from the pressures of an increasingly secularized society, the blear and smear of trade and, yes, the soiling politics of Washington; and I thought of the moving, powerful idealism that was touching us all.

J. Willard Marriott spoke at that session. He is perhaps the most prominent of the growing enclave of extremely successful and powerful Washington Mormons, head of a growing empire of hotels, restaurants, and now catering services. He is best known, even in the Church, for his business success and his generous gifts to Brigham Young University, the University of Utah, and other institutions,



but that quickly faded into the background as he spoke humbly and movingly, with great theological soundness, about the large painting of Christ's second coming in the Temple foyer that he had been responsible for helping plan and arrange. The painting, which we were able to examine in detail on a tour of the Temple after the session, is certainly impressive as it confronts you at the end of a long, bridged corridor from the annex to the main foyer where it covers one wall—though it escapes me why we sent Mormon artists to Paris to prepare to paint the scenes in the Salt Lake Temple and yet are now using non-Mormon artists. The figure of Christ, coming in His glory, is pleasant and commanding enough, though the face is too merely cheerful and Aryan for my taste, much like the one of Christ in the new mural in the Church Office Building (also by a non-Mormon); it is not nearly as penetratingly tragic as the one by Hoffmann that was President Harold B. Lee's favorite, or as morally challenging as the one by Kim Whitesides that was on the cover of *Dialogue* several years ago. But again going beyond esthetic considerations, the painting serves as an important, arresting reminder of the seriousness of what we are preparing for in our Temples—of our literal faith in an end to secular history and of the joy and sorrow that will attend that literal separation of the sheep from the goats (yes, in case you have wondered, the one Black in the painting—as well as a Polynesian, an oriental, and a Lamanite—is on Christ's right hand with the righteous "sheep" who are being caught up to meet those of the First Resurrection coming with Christ; the unrighteous "goats" on Christ's left hand are all white).

In discussing the spiritual challenge of that painting, and of the event it confronts us with, Brother Marriott quoted John the Revelator's report of the Lord's great command to us all in these latter days: "Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen. . . . Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." That must be a personally poignant challenge to Brother Marriott and to all other post-Watergate Washington Mormons, who are definitely in that world, though trying not to be of it—people like Jack and Renéé Carlson, with whom we stayed (he is Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Energy and Minerals and with the recent shift by President Ford towards reliance on the Interior Department to "handle" energy is in an extremely important and exposed position), or Mark Cannon, executive assistant for the Supreme Court Justices, or the many serving in Congress or in less prominent but responsible positions in the National Archives, the Justice Department, Federal Trade Commissions, etc. Mary Bradford, whose husband, Chick, is a prominent banker as well as a Bishop in Washington, and who interviewed and wrote about Washington Mormons for a recent issue of *The Ensign*, thinks that they all face some special problems in the corridors of power. She feels that basic Mormon ideals and conditioning make them especially vulnerable, particularly naive and reticent, incapable of certain instincts and possibilities of action demanded in the heady infighting of the big government-big business complexes. Perhaps she is right; Christ talked of the Children of Darkness being wiser in some things than the Children of Light. The Byzantine depths revealed by Watergate are perhaps, and perhaps we can rejoice at it, beyond our fathoming; if indeed the Elders of Israel are to save the Constitution they may perhaps best do it indirectly, or at least at lower levels of power, by in some sense coming out of Babylon and avoiding both her sins and her plagues.

Certainly the Temple will help, and the dedication was a great beginning. At the close of that first session, Richard Bushman, speaking with a moving clarity and forthrightness that resonated with the perspective gained from his deep and successful immersion in historical scholarship and teaching at a secular university, combined with humble, sometimes sorrowful service to the Lord as a Bishop and Stake President, asked that the young people there (those over twelve were invited and many were there from all over the East, including his own son) might be inspired with strength to live purely in a difficult world and be moved to return to make their Eternal Marriage vows and to help bring salvation to children of God of other generations. His prayer is already being answered in the spiritual rejuvenation of those—young and old—who attended. Our hearts responded to that special directness of the General Authorities, who took advantage of about the only occasion they have any more where they can feel free to talk directly to us as “Temple Saints,” without the intrusion of the microphone and the television camera and the sense of responsibility to “the world” listening in that tends to make many of their General Conference addresses comparatively cautious and impersonal. But at the dedication, two of those who I remember as among the most reticent to be blunt and personal, Alvin R. Dyer and Loren Dunn (one speaking in each of the two sessions we attended), gave two of the most moving because most direct and personal talks we heard there or have heard any place else within memory. Elder Dyer, who like Elder Brown has not spoken in Conference recently because of illness, was helped to the pulpit by his Brethren, and speaking in a voice still profoundly affected by his stroke from some years ago, one naturally breaking toward falsetto and pushed even more that way by bursts of emotion, was yet blessed with sufficient control to complete his remarks and move us to tears with a simple testimony of how his illness had chastened and benefited him, made him aware and appreciative of things he had not before seen. Elder Dunn, in a Thursday morning session we were able to attend in the Solemn Assembly Room, put aside his prepared sermon and, in the first really personal expression I remember hearing from him, told a series of accounts by members of his own family who had had manifestations or visitations from their kindred dead and then bore one of the most directly touching testimonies of the existence of God and of His love expressed in salvation for the dead I have ever felt. That set the emotional tone for the session: after Elder Boyd K. Packer had spoken with a similar directness about the Oakland Temple dedication and a specially revealed message he had heard President Lee give there concerning turning the hearts of the fathers to their children *in this earth life* through building strong families, and after Patriarch Eldred G. Smith had given the most forthright talk I have heard on the doctrine of an Eternal Mother as an equal partner with our Father in that divine companionship which is our God and our direct model for the purpose of this life and future lives—after all this you can imagine how our hearts were softened and our necks, habitually stiff with the pride of the world, bent to hear the Prophet’s dedicatory prayer. I leave you to read that in one of the Church publications, to see the unique dimensions of that revelation of the heart and mind of Spencer W. Kimball in communion with God, the special diction, self-effacing but precise (speaking of himself as the “incumbent” prophet), combined with a literally stunning vision of the Latter-day work sweeping to its conclusion. We were truly then ready to shout hosannas—and we did. And then joined in that unique expression of Mor-

mon culture, not particularly esthetic, perhaps, but serving much higher values than art, when we united with our leaders and a chorus of our peers in one great circle, our eyes wet with joy but our voices not choked, singing the Hosanna Anthem.

