DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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

CONTENTS

Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought is published quarterly by the Dialogue Foundation, Editorial Office, 4012 N. 27th St., Arlington, Virginia 22207. *Dialogue* has no official connection with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Second class postage pending at Arlington, Virginia. ISSN 002-2157

Subscription rate in the United States is $20.00 per year; students $10.00 per year; single copies, $6.00. Write Subscriptions, P.O. Box 1387, Arlington, Virginia 22210. Many back issues are available; write for information. *Dialogue* is also available in microform through University Microfilms International, Dept. F.A., 300 N. Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, and 18 Bedford Row, London, WC1R 4EJ, England.

Dialogue welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, notes and comments, and art work. Manuscripts should be sent in triplicate, accompanied by return postage, to Editor, Dialogue. A Journal of Mormon Thought, P.O. Box 1387, Arlington, Virginia 22210.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

a modern day thoreau

Dennis Drake's "And We Were Young" (Vol. XI, No. 3) is one of the finest and most honest personal essays I have seen in any church-related publication. Truly, he shared what I feel. I admire him for his courageous Thoreauvian experiment and believe that he has already bested Thoreau for two reasons: Dennis is living in the twentieth century, and he has submitted not only himself to the "rigors" of nature, but his family as well. In doing so, he has pricked (or should prick) the temporal conscience of every Latter-day Saint.

"And We Were Young" could well be called "Lot's Wife in the Latter-days Part Two." It was Lenet Read's article in Vol. IV, No. 2, that first acquainted me with *Dialogue* and catalyzed my love affair with this journal. Read's article affected me particularly since I was a new convert, troubled by the compromising success ethic I saw in the Church. The many personal and familial sacrifices I had made to embrace the Church dictated commitment to the fullness of the Gospel, and that implied the blessings I would receive if I followed the spiritual laws in the Church, among them the law of consecration. But I always had a difficult time with material possessions—loving them too much—and now I decided, just after I had sold a parcel of real estate in Orem for a greatly inflated, though fair price, to try an experiment. (What I was trying to do was test the Lord!) Before the final transaction, I called in the buyer and asked him if it would be all right if I credited him with $3000, deflating his buying cost considerably. To an incredulous buyer, I explained my reasons and bore to him my testimony that *I* would be greatly blessed by this maneuver.

Lo! and behold, they greatly exceeded the $3000, although not all of the blessings were temporal. As I reviewed the list of blessings in my journal, I discovered that the greatest blessing resulting from this trial of faith is the ability to now give anything I own to anyone who needs it more than I do, and a solid testimony exemplified by the seemingly paradoxical statement of a few weeks ago: Let's donate more money to the ward building fund—we need money for a new car so badly!

Robert N. Bellah, in *Reflections on Mormonism,* said,

> Perhaps the Mormon Experience, which was in its initial phase a protest against the world of harsh, capitalist individualism, but then through much of this century became an increasingly close adaptation to that world which was originally rejected—perhaps that experience could give food for thought not only for Mormons but for all of us who live in this nation . . . How many of them realize that their own current social, economic and political views and actions may contribute to the wasteland that they see around them?

His words could very well be a challenge for us all to put our commitments "on the line" as Dennis Drake has done—not only in word but in deed.

Gary Gillum
Payson, Utah

when we were very jung

There is a fundamental difference between the aims of Mormonism and Jungian psychology that has been overlooked in Dr. McCollum's article "The Coniunctio in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." (Vol. XI, No. 3) While it is true that both address the dualities of matter-spirit, male-female, and good-evil, the resolution is different. As Dr. McCollum has noted, in Jungian terms psychological health and wholeness are achieved by integrating the opposites within oneself. The "shadow" or darker qualities of oneself must be perceived and claimed as one's own, integrated into one's concept of self for a three dimensional existence. The anima (for man) or animus (for woman) must be retrieved from projection and incorporated into the self where it serves to enrich both conscious and unconscious selves. In contrast, Mormon theology, while recognizing these pairs—a definite cut above some modern theologies which have buried the concept of evil in the

garden—does not call for their union in quite the same way.

Following her quotation from the Book of Mormon on the opposition in all things, Dr. McCollum states:

> This is to say that God is indeed the result of oppositions being *reconciled* or that God is the coniunctio. . . . Not only is the Fall perceived as good and necessary since it points out the fact that nothing is known apart from its opposite; it also provides for man the dynamic means by which he can, through free agency, work out his salvation by once again attaining this *union* of opposites. Or, in psychological terms, he can find wholeness by *integrating* the numerous pairs of opposites, good and evil, light and dark, with which he is daily assaulted.

Good and evil are not reconciled, united, or integrated under Mormon doctrine. The aim is to overcome evil, to expel it from the self. The tension of opposites remains. This is also true of the male-female polarity which is not united within each person but which exists as a unit involving two people, each contributing his/her gender's strength and weaknesses. Thus both Jungian psychology and Mormon doctrine recognize these pairs, but the end result remains different.

Marlene Payne, M.D.
McLean, Virginia

David Wright

I enjoyed reading about David Wright (Vol XI, No. 2). He was my cousin. We carried on a heavy correspondence for a couple of years in the late fifties while he was gathering information on our grandfather, Amos R. Wright, in the hopes of publishing his life story. I was most interested, and I helped him with this project. His death cut short the writing, although he had been discouraged by his father Conover and by his uncle (my father) who felt that from David's disaffected point of view, he would write an account critical of the Church. Of course, they felt this would be totally unacceptable to their father and out of their respect and loyalty to him, discouraged David.

Of course, we are responsible for our own religious philosophy, but I think David's sensitive, introspective nature was thrown off balance by at least two or three professors at Utah State University. If Mormonism is true (which I believe), then those professors will have to answer to a great extent for destroying David's testimony. They seemed to delight in shocking young people not equipped by experience to combat their clever arguments.

It was fun to read *Dialogue* again. You have some good things. I used to subscribe but gave up in favor of many other things that come in to be read. Unfortunately, *Dialogue* struck me as too much the campus newspaper type publication. Much of it was ridicule written from the standpoint of intellectual snobbishness. *Too bad.* I hope *Dialogue* can overcome the problems I see them having.

Amos L. Wright
Salt Lake City, Utah

a positive force

You are doing a great job with *Dialogue.* The journal continues to be a positive force in the Church and in the nation. The great recent change in the Church with regard to the blacks is, in my view, related to some of the fundamental questions raised in *Dialogue* a few years ago.

Joseph E. Black
New York City, New York

can't live with, can't live without . . .

Dialogue came into our lives with the Science and Religion masterpiece of 1973 and while each intervening issue has contained memorable attempts at candid expression, we've perceived a gradual decline in the journal's critical tenor. The recent issue (Vol. XI, No. 2) is notably wanting in that spirit of objective analysis which we originally came to expect.

With our displeasure noted, however, we would like to renew for another year. It's *Dialogue* or—nothing!

Richard M. Crosby
Franklin, Maine

in the light of truth

Your *Dialogue* articles are tightly edited and easily read; the format is clean and attractive; you have tried to catch up with an onerous quarterly schedule; and your comments in letters and editorials exude your loyalty to the Church, to scholarship, to good writing, and to an open forum. I commend you highly for achieving in those difficult areas. But—

I know you have little control over the articles you receive and print. And I know recruiting articles is difficult. I have simply felt the articles in some recent issues were not worth the cost to me.

You may rightly ask what kind of articles do intrigue me. Perhaps they differ little from your own tastes. But the following I was not finding enough of in *Dialogue:*

1. Historical research findings in the "light of truth" (like the *Dialogue* article on Negroes and the Priesthood).
2. Sermons in the "light of truth" (like Richard Poll's or Gene England's).
3. Social science principles in the "light of truth" (like Francis Menlove's article or Richard Bushman's historical perspectives).
4. Hard science principles in the "light of truth."
5. Provocative, uplifting monographs (like Truman Madsen's or Hugh Nibley's).
6. Practical applications of gospel principles (like those I find in the *Ensign* and *New Era*).

The "light of truth" or intelligence is my currently overriding need. I find much of it in our church magazines. They move me to live better. Sometimes they challenge my intellect, too.

I know you are doing a good work. I do support you morally and wish you the best.

Willard M. Bushman
Fairfield, California

query

Dialogue, BYU Studies and *Exponent II* as well as the *Ensign* and the "Church Section" are welcome periodicals in our home. It has been exciting reading in your pages the newly acquired facts and analysis of Mormon history. You are making history yourself. Thank you for printing scholarly compositions which help me see myself and my "faith" in greater depth and, hopefully, with greater maturity.

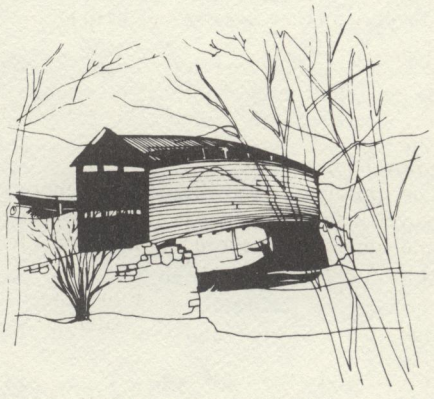
Now, could you help a "past-middle-age" (I can't quite bring myself to say *elderly*) woman resolve the conflict and appease the heartache I am experiencing over the stand our church leadership has taken to thwart the "women's movement." Was only Adam given free agency to choose right from wrong?

What can you do to help a supposedly well-educated woman (who is more liberal than conservative) to understand, so as to accept or reject with tolerance (I don't seem to be able to do either comfortably) the extremely (from my viewpoint) conservative political positions our church leadership sometimes takes? My husband was a labor union officer in the '40s and '50s when our leadership expressed strong opposition to many of the activities of unions.

I've obviously had a problem with divided loyalties. Can your scholars help me to develop a more mature understanding or acceptance of my dilemma, or is my answer in humility and prayer? Somehow I just can't turn off the thought process.

Be a good friend, *Dialogue,* and help me one more time.

Camille Hawkins
LaGrande, Oregon



by the numbers

The Autumn issue was excellent. I half agree with David Rowland that recent times have produced some more-than-literally slim issues—but then in the '70s at least an entire year's worth of issues was never published. However, there have been many excellent, important and interesting issues. For example: Vol. V, No. 2 in 1970 (Freedom and Neo-orthodoxy), Vol. VI, No. 1 in 1971 (Tolstoy and Mohammed), Vol. VI, No. 2, also in 1971 (the special women's issue), Vol. VII, No. 1 in 1971 (the Twentieth Century and Mormonism features), and two of the all-time greats in 1973, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (Blacks and the Priesthood), and Vol. VIII, Nos. 3,4 (Science and Religion).

Most recently I found Vol. X, No. 4 (on The Book of Mormon) and Vol. XI, No. 3 to be as good as any published in the '60s. I wonder if Brother Rowland has looked at these articles, which assure us that *Dialogue*

is alive and well. It would be interesting to survey reader evaluation of *Dialogue's* best issues. In addition to the above, I'd vote for Vol. I, Nos. 1 & 3, Vol. II, No. 4, Vol. III, Nos. 1, 3 & 4, and Vol. IV, Nos. 2, 3 & 4.

Scott S. Smith
Thousand Oaks, Calif.

the bare necessities

Although an avid *Dialogue* reader, I am now living a life of voluntary poverty, and I generally borrow each issue from the institute library or a generous friend. However, your Summer 1978 issue which includes the proceedings of the Association of Mormon Letters, being one of your finest, is a definite must for my personal library. Thus, in spite of my financial state, I can no longer avoid subscribing. I look forward to journals of equal quality.

Lorie Winder
Cambridge, Massachusetts

a novel suggestion

The problem with the Great American Novel, ladies and gents, is not necessarily to find somebody to *write* it, but to find a few great Americans to *read* it.

Ronald Wilcox
Ogden, Utah

bringing up consciousness

The Women's Resource Committee on our campus has asked me to teach the Women's Issues class and I should like to use something that appeared recently in *Dialogue* for the class. It appeared in the Summer 1978 issue (Vol. XI, No. 2) and was titled "The Tables Turned: An Exercise in Consciousness Raising." I thought it delightful. I'm sure the class would enjoy it, and it would put over a point in a subtle, humorous and painless way.

Inez Cooper
Southern Utah State College
Ceder City, Utah

congratulations

Dialogue for the last few years has had such an erratic delivery schedule that it is hard to tell if we have missed a copy. My son tells me that we will understand your problems better if I read the articles in the anniversary issue. Congratulations. The current *Dialogue* is more like the ones we read in the beginning years.

Beth Greenhalgh
San Mateo, California

You may be interested to know the reaction of our son, a BYU student, on a recent visit. He said that I had a more complete set of *Dialogue's* than the BYU Library. I felt threatened when he took an armful back to school. He promised not to lose them!

Mrs. Don C. Kimball
Flagstaff, Arizona

marvelous but ostentatious

I deem the *Dialogue* publishing project to be "a marvelous work and a wonder"—well not quite—but just now I cannot think of a more appropriate phrase to describe *Dialogue* although I must confess that it seems somewhat ostentatious.

Harold J. Butcher
Kihei, Hawaii

latter-day saint science fiction

"LDSF" is the title of an anthology of original "SF"—science fiction, supernatural fiction, fantasy, and speculative fiction—directed at Mormon audiences and offering a creative outlet for Latter-day Saint writers. Deadline for submitting short stories for the first volume is a postmark of August 1, 1979. Each story accepted for publication will earn the author $100, and there is no limit to the number that may be submitted. Stories must fit into the general "SF" category (due to subjective interpretation) and have some element unique to Mormons or Mormonism—characters, message, setting, etc. There is no particular limit on the number of words other than the designation "short story." Manuscripts should be typed double-spaced and the title of the story, the author's name and address should appear at the top of the page the story begins on. Send manuscripts to: "LDSF," 2455 Calle Roble, Thousand Oaks, California 91360.

Corrigenda

The following page of footnotes was inadvertently deleted from "A Special Relationship: J. Bracken Lee and the Mormon Church" by Dennis L. Lythgoe, Vol. XI, No. 4.

[66] Letter, J. Leonard Love to Lee, June 24, 1949. Lee papers. [67] Lee Interview, 1972.