We stayed that night with Bishop Bradford and Mary, talking late into the night after he returned from helping arrange for the funeral of an elderly sister in his ward who had died the day before. Bishop Bradford arose the next morning with his son Steve, who was up at 5:30 to prepare for a long bikeride to his seminary class. The Bishop, talking proudly of his son's dedication, drove Charlotte and me to the airport on his way to work, and we all parted there, Charlotte to get back home to prepare for the District Relief Society Leadership meetings she was to lead the next day and I to spend a frantic day doing research at the Harvard Library before heading back to the same meetings. As I relaxed after takeoff, I felt the special events of the week settling upon my spirit and strengthening me to meet the great needs of the people in my little Branch—and great needs of my own; and as the plane abruptly banked toward the northeast I glanced down and saw under the wing the Temple, its translucent white marble highlighted in the early sun against the green and grey of that great city.

## Counseling the Brethren

LAUREL THATCHER ULRICH

The scent of shaving lotion startled me. It was like finding a “No Trespassing” sign in some familiar patch of woods. I’d walked through that door a hundred times, would teach Sunday School in the same classroom an hour later, yet the spice in the air made me an adventuress. “Hey, Sister Ulrich, this is a priesthood meeting,” an elder teased from the end of the row as I sat down. His good humor made me feel more comfortable, but less exotic. He knew I’d been invited.

The elders’ quorum had turned to Timely Topics. The new teacher, who was interested in the nature of prejudice, decided that if the brethren were going to learn something about the status of women in the Church, they might as well hear it from an authority. The notion of having a woman instruct the priesthood seduced him, and he extended the assignment from an invitation to answer a few questions to an opportunity to teach the class. If anyone was going to object, he reasoned, they’d do it anyway. Fifteen minutes could damn one as well as fifty.

Despite his bravado, I think he was a little nervous about what I might say. Perhaps I agreed to come too eagerly. “Don’t be too hard on the brethren,” he had cautioned the week before. He needn’t have worried. Though I’ve been seen near the feminist rack in our local bookstore, I continually surprise myself with my conservatism. I issued no manifestoes. Though I would probably vote for a woman president, I can barely imagine a woman bishop. Some would call this a failure of nerve. Perhaps it is. It certainly transcends reason. I simply do not feel like a second-class citizen in the Church, even though my feminist convictions tell me that I should. I’m not sure I can explain this, but I’d like to try.

In the first place, I spend little time thinking about hormones—or the hereafter. I recognize chemical differences between men and women, but I doubt that they have anything to do with spirituality, intelligence, or the capacity to love little children. Nor am I convinced that any earthly institution gives us more than a whiff of the divine. Heaven may look like the Lion House. Then again it may look like the Ulrich living room. Or neither. I’ll just have to wait and see. Meanwhile Earth carries its own explanations—and compensations—for the ecclesiastical order of the Church.

As I grew up, the priesthood meant having more time in the bathroom on Sunday mornings after my father and brothers left for church. It also meant their comforting hands on my head when my jaw was swollen shut from the mumps and I couldn’t sleep. Meetings. Ordinances. But never Privilege. I inherited my older brother’s place on the debate team as well as his Saturday job scrubbing the kitchen floor. In our house the priesthood was a calling, not a rank. If I’m comfortable with it now, it must be in part because none of the men in my life—father, brothers, husband—has ever issued a command.

Yes, I promised to obey. Conditionally. I attach great significance to that qualifying clause. In the seventeenth-century certain radical Protestant sects invited social chaos by teaching that a woman need obey her husband *only as he obeyed the Lord*. In the twentieth-century, I see no harm in acknowledging tradition by

promising to do the same. At the very least, the patriarchal order puts father in the home. I'm all for that.

It probably has something to do with keeping men in the Church as well. It's a commonplace that women fill more pews than men. Cotton Mather noticed it in the 1690s. Protestant ministers still worry about it today. Mormon women are no different. I'm quite sure we could eclipse the quorums if given the chance. Some people explain all this energy by saying that women are more spiritual, or that our experience of childbearing and rearing places us closer to God. That may be, but it also places us closer to the telephone. I don't mean to be flippant, but only to point out that the order of the Church can be viewed structurally as well as metaphysically. Homemaking may be a full-time job, but it has the advantage of flexible hours. In our society it also leaves women with a surplus of ego to invest, both factors which contribute to a high level of performance in volunteer work. Thus, I view the priesthood not as discriminatory but as compensatory; it pushes men toward home and church when their traditional roles would pull them away, giving them an edge in the very areas where for so many years women have reigned supreme—and solitary. It's nice to have them around. If the priesthood were a profession, I'd feel differently. As it is, I applaud the ordination of my Episcopal sisters without feeling anxious about my own.

I don't mean to belittle the priesthood. It *is* the power to act in the name of God—in certain specific and well-defined areas. I consider it the principle of order in the Kingdom, a device for binding us together. Men pass the sacrament and collect tithing, but they have no monopoly on spiritual gifts. Those are free to all who ask. When we call upon the elders in sickness or ask for a father's blessing, we are not bowing to their superiority, we are acknowledging our membership in the tribe.

I know there are those who go further, who take the priesthood-motherhood dichotomy as a sociological-psychological model. I think they are wrong. One winter when my husband was in graduate school, I got up at 5:30 on Wednesdays to attend an institute class taught in our ward by the local mission president. He was an impressive teacher, and the class was intellectually as well as spiritually uplifting. Bound by babies and a student budget, I relished the hour's abstraction. One morning, the president turned to the subject of education, telling of an interview he had had with a young elder about to be released.

"What are your plans?" he had asked.

"I'm not sure, President. Before I came on my mission I had worldly ambitions, but now that I've really been touched by the gospel, I know that those things don't count. I'm going to go back to the farm, find a wife, buy a cow, settle down to raise a family, and serve the Lord."

The President lectured that missionary—as he lectured us—on the value of an education. It was the familiar Mormon sermon, delivered with unusual wit and little-known anecdotes about famous men. "Find out what you're good at," he had told the elder, "and learn to do it well. The Lord will find a way to use you in upbuilding the Kingdom." Law. Medicine. Engineering. Business. All were honorable means of glorifying God. I was caught in the spirit of the message, and for a moment I was a student too. Then, snagged by reality, I raised my hand.

"Do you give the same sermon to your lady missionaries?" I asked. I think he was surprised. He laughed, then backed off. "Do you want to hear my sermon

on women?" I didn't. I wanted the straight answer he hadn't yet thought of. To hear that "men are motivated by power, women by love" was useless. It sent me home with a cow.

The president meant well. I'm sure he had a genuine regard for female abilities; his own wife was an energetic and effective missionary. Yet he was guilty of a common fallacy—reading the priesthood as a sexual metaphor. Women who agonize over their status in the eternities suffer from the same error. Perhaps a male monopoly of ecclesiastical office points to deep-seated and inherent differences between the sexes. Perhaps it foreshadows the eternal destiny of women. But before I came to either conclusion, I'd want to do a little experimenting with the here and now. For myself, I've found most of the barbed wire in my head. A well-filled day has a way of leaping metaphysics.

True, times change. Yet in this particular spot in the twentieth-century, I suffer less from discrimination than from a multiplicity of expectations. I remember confessing tearfully to a friend one day as we watched our toddlers in the wading pool, "I just can't make up my mind! I want to be both Emma McKay and Mary Bunting (then president of Radcliffe)." I hadn't yet heard of Ellis Shipp and those other professional women of early Utah who taught us that home and career might be righteously joined. With time I too have discovered the pleasure of wearing many hats, but there are days when I take comfort in definition. Precisely because it is blatantly and intransigently sexist, the priesthood gives me no pain. One need not be kind, wise, intelligent, published, or professionally committed to receive it—just over twelve and male. Thus it presumes difference, without superiority. I think of it as a secondary sex characteristic, like whiskers, something I can admire without struggling to attain.

## “No Continuing City”: Reading a Local History

BRUCE W. JORGENSEN

*Provo: A Story of People in Motion.* By Marilyn McMeen Miller and John Clifton Moffitt. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974. 106 pp., \$4.95.

(*The Reviewer Gets Down to Business . . .*)

In its almost-square format, in its design and layout, its good-sized type and sepia-toned pictures on stiff, just about grocery-bag-brown paper, Miller and Moffitt's *Provo* is easily the most attractive and readable work of local history I have come across. (A grand assertion, but true: I've read, at most, three other local histories in my life.) It is a book that, seen, invites opening, thumbing; opened, thumbed, read, it tells its story of Provo in ninety-seven pages of text and pictures, divided into eight brief chapters: "A Choice Valley"; "Moving in on the Indians"; "The Settlers Are Tried"; "Here Comes the World"; "Booming and Low Times"; "Controversy and Division"; "World Influences: War and Depression"; and "Progress as a Modern Community."

As they were meant to, the pictures engage our nostalgia for old times; as pictures, most of them are less interesting than, say, the work of George Edward Anderson reproduced in the September 1973 *Ensign* (one picture, by the way, that of the boat crew on p. 45, is identified as Anderson's). Capital exceptions: the fishermen and boats on p. 40; the horse fair on p. 55; the political confrontation on p. 56 (its many faces turned to the camera, apparently forgetting the angry placards in the pleasure of being photographed for "history"); the two family group portraits by Thomas C. Larson on pp. 70 and 72. All together, the pictures, again as I suspect was intended, have the effect of an old family album brought out at a reunion.

The text of what acknowledges itself as "primarily a pictorial account" (p. v) gives us, I assume (since I have not read them), less detail, less information, less explicit interpretation than the earlier local histories it cites most heavily as sources—J. Marinus Jensen's *History of Provo* (1924) and the WPA Writers' Program compilation, *Provo: Pioneer Mormon City* (1942). I recall the first few chapters as most richly anecdotal, the human interest thinning out in the last ones, those "People in Motion" blurring into the rapidly accumulating facts and figures of civic and economic enterprise as Provo gets on with "the business of becoming a city."

As I understand it, the text represents the collaboration of a compiler, Mr. Moffitt, and a writer-editor, Mrs. Miller; so to Marilyn Miller must go mixed credit and discredit for the book's uneven style, which betrays some haste and carelessness unfortunate in a writer with her gifts. Sentences and phrases like the following should have been early detected and corrected: "They would in turn trade these slaves to miners on their way to California for a good price" (p. 2); "It was in these daily and weekly meetings that issues were discussed relating to the" etc. (egregiously wordy, p. 9); "Wagons loaded with goods, cattle, and women



with children in their arms were all trudging" (ambiguous syntax, p. 19); "raised the educational atmosphere to a higher level" (and left students gasping? p. 24). (Yes, I do read like a freshman English teacher, which among other things I am; but reviewers can put away childish things when writers do.)

That representative sampling of stylistic flaws would of course be matched, perhaps multiplied many times over, in most local histories; and the flaws, numerous as they are, don't keep *Provo: A Story* from being, as I said, a most attractive and (with occasional bumps, jerks, and sideslips) readable book. For native Provoans still at home or scattered wide, for us who made Provo a second hometown for four or more years, it makes a fine souvenir; for other communities, other compilers, writers, and publishers of local lore, it may stand as an example.

(. . . and then Gets Up on a Soap Box)

Which leads to some slightly more abstract reflections on *Provo: A Story* as a Mormon local history. Local histories are usually gestures of civic piety enacted by City Fathers or Chambers of Commerce, acts of collective ancestor-worship and dismissal, of homage to the city's vanished shapes followed by Babbittish self-congratulation and celebration of the city's shining present and shimmering future. We do not expect, in local histories, the painstaking research and the hard and complex interpretive judgments of "serious" history. On the surface, *Provo* appears a fairly straightforward and typical member of its genre, but occasionally its selection of detail and its structure suggest interpretive judgment.