[68] Letter, Lee to Pres. McKay, Oct. 13, 1949. Lee claimed that several prominent Mormons were frequenting liquor stores and Doan obtained cards on a stake president and a bishop and members of the bishopric of the area who had allegedly been buying liquor on the west side of the city. Lee suggested that it was "embarrassing as hell," because Doan accused these people of being too cowardly to buy liquor from a nearby store so their neighbors could witness it. (Lee Interview, 1972)

[69] Letter, McKay to Lee, Oct. 31, 1949.

[70] Letter, McKay to Lee, Dec. 7, 1949. McKay said Lee's integrity was unquestioned and commended him on his instruction that no liquor be served at Christmas parties in the state capitol. Lee agreed that the use of liquor at such gatherings not only degraded the capitol but the office holder as well. Letter, Lee to McKay, Dec. 8, 1949. Lee papers.

[71] Lee was commended by members of the bishopric of the Mountain View Ward, speaking "as members and property owners. They were grateful to Lee for support in their desire to maintain high standards for their community and family life. (Letter, Paul Newmeyer, Homer Holmgren, Ralph Smith, Bishopric of Mountain View Ward, to Lee, May 20, 1950.) Lee papers.

C. H. Parker, President of Hillside Stake, followed suit, saying he had made it known to the people that Lee had supported them in moving the store. The people, he said, appreciated his integrity and would support him because of adherence to principle. Letter, C. H. Parker to Lee, May 21, 1950. Lee papers.

Lee also received several other letters relating to various phases of liquor sales from various Church leaders. For instance, the Sharon Stake Presidency wrote him concerning their unhappiness at an action of the liquor commission in granting a permit for operation of a liquor dispensing agency in Orem. (Letter to Lee, April 11, 1949, Lee papers) The stake presidency of the North Davis Stake protested efforts to liberalize the liquor law and specifically the "locker" practice in private clubs, permitting the dispensing of liquor over the bar. (Letter to Lee, Feb. 21, 1949) Lee papers.

[72] *Deseret News*, Feb. 17, 1953.

[73] *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1953.

[74] *Ibid.*, Editorial, Feb. 17, 1953.

[75] Letter, David O. McKay, Stephen L. Richards, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., First Presidency of the Church, to Lee, May 21, 1954. Lee papers.

[76] Letter, Lee to Clyde S. Johnson, Attorney at Law, Vernal, Utah, Nov. 4, 1954' Lee papers.

[77] Letter, McKay to Lee, Nov. 9, 1954. Lee papers.

[78] Utah, "Abstract of Elections," Sec. of State, Election file, Nov. 2, 1954, Lee papers. *Deseret News*, Nov. 2, 1954.

[79] Lee Interview, 1972.

[80] Letter, J. Reuben Clark, Jr. to Lee, Jan. 5, 1960, Lee mayoralty papers, Salt Lake City, Western Americana Collection, University of Utah.

[81] *Ibid.*

[82] Letter, Lee to Clark, Jan. 15, 1960, Lee Mayoralty papers.

[83] Letter, Taylor H. Merrill, for Zion's Securities Corporation Church holding company, to Board of Commissioners, Salt Lake City, Dec. 14, 1960. Lee Mayoralty papers.

[84] Lee Interview, 1972. Lee believes that Eldon Tanner of the First Presidency, a Democrat, is the most influential General Authority in Utah politics today, giving Democratic candidates an edge. Benson, he maintains, has influence, but the average Church member would pay more careful attention to Tanner than to Benson in political matters. If Lee is correct, it would probably be more because of Tanner's position in the First Presidency than the political party involved. All of that could change quickly if Benson were to become President of the Church; and since he is next in line as President of the Quorum of the Twelve, he could easily supersede Tanner.

As an example of Tanner's influence, Lee suggested that Governor Calvin Rampton, a Democrat, was the "Church candidate" in 1972, and that Tanner had given an unmistakable message to his Republican opponent, Nicholas Strike, by presenting Rampton with an award at Brigham Young University before the election.

MORMONISM AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT: A DOCTRINAL PERSPECTIVE, PAST AND PRESENT

MARTIN R. GARDNER

ON JANUARY 17, 1977, Gary Mark Gilmore's execution by a Utah firing squad ended an almost ten-year moratorium on capital punishment in the United States. The death penalty, at least in Utah, had again become a reality. Reaction to the Gilmore execution from the Mormon community indicated a general approval of the use of capital punishment in that case as well as a commitment to the institution of capital punishment itself. Numerous students interviewed at BYU defended the death penalty in terms of Mormon theology, believing that a clear church commitment to capital punishment exists. These defenses are not uncommon in Mormon culture generally.[1] To understand such defenses it is important to examine not only what church leaders have said about the subject, but also what the Mormon people did about it. It seems less profitable to explore the old anti-Mormon claim that the Church or church members practiced extralegal capital punishment than to focus on how Mormon belief was expressed when Mormon legislators enacted secular capital punishment law. Since the capital punishment law in Utah was initially a product of Mormon lawmakers influenced by Mormon doctrine, an historical understanding of Utah law provides rich insights into nineteenth century Mormon thought about capital punishment.

Present Utah law provides capital offenders, specifically those committing murder in circumstances justifying execution, with the option of death by hanging or death by firing squad. Utah is unique in its use of the firing squad, indeed, in its use of an execution mode which actually spills the blood of the offender. Existence of the firing squad solely in Utah is no coincidence but instead is a

MARTIN R. GARDNER *is an associate professor of law at the University of Nebraska. He received his B.S. and J.D. from the University of Utah.* *The author is indebted to the Research Council of the University of Nebraska for financial assistance, and to Michael Homer, a law student at the University of Nebraska College of Law, for helpful comments.*

consequence of an attempt by early legislators to effectuate religious belief through the capital punishment law of the state. Mormon justifications of capital punishment were intricately related to blood atonement, a doctrine requiring shedding blood as expiation for certain sins.

It should be noted, however, that religious justification for capital punishment is not unique to the Mormon people.[2] Neither is current theological rationale for the death penalty limited to the state of Utah.[3] But while sectarian defenses of capital punishment may be somewhat commonplace, Mormonism is unusual in its historical emphasis on observing particular methods of execution which conform with divine will. Because of this concern for the form of implementing the death penalty, as well as the profound influence of Mormonism in Utah, the impact of religion on capital punishment law in that state is more vivid than it is elsewhere. Religious justifications of the death penalty are often concealed by appeals to a variety of secular purposes which make the full extent of religious undergirding unclear. Ecclesiastical impact on capital punishment in Utah, however, is more readily identifiable because of the distinctly sectarian origins of the firing squad.

THE BLOOD ATONEMENT DOCTRINE

Mormon doctrine teaches that Christ's atonement unconditionally saves the entire human family from physical death, the separation of the body and spirit which results from Adam's transgression. Christ's atonement also saves man from spiritual death, alienation from God resulting from one's actual sins, on the condition that the individual repent of his sins and obey God's commandments. However, the doctrine of blood atonement posits that man can commit some sins so heinous that Christ's sacrifice is unavailing, but the offender himself may partially atone for his sin by sacrificing his life in a way which literally sheds his blood. The spilling of blood is required because blood is viewed as possessing symbolic religious significance. "The man who commits murder, who imbues his hands in the blood of innocence, cannot receive eternal life because he cannot get forgiveness of that sin. What can he do? The only way to atone is to shed his blood."[4]

> What is the reason for that? Why, we are told in the book of Leviticus, 17th chapter and 11th verse: 'For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.' . . . If Christ's blood had not been shed, each individual would have had to have his blood shed, according to Bible doctrine.[5]

The first seeds of blood atonement teachings were planted in Mormon thought before the Saints settled in Utah. In 1843, Joseph Smith said:

> In debate, George A. Smith said imprisonment was better than hanging.
>
> I replied, I was opposed to hanging, even if a man kills another, I will shoot him, or cut off his head, spill his blood on the ground, and let the smoke thereof ascend up to God; and if ever I have the privilege of making a law on that subject, I will have it so.[6]

On another occasion Joseph stated, "Hanging is the popular method of execution among the Gentiles in all countries professing Christianity, instead of blood for blood according to the law of heaven."[7]

Although the doctrine was taught, or at least suggested before the Saints went to Utah, blood atonement was fully developed by Brigham Young:

> There are sins that men commit for which they cannot receive forgiveness in this world, or in that which is to come, and if they had their eyes open to see their true condition, they would be perfectly willing to have their blood spilled upon the ground, that the smoke thereof might ascend to heaven as an offering for their sins; and the smoking incense would atone for their sins, whereas, if such were not the case, they would stick to them and remain upon them in the spirit world. . . .
>
> It is true that the blood of the Son of God was shed for sins through the fall and those committed by men, yet, men can commit sins which it can never remit . . . There are sins that can be atoned for . . . [only] by the blood of the man.[8]

Other early Mormon leaders, including Jedediah M. Grant and Heber C. Kimball, both counselors in the First Presidency of the Church, taught the doctrine of blood atonement[9] and all played major roles in implementing the first capital punishment law in Utah.

While the most fervent sermons on blood atonement were preached during the reformation movement in the 1850s, a period of intense Mormon revivalism bordering on fanaticism,[10] the doctrine also seems to have been defended by nineteenth century church leaders after the excessive rhetoric of the reformation had subsided. Responding to anti-Mormon critics in 1884, George Q. Cannon said, "We do not believe in hanging. We think that if a man sheds blood, his blood should be shed by execution . . . [But] it is a process of law [not a Church function] and has no reference to any Church ordinance."[11] In 1889, the First Presidency and Council of Twelve issued an official proclamation answering claims that the Mormon Church had practiced blood atonement extralegally. "We regard the killing of a human being, except in conformity with the civil law, as a capital crime, which should be punished by shedding the blood of the criminal after a public trial before a legally constituted court of the land."[12]

In 1891, President Wilford Woodruff answered scurrilous charges against the Mormons:

> It is a fundamental doctrine of our creed that a murderer cannot be forgiven; that he 'hath not eternal life abiding in him'; that if a member of our Church, having received the light of the Holy Spirit, commits this capital crime, he will not receive forgiveness in this world nor in the world to come. . . . It is part of our faith that the only atonement a murdered [*sic*] can make for his 'sin unto death' is the shedding of his own blood [through capital punishment as practiced by the State and *not* the Church] according to the fiat of the Almighty after the flood: 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed.' But the law must be executed by the lawfully appointed officer. This is 'blood atonement' so much perverted by maligners of our faith. We believe also in the atonement wrought by the shedding of Christ's blood on Calvary; that it is efficacious for all the race of Adam for the sin

> committed by Adam, and for the individual sins of all who believe, repent, are baptized by one having authority, and who receive the Holy Ghost by the laying on of authorized hands. Capital crime committed by such an enlightened person cannot be condoned by the Redeemer's blood. For him there is 'no more sacrifice for sin'; his life is forfeit, and he can only pay the penalty. There is no other blood atonement taught, practiced or made part of the creed of the Latter-day Saints.[13]

Scriptural support for the doctrine of blood atonement, for the sin of murder at least, was derived primarily from Genesis 9:6: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." This verse, coupled with I John 3:15 ("No murderer hath eternal life abiding in him"), Hebrews 9:22 ("And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission"), and Leviticus 17:11 ("For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul") provided the foundation from which Mormon leaders developed their doctrine.[14]

It is not entirely clear under what circumstances and for which sins blood atonement would avail the offender. As noted, some sins, particularly murder committed by baptized Mormons who have been "specially enlightened" by the power of the Holy Spirit, apparently can never be forgiven even if the offender willingly atones for this offense with his own blood.[15] For such offenders, however repentant, there seems to be no hope of overcoming spiritual death. Apparently, there are very few possible candidates for this class of "specially enlightened" murderers. The vast majority of murderers, therefore, would be capable of a modicum of salvation from their sins if they have atoned by shedding their own blood.[16]

Apart from murder, Mormon leaders also taught that sexual misconduct by Church members in certain circumstances, as well as the violation of certain sacred covenants, would be dealt with through blood atonement if the complete law of blood atonement were being lived.[17] Such opinions on blood atonement for sins other than murder did not, however, express a doctrine viable in this dispensation. They were discussions of a doctrine that operated in the past when church and state were not separated and which would apply in the future when the power to take life would be vested in a ruling theocracy.[18] Blood atonement for murder, while a possibility in this dispensation, was never viewed as an ecclesiastical function[19] but rather as a possible consequence of secular capital punishment law. Because blood atonement involves an outward act of religious significance—shedding the sinner's blood as a means of salvation—it should not be seen merely as abstract doctrine.[20] That blood atonement was not viewed by the early Mormons as a purely hypothetical principle becomes clear when the relationship between the doctrine and the Utah capital punishment law is examined.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT LEGISLATION IN UTAH

The first efforts towards establishing secular government among the Mormons in Utah occurred in 1849 when the Council of Fifty drafted a plan for territorial

government. The Council of Fifty, while theoretically a political body distinct from the Church, was composed of and controlled by the Mormon hierarchy and therefore was virtually indistinguishable from the Church itself. While waiting for federal approval of their petition for territorial status, the Council of Fifty established the provisional state of Deseret under the ideal of the political Kingdom of God. Although the constitution of the state of Deseret paid lip service to the principle of popular sovereignty, the first legislature was apparently handpicked by the Council of Fifty and not by a vote of the people. Members of the Council filled all of the executive and judicial branches of the new government, with Brigham Young "elected" governor by the Council. "Church and state were clearly welded together."[21]

In 1851 the General Assembly of the state of Deseret, controlled by members of the Council of Fifty,[22] adopted a criminal code that imposed capital punishment for the crime of murder: "Be it further ordained, that when any person shall be found guilty of murder, under any of the preceding sections of this ordinance, and sented [*sic*] to die, he, she or they shall suffer death by being shot, hung or beheaded." Apparently the court was to direct the mode of execution.

The provisions of the Deseret Assembly were hardly in force before territorial government was established and a more extensive criminal code enacted. In 1852 the territorial legislature adopted all the laws of the provisional state of Deseret, including the capital punishment measures, but the legislature also provided that the offender could choose the mode of execution. First degree murderers were to "suffer death by being shot, hung or beheaded as the court may direct, or as the convicted person may choose." As had been the case with the Deseret Assembly, the Council of Fifty orchestrated the election of the territorial legislature with at least twenty of the thirty-nine seats held by members of the council.[23]

The Act of 1852 remained the capital punishment law in the Territory of Utah until 1876 when a more complete criminal code was adopted. The 1876 act inadvertently repealed the section on modes of execution without providing a new section, but the Utah courts continued to impose capital punishment by shooting. In 1888, a statutory revision of the criminal law removed beheading as an execution method. Shooting and hanging were retained with no subsequent changes in the methods of imposing capital punishment. The present statute, virtually identical to the 1888 measure, provides

> The punishment of death must be inflicted by hanging the defendant by the neck until he is dead, or by shooting him, at his election. If the defendant neglects or refuses to make election, the court at the time of making the sentence must declare the mode and enter the same as a part of its judgment.[24]

Whether by exercise of the defendant's option or by judicial imposition, shooting has been the predominant mode of execution in Utah.