The title of the second chapter, most obviously, is not exactly adulatory toward the pioneer ancestors—"Moving in on the Indians." And indeed the chapter casts the Mormon settlers rather clearly as invaders uprooting a tribal culture they don't understand. The root meaning of "pioneer," we recall, is "foot soldier": not quite meaning to, the Mormon emigrants became, in part, the foot-soldiers of the expansionist, materialistic America they were leaving behind. In the settlement of Provo, Brigham Young may have "hoped that if the whites lived peaceably among the Indian nations, they might teach the braves to cultivate the land and become a civilized people" (p. 6); but it seems that the Indians did not perceive the whites as coming to live "among" or "with" them, but rather had to see them, rightly, as indeed threatening to "drive away the Indians, or take away their rights" (p. 7). Behind the regrettable series of incidents recorded in the chapter one suspects unavoidable cultural misperceptions on both sides. As Jack Crabbe, the narrator of Thomas Berger's *Little Big Man*, says of one intertribal skirmish in that novel, "It would have been ridiculous except it was mortal." So exactly with the Provo settlement: how could anyone have hoped that changing the fort's location would "curb the Indian problem" (p. 10)? How could Captain Stansbury's attitude that "his surveying would not go as he planned unless the Indians were taken care of" (p. 10) lead to anything but more trouble? By its selection and structure, the chapter invites the reader to ask such questions and to make, at least tentatively, and bearing in mind the limited evidence, the historical judgments the questions imply.

The Mormon pioneers, of course, were more than invaders, more than refugees from 19th-century America who yet dreamed and enacted part of its dream of Manifest Destiny by dispossessing a native culture and reclaiming a wilderness in the names of Civilization and Progress; they saw as well a vision—the City of

Zion established in the tops of the mountains in the name of Holiness. Here again, for the reader who keeps that vision in mind, *Provo: A Story* implies a rather un-boosterish judgment of the city's history. Clue: the twice-repeated phrase, "the business of becoming a city" (pp. 14, 15)—with the accent on *business*. Not just buying and selling, speculating and promoting, getting and spending and laying waste—though a good half of the book, after the Indians have been moved in on, is about that; but also the things we lip-servingly call "higher"—education, the arts, religion—these, too, in all the details of decision-making, planning, erection of buildings, become busy-ness, become the main business of this "Story of People in Motion." And thus this local history's vision of the city and its story becomes a matter largely of business—economic, political, religious; the city's dimension in time is marked with streets laid out, paved, lighted, blocks filled with buildings, buildings torn down, replaced, razed again for parking lots. So at last even the Provo Temple comes to look like still another civic building, "one of Provo's most significant new" ones, which has "added much to the beauty of the city" (p. 97). Significantly, though the Temple, its spire cropped, is the last visual image the book leaves us, the text closes with a summary of Provo's assessed valuation, rate of building-permit issue, and miles of streets, sidewalks, curbs and gutter, water mains, and sewer lines, and with one parting booster shot: "In the 1970s it still looks forward to growth" (p. 97).

But the vision of Zion, of which a Temple is the largest tangible symbol, was a vision of saintly community, beside which a Chamber of Commerce vision of Provo's story looks, alas, Babylonish. Which is, of course, no more than could be said of any Mormon city's story. And which is also, perhaps, no more than we should expect, for who invented the business of civilization in the first place but Cain or his son (see Genesis 4 and Moses 5)? And further, as St. Paul says, "Here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come" (Heb. 13.14). Earthly cities, like Provo, are always in business, and always in the business of becoming, but we may seriously doubt—and I think *Provo: A Story* quietly implies this to a Mormon reader who keeps his perspective—that the worldly city has much chance of becoming the heavenly.

## Acting Under Orders

VICTOR B. CLINE

*Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View.* By Stanley Milgram. New York: Harper and Row, 1973. xvii + 224 pp., \$10.00.

What do we do when we have agreed to participate in an experiment under the auspices of a prestigious university (and are getting paid for it) and we are asked to do something objectionable? The Ph.D. experimenter instructs us that this is a research project studying memory and learning. He explains that we are to be the "teacher" and another volunteer will be the "learner." Since the experimenter is concerned with the effects of punishment on learning, it will be necessary for us to "shock" the other subject every time he makes an error in learning a list of word pairs. Additionally, as he makes repeated errors it will be necessary for us to

increase the electric shock intensity. The “teacher” and “learner” are in separate rooms with an observation window between them. The learner is seated in a chair with his arms strapped down to prevent excessive movement, and an electrode is attached to his wrist. The teacher in the adjoining room is seated before an impressive shock generator with a line of thirty switches, ranging from fifteen volts to 450 volts with verbal designations above ranging from “slight shock” to “Danger—extreme shock.” As it turns out, the “teacher” is a naive subject who is the real focus of the research while the “learner” is an actor who actually receives no shock at all. The whole point of the experiment is to see how far a person will go in inflicting increasing pain on a protesting victim.

Social psychologist Stanley Milgram has authored a fascinating book focusing on an area of interest to many Latter-day Saints: authority. At what point will the subject refuse to obey the experimenter, a prestigious authority figure who constantly urges the “teacher” to increase the shock intensity? This, of course, raises memories of Nuremberg, reminding us that ten million Jews and many foreign workers were gassed during World War II by hundreds of compliant Nazis because “somebody above had ordered it.” To what extent will a person acting under authority perform actions which violate his conscience? Thus we have a basic dilemma which faces all men on occasion, the conflict between conscience and authority. The bishop requests that we participate in a project that we are thoroughly opposed to. The government orders that we fight in a war which we personally feel is immoral and illegal. What do we do?

As might be expected, Milgram’s findings show a great variation in the “teachers’” willingness to shock their victims at high intensity levels. In some of the sessions, the “teacher” could see and hear his “learner” cry out in pain, furiously protest and writhe as the shock levels were increased, but still administered more shocks to the highest levels possible because the experimenter insisted on it. If the choice was left entirely up to the subject, he usually shocked at the lowest levels possible. If the “teachers” had peers or associates (as “co-teachers”) who suggested noncompliance when the experimenter urged high shock levels, this contributed powerfully to their refusal to continue on.

What are the implications of this research (and its many variations discussed more fully in the book) for committed Latter-day Saints who believe in unswervingly obeying God’s commandments, following the Brethren wherever they might lead, and not speaking evil of the Lord’s Anointed? The most probable answer to most of these questions is that most Latter-day Saints, if asked to do something evil, morally wrong, or injurious to others, would not do it. Ultimately, one’s conscience and the Holy Spirit of Truth must confirm and bear witness that a particular act is right and proper, regardless of who requests that we do it. Hopefully, we have been taught “correct principles” and we would usually govern ourselves reasonably and humanely. Such minor matters as being requested to work on a stake farm project which we may feel is a waste of money or energy do not present a serious moral issue. On more serious matters, such as practicing polygamy, even though ordained of God, the free agency of participating members was a vital element to all concerned. And while some exceptions might be cited, the basic rule was “informed consent” and freedom of choice.

It is certainly remotely conceivable that a mission president, stake president, bishop, or other individual in high authority could have a psychosis, such as say

paranoid schizophrenia, wherein he might request those under his authority to do improper things. However, any kind of extreme or bizarre behaviors would be quickly noted by his counselors, family, or associates who within hours or less could seek counsel of higher authorities who could in turn request hospitalization, release him from his Church position, or take whatever other action was necessary to neutralize his influence. And in actual practice, when a member of the Church at any station of life or priesthood feels that his immediate ecclesiastic superior is "out of step with the Lord" he can discuss the matter in confidence with the next higher authority. Or he can "sit it out" and do nothing—as many senior Aaronics and inactive elders have done since the Church was organized (but usually for reasons other than "conscience").

I believe that it is possible for any person, regardless of position or station in the Church, to be corrupted and "fall." King David, Judas, and Oliver Cowdrey all attest to this, as do numerous examples known to all of us in our personal experience. But I do not believe that it would be possible for the entire Council of the Twelve to fall from grace at one fell swoop, even though individuals on the Council might fall (as has happened on several occasions since the Church was organized). Each man on such a council serves to cancel out the human weaknesses and personal idiosyncracies of his fellow members. This serves as a corrective and purifying influence to protect the sanctity and integrity of God's will, if you wish. Even though each man acts as a lens with some distortions and imperfections which will to some degree distort the inner light (Holy Spirit) as it shines through his personal spiritual nature, when consensus is reached by such a body it ordinarily represents a highly distilled essence of truth. And the same psychological processes are at work in a ward priesthood quorum or relief society. In the extremely unlikely event that some higher authority were to request ward members to do something immoral, improper, or anti-social, the collective conscience of the group would not tolerate it (as in Milgram's experiment) even though one or two might be misled. This, however, does not mean that small groups on their own can't—like cancer cells—become corrupted. Though rare, it sometimes happens under certain psychological stress conditions as at My Lai, with a lynch mob, or at Mountain Meadows.

Admittedly there have been historical apostasies of the major Church organization. This, however, has always been a slow corroding process. Also splinter and apostate groups (including a few missionaries in the French Mission several years ago) have broken off and established their own brand of True Religion. The test that can be applied to the legitimacy of their authority (in addition to logic and good judgment) would be "by their fruits ye shall know them."

Love and long suffering are the major methods in the LDS Church of winning converts as well as keeping them with the ever-present influence of the Holy Spirit to guide and inspire. Coercion and threats of damnation and eternal fire as methods of behavior control are for all intents and purposes unknown in our Church. I would see the specter which Milgram raises as more appropriate to political and military organizations than to most religious sects. One can imagine some difficult moral choices facing Church members who live in lands controlled by dictatorships, where one might be conscripted to serve in armies or police actions and where being a conscientious objector would not be a permissible "out" to avoid participating in evil enterprises. Ultimately each person will have to

struggle with these moral dilemmas on an individual basis. After all, LDS theology suggests that this earth life was purposefully designed as a testing ground, a vale of joy and tears, a place of struggle and growth, where goodness and evil would co-abound and compete for our allegiance. This is still earth, not heaven.

## Sisters Under the Skin

EDWARD GEARY

*Dear Ellen: Two Mormon Women and Their Letters.* By S. George Ellsworth. Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1974. 92 pp., \$12.00.

Ellen Spencer and Ellen Pratt were born in 1832 and moved to Nauvoo in 1841, where they became close friends. They both crossed the plains in the emigration of 1848 without their fathers. Orson Spencer was in England as president of the British Mission, and Addison Pratt was leading the first Mormon missionaries to the Society Islands. Ellen Spencer had the additional hardship of being without a mother; from the age of fourteen she was in charge of a household consisting of five younger brothers and sisters. The two Ellens died only a year apart, in 1895 and 1896, but in the intervening years their lives were very different and from the differences we can learn a good deal about Mormon life in the nineteenth century. Ellen Spencer remained in the Salt Lake Valley and married Hiram B. Clawson, a protégé of Brigham Young. Hiram married three additional wives, including two daughters of President Young, and fathered forty-two children, one of the most prominent families of Mormondom. Ellen Pratt accompanied her family on a second mission to the South Pacific, in 1850, where she learned Tahitian and became a great favorite with the natives. After her return she lived for the rest of her life in a succession of homes in various places in California and in Beaver and Ogden, Utah. At the relatively late age (for the time) of twenty-four, she married a mechanic named William McGary, a match which disappointed her friends. She bore four children of whom only one survived to adulthood. (One child died as a result of falling into a vat of hot lye.)