HISTORICAL PURPOSE OF FIRING SQUAD PROVISION

Since virtually no offical legislative discussion of the firing squad provision exists apart from the language of the law itself, the purpose of the law and the intent of the legislators who enacted it must be drawn from circumstantial

evidence. The evidence suggests that the motivations of the lawmakers who first introduced the firing squad into Utah law were essentially religious.

The Deseret Assembly and later the territorial legislature were the first American lawmakers to adopt beheading or the firing squad as modes of execution. Except for a few aberrations during colonial times, beheading was never employed in any American jurisdiction[25] and had ceased to be used in Britain one hundred years before the Mormons adopted it in 1851.[26] While shooting was acceptable for military executions, hanging was the exclusive means of state executions in other jurisdictions when the firing squad was introduced into Utah law.[27] Utah stood alone in its use of beheading and shooting and thus was unique in literally "spilling the blood of the murderer on the ground." Since Joseph Smith was revered by Brigham Young and the other Mormon leaders in early Utah, it is only natural that his views would influence their thoughts on capital punishment. George A. Smith, the person with whom Joseph Smith was debating when Joseph expressed his views on the virtues of beheading and shooting, is the reputed author of the first criminal code in Utah.[28] Perhaps the debate with Joseph convinced George A. Smith of the religious virtues of execution by beheading and shooting, thus explaining why those modes appeared in early Utah law.

Whether or not Joseph Smith's opinion on the religious advantages of blood-spilling modes of capital punishment directly shaped Utah law, it seems clear that the opinions of other prominent churchmen did. Three of the most vigorous advocates of blood atonement in early Utah, Brigham Young, Jedediah M. Grant and Heber C. Kimball, were directly involved in the 1851 Deseret Assembly that introduced beheading and the firing squad into Utah law. Young approved the measure in his capacity as governor of Deseret, and Grant and Kimball were speakers of the Deseret House and Senate, respectively. All three were also members of the Council of Fifty. Minutes of secret meetings of the Council show that the doctrine of blood atonement was discussed, at least in passing, by the Council before adoption of the 1851 capital punishment law.[29] Given the political influence of the Council and its commitment to blood atonement, the sudden and novel emergence of beheading and the firing squad in the law of Utah seems to be a religious phenomenon.

The fact that hanging was also included as a mode of capital punishment, and that the offender was later given his choice of method, does not diminish the strength of the conclusion that beheading and the firing squad were implemented to allow for the blood atonement rite. Hanging was viewed by the Mormons as a secular method of imposing capital punishment available to those who did not choose to atone for their sins.[30] The notion of individual freedom is fundamental to both Mormon theology and to the political theory espoused by the Council of Fifty. Forcing blood atonement upon the offender would be inconsistent with basic Mormon belief.

Not all early Mormons thought of beheading and shooting in purely sectarian terms. Some evidence of deterrence theory occasionally crept into discussion of capital punishment by those methods. For example, Orson Hyde said:

The best way to sanctify ourselves, and please God our Heavenly Father in

> these days is to rid ourselves of every thief, and sanctify the people from every vile character. I believe it is right; it is the law of our neighboring state to put the same thing in execution upon men who violate the law, and trample upon the sacred rights of others. It would have a tendency to place a terror on those who leave these parts, that may prove their salvation when they see the heads of theives taken off, or shot down before the public.[31]

It does seem, however, that the early Mormon theory of punishment was essentially non-utilitarian. Retributive elements are evident in the Mormon concept of legal punishment in general, as in Doctrine and Covenants 134:8.

> We believe that the commission of crime *should be punished according to the criminality of the offense;* that murder, treason, robbery, theft, and the breach of the general peace, in all respects, *should be punished according to their criminality* and their tendency to evil among men, by the laws of that government in which the offense is committed; and for the public peace and tranquility all men should step forward and use their ability in bringing offenders against good laws to punishment. (Emphasis added).

"The Mormons were firm believers in the Hebrew concept that crimes were sins against God: the social attitude toward the criminal offender was that 'he should willingly confess his crime and willingly expiate his wrong and then go forth with a repentant heart.'"[32] Capital punishment through shedding blood offered a specific means of expiating sin while hanging apparently lacked religious significance.

It is thus possible to divide the early capital punishment law into secular and religious components. Hanging represents a secular alternative provided offenders who, in the exercise of their free agency, choose to reject the way to salvation. Beheading and the firing squad afforded the murderer the opportunity to pay for his sins.

Numerous commentators have agreed that the firing squad exists in Utah law in order to effectuate blood atonement. To quote B.H. Roberts:

> Latter-day Saints believe that where secular government prescribes capital punishment it is better that such form of execution be adopted as will shed the blood of the criminal; hence in Utah, when the Latter-day Saints, in their capacity as citizens of the state have made the laws, condemned criminals, subject to capital punishment, are permitted to choose their mode of execution either by being hung or shot, the latter mode, or course, resulting in the shedding of their blood, thus meeting the requirement of the law of God as well as the law of the state.[33]

Joseph Fielding Smith concluded that Mormon legislators wrote capital punishment provisions into the laws of Utah so the offender could "have his blood shed in harmony with the law of God; and thus atone so far as it is in his power, for the death of his victim."[34]

BLOOD ATONEMENT AS A CURRENT DEFENSE FOR CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Present justifications of capital punishment in terms of blood atonement are

sometimes offered by ordinary Mormon citizens as well as by government officials.[35] Since bloodshed does not result from hanging, electrocution, lethal gas or lethal injection, blood atonement can be practiced only in Utah and only through the firing squad. It has been speculated that the present Mormon-dominated Utah legislature would be reluctant to adopt more humane methods of execution because offenders would choose those new methods in lieu of the firing squad and its potential for atonement.[36] Although it is impossible to determine the accuracy of such speculation the Utah legislature did recently reject "medical anesthesia" as a third alternative. Shortly after the Utah legislature expressed its continued preference for shooting and hanging, the Idaho legislature adopted lethal injection as the sole means of execution. Interest in blood atonement then seems to explain the radically different approaches of the two legislatures.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AND MORMON BELIEF—THE TWENTIETH CENTURY VIEW

Unlike the situation in the nineteenth century, discussion of capital punishment by modern Mormon leaders is now rare, and almost always without specific reference to blood atonement. A few modern references to the doctrine do exist, however. B. H. Roberts, in "divine instructions to the Church" represented the status of blood atonement as follows:

> But if, as seems to be the case . . . there are certain limitations to vicarious atonement, even to the vicarious atonement of the Christ then these ancient laws proclaiming that the life of the flesh is in the blood, and that 'the blood maketh an atonement for the soul,' make plain what is needful for the salvation of the soul where one's sins place him beyond the reach of vicarious means of salvation—then it is the shedding of the sinners [*sic*] own blood that must be referred to.[37]

> Likewise, Joseph Fielding Smith stated that Utah capital punishment law granted unto the condemned murderer the privilege of choosing for himself whether he die by hanging or whether he be shot, and thus have his blood shed in harmony with the law of God; and thus atone, so far as it is in his power to atone, for the death of his victim.[38]

More recently, Bruce R. McConkie stated:

> But under certain circumstances there are some serious sins for which the cleansing of Christ does not operate, and the law of God is that men must then have their blood shed to atone for their sins. Murder, for instance, is one of these sins; hence we find the Lord commanding capital punishment.[39]

(In an earlier discussion, McConkie had stated, "As a mode of capital punishment, hanging or execution on a gallows does not comply with the law of blood atonement, for the blood is not shed."[40] The deletion of the reference to hanging in McConkie's later work apparently reflects a modification of his thinking.)
An allusion to blood atonement was also contained in a Februrary 26, 1972 editorial in the *Church News*:

> Biblical principles are sound, and are as applicable today as they were in ancient times. One of those principles as taught in scripture was capital punishment.
>
> As far back as the days of Noah the Almighty gave this law: 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed . . .
>
> Have the opponents of capital punishment ever thought of it in its eternal sense? Is this one way by which sinful man may atone, at least in part, in the eyes of God, for his serious offenses?

Although these few references to blood atonement suggest the doctrine's modern vitality, discussion of the concept is notably absent in other major twentieth century treatment of Mormon doctrine by church authorities. In his discussion of murderers in *The Miracle of Forgiveness,* Spencer W. Kimball not only failed to mention blood atonement as theologically relevant to murderers but made no reference at all to capital punishment.

Any uncertainty surrounding the doctrinal status of blood atonement was laid to rest in a recent statement by Bruce R. McConkie. Speaking on behalf of the First Presidency and in response to a query from the *Utah Law Review,* Elder McConkie wrote the following:

> You note that I and President Joseph Fielding Smith and some of our early church leaders have said and written about this doctrine and you asked if the doctrine of blood atonement is an official doctrine of the Church today.
>
> If by blood atonement is meant the atoning sacrifice of Christ, the answer is Yes. If by blood atonement is meant the shedding of the blood of men to atone in some way for their own sins, the answer is No.
>
> We believe that the blood of Christ, shed in the Garden of Gethsemane and on the cross of Calvary, cleanses all men from sin on condition of repentance. As expressed by a Book of Mormon scripture: 'Salvation was, and is, and is to come, in and through the atoning blood of Christ, the Lord Omnipotent.' (Mosiah 3:18).
>
> We do *not* believe that it is necessary for men in this day to shed their own blood to receive a remission of sins. This is said with a full awareness of what I and others have written and said on this subject in times past.
>
> In order to understand what Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Charles W. Penrose and others have said, we must mention that there are some sins for which the blood of Christ *alone* does not cleanse a person. These include blasphemy against the Holy Ghost (as defined by the Church) and that murder which is the unlawful killing of a human being with malice. However, and this cannot be stressed too strongly, this law has *not* been given to the Church at any time in this dispensation. It has *no application* whatever to anyone now living whether he is a member or a non-member of the Church.
>
> There simply is no such thing among us as a doctrine of blood atonement that grants a remission of sins or confers any other benefit upon a person because his own blood is shed for sins. Let me say categorically and unequivocally that this doctrine can only operate in a day when there is no separation of Church and State and when the power to take life is vested in the ruling theocracy as was the case in the day of Moses. From the day of Joseph Smith to the present there has been no single instance of so-called blood atonement under any pretext.

> Anything I have written or anything said by anyone else must be understood in the light of the foregoing limitation. Brigham Young and the others were speaking of a *theoretical principle* that operated in *ages past* and *not* in either their or our day. As I recall, Brigham Young's illustrations were taken from the day of Moses and the history of ancient Israel and could not be applied today.
>
> There is no such a doctrine as blood atonement in the Church today nor has there been at any time. Any statements to the contrary are either idle speculation or pure fantasy. It is certainly not the current teaching of the Church and I have never in over 60 years of regular church attendance heard a single sermon on the subject or even a discussion in any church class.
>
> You asked if the statements of our leaders of the past, including those found in the Journal of Discourses, represent the official stand of the Church. The answer, as indicated in the comments above set forth, is that they do *not*. The statements pertain to *a theoretical principle* that has been *neither revealed to nor practiced by us*.
>
> If by blood atonement is meant capital punishment, then any proper analysis of the subject would call the matter by the name capital punishment and not by the name blood atonement. To use this latter term is wholly misleading and stirs up the idea that we believe in that which we most emphatically do not believe.
>
> We believe in capital punishment. In a revelation to Joseph Smith, on February 9, 1831, the Lord said: 'And now, behold, I speak unto the church. Thou shalt not kill; and he that kills shall not have forgiveness in this world, nor in the world to come. And again, I say, thou shalt not kill; but he that killeth shall die.' (D. & C. 42:18–19.)

Elder McConkie then quotes the Woodruff letter cited above and continues:

> I repeat: Except for the atonement of Christ, which is or should be a part of the creeds of all Christian churches; and except for the use of the term 'blood atonement' as a synonym—nothing more—of 'capital punishment' where 'enlightened' members of the Church are concerned, there is no such a doctrine in this dispensation as blood atonement . . . .
>
> Now, as to your final question—whether blood atonement, 'if' it is 'a valid doctrine,' would have any effect on the *mode* of imposing the death penalty, I need only say:
>
> 1. Since there is no such thing as blood atonement, except as indicated above, the *mode* of execution could have *no* bearing on the matter of atoning for one's sins; and
>
> 2. If we are speaking simply of capital punishment (and falsely calling it blood atonement), still I can see no reason for supposing that it makes the slightest difference *how* an execution is accomplished.
>
> As far as I can see there is no difference between a firing squad, an electric chair, a gas chamber, or hanging. Death is death and I would interpret the shedding of man's blood in legal executions as a figurative expression which means the taking of life. There seems to me to be no present significance as to whether an execution is by a firing squad or in some other way. I, of course, deleted my article on 'hanging' from the Second Edition of *Mormon Doctrine* because of the reasoning here mentioned.[41]

Although this statement may end some controversy, it also raises a number of questions, including whether capital punishment, as distinguished from blood-spilling modes of capital punishment, still offers spiritual benefit to the offender. Elder McConkie's reference to the Woodruff letter is confusing. The letter provides that

> the only atonement a murdered [*sic*] can make for his 'sin unto death' is the shedding of his own blood . . . We believe also in the atonement wrought by the shedding of Christ's blood . . . that it was efficacious for all the race of Adam for the sin committed by Adam and for the individual sins of all who believe, repent, are baptized by one having authority, and who receive the Holy Ghost by the laying on of authorized hands. *Capital crime* committed by such *an enlightened person* cannot be condoned by the Redeemer's blood. For him he can only pay the penalty (emphasis added).

McConkie says:

> I repeat: Except for the atonement of Christ, which is or should be a part of the creeds of all Christian churches; and except for the use of 'blood atonement' as a synonym—nothing more—of 'capital punishment' where 'enlightened' members of the Church are concerned, [presumably in reference to Woodruff's "enlightened person"], there is no such doctrine in this dispensation as blood atonement.