S. George Ellsworth has built the book around nine letters exchanged by the two women between May, 1856, and August, 1857. Ellen Pratt McGary was living in the Mormon colony at San Bernardino during this period, while Ellen Spencer Clawson belonged to a rapidly expanding family kingdom in Salt Lake City. It was a critical period in Mormon history, the time of the "Mormon Reformation," and shortly before the outbreak of the Utah War. It was also a critical time in the lives of the two correspondents, for during the fifteen months of the surviving correspondence Ellen Pratt married and bore her first child and Ellen Spencer's husband took his third wife. The two young women wrote candidly about their experiences. From Ellen Spencer we learn about the Twenty-fourth of July celebration in Big Cottonwood Canyon: "Oh! that was grand, and delightful, beyond any other pleasure excursion I ever participated in." We also learn that some of the Mormon girls in Salt Lake City got involved with the soldiers in Colonel Steptoe's command. The girls, Ellen Spencer Clawson wrote, "were so wilful that

they commenced flirting with the officers just out of spite, thinking they could resist all temptation and flattery, but they missed the mark in doing so, and repented when too late. We hear very bad stories about them, though I presume they are not all true, I hope not at least."

Perhaps the most significant insights, however, are those into polygamy. Years later, when Hiram Clawson was sent to prison for polygamy, the anti-Mormon *Salt Lake Tribune* paid him what Professor Ellsworth rightly terms "a remarkable tribute," declaring, "Bishop Clawson will have more sympathy than any polygamist who has ever gone to the penitentiary or any who ever may go in the future. His home ties are closer than those of most polygamists; his various families, so far as the outside world knows, are happier than those of other polygamists; he has done the best he could by his many children." Ellen Spencer Clawson's letters reveal something of the cost of that apparent harmony. On the occasion of Hiram's marriage to Alice Young, she confided to her friend that

my heart is rather heavy. I never thought I could care again if Hiram got a dozen wives, but it seems as though my affections return with double force, now that I feel as if I had lost him but I expect he thinks as much of me now as ever, only in a different way you know a new wife is a new thing, and I know it is impossible for him to feel any different towards her just at present, still it makes my heart ache to think I have not the same love, but I console myself with thinking it will subside into affection, the same as it is with me, for you know the honey-moon cannot always last. . . .

I think perhaps Margaret [wife number two] feels worse than I do for she was the last, and I suppose thought he would never get another, the same as I did, and "misery loves company" you know. "Well" Hiram is kinder than ever, if possible, to us, and I do *know* one thing certain, there never was a *better* husband in this world, and I know he means to do right, and I want to help him to do so all that lays in my power, I do not want him to think so much more of me that he cannot treat the rest as he aught, although it is womans nature to be jealous.

Professor Ellsworth also includes a fragment of a poem found among Ellen Spencer Clawson's papers. It begins "I loved thee once, but it was when/ I shared thy heart alone" and ends "I never thought that in thy smile/ A serpent lurked beneath." Evidently Ellen Spencer had reason to feel heavy-hearted at her husband's third marriage, for it marked the beginning of a decline in her status. Although she was the first wife, it appears that she always had to share a house with the second wife, Margaret Gay Judd, while Alice Young and Emily Young, the third and fourth wives, each had her own house. Moreover, it was almost always one of the other wives that Hiram took with him on his numerous business trips. It was not until 1880—and then only upon the insistence of Ellen's grown children—that she was allowed to accompany her husband to New York.

If Ellen Spencer Clawson's life reveals some problems of polygamy, the experience of Ellen Pratt McGary indicates that monogamy is not without its difficulties. Although Ellen Spencer warned in one of her letters that if Ellen Pratt's husband "is a true Saint, I might *possibly* be obliged to send the comforting words of 'grin and bear it' to you," it appears that William McGary was not interested in polygamy. Instead, he became involved with another woman outside of marriage, and the result was a divorce. Ellen Pratt married and divorced again before she finally remarried her first husband, who, in the interim, had had another wife. The domestic life of our great-grandparents was perhaps less simple and uncomplicated than we have been led to believe.

## A Spiritual Map for Singles

MAUREEN DERRICK KEELER

*A Singular Life: Perspectives For Single Women.* By Carol Clark. Salt Lake City, Utah, Deseret Book, 1974, 60 pp., \$3.50.

This slim, significant volume is to date the best of the self-help books published for LDS single women. It succeeds largely because of Carol Clark's unique grasp of gospel principles as they relate to even the most practical aspects of single life and because of her frank, empathetic analysis of singles problems not discussed previously by Mormon authors.

In a chapter titled "Where Do I Go From Here?" Carol Clark writes with unusual insight of the concern which many single women feel as opportunities to marry diminish steadily after college age. This comes as "a cold slap in the face to some, only to be followed by the statistical truth that some women never marry in this life." Miss Clark suggests confronting this truth with the help of two meaningful questions: "What do I do with myself?" and "What do they (home teachers, ward members) do with me?" Her responses set the tone for a series of mini-lectures—each a chapter—which implore single women to "choose life" (Deuteronomy 31:19) rather than loneliness or bitterness.

Many single women will identify closely with these problems and others discussed throughout the book: the social dilemma of the single woman who is more accomplished or better educated than most of the men she knows; the "back-row syndrome . . . another convenient crutch for the woman who is older than most single women in her ward, and hence, placed in an even more obtuse position by well-meaning people who don't know how to include her"; the temptation in periods of loneliness and self-doubt to accept undesirable companionship from married or single men. As solutions to these and other problems, Miss Clark offers her own deeply thoughtful analysis, a wealth of well-chosen and inspiring scriptures, and the comments of many single women who have successfully overcome obstacles in their lives.

Some of the most enjoyable features of the book are its succinct, almost epigrammatic bits of wisdom which are bound to be quoted frequently: "The goal is not to wait for the right person, but to be the right person"; "The career dilemma is not so much related to marriage as it is to a lack of interest in excellence as a goal in any pursuit"; "The single person must determine how she and the principle, not the practice of marriage, can work together gracefully for an indefinite period of time."

Another major strength of *A Singular Life* is the manner in which Miss Clark discredits some of the erroneous romantic beliefs about marriage which flourish among young women and are often reinforced by their elders. She exposes as fallacies the ideas that the best and only necessary preparation for marriage is a full social calendar, that life and happiness really begin only in marriage, and that if only "The Man" were around the money worries, electrical breakdowns, job troubles and loneliness of single life would magically vanish.

If there is any weakness in the book, it is only that there should be more of it. Some sections might have been more useful if developed in greater detail. For



example, Miss Clark devotes only three paragraphs to career analysis, a step she presents as one of three necessary to moving forward in life. Many readers might profit from more specific helps about how to get out of a dead-end job, and how and where to seek counseling or skill testing. Miss Clark also depends too heavily on brief paragraphs written by single women to develop points in some of her chapters. This method is true to the "perspectives" in the title, but at times leaves the reader feeling as though some chapters (particularly four and five) need more detailed development and analysis.

Chapter Two, on money management, is very basic and therefore may not be useful to many although the advice contained there is indisputably sound. Women with feminist leanings may react negatively to Miss Clark's brief reference (p. 57) to the dangers of the women's movement. But her comments seem more a warning against indiscriminate support of the movement at the expense of gospel principles than a blanket condemnation of it.

Taken as a whole, *A Singular Life* could be—and hopefully will be—one of the more influential books published for LDS readers. Its call to press "forward with a steadfastness in Christ" is appealing and compelling. In fact the book is such a successful spiritual map of the potential of single women to grow, change, love and serve that it offers a significant challenge and an uplift to non-single women as well.

## Recently Received

*Charles C. Rich: Mormon General and Western Frontiersman.* By Leonard J. Arrington. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974. 386 pp., \$7.50.

The nineteenth century was remarkable for the giants it produced, men and women of tough fiber and unrelenting zeal whose endurance and achievements seem almost incredible to our less strenuous era. These hardy people were by no means all Mormons (one thinks immediately of David Livingstone, the great missionary-explorer of Africa), but the Mormons had a good share of them. Such a person was Charles Coulson Rich, who spent almost all of his seventy-five years subduing the wilderness. Rich was born in Kentucky in the same year as another noteworthy Kentuckian, Abraham Lincoln, and grew up on the frontier in Indiana and Illinois. He joined the Church in 1832, took part in the Zion's Camp expedition of 1834, fled Missouri as a fugitive from the law in 1838, and rose to prominence in Nauvoo, where he was a member of the Council of Fifty and brigadier general of the Nauvoo Legion. For the rest of his life he was recognized as a natural leader of men and was called upon to carry out some of the most challenging assignments. He was a leader in the immigration to Utah and in the orderly settlement of the Salt Lake Valley, being nominated by Brigham Young as a counselor in the Salt Lake Stake presidency even before he arrived in the valley. Rich would have been content to remain in the new settlement, but instead he was sent, first, to attempt to organize the Mormons in the California goldfields, then with Amasa Lyman to direct the settlement of San Bernardino, where he remained for six years until the colony was recalled because of the invasion of Utah by Johnston's Army. Later he was sent, again with Amasa Lyman, to set the Euro-

pean Mission in order after some years of neglect during the Church's troubles with the federal government.

A year after his return from Europe, Charles C. Rich, now in his mid-fifties, was called to meet with Brigham Young. President Young said that the Church was thinking of settling the Bear Lake Valley and suggested that Rich might be interested in leading the colony. Rich replied, "So far as pulling up stakes and moving my entire family, I would rather not do it." In response to this expression, Brigham Young said, "We have said *yes*, that we will settle that valley; that is sufficient." And so Charles C. Rich spent the last twenty years of his life in the rigorous climate of the Bear Lake country, a far cry from balmy San Bernardino.

Rich's personal life was no less remarkable than his public one. He did not marry until the age of twenty-nine and then less from personal inclination than from a conviction that he "could not do much good without a wife, and without posterity." He had plenty of posterity before he was through, with six wives and fifty-one children; quite an achievement for a man who seems seldom to have been at home.

Leonard Arrington has written a readable book which succeeds in placing Rich in the context of Church history. *Charles C. Rich* is the first volume in a new series at BYU Press, Studies in Mormon History, with James B. Allen as editor.

—E. G.

*Some That Trouble You.* By Clair L. Wyatt. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1974. 92 pp., \$2.95.

When I was a boy there was a colony of fundamentalists who lived a few miles from my home town. Their children came to school with us, in the early grades, but we had as little to do with them as possible. The colony experienced an influx of residents following the big raid at Short Creek, Arizona, compelling some new arrivals to live through the winter in tents instead of the usual tar-paper shacks. One night a skunk got into one of the tents. As a result, the usually passive ostracization to which the "Co-op kids" were normally subjected took a very active form until one of the teachers helped the children to a shower and some clean clothes. As a rule, the fundamentalist children remained in school only until the age of thirteen or fourteen. Then they disappeared, the boys to go to work in the colony's coal mine and the girls, we supposed, to be married to some older man. Sometimes now, when I come upon an old school picture, I look at those pinched faces and remember their isolation and wonder what impelled them to live as they did.

Clair L. Wyatt's book does not provide the answer, though he does attempt in a couple of brief chapters to suggest some of the motives for cultism. The greater part of the book is devoted to a legalistic refutation of fundamentalist claims to authority. The publisher's claims for the book are that "For the solid Church member who is otherwise at a loss to combat the cultist's specious reasoning it will provide conclusive answers. For those who might be in danger of veering off course it will provide fact and inspiration with which to correct the drift." For the reader who does not inquire too deeply—especially for the reader who is already convinced that the fundamentalists are wrong—the book might well achieve these purposes.

—E. G.

# AMONG THE MORMONS

## A Survey of Current Literature

*Edited by Ralph W. Hansen*

*Books are no substitute for living,  
but they can add immeasurably to its richness.*

MAY H. ARBUTHNOT, *Children and Books*

If we accept the value Ms. Arbuthnot places upon books, the Mormon community is indeed rich. The editor of this column never ceases to be amazed by the quantity (and increasingly the quality) of books and periodicals directed at the Mormon audience. Among the new entrants, of which most of *Dialogue's* subscribers should have received a sample issue, is *Exponent II*, published by Mormon Sister, Inc. of Arlington, Massachusetts. *Exponent II* is "A quarterly newspaper concerning Mormon women, published by Mormon Women, and of interest to Mormon women and others." (Available for \$2.50 per year from *Exponent II*, Box 37, Arlington, Massachusetts 02174.)

Another new publication is the *Journal of Mormon History*, published annually by the Mormon History Association. It can be acquired through Kenneth W. Godfrey, Secretary/Treasurer of the Association, 1302 Edvalson Street, Ogden, Utah 84403. The first issue of 72 pp. contains four articles and no book reviews or notes. A sparse but promising beginning.