If the Woodruff letter is read to mean that the only atonement, thus implying the existence of *some* "atonement," possible for "enlightened" murderers is through giving their lives, then Elder McConkie may also be claiming that capital punishment is a means of atonement for such murderers. On the other hand, if the Woodruff letter is read to exempt "enlightened persons" from any hope for salvation, such persons "can only pay the [eternal?] penalty" of estrangement from God.

It is not clear exactly what Elder McConkie has in mind when he relates his view of capital punishment to "enlightened" members of the Church. If he does mean to say that the Church favors capital punishment so that a few "enlightened members" may be given a means of expiating their sins, it is highly questionable whether such a view can support capital punishment in a secular society.

Perhaps the most plausible reading is that he is suggesting no theory of atonement through capital punishment at all. Given the fifth paragraph of his statement—that as of now there are no sins for which the blood of Christ does not cleanse a person, it would seem to follow that atonement is not necessary or possible through the death of the offender. If, as he says, "there simply is no such thing among us as a doctrine of blood atonement that grants a remission of sins or confers any other benefit upon a person because his own blood is shed for sins," it would appear that there is no doctrine granting remission of sins or any other benefit to persons because their lives are taken through bloodless modes of capital punishment. Thus apparently, the Church no longer has a doctrine which defends capital punishment as religiously beneficial to capital offenders.

Such a reading of the recent church statement is further supported when the implications of a view of capital punishment as a necessary atonement are

examined. If giving one's life is a means of salvation for a murderer, it would follow that all murderers who commit their crimes in jurisdictions that have abolished capital punishment would be eternally disadvantaged. Such a consequence is inconsistent with the fundamentals of the Mormon plan of salvation. Redemption is conditioned on faith and repentance, not on one's sins being committed in a particular geographical location.

If capital punishment affords no spiritual benefits to the capital offender, what then is the theological rationale for executing murderers?

The remaining basis for present church support of capital punishment appears to be derived from Doctrine and Covenants 42:18–19, as noted by Elder McConkie. Verse 18 states, "And now I speak unto the church. Thou shalt not kill; and he that kills shall not have forgiveness in this world, nor in the world to come." Thus, murderers shall suffer *spiritual death* through their inability to obtain forgiveness. Verse 19 is a mirror of verse 18: "*And again*, I say, thou shalt not kill; but he that killeth shall die." (emphasis added). Verse 19 may be read as a repetition of verse 18, given to emphasize the points made in the earlier verse. Thus the reference to death in verse 19 ("he that killeth shall die") may well refer to *spiritual* death as in verse 18 and not to capital punishment at all.

This reading is supported by other scripture. Doctrine and Covenants, 132:27, provides that

> The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven in the world nor out of the world, is in that ye commit murder wherein ye shed innocent blood, and assent unto my death, after ye have received my new and everlasting convenant, saith the Lord God; and he that abideth not this law can in nowise enter into my glory, but shall be damned, saith the Lord.

Thus certain murderers will suffer *spiritual* death. They are the "sons of perdition"[42] who will receive "no forgiveness in this world nor in the world to come" and will be unable to overcome the "second death."[43] Interpreting "die" in Section 42:19 to mean spiritual death would thus be consistent with other Doctrine and Covenants passages.[44]

Verses 18 and 19 of Section 42 are addressed to the "church." To read verse 19 as requiring capital punishment of murderers would imply that the *Church* would be obligated to take life. Verse 79 of Section 42 specifically prohibits such action: "If any persons among you shall kill they shall be delivered up and dealt with according to the laws of the land; for remember that he hath no forgiveness; and it shall be proved according to the laws of the land." Thus the obligation of the Church is to turn murderers over to secular authority. There seems to be nothing in Section 42 necessarily committing the Church or church members to advocate capital punishment.

Unlike Genesis 9:6 ("Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by *man* shall his blood be shed," emphasis added), Doctrine and Covenants 42:19 ("he that killeth shall die") makes no mention of human agents playing any part in the "death" of the murderer. Thus Genesis 9:6 appears to be a stronger basis than Section 42 (other things being equal) for capital punishment because the Genesis scripture is rather clearly describing the *physical,* not the *spiritual* death of murderers.

In his Inspired Version of the Bible, Joseph Smith makes some additions to Genesis 9:6 which suggest that capital punishment of murderers might sometimes be justified in God's sight in order to prevent further murder. The text of Genesis 9:12-13 of the Inspired Version reads, "And whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; *for man shall not shed the blood of man. For a commandment I give, that every man's brother shall preserve the life of man* . . ." (Smith's additions emphasized). This text suggests that the reason the blood of murderers should be shed is to prevent subsequent murder, "for man shall not shed the blood of man." A utilitarian theory of capital punishment is implied, possibly as a means of deterring others from murder or incapacitating murderers prone to murder again. But Smith's text also establishes a primary obligation to preserve life—even the lives of murderers if possible. Thus capital punishment might be justified if it is the only sanction (or even if it is the most effective sanction) which will prevent murder; it is justified only if absolutely necessary.[45] While it might have been necessary to execute murderers in the days of Noah, when imprisonment was not available, capital punishment is not necessarily justified today. Other Old Testament scriptures indicate that the early prophets did not always interpret Genesis 9:6 as a commandment to take the lives of murderers.[46]

Any attempt to buttress current Mormon support for capital punishment by appealing to the numerous references to the death penalty in Mosaic law is also difficult. For example, capital punishment in the modern secular state finds little support from a legal system which treated as capital the crimes of witchcraft, sabbath desecration, disobedience to parents, blasphemy and propagation of false doctrines.

Turning finally to the Book of Mormon, one finds a variety of passages that may seem to suggest that murderers should suffer the death penalty. Second Nephi 9:35 provides, "Wo unto the murderer who deliberately killeth, for he shall die." But when this verse is read in the context of the rest of the chapter, it becomes clear that as with the Doctrine and Covenants, *spiritual*, and not physical death is being discussed. For example, 2 Nephi 9:28, 38-39 provides,

> O that cunning plan of the evil one! O the vainness, and the frailties, and the foolishness of men! When they are learned they think they are wise, and they hearken not unto the counsel of God, for they set it aside, supposing they know of themselves, wherefore, their wisdom is foolishness and it profiteth them not. And they shall *perish*.
>
> And, in fine, *wo unto all those who die in their sins*; for they shall return to God, and behold his face, and remain in their sins.
>
> O, my beloved brethren, remember the awfulness in transgressing against that Holy God, and also the awfulness of yielding to the enticings of that cunning one. Remember, to be carnally-minded is *death,* and to be spiritually-minded is life eternal (emphasis added).

Similarly 2 Nephi 26:32 says,

> And again, the Lord God hath commanded that men should not murder; that

> they should not lie; that they should not steal; that they should not take the name of the Lord their God in vain; that they should not envy; that they should not have malice; that they should not contend one with another; that they should not commit whoredoms; and that they should do none of these things; for whoso doeth them shall perish.

Man "perishes," suffers *spiritual* death, when he murders or commits other sins.

Other verses in the Book of Mormon seem to recognize capital punishment as a reality of ancient society. Alma 1:18 provides: "And they durst not steal for fear of the law, for such were punished; neither durst they rob, nor murder, for he that murdered was punished unto death." Similarly Alma 42:19–20 provides: "Now if there was no law given—if a man murdered, he should die—should he be afraid he would die if he should murder? And also, if there was no law given against sin men would not be afraid to sin." These verses give no indication that the divine will is to impose capital punishment for murderers. Assuming that the verses are speaking of physical death through capital punishment, at most they are recognizing the fact of capital punishment in Book of Mormon society and not speaking of it as God's commandment. The verses seem to be discussing a deterrence theory of punishment.

Other scriptures in the Book of Mormon indicate that personal atonement through capital punishment of murderers may be inconsistent with Christ's atonement. Alma 34:10–12 provides,

> For it is expedient that there should be a great and last sacrifice; Yea, not a sacrifice of man . . . for it shall not be a human sacrifice; but it must be an infinite and eternal sacrifice.
>
> Now there is not any man that can sacrifice his own blood which will atone for the sins of another. *Now, if a man murdereth, behold will our law, which is just, take the life of his brother? I say unto you, Nay.*
>
> But the law requireth the life of him that murdered; therefore there can be nothing which is short of an infinite atonement which will suffice for the sins of the world (emphasis added).

The scripture recognizes the reality of capital punishment for murder in ancient society but says nothing about capital punishment being required by either God or by principles of justice. The reference to "just law" seems to refer to the well-recognized principle of justice forbidding criminal punishment of those who obey the law. Justice demands that only the culpable be punished. The scripture thus does not say that justice requires capital punishment, but that any punishment be a consequence of personal blameworthiness.

Without the traditional justification implicit in the abandoned notion of blood atonement, there exists insufficient scriptural authority to support a continuing Mormon commitment to capital punishment. Nor do authoritative declarations from church leaders give theological support to such an independent commitment.

CURRENT MORMON DOCTRINE AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT—AN ASSESSMENT

The recent statement on capital punishment makes it clear that the Church

takes no position as to modes of inflicting capital punishment. Thus, Mormons should not use religious grounds to block reform of Utah's methods. Given the doubtful doctrinal base for a commitment to capital punishment, enlightened Latter-day Saint opinion on the death penalty should be formed only after careful examination of the full range of secular and religious considerations on this difficult problem.

Notes

[1] Mormons in Utah tend to favor capital punishment at a greater rate than do non-Mormon Utahns. In a 1973 poll, 87 percent of the Mormons and 76 percent of the non-Mormons polled favored the death penalty. *Salt Lake Tribune*, Dec. 16, 1973. How much of this difference in Mormon and non-Mormon attitude is due to religious belief is uncertain.

[2] See Ingram, "The Keystone of Our Penal System," p. 55; E. Taylor, "The Death Penalty," p. 21; and G. Taylor, "Capital Punishment—Right and Necessary," p. 45; in *Essays on the Death Penalty*, ed. Ingram (1963).

Religious appeals are also often invoked to support the abolition of capital punishment. See Carpenter, "The Christian Context," in *The Hanging Question*, ed. L. Blom-Cooper, p. 29, (1969); and Livingston, "The Crime of Employing the Punishment of Death," p. 15; Rush, "Abolish the Absurd and Unchristian Practice, " p. 1; and Spear, "Thou Shalt Not Kill," p. 78; in *Voices Against Death*, ed. P. Mackey, (1976).

[3] "About 55 percent of American and Canadian subjects who approve of capital punishment would approve of it even if it had no greater deterrent effect than imprisonment. Most of these subjects indicated as the justification for capital punishment the idea of 'just desserts' and Biblical ideas of retribution." Kohlberg & Elfenbein, "The Development of Moral Judgments Concerning Capital Punishment," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 45:614, 616 (1975).

[4] C. Penrose, *Blood Atonement*, p. 21 (1916).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.

[6] Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (*DHC*), 5:296 (1949).

[7] *Ibid.*, 1:435 (1951).

[8] Young, "The People of God Disciplined by Trials," "Atonement by the Shedding of Blood etc.," *Journal of Discourses* (*JD*), 4:51, 53, 54 (1856).

[9] Grant said, "But if the Government of God on earth, and Eternal Priesthood, with the sanction of High Heaven, in the midst of all his people, has passed sentence on certain sins when they appear in a person, has [*sic*] not the people of God a right to carry out that part of his law as well as any other portion of it? It is their right to baptize a sinner to save him, and it is also their right to kill a sinner to save him, when he commits those crimes that can only be atoned for by shedding his blood. If the Lord God forgives sins by baptism, and . . . certain sins cannot be atoned for . . . but by the shedding of the blood of the sinner, query, whether the people of God be overreaching the mark, if they should execute the law . . . We would not kill a man, of course, unless we killed him to save him." *Deseret News*, July 27, 1854, p. 2, col. 1. For Kimball's views on blood atonement, see *JD* 7:16, 20 (1860) and 4:374, 375 (1857).

[10] T. O'Dea, *The Mormons*, pp. 100-110 (1957). See also Larsen, "The Mormon Reformation," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 26:45 (1958).

[11] Quoted in J. Walters, *A Study of Execution in Utah*, p. 14 (1973).

[12] B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church* (*CHC*), 4:136, 137 (1957).

[13] Cited in a letter from Bruce R. McConkie to Thomas B. McAffee (October 18, 1978) from a letter from Wilford Woodruff to the editor of *Illustrated American* (January 9, 1891). (McConkie letter is on file at the University of Nebraska College of Law.)

[14] Penrose, pp. 11, 12, 21.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20, 23; and *DHC* 6:253 (1950).

[17] See the sermons of Heber C. Kimball and Jedediah M. Grant, *JD* 7:16, 20 (1860) and 4:49-51 (1857).

[18] Despite extreme statements by some leaders, the Church never authorized an ecclesiastical practice of blood atonement. Larsen, "The Mormon Reformation," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 26:45, 62 (1958) ("The church did not officially condone taking life other than through legal process," and "Responsibility for any . . . blood shedding must rest upon fanatical individuals."). Brigham Young made it clear that the teaching referred to the distant past and the millennial future. Young's remarks about blood atonement for adultery make clear that he is not claiming present Church authority to execute adulterers: "The time has been in Israel under the law of God, the celestial law . . . that if a man was found guilty of adultery, he must have his blood shed, and that is near at hand. But now I say . . . that if this people will sin no more, but faithfully live their religion, their sins will be forgiven them without taking life." Young, "To Know God is Eternal Life," "Atonement By the Shedding of Blood," *JD* 4:215, 219 (1857). See also Doctrine and Covenants (D & C) 134:10 for an official doctrine precluding ecclesiastical authority to take life.

[19] See D & C 42:79, 134:10. See also the denials by the Church of any extralegal blood atonement in *CHC* 4:136, 137 (1957).

[20] Blood atonement seems to have assumed a quasi-sacramental status so far as the crime of murder was concerned, Cannon's statement to the contrary notwithstanding. While most Mormon ordinances require priesthood authority to make them efficacious, executions of murderers by the state were apparently seen as religiously significant exercises that perhaps bestowed spiritual blessings upon the offender. See Penrose, p. 23. (Capital punishment by the *state* should not be abolished because it allows the shedding of blood as atonement for sin according to God's law.) Blood atonement through state execution thus takes on the character of a religious ordinance.

[21] J. Allen & G. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, p. 253 (1976).

[22] K. Hansen, *Quest for Empire*, pp. 126-130 (1967).

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 136, 137.

[24] *Utah Code Ann.* § 77-36-16 (1953).

[25] See N. Teeters, *Hang by the Neck*, pp. 95, 461 (1972); Bedau, "General Introduction," in *Capital Punishment*, ed. J. McCafferty, p. 21 (1972).

[26] The last execution in Britian by decapitation was in 1747. G. Scott, *The History of Capital Punishment*, p. 179 (1950).

[27] See note 25. Nevada was the only other state even to use the firing squad, but its employment of shooting arose after Utah had adopted that method and lasted only briefly. See W. Bowers, *Executions in America*, p. 9 (1974).

[28] Morgan, "The State of Deseret," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 8:67, 108 (1940).

[29] For example, on March 3, 1849, the council discussed the cases of Ira West and Thomas Byres who had committed crimes serious enough to arouse Brigham Young to say, "I want their cursed heads to be cut off that they may atone for their sins, that mercy may have her claims upon them in the day of redemption." On the following day the council agreed that Ira West had "forfeited his Head." Hansen, p. 70.

[30] Joseph Smith stated that he was "opposed to hanging," the execution mode of the Gentiles (see notes 6 and 7). Later Mormon spokesmen have expressed similar opinions: "We do not believe in hanging. We think that if a man sheds blood, his blood should be shed by execution." George Q. Cannon, quoted in Walters, p. 14. See also Penrose, p. 21.

[31] Hyde, "The Wolves and the Sheep," JD 1:71, 73 (1854).

[32] Skidmore, "Penology in Early Utah," *Utah Humanities Review*, 2:145, 146 (1948).

[33] *CHC* 4:129 n. 41.

[34] Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 1:136, 137 (1954). Others agree, see H. Andrus, *Joseph Smith and World Government*, pp. 106, 107 n. 50 (1963). It would appear that Bruce R. McConkie also believed that the firing squad was religiously significant in Utah law. See McConkie,

Mormon Doctrine, 2d ed., p. 93 (1966). McConkie has apparently reconsidered these views, however, in his recent letter cited above.

[35] For an indication that blood atonement was a factor in the minds of those prosecuting Gary Gilmore, see the interview with Deputy Attorney General Michael Dreamer on file at the Utah Historical Society, pp. 48–51.

[36] See Wilcock, "Utah's Peculiar Death Penalty," *Dialogue*, 7:32 (1972).

[37] *CHC* 4:128, 129.

[38] *Doctrines of Salvation* 1:136.

[39] *Mormon Doctrine*, p. 92.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 314 (1st ed. 1958).

[41] Letter from McConkie to Thomas B. McAffee (October 18, 1978) on file at the University of Nebraska College of Law.

[42] James E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith*, p. 60 (12th ed. 1924).

[43] D & C 76:34, 37.

[44] A general statement of the Church's views on crime and punishment is found in D & C 134:8. While this theory is essentially retributive, there is no necessary commitment to capital punishment even for the crime of murder. The commitment instead seems to be to support a just legal order whatever the content of its system of punishment might be.

[45] Such a showing of the necessity of capital punishment is difficult, if not impossible, to establish. See F. Bedau, *The Courts, The Constitution and Capital Punishment*, pp. 44–58, 108 (1977); Baldus & Cole, "A Comparison of the Work of Thorsten Sellin and Isaac Ehrlich on the Deterrent Effect of Capital Punishment," *Yale Law Journal*, 85:170 (1975); Passell, "The Deterrent Effect of the Death Penalty: A Statistical Test," *Stanford Law Review*, 38:61 (1975).

[46] See Genesis 34:30, 44:6, 7; 2 Samuel 11, 12:1–13; 1 Kings 2:10. See also Spear, "Thou Shalt Not Kill," in *Voices Against Death*, ed. P. Mackey pp. 78, 82, 83 (1976).

Other Sources Consulted

Legal Sources

Laws & Ordinances of the State of Deseret. January 16, 1851.

2 *Comp. Laws of Utah* § 5131 (1888).

1977 Oklahoma Sess. Law Serv. Ch. 41 § 1014.

1977 Texas Sess. Law Serv. Ch. 138 § 1.

SB 333, 1977 General Session, Utah State Legislature. 31 *Utah Senate J.* 33 (February 9, 1977).

Wilkerson v. Utah. 99 U.S. 130 (1878).

Gardner. "Executions and Indignities—An Eighth Amendment Assessment of Methods of Inflicting Capital Punishment." 39 *Ohio State Law Journal* 96 (1978).

Sarat & Vidmar. "Public Opinion, the Death Penalty, and the Eighth Amendment: Testing the Marshall Hypothesis." 1976 *Wisconsin Law Review* 171.

Books

Hyrum Andrus. *Joseph Smith: The Man and The Seer* (1960).

H. Bedau, ed. *The Death Penalty in America*, rev. ed., pp. 171, 175 (1968).

M. Hill and J. Allen, eds. *Mormonism and American Culture* pp. 112, 127 (1972).

B. Jones, ed. *The Penalty is Death p. 131 (1968).*

J. Laurence. *A History of Capital Punishment* (1922).

Sterling McMurrin. *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (1965).

LeGrand Richards. *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder* (1958).

Joseph Fielding Smith. *Essentials in Church History*, 5th ed. (1935).

Periodicals

Bulletin of the University of Utah 21:1, 57 (1931).

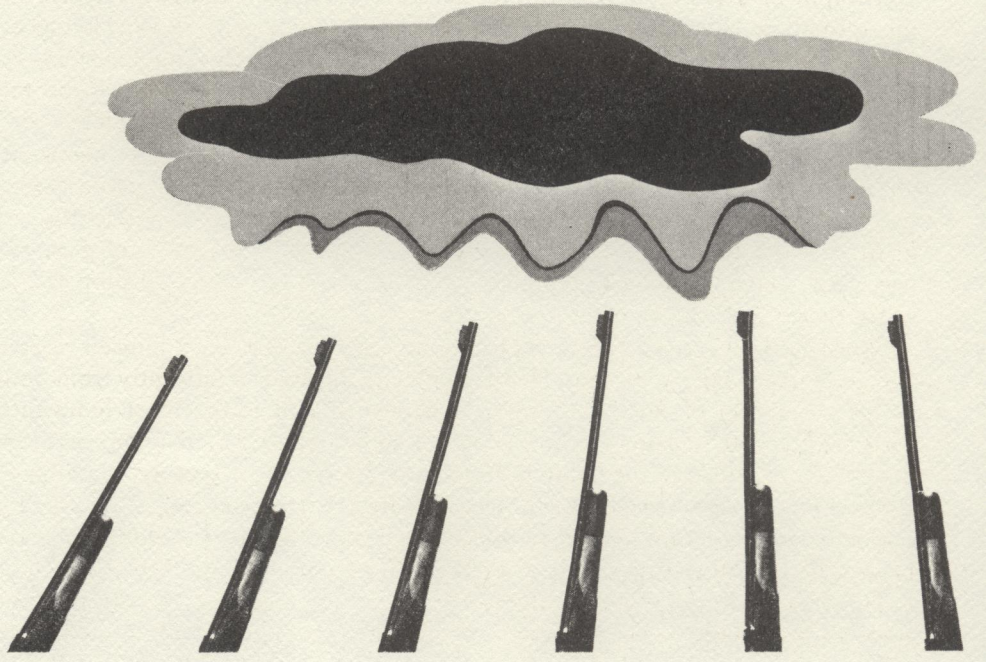
BYU Studies 3:33 (1960).

New York Times, January 18, 1977, sect. 1, p. 1, col. 4.

Salt Lake Tribune, March 15, 1978, p. 48, col.1.

Sunstone 2:90 (1977).

Utah Historical Quarterly 26:23, 131 (1958).



FAITH AND HISTORY: THE SNELL CONTROVERSY

RICHARD SHERLOCK

IN EARLY MARCH, 1937, ELDER JOSEPH FIELDING SMITH, of the Council of the Twelve, sent a strongly worded letter to church Commissioner of Education Franklin West. The subject of Elder Smith's criticism was a pair of talks delivered at the January meeting of LDS institute directors in Salt Lake City. One address was given by the former president of Brigham Young College in Logan, W.W. Henderson. Henderson, who long had been associated with the church school system, was then professor of biology at Utah State Agricultural College. The second talk, which seemed to trouble Elder Smith even more, was delivered by Heber Snell, recently appointed director of the institute in Pocatello. Both addresses manifested an intellectual tendency of which Elder Smith was deeply suspicious—a willingness to reinterpret traditional Mormon beliefs in the light of new scientific and historical learning. To this Elder Smith replied bluntly: "If the views of these men become dominant in the Church, then we may just as well close up shop and say to the world that Mormonism is a failure."[1]

Shortly before Elder Smith wrote to Commissioner West, Snell himself received a letter from his fellow speaker, Henderson, who differed significantly from Smith in his evaluation of Snell's address: "I believe that it is the most noteworthy treatment of Old Testament studies committed to a paper full of sound sense that has ever been made in the Church. I am sure too that the assembly unanimously support you in your conclusions unless it be for one single person. I am sure that you know whom I am referring to. I liked your paper so much and feel so glad to have such a worthy study made available to the thinking men of the Church."[2, 3]

This was neither the first nor the last of conflicting responses to critical biblical study in Mormonism. Neither was it the only one involving Snell. In the broader

RICHARD SHERLOCK *is assistant professor of bio-ethics at the University of Tennessee.* *He wishes to thank the Historical Department of the Church for their cooperation in researching this article.*

perspective it is only symbolic of deeper tensions just below the placid surface of the twentieth century church. Snell himself represented a number of these concerns. He had studied under William Henry Chamberlin at BYU and edited the *White and Blue* in 1911, the year of the "modernist" crises there. He later studied with E. E. Ericksen at the University of Utah and taught education and psychology at Snow College from 1923 to 1936. When Snow College became a state institution in 1936 Snell moved to Pocatello to direct the LDS institute there before moving to the institute in Logan in 1947.[4] During his eleven years as institute director in Pocatello, he attended the University of Chicago, receiving a Ph.D. in biblical studies in 1941.[5] While Snell was a committed scholar, church educator and sincere man of faith, he reflected the same modernist concerns that troubled his mentors Chamberlain and Ericksen.

Snell's career in the institute system coincided with a period of intellectual ferment in church education. Men with acknowledged scholarly competence entered the system in the 1930's and 1940's. Successive commissioners of education Joseph Merrill, John Widtsoe and Franklin West were men of academic achievement. Merrill and West had come from prestigious positions at state universities, and under their tutelage the men in the institute system were actually encouraged to pursue serious graduate study in religious subjects outside the church educational system.[6]

West envisioned a number of far reaching changes in the church educational system. Under his direction those with special competence in areas covered in the institute curriculum wrote texts published by the Church Department of Education. Sometimes these works were propagandistic. More often than not, however, they were competent introductions reflecting the best contemporary scholarship.[7] West further envisioned a serious graduate program in religion at BYU in which Snell would teach biblical studies and Sterling McMurrin would teach comparative philosophy of religion.[8]

These dreams were only partially realized. BYU did develop a graduate program in religion, but it was hardly the type he envisioned. Some in the institute program produced works of relative academic merit, but most of those who did either failed to follow up their auspicious beginnings or else did so only after leaving the institute system.

In the intellectual ferment of the '30's and '40's no institute project was as controversial as the 1949 publication of Snell's book *Ancient Israel*. Its publication brought to a head the tensions latent in this intellectual ferment in a church, many of whose members and leaders were conservative and suspicious of intellectuals.

After completing his studies at the University of Chicago, Snell began researching and writing a history of ancient Israel. He began with the encouragement of Commissioner West, who planned to include it in the series of texts that his office was publishing.[9] In the process of drafting the manuscript Snell had several people read it, including those with both Mormon and non-Mormon viewpoints. Sterling McMurrin read the manuscript closely as did Snell's teacher William Irwin at Chicago. Both thought highly of the work, as their later reviews made clear. The manuscript was also read approvingly by J. Wiley Sessions, director of religious activities at BYU.[10]

Franklin West himself read the completed manuscript with great care.[11] He is

reported to have liked it but found it too controversial to be published by his department. He knew that some of his superiors would not approve of some things in the book.[12] Although he was unwilling to publish the book, he did agree to purchase copies for all institute libraries if Snell had it published on his own. This would help with sales and would make the prospect more attractive to a publisher.[13] Snell asked West to recommend that the book be used in the institute system, but West declined because of potential repercussions.[14]

Snell finally published the book in the fall of 1948 and, just as West feared, it aroused a storm of controversy involving LDS General Authorities, institute teachers and other church members. Initial reviews in both the local and national press were favorable. Sterling McMurrin's review in *The Personalist* was generally favorable. Even more effulgent praise appeared from Irwin in the *Journal of Religion*:

> The clarity, brevity, dependability and not less the spirit of the book constitute it at once as first rank source material for the church school teacher. It comes as a sort of answer to prayer for the religious educator in whose bibliography there are very few volumes that can be recommended without reserve for their comprehensive coverage, their soundness of fact and interpretation and hence, their character as adequate introductions to the study of the Old Testament.[15]

In the Mormon community, however, despite some favorable comment, all was not well. The controversy surrounding Snell and his book began in earnest in December when Earl Harmer of Salt Lake began circulating an "open letter" to Snell, attacking his book as the work of a person who does not believe in Mormonism. In reference to Snell's idealist, developmental theory of the Old Testament and its history, Harmer wrote:

> How do you reconcile our LDS teachings that the Bible in prophetic sections is the positive revelations of God through his prophets with your inference that large portions are only human compositions of morally primitive and sometimes deceptive men?

Though this was an over-simplification, it reveals Harmer's deeply held hostility toward Snell's position. Harmer felt these "advocates of modernism," as he called them, were essentially anti-Mormon: "Their theories strike at the very heart of our LDS teachings."[16]

Early in January Snell responded to Harmer's letter with "an open letter to Earl Harmer" that appears to have attained only limited circulation.[17] He accused Harmer of innuendos and dogmatism but summarized his own case in a more positive vein:

> It seems evident to me from your criticisms of my book that you have missed its great themes and the heavy support it gives to fundamental LDS theology. From beginning to end the book speaks of a personal God, the creator and sustainer of the universe. Its central theme is the revelation of this same being in history and particularly, in ancient times, through Israel. He is shown to be a God of justice, kindness, power and love, attributes ascribed to him by the greatest prophets and Jesus. There are many other important truths given in the book, as well as historical facts which incidentally lend strength to the

> teachings of the Church. How could you have missed all these things in your reading of the book?
>
> I do not agree with you that such teachings of the modernists as you refer to "strike at the heart of our LDS teachings." Tell me, please, what "the heart" of LDS teaching is? Is it not that *the God of justice and love lives and reveals himself to men for their salvation and that we today are sharers of this revelation?* If it is not this what is it? These matters you refer to, dealing entirely with the authorship of certain biblical books, are certainly of minor importance compared to the real fundamentals.[18]

Snell and Harmer exchanged more letters as the controversy grew more intense.[19] In February, three of Snell's students at the institute in Logan, impelled in part by Harmer's attacks, wrote letters to the church Board of Education complaining about Snell's "orthodoxy." The letters pictured Snell as being "out of harmony" with the doctrines of the Church. When combined with Harmer's letters and the general content of his book, they prompted a full hearing by the Executive Committee of the Church Board of Education. West, always Snell's defender, asked Snell to prepare a reply to both the students' complaints and Harmer's letter.[20] Snell did so in a closely written statement that was carried by West to the Executive Committee early in March.[21]

The students' complaints seemed trivial to Snell, one from a student who had been in his class only two days and another from one who seemed simply to distrust all "scholars." In a letter to West he said frankly: "The more I considered the charges against me the less justified they seemed to be. I feel quite certain that the committee will see them in the same light."[22] Snell felt it was more important to clear himself of the charges of heresy that surrounded the book. In his statement to the board, Snell emphasized several points he considered crucial to his viewpoint. He first reiterated his belief, already expressed to Harmer, that the book supported the basic position of the Church. He claimed it was different from many works on the Old Testament because it interpreted Israel's history in terms of a divine mission and thus denied a purely "humanistic approach." Second, and perhaps more fundamentally, he insisted that the Church does not stand or fall on questions of date and authorship of biblical books.

> Authorship is an historical matter and must be dealt with by historical processes. It is not one of the fundamentals of religion. The existence of the Church does not depend upon a book but upon God. All books, including the Bible, could go, yet the Church would remain if it carried the authentic marks of authority as the bearer of God's revelation. This position, it seems to me, is incontrovertible.[23]

Finally, Snell defended his use of the hypothesis that there was more than one author of the material found in the Book of Isaiah. In a cautiously worded statement, he argued that no one had yet shown conclusively that any part of chapters 40 to 66 of Isaiah were actually written by the prophet. He further reasoned that even if some of these chapters were demonstrated to have come from a "second Isaiah" many questions would remain about the precise dates of those sections quoted in the Book of Mormon.

Given the tenuous nature of the students' charges against Snell and the vigorous support of West and of the institute director in Logan, W. W. Richards, Snell was

cleared of the charges of heresy by the board.[24] Nevertheless, the controversy surrounding the book did not cease. Joseph Fielding Smith took an active part in virtually "banning" the book from church institutes and BYU. He also sent Snell a questionnaire to test the "soundness" of his doctrines even after Snell had been officially cleared by the Board of Education.[25] Snell's detailed reply will be considered later.

In the midst of this negative reaction, Snell received increasing support from several quarters in the Church. Intellectuals in the church school system, products of the same background as he, gave him vigorous support in private. Even before Harmer had written his first "open letter," Thomas Martin, dean of BYU's College of Applied Science wrote to a member who had inquired about the book: "I am using it in my Old Testament classes at the present time . . . I have taught Old Testament for about 30 years and it is the first time I have come across a book that I can use as a text that gives the point of view that has developed in me as the result of the teaching over these years." Shortly after the appearance of the first Harmer letter, a long time friend, M. Wilford Poulson, then chairman of BYU's psychology department, wrote to praise the book and to offer his own criticisms of the attitudes he saw behind the attacks on Snell and his work. "Alas, too often," he said, "we have ignorant name calling, propaganda, pressure-group techniques, rationalizing, even excommunications for so-called wrong beliefs, etc. . . . We have almost no place in our lives for a worthy open forum."[26]

As controversy over the book increased in the spring, Snell received more support from church educators. Shortly after his exoneration by the board, Eugene Campbell, who had succeeded Snell as director in Pocatello, wrote to him about plans to encourage sale of the book to Pocatello students. He also included a note of personal congratulations: "I was happy to learn that you were completely vindicated in your recent test with some of the narrower elements in our church. I guess such unpleasantness is to be expected when one plays the role of prophet in any line of endeavor."[27]

When the controversy heated up in April and May, Sterling McMurrin wrote a lengthy reply to Harmer's "open letter" and he and Snell decided to circulate this articulate defense. It was sent to several selected supporters and all institute directors.[28] McMurrin also spoke in support of the book to several institute groups and other gatherings. Both McMurrin and Snell received a good deal of private support from institute directors, several of whom wrote to McMurrin praising his position or replied to Harmer themselves. Perhaps most revealing of the pressures and sympathies these men labored under was a letter from Gustive Larson, director of the institute in Cedar City: "I envy you the ability and the opportunity to reply so effectively to a malicious 'open letter.' Not only because of my inability to reply so effectively, but because of my position, I have restrained an impulse to do similarly."[29]

While this support was being generated among church educators, many other church members also wrote to Snell expressing appreciation for his book.[30] Responses even came from three General Authorities. Elders John A. Widtsoe and Joseph Merrill, members of the Council of the Twelve, wrote to Snell commenting favorably on the book; neither of them had finished the book, but both said they liked what they had read. Of the two Merrill was especially

supportive. "The reading already done indicates to me that you are scholarly and have written a good book, much better for our use than any other writer who is a non-member. . . . I hope your book will be widely used, but may I say that I have nothing nowdays to say about the texts that are used anywhere in our church school system, not being a member of any committee charged with the duty of reading or approving."[31]

In contrast to this restrained support, Levi Edgar Young of the First Council of Seventy praised the book enthusiastically. As early as November 1948, he wrote to Snell calling his book a "noble piece of work" and promising to write a review of it for the *Era*. Two months later, he apologized for not having finished the promised review. In the same letter he contrasted Snell's book with others written for church audiences:

> I want to say that you have made a contribution to our religious literature. Nine-tenths of the secondary books being written concerning religion and the history of the Church are, to me, nothing but rehashes, bad English, and superficial thought. It is a shame that we are sponsoring the bad material that is being written.[32]

In January he did send a review to the *Era* but, with its penchant for avoiding controversy, the *Era* never ran it.[33] Elder Young, however, continued to support Snell. He circulated the review among friends he knew would be interested and sympathetic. He continued to praise the work in letters, offering comfort in his trials: "You have done a fine piece of work and you will yet find out that the greater the work a man does, the more rocks he will bump up against." He even wrote to Sterling McMurrin praising McMurrin's reply to Harmer. As late as 1955 Elder Young continued to write Snell, praising his book and criticising the works of others: "I think you have produced a historic book. It shows at least a careful study of ancient Israel. . . . The literature that is being sold by a certain bookstore here cheapens the gospel and takes away from the great work the Divine feeling and hope for the future. Your book is praiseworthy and I want you to be encouraged."[34]

Throughout the whole affair, Snell's most vital critic was Joseph Fielding Smith. The two men carried on an extensive discussion of the issues both through letters and in person. In May 1949, after Snell answered the questionnaire Elder Smith sent, the two met and discussed their differences. They subsequently exchanged letters on the interpretation of Ezekiel 37:15–28, which speaks of the "stick of Judah" and the "stick of Joseph." This passage had been a favorite with Mormons for over a century; they believed it lent support to the idea that there were to be two scriptural records, the Bible and the Book of Mormon. The passage says the two "sticks" would be joined together. To Mormons this traditionally meant this coming together of the Bible and Book of Mormon in the restored church.[35]

If this was the meaning of the passage, it completely escaped Snell. He argued that the text plainly prophesied of the reuniting of Israel. The text itself, he asserted, made no mention of "books" and, given Ezekiel's role as a prophet during the Babylonian captivity, it made more sense to Snell to see this as a message of national reunification given to the people in captivity. In fact, he said, the text of Ezekiel itself gives the meaning of the two sticks precisely in this

fashion. Moreover, Snell did not feel that the truth of the Book of Mormon was affected by the interpretation of these verses. "It seems to me," he said, "it would be better for us to rely on other evidence for the Book of Mormon than the Ezekiel prophecy."[36]

Elder Smith's reply began right at the heart of the issue, namely that scholars alone cannot understand the Bible nor can they interpret it correctly:

> I maintain that it is impossible for the great scholars to properly interpret the Bible because of this fact, for they do not believe in revelation and that the Lord has restored to his Church many of these plain things which were taken out . . . then again the sacred writings cannot be interpreted by men who are uninspired by the light of the Spirit of the Lord.[37]

He further expressed unquestioning faith both in the Church's standard scriptures and in the interpretations given those scriptures by Joseph Smith; according to Elder Smith, scriptural interpretation was one of the express functions of the prophet. These methodological presuppositions largely determined his understanding of the Ezekiel passage. Because Joseph Smith had apparently taught that the stick of Joseph was the Book of Mormon, the matter was settled. Doctrine and Covenants Section 27, verse 5, seemed to lend additional revelatory support to the traditional Mormon interpretation.[38]

The disagreement between Smith and Snell involved more than the interpretation of specific biblical texts. There were more fundamental issues separating these men. For Snell, biblical texts and documents should be interpreted with the same honesty and objectivity governing historical research in general. The common opinion of church members and leaders was to be considered mere opinion until tested against the facts of historical research. Snell himself was usually very cautious in making claims of certainty in biblical studies. As an "insider," he knew the vicissitudes of the discipline, and he regularly prefaced his interpretations with statements about the fluctuating nature of the evidence. One thing he was certain, however: the historian could be guided only by evidence, not by opinion however "authoritative" it might be.[39]

It was this willingness to revise authoritative opinions in the light of modern "scholarship" that Joseph Fielding Smith fought throughout his career as a General Authority. It was most clearly manifest in his hostility toward biological evolution, but it was also evident in other disciplines. For Elder Smith, all scholarship was suspect if it conflicted with the literal word of God in the scriptures or the teachings of the modern prophets. One could not compromise the faith to accommodate the findings of scientists or historians; compromise could only destroy the faith. Elder Smith was the only General Authority who ever spoke in favor of banishing the teaching of evolution from the public schools. It is therefore not difficult to see why he worked to have Snell's book banished from church schools.[40]

A year after their dispute over the interpretation of Ezekial, Snell and Elder Smith were still engaged in lively debate. Snell wrote Elder Smith proposing that the two of them exchange views in a public forum such as the *Deseret News*. Elder Smith replied that he would ask the First Presidency's opinion on the matter. One week later he denied the request with the implication that the decision was

the First Presidency's. The reason given reflected fear of open, controversial discussion that has often marked some of the responses of church leaders to major intellectual disputes. Elder Smith believed such debate would only divide the saints and give a forum to Snell's erroneous views.[41]

By summer 1949, open conflict over Snell's book had subsided. Snell had been cleared of charges of heresy by the Executive Committee of the Church Board of Education. He was not fired from the church educational system. His book, however, had been banned as a text in that same system. Snell was still involved in some disputes, primarily with Sidney Sperry, but they lacked the intensity of the previous months.[42] Snell continued teaching at the Institute in Logan, but in January 1950, at the age of 67, he was informed that he would not be rehired the next year. It is uncertain whether this forced retirement was due to his age, or to the controversy over his book.[43]

In ensuing years Snell continued to defend his book and the opinions he had expressed during the controversy. Unable to obtain what he considered a fair statement of the Church's reasons for banning the book, he appealed directly to George Albert Smith, President of the Church.[44] He received no response before President Smith's death. He tried to have the book read by the succeeding president, David O. McKay, but again seems to have received no response. In 1952, he approached Elder Mark E. Peterson of the Quorum of the Twelve with a suggestion that Elder Peterson discuss his conservative approach to the scriptures with a study group of which Snell was a member. Elder Peterson refused, bluntly agreeing with Joseph Fielding Smith's assessment of Snell's heretical status.[45]

In his last years, Snell was known only to a handful of former students, whom he taught part-time at Utah State University. He occasionally wrote essays on religious and biblical themes. His death in 1973 in Logan went largely unnoticed, even among the community of Mormon scholars to whom he had early distinguished himself. The issues he raised concerning Mormon scholarship, however, will never pass.

II

Since the turn of the century Mormons have taken an interest in critical Bible study. Their interest, however, was often sporadic, finding expression for the most part in occasional conference talks or articles in church magazines.[46] Although an issue at BYU in 1911, it was only part of a larger controversy over evolution. Some church apologists have adopted findings of so-called "higher critics" where they seemed to support Mormon orthodoxy.[47] Most frequently, however, critical studies of the Bible were simply ignored. Certainly there had been nothing comparable to the intense concern which Snell's book aroused.

In one sense, however, the controversy surrounding Snell's book was a new variation of an old theme. Until that time there had been few, if any, works of serious biblical scholarship published by church members;[48] there certainly were none before 1940.[49] Since the turn of the century, however, Mormons of unimpeachable academic and religious standing had been trying to reconcile modern science and historical thought with traditional Mormon orthodoxy. The most apparent and divisive of these attempts was the long controversy over evolution;

but that was not the only issue, nor would it be the last.

Snell's attempt to combine sincere Christian and Mormon commitments with critical study of the biblical sources of those beliefs encompasses a number of crucial presuppositions. These are expressed both in his book and in his letters. To better understand Snell's achievement and the concerns of his critics a closer examination of these beliefs is necessary.

For a biblical scholar in the Church the most important doctrinal questions are revelation and inspiration. It is here that Snell needed a basic, philosophical reorientation to permit the kind of work he was doing. Snell accepted the idea that the Old Testament was inspired and that God had revealed himself in Israel's history in a special way.[50] This was not an issue that separated Snell from his critics. Rather, they were divided over the precise meaning of the terms "revelation" and "inspiration." In a letter to Joseph Fielding Smith, Snell stated his basic position in the following way:

> I propose that we take up first the subject of revelation. I have made this concept central in my book, interpreting Ancient Israel as a revelation, a special revelation of God in the ancient world. I believe that you also think of this people as a chosen people, yet you would probably think of revelation mostly as verbal communication from God. I think there may be an occasional revelation of this type, but that this use of the term by no means exhausts its meaning. Instead, the larger meaning which I have made central in my book is much more fertile, from my point of view, for religious living and thinking. The broader concept of revelation, including within it productive thinking in morals and religion and the good life—into both of which I think that God always enters—is the concept that will be most meaningful and therefore most helpful to our people.[51]

In this passage there are two key points. First, Snell removed himself from a strict verbal or propositional view of revelation. Revelation, he maintained, does not come as a series of dogmatic propositions. This "expanded" view of revelation freed him from traditional beliefs about the biblical text, allowing for new views on the textual composition of the Bible and the historical accuracy of its statements while retaining a basic belief in the Bible as revelation.

The second point Snell makes is that revelation is a progressive development of the moral ideals of mankind, expressed through the teachings of great religious leaders and in the lives of religious communities.[52] Revelation therefore is not so much God's actual speaking voice as it is a human record of God's activities. This view allowed Snell to separate word and act, and it opened the scriptures to critical scrutiny while retaining the primacy of God's revelation in the development of mankind's ideals and moral life.

At the center of this view was the belief that God's revelation to man was to be found primarily in the progressive development of the concept of "the moral life" in human history. As God's activities unfolded, man was presented with greater portions of the vision. The full purpose of God's activities, as well as the fullness of the vision itself, were not known by men in the beginning; they came to be known only through centuries of historical development culminating in the supreme revelation of "the divine life" in Jesus Christ.[53] Throughout the book, Snell emphasized this concept of developmental revelation. Believing that "ethical

monotheism" is the "most adequate and precious concept of Deity," Snell found it a simple matter to interpret events in the development of that religious viewpoint as examples of divine activity. One of Snell's examples will suffice to illustrate his interpretation:

> The great covenant and Decalogue pointed the way toward ethical monotheism and the high religion of our own time. Surely God cannot be left out of account in such a significant historical development. His participation in it is what is meant by the revelation of God in history.[54]

Historical events, not dogma, are the center of God's revelatory activity, according to Snell; insofar as men in their actions cooperate with God's moral purposes, they become bearers of his revelation in history. "History," Snell writes, "is not simply a succession of happenings; it is God's activity which takes place in cooperation with man, or in collision with him if he refuses to cooperate." Again he writes, "When men feel themselves entrusted with a Divine mission, and work changes in their own personal living as they seek to fulfill this mission, they become revealers of God."[55]

Snell's concept of revelation allowed him to view historical questions such as authorship, date and origin of biblical texts as questions to be answered by historical scholarship. These questions were quite irrelevant to the truthfulness of the Gospel. As a scholar, however, Snell often adopted what he himself described as a conservative interpretation of many issues. He ascribed at least the beginnings of the pentateuchal traditions to Moses himself. He saw the Sinai experience as absolutely central in Israelite history. He viewed the conquest of Palestine as being accomplished by the exodus group rather than by gradual infiltration as some scholars have suggested. All of these were defendable scholarly positions, but they were clearly more conservative than many others and closer to traditional orthodoxy.[56]

Snell's position on specific biblical issues, however, was not the heart of the controversy. The central issues were the assumptions inherent in his philosophy. The propositional view of revelation which Snell downplayed had been with Mormonism from the beginning and his departure from it was bound to be upsetting to many Mormons. Of greater concern, however, was his reliance on the methodology and conclusions of the historical "sciences" in his attempt to understand biblical history. Snell wanted to write a book with which Mormons and non-Mormons alike could agree; he nowhere appeals to uniquely Mormon authorities such as the Book of Mormon or Joseph Smith to support his interpretations of Old Testament history. As he wrote to Joseph Merrill: "I wrote a book which could be used as a text in institutions of college grade both within and without our Church."[57]

This was something his Mormon critics considered impossible. For them such an attempt was a de facto denial of Mormonism's claims to special inspiration. If Joseph Smith was a prophet, then what he said must be true. Hence, if he had at one time spoken of the book of Daniel as having been written by a Daniel of the sixth century B.C., then it must be true despite what Snell considered the almost overwhelming case to the contrary made by modern scholars.[58] In short, where Snell demanded evidence his critics demanded faith.

In the end, however, Snell was as much a man of faith as were his critics; only his was a different kind of faith. They—many of them—were literalists, certain and secure in their possession of the unchanging revealed word. His was the faith of the liberal, willing to sacrifice literalism in favor of deep conviction about the meaningfulness of history and the truth of a non-historical core of the Gospel. Perhaps the most incisive summary of Snell's faith comes from a 1947 Christmas message he delivered on radio in Logan:

> What does all this mean when put in other terms? It means that the Divine Spirit has been at work in the world from the beginning, making himself known and motivating men to learn and to live the good life, life as it is only in Him, for only so can their happiness be perfected. By many an individual example—by priest and prophet, scribe and sage—this kind of life has been revealed to us that we might know and follow it. And last of all by one great example, that of Jesus, our master and Lord, it has been made known to us what the Divine life is like in all its beauty and fullness.[59]

Even here Snell adapted the facts of history to the demands of faith, though perhaps more discreetly than his critics would have done. He sought to discern God's role in history through historical research, but in the end he saw history with eyes of faith, just as his more conservative opponents did.

The issues separating Snell and his critics have never been resolved by the twentieth century church or its scholars. For Mormons the prophetic calling of Joseph Smith is as important to their faith as the Bible. Yet in the last quarter-century Mormon historians of impeccable academic and religious standing have been seriously engaged in writing a "new Mormon history" that could be acceptable to Mormons and non-Mormons alike. It becomes crucial, therefore, at this time to raise the questions involved in the controversy around Snell's book. Can such historical scholarship coexist in the community of the faithful? Does it not place the truthfulness of Joseph Smith's message at the mercy of the historian and the scientist? And if it does not, then do we not need a fundamentally new way of looking at the relation between scholarship and faith?

Snell himself was only doing what any competent historian would do when faced with similar circumstances. He was willing to commit himself to beliefs about the past only when the evidence warranted such commitment. Furthermore, and more fundamentally, he would not accept any beliefs about the past that were contrary to the known facts, even when those beliefs were found in the Bible. He remained to the end a scholar in search of an account of his faith that would not conflict with his commitment to historical inquiry.[60]

Snell's commitment to the community of the faithful remained throughout the controversy, but his interpretation of that faith differed from that which was common in the community. Here was the real difficulty of his position. He pressed for a freedom from the traditions of the community but in the process he seems to have forgotten that religious communities in particular survive through the traditions they create and transmit.

If traditions serve to maintain a community through time, scriptural literalism serves to reinforce commitment from the average member. Mormon literalism has served to bring the central theological beliefs of the Church into the lives of many common people unable to grasp the philosophical views of those like Snell.

Without their commitment, reinforced through the conviction that they too could understand the scriptures as well as the scholars, the Church would be immeasurably weaker.

Yet without the challenge of the Snells in our midst, we face the danger of lapsing into the worst forms of naivete and irrationality, accepting myths as truths and forsaking evidence for superstition. To give an account of our faith that forsakes historical myths, while remembering the truth that religious communities live by myths, is the challenge that Snell has left to all of us in the Church. That few Mormon historians have yet to wrestle with these issues may serve to measure the achievement of one who did.

NOTES

[1] Joseph Fielding Smith to Franklin West, March 11, 1937. Copy located in the Church Historian's Library and Archives of the LDS Church in Salt Lake City, hereafter referred to as CHLA.

[2] W.W. Henderson to Heber Snell, January 28, 1937. Located in the Heber Snell papers in the Utah State University Library in Logan, hereafter referred to as HCS. The information on Henderson comes from Charles J. Sorenson et al, "W.W. Henderson," *Proceedings of the Utah Academy of Science, Arts and Letters,* 27 (1949), pp. 9-11.

[3] Entitled "Criteria for Interpreting the Old Testament to College Youth," the paper was later included in a collection of his essays, *Through the Years: Occasional Writings* (Logan: Utah State University Library, 1968), pp. 95-102.

[4] After graduating from BYU in 1912, he taught at various Church schools and academies before returning to the University of Utah and obtaining an M.A. in 1923. Some of the information on Snell comes from an unpublished autobiography in HCS. Other information comes from *Journal History,* Aug. 26, 1936, CHLA.

[5] He wanted to be released to attend full time for a year, but West, though sympathetic, found that his depression-depleted budget would not allow it. West to Snell, Feb. 16, 1938, HCS. His dissertation was entitled *American Research on Jesus;* it was partially published in H.C. Snell, "American Lives of Jesus," *Religion in the Making,* 1(1940), pp. 531-551.

[6] Some teachers in Church schools were actually "called" by the General Authorities to attend the University of Chicago Divinity School and return to impart that knowledge to the church. On this see Russel Swenson, "Mormons at the University of Chicago Divinity School," *Dialogue* 7 (Summer, 1972), pp. 37-47. This is the only treatment of the period so far from one of those who was originally called to go. Swenson graduated from Chicago with a Ph.D. in New Testament.

[7] Cf Russel Swenson, *New Testament Literature,* (Salt Lake City: LDS Department of Education, 1940); Sidney Sperry, *The Spirit of the Old Testament,* (Salt Lake City: LDS Department of Education, 1940); and Daryl Chase, *Christianity Through the Centuries,* (Salt Lake City: LDS Department of Education, 1944). Swenson was the most open and explicit in adopting the main conclusions of modern New Testament scholarship. Also see Snell to Sterling McMurrin, Dec. 19, 1944, located in the Sterling McMurrin papers at the Marriot Library at the University of Utah, hereafter referred to as SM.

[8] This is reported by Snell in a letter to McMurrin June 27, 1943. Others also had similar concerns about increasing the intellectual competence at BYU. In a letter to Snell, Thomas Martin, dean of the College of Applied Science, looked back to the 1911 affair in which three of the best qualified professors left the institution: "I feel that we lost much when the Chamberlains and the Petersons left us. If some of the narrowness which caused the upheaval in 1911 could have been prevented from exercising its power, I believe the vision that George Brimhall had in mind would have been accomplished; and if we could have had a free hand in dealing with these men and their associates, people would be singing our praises all over the country at the present time." Martin to Snell, March 16, 1942, HCS.

[9] Snell to McMurrin, Dec. 19, 1944, SM; H. C. Snell, *Ancient Israel: Its Story and Meaning,* (Salt Lake City: Stevens and Wallis, 1948) preface; Snell to McMurrin, March 6, 1948, SM.

[10] J. Wiley Sessions to H.C. Snell, July 19, 1945; also Sessions to Snell, January 23, 1958.

[11] West to Snell, June 14, 1944, HCS. Snell to McMurrin, September 14, 1947, SM.

[12] Snell to West, September 30, 1947, HCS. Snell to McMurrin, October 30, 1947, and February 13, 1948, SM.

[13] Snell to McMurrin, February 13 and April 8, 1948, SM.

[14] Snell to McMurrin, October 13, 1947, SM. Snell to West, September 30, 1947, HCS.

[15] *Journal of Religion,* 29(July, 1949), pp. 240-241; *The Personalist,* 30(1949), p. 318; *Review and Expositor,* 42(July 1950), p. 383; *Deseret News,* October 10, 1948; Irwin even recommended the work to the University of Chicago Press, Snell to McMurrin, March 6, 1948.

[16] Harmer to Snell, December 23, 1948, SM.

[17] Snell to Harmer, January 7, 1949. Two weeks later Franklin West, who apparently did not know of Snell's reply, wrote to Snell asking him not to reply to Harmer because that would just keep the dispute going, and adding, "he does not have too much influence anyway," West to Snell, January 20, 1949, HCS.

[18] Harmer had specifically referred to Snell's view of the pentateuch as a compilation of different documents relating the same general history in different ways and to his willingness to see the book of Isaiah as being a collection of material from more than one prophet who lived at different times.

[19] Harmer to Snell, February 19, 1949; Snell to Harmer, February 24, 1949, HCS.

[20] West to Snell, February 18, 1949, HCS.

[21] Snell to the Executive Committee of the Church Board of Education, March 8, 1949, HCS.

[22] Snell to West, March 9, 1949, HCS.

[23] Snell to the Executive Committee, op.cit., p. 4.

[24] Snell himself confided to McMurrin that West and Richards "put me over in the recent trouble," Snell to McMurrin, May 25, 1949, and in another letter he said that West "defended me mightily," Snell to McMurrin, March 3, 1949, SM.

[25] Smith to Snell, March 29, 1949. Snell originally wanted an oral exchange with Elder Smith regarding the questions, but Smith refused until Snell had answered the questions in writing, Snell to Smith, April 23, 1949, HCS.

[26] Martin to Mrs. Bowns, December 10, 1948; Poulson to Snell, January 1, 1949, HCS.

[27] Campbell to Snell, March 19, 1949, HCS.

[28] McMurrin to Harmer, April 23, 1949, SM. Snell to McMurrin, April 27, 1949, and McMurrin to Snell, May 17, 1949, HCS.

[29] W.W. Richards to Sterling McMurrin, May 31, 1949; Jay Christensen to Sterling McMurrin, May 23, 1949; George Boyd to Earl Harmer, June 1, 1949; Gustive Larson to Sterling McMurrin, May 25, 1949, all SM.

[30] There are many letters to this effect in the Snell collection, but the most revealing are those from Snell's longtime friend, Pocatello businessman and high council member Ezra Hawkes. Hawkes even wrote a sharply critical letter to Harmer. Elder Smith got a copy of the letter to Harmer and wrote an inquisitorial letter to Hawkes almost identical with the one he sent to Snell. Hawkes replied by refusing to answer Smith's questions and stating that if he had "they would be in disagreement on many things". After his letter to Smith the Stake President was informed and Hawkes was warned that he was "out of harmony with the brethren." He continued to support Snell anyway. See Hawkes to Harmer, May 1, 1949; Smith to Hawkes, May 25, 1949 (with Hawkes handwritten note at the bottom), SM; and Hawkes to Snell, May 1, 1949, and Hawkes to Snell, June 22, 1949, HCS.

[31] Widtsoe to Snell, March 29, 1949; Merrill to Snell, March 29, 1949, HCS. Widtsoe had previously been a supporter of Snell and had even recommended him to Howard Macdonald, President of BYU, for a position there, Widtsoe to Snell, May 31, 1945, HCS.

[32] Young to Snell, Nov. 16, 1948, and January 8, 1949, HCS. Young had also recommended Snell for a position at BYU, Young to Snell, May 21, 1945, HCS.

[33] A copy of the review is in the Snell collection.

[34] Young to Snell, June 21, 1949, HCS; Young to McMurrin, June 20, 1949, SM; Young to Snell, March 24, 1955, HCS.

[35] A good, short discussion of the issue is Jon Gunn, "Ezekiel, Dr. Sperry and the Stick of Ephraim," *Dialogue* 2(1967) pp. 137-140. This article is written in response to a debate between Snell and Sperry on "The Bible in the Church" in which this passage was used as an example. Cf. Heber Snell, "The Bible in the Church," and Sidney Sperry, "Scholars and Prophets," *Dialogue,* 2(1967), pp. 55-85.

[36] Snell to Smith, May 23, 1949, HCS.

[37] Smith to Snell, May 27, 1949, HCS.

[38] *History of the Church: Period I,* 5 vols., (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1953), I, p. 84; D&C 27:5, but see Gunn, op.cit., for a different reading of this passage.

[39] For these views see Snell to the Executive Committee of the Church Board of Education, March 8, 1949; Snell to Smith, July 9, 1949; Snell to West, March 9, 1949, all HCS.

[40] Cf. Joseph Fielding Smith, "The Word of the Lord Superior to the Theories of Men," *Liahona,* 15(April 9, 1918), pp. 641-644.

[41] Snell to Smith, June 5, 1950; Smith to Snell, June 5, 1949, and June 13, 1949, HCS.

[42] Sperry to Snell, August 31, 1949; Snell to Sperry, September 20, 1949, HCS.

[43] Snell to McMurrin, January 7, 1950, SM.

[44] Snell to George Albert Smith, May 24, 1950, HCS.

[45] Snell to Peterson, October 24, 1952; Peterson to Snell, October 28, 1952; Snell to Peterson, Nov. 13, 1952; Peterson to Snell, Nov. 20, 1952, all HCS.

[46] Cf. George Reynolds, "Thoughts on Genesis," *The Contributor,* 3 (October, 1881), pp. 16-17; A.A. Ramseyer, "Who Wrote the Pentateuch," *Improvement Era,* 11(April, 1908), pp. 437-442; Hyrum M. Smith, *Conf. Reports,* (October 4, 1912), pp. 12-13; Joseph F. Smith, "Reason and the Scriptures," *Juvenile Instructor,* 47(April, 1912), pp. 204-205; Joseph F. Smith, Jonah and the Bible," *Juvenile Instructor,* 46(April, 1911), pp. 400-401; John Herrick, *Conf. Reports,* (April 6, 1913), pp. 98-99; Orson Whitney, *Conf. Reports,* (October 6, 1917), pp. 49-50; James Talmage, *Conf. Reports,* (April 6, 1911) and (April 6, 1929), pp. 44-49; Heber J. Grant, *Conf. Reports,* (April 6, 1935); Joseph Fielding Smith, "The Language of Adam," *Improvement Era,* 31(February, 1928), pp. 271-276.

[47] "What Version of the Bible to Buy," *Improvement Era,* 2(June, 1899), pp. 620-621; "Higher Criticism and God," *Improvement Era,* 8(March, 1903), pp. 149-150; Nephi Morris, "Bible Studies," *Improvement Era,* 1 (November 1897 to March 1898), a six part study; B.H. Roberts, *The Way, the Truth and the Life* (unpublished manuscript at CHLA); Franklin Harris, "Exploring the Universe," *Improvement Era,* 40(September, 1937), p. 563.

[48] On close inspection the two most likely candidates for consideration as students of modern biblical scholarship are far from it. James Talmage's *Jesus the Christ* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1915) is something of a Mormon classic, but it is hardly a work of distinguished biblical scholarship. Talmage could not speak any of the primary languages involved, and he was unaware of the deeper methodological questions previously raised by Albert Schweitzer in his epochal *The Quest for the Historical Jesus,* trans. W. Montgomery, (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1911). Like Talmage, B.H. Roberts was hostile to the main trends of modern New Testament research and knew none of the languages, though he does seem to have been more willing to debate the issues, cf. B.H. Roberts, *The Seventy's Course in Theology: First Year,* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1907), pp. 25-100.

[49] The Sunday School manuals written in the 1940's by Russell Swenson as well as his text written for the church education system were clearly receptive to the main trends of modern New Testament scholarship; cf. *Introduction to the New Testament,* (Salt Lake City: LDS Department of Education, 1940); *The Synoptic Gospels,* (Salt Lake City; Deseret Sunday School Union, 1945); *The Gospel of John,* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1946); *New Testament: Acts and Epistles,* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1947).

[50] *AI,* Preface and pp. 280-281.

[51] Snell to Smith, June 5, 1950.

[52] *AI,* pp. 2-3.

[53] *AI,* pp. 10, 24, 32, 62, 70, 94, and especially pp. 264-265. On his view of Jesus as God's supreme exemplar of the moral life see his radio talk reported in *Journal History* June 14, 1936, CHLA, and a Christmas message delivered in Logan in 1947, reprinted in *Through the Years,* op cit., pp. 54-57.

[54] *AI,* p. 24. [55] "God in History," *Through the Years,* op.cit., p. 56; *AI,* p. 3.

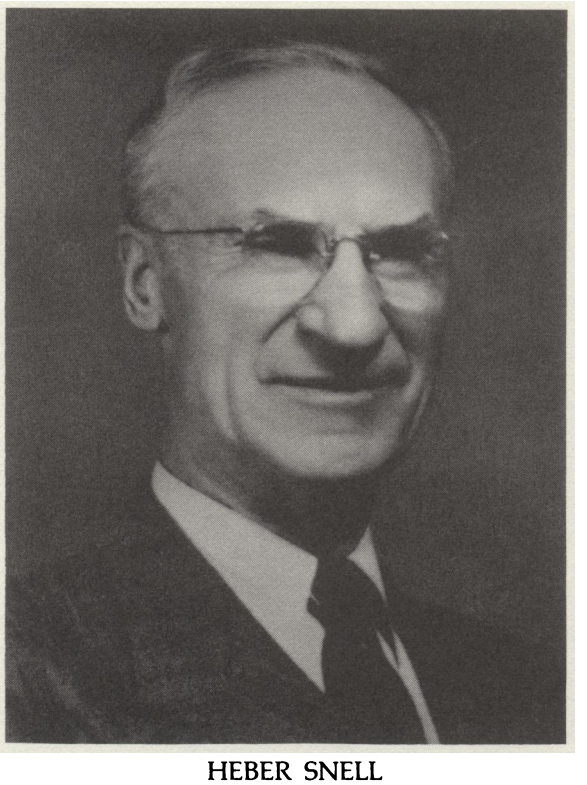
[56] AI, pp. 5-6, 18-25, 36-38.

[57] Richard Howard, "Latter Day Saint Scriptures and the Doctrine of Propositional Revelation," *Courage,* 1(June, 1971), pp. 209-225; Snell to Merrill, March 26, 1949.

[58] This point and the methodological assumption implicit in it were pressed especially and consistently by Sidney Sperry. See Sidney Sperry, *The Voice of Israel's Prophets,* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1952), and Sperry to Snell, August 31, 1949, HCS.

[59] Snell, "God in History," op.cit., p. 56.

[60] On the tension between historical research and religious faith the essential work is Van Harvey, *The Historian and the Believer,* (N.Y.: Macmillan, 1966).



HEBER SNELL

NINETEENTH-CENTURY MORMONS: THE NEW ISRAEL

MELODIE MOENCH

THE MORMONS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY saw themselves as a new Israel very much like the old. They appropriated ancient Israel's sentiments and traditions, and its special status as God's covenant people. For a Christian group, Mormons had an unusual affinity for the Old Testament. But did their use of Old Testament scripture prove their fondness for it? Mormons further asserted that they accepted this and all other scripture literally. Yet to what extent can this claim be justified? Did their actions and their stated beliefs justify their conception of themselves as Israel, and was that self-conception accurate according to what the Old Testament actually contained?

Early Mormons used scripture in the same way that their contemporary Protestant religions did. Using a proof-text method, their writers and preachers collected isolated scriptures that supported a point, with little regard for context. Gordon Irving counted the number of Old Testament scriptures used in early Mormon publications and discovered that fifty-three specific passages account for 54 percent of the Old Testament passages used. Mormons quoted scripture selectively, using the same scriptures again and again.[1] A study of Biblical parallels to the collection of Mormon revelations canonized as scripture, the *Doctrine and Covenants,* shows that in spite of its strong apocalyptic flavor, there are well over twice as many parallels to the New Testament as to the Old Testament. This is startling considering the bulk of the Old Testament in comparison with the New Testament.[2] These studies do not support the idea that the Mormons were especially fond of Old Testament scripture.

Some praised the scripture of the ancients, as did the writer of an unsigned

MELODIE MOENCH, *a native of Salt Lake City and graduate of the University of Utah, received an M.A. in Theological Studies at Harvard University in 1978.* *Throughout this paper she has used the Revised Standard Version of the Bible.*

article in the *Millennial Star,* who stated, "Whatsoever was written beforetime was written for our profit and learning that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope."[3] But others played down the worth of those scriptures. Brigham Young qualified his endorsement of the Old Testament saying, "I am a believer in Jesus Christ, in God the Father, and in the doctrines of salvation as they are taught in the Old and New Testament, though, not so pointedly in the Old as in the New."[4]

Mormons were reminded that scripture was given through imperfect men subject to passion.[5] Orson Hyde and John Taylor expressed rational reservations about relying too closely on the Bible as a guide for their times, probably to distinguish themselves from those who claimed that the Bible contained all the words of God that people needed:

> The words contained in this Bible are merely a history of what is gone by; it was never given to guide the servant of God in the course he should pursue, any more than the words and commandments of God, given to a generation under one set of circumstances, would serve for another generation under another set of circumstances . . . . The Bible is not a sufficient guide. It is only a history of the people who lived 1800 years ago.[6]

> [Scriptures] are good for example, precedent, and investigation, and for developing certain laws and principles; but they do not, they cannot touch every case required to be adjudicated and set in order; we require a living tree. . . . No matter what was communicated to others, for them, it could not benefit us. . . . Adam's revelation did not instruct Noah to build his ark. . . . I do not wish to be understood as despising those books, for they are good and there are a great many useful revelations in them. . . . But I speak of them as I would of children's school books, which a child studies to learn to read; but when it has learned to read, if its memory is good, it can dispense with. But I would here remark, that we are most of us children as yet, and therefore, require to study our books.[7]

This attitude is not like most fundamentalist approaches to scripture. It claims that the Bible, both testaments, is not only *not* the only word of God; it is not even the best one. Modern revelation is clearly more important.

But the early Mormons clung tenaciously to a belief that scripture was truth. The stories it contained were history, not fiction; the prophecies of the future would come to pass as presented. They were opposed to the allegorizing tendency of their day to make scripture spiritual and to find hidden meanings in it. Parley P. Pratt catalogued at great length the factual occurrence of the dramatic events of the Old Testament. He pointed out what would have been the woeful results to the people in those accounts had they not accepted as literal fact the warnings of what would befall them.[8] Mormons believed that what the Bible said happened in the past *did* happen and that what the Bible said would happen in the future *would* happen just the way the scripture foretold it. The millennialist strain in Mormon doctrine was built upon the belief in what was considered the literal fulfillment of the prophecies in Daniel, Ezekiel and Isaiah, and frequent use was made of these scriptural books.[9]

This claim to literalism was frequently coupled with a criticism of all Protestant sects that insisted upon their own interpretation of the Bible rather than believing

it as it was. Brigham Young said that while most Christian sects believed the Bible *as they interpreted it to be,* "I believe in it just as it is. I do not believe in putting any man's interpretation upon it, whatever, unless it should be directed by the Lord himself in some way."[10] It was in accord with this last clause that most Biblical passages appeared in Mormon usage.

New revelation, "directed by the Lord himself," provided Mormons with material to embellish and fill in the "holes" in Biblical scripture. Most who preached or wrote for Mormon audiences were unable to use the Old Testament without expanding the Biblical accounts in light of newer words from the Lord, recorded in the *Pearl of Great Price, Doctrine and Covenants* and Joseph Smith's new translation of the Bible. For non-Mormons the same end could be reached by using Mormon logic and selected New Testament scriptures which commented on the Old Testament.[11] According to Mormon doctrine, the gospel was as unchanging as God himself. "For let us find a revelation of God, it matters not to whom it was given, or by whom it came, it will teach the same doctrines, inculcate the same principles, and testify of the same religion."[12] Though many others read Christianity backwards into the Old Testament, only Mormons claimed an authoritative source other than the Bible for doing so.

Genesis, as amended by Mormons, showed that Adam and his sons, Abraham, and Enoch were all believers in Christ as Savior. By implication, all the other prominent Old Testament figures were also awaiting a Christ about whom they had explicit knowledge, as did the pre-Christian Nephites in the *Book of Mormon.* Mormons reasoned that it would be strange that Enoch "could prophecy of the second coming of Christ and of his judging the world [Jude 14–15], and yet not know of his first coming, and of his dying for the world. And what would be stranger still would be that men could be saved by faith, and yet never hear nor know, of the way of salvation thro' the blood of the Lamb."[13] "How could Abel offer a sacrifice and look forward with faith on the Son of God for the remission of sins and not understand the gospel?"[14] The gospel taught to Adam instructed him:

> Turn unto me, and harken unto my voice, and believe, and repent of all thy transgressions, and be baptized even by water, in the name of mine only begotten son, which is full of grace and truth, which is Jesus Christ, the only name which shall be given under heaven, whereby salvation shall come unto the children of men.[15]

The gospel, according to nineteenth-century Mormons, was obviously a continuation of the eternal gospel present on the earth whenever there were righteous men.

The Mormons' assertion that they held a literal, non-interpretive belief in the Bible is impossible to substantiate. They saw scripture in their own peculiar way, just as the other Protestant sects did, the only difference being that the Mormons claimed that their interpretation was not theirs at all, but was given them by God. They concluded that, "It cannot be a matter of dispute that these [Old Testament] men were made acquainted with the mission of Christ into the world, and if so, they were acquainted with the gospel or plan of eternal life."[16] Their affinity for Adam, Abraham, Moses and all other Israelites was for them as Christians, not as

Hebrews as they are presented in the Bible. Because God's people were always the same, this ancient people could be adequately understood by comparing them with nineteenth-century Americans.[17] Thus, in their conscious imitation of the Old Testament people and in their understanding of themselves as the new Israel, they were aligning