The contents of volume 1 are: "The Prophet Puzzle: Suggestions Leading Toward a More Comprehensive Interpretation of Joseph Smith," by Jan Shippis; "The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church," by D. Michael Quinn; "Mormonism's Encounter with Spiritualism," by Davis Bitton; and "The Stenhouses and the Making of a Mormon Image," by Ronald W. Walker.

Other new periodicals include the *Newsletter* of the Committee on Mormon Society and Culture, (\$2.50 P.O. Box 7258, University Station, Provo, Utah 84602) and *AMCAP Notes*. The former, edited by John Sorenson, is full of interesting bibliographical tidbits for those interested in Mormon society and culture. The latter is a publication of the Association of Mormon Composers and Performers (Verena Hatch, AMCAP Secretary, 883 N. 1200 E., Provo, Utah 84601. The \$5.00 annual fee includes membership in the Association). *AMCAP Notes* supercedes *Notes of the L.D.S. Composers Association* previously noted in this column.

*Restoration Reporter* formerly published in Illinois has been resurrected by its publisher in Provo, Utah. Concerned with the smaller Restoration Churches the *Reporter* may be obtained from David C. Martin, 593 South 1350 East, Provo, Utah 84601.

The Brigham Young University Press has launched a new publishers series called "Studies in Mormon History." The first volume in this series is a new

biography of Charles C. Rich by Leonard Arrington (reviewed in this issue of *Dialogue*).

The University of Utah Library has also come out with a new series of reprints and original works under the series title of "Utah, The Mormons, and the West." Full details are available from the University of Utah Press, Building 513, Salt Lake City, Utah 84112.

Finally, Peregrine-Smith publishing house is producing a series known as "The Peregrine-Smith Mormon Library," which contains books on "Mormon History and Culture including the Classic Mormon Diary Series." Information available from Peregrine-Smith, Inc. P.O. Box 11606, Salt Lake City, Utah 84111.

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## NOTES ON STAFF AND CONTRIBUTORS

After nine years of invaluable service as a member of the Board of Editors Karl Keller has requested a rest—and well deserved it is. Karl has read hundreds of manuscripts over the years and has rendered a valuable service not only to *Dialogue* but to the many writers who have benefitted from his careful and concise criticisms. Other staff members released with “a vote of thanks” for faithful service include T. Allen Lambert of the Board of Editors and Maryruth Bracy, Notes and Comments Editor. Special thanks go to Carolan Postma Ownby who has left her position as Administrative Secretary to return to graduate school and to Pirkko Angelekis whose work with subscriptions over the past two years has kept track of our readers.

New appointments to the Board of Editors include James Farmer of BYU, editor of the special issue on Science and Religion, and Lester Bush, Jr., winner of *Dialogue*’s first prize in social literature and co-winner of the Mormon History Association’s prize for the best article on Mormon history, for his essay, “Mormonism’s Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview.”

Other staff changes include the addition of Dennis Youkstetter as an Assistant Editor, Michael Fairclough as Legal Counsel, and Virginia Larimore as Administrative Secretary.

VICTOR B. CLINE, a former member of *Dialogue*’s Board of Editors, has published studies on the effects of television violence and pornography on human behavior.

EUGENE ENGLAND, one of the founding editors of *Dialogue*, teaches literature at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota.

BOB GILLESPIE is a graduate of California State University at Fullerton and has attended the Art Center College of Design in Los Angeles, where he is currently doing free lance work.

BRUCE W. JORGENSEN has just completed a Ph.D. dissertation in American Literature at Cornell University. His poetry and criticism have appeared in earlier issues of *Dialogue* and his short story “The Sisters” appeared in the most recent issue of *Exponent II*.

MAUREEN DERRICK KEELER, an Associate Editor of *Dialogue*, has taught English at BYU and the University of Washington and most recently at Pepperdine University.

MARGARET RAMPTON MUNK lives in the Philippines where her husband is a lawyer for the Asian Development Bank and where she teaches government at the Ateneo de Manila University while raising two children. Her article, “Parenthood: The Other Way,” appeared in the January 1971 *Ensign*.

D. CRAIG MIKKELSEN, a BYU graduate and former longshoreman, is currently studying Law at the University of Chicago.



LEO PONDO has degrees from the University of New Mexico and the Art Center College of Design in Los Angeles, where he is currently a free lance illustrator.

BRENT N. RUSHFORTH, the publisher of *Dialogue*, is a graduate of Stanford and University of California at Berkeley. He is co-founder of the Center for Law in the Public Interest, a Los Angeles based firm specializing in public interest law.

LINDA BUHLER SILLITOE is a homemaker and mother of two young children. Her poetry has appeared in *Contemporaria*, *Dialogue*, the *Ensign* and *A Believing People*, a new anthology of Mormon literature.

LAUREN THATCHER ULRICH, a member of *Dialogue's* Board of Editors, is one of the founding editors of *Exponent II* for which she currently serves as Book Review Editor.

DAVID WILLARDSON, a graduate of BYU and the Los Angeles Art Center College of Design, has won a number of national awards for his illustrations. He illustrates for the major recording studios and for many national magazines.

CARLOS WHITING, a writer and consultant on environmental education and a specialist on Sino-Soviet affairs, lives with his family in Silver Springs, Maryland.

JAY WRIGHT's poetry has appeared in the *Yale Review*, *Nation*, *New Republic*, *Evergreen Review*, *Harper's*, 31 *New Poets* and elsewhere and is collected in *The Homecoming Singer* (1971).

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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 15, 1974.

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

4. Location of known office of publication: 1081 Westwood Blvd., #215, Los Angeles, California 90024.

5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publication: 1081 Westwood Blvd., #215, Los Angeles, California 90024.

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

7. Owner: Dialogue Foundation (a Utah Foundation), 1081 Westwood Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90024. A non-stock corporation.

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

9. (Not applicable).

10. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates (section 132.121, Postal Service Manual): The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this

organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have not changed during preceding 12 months.

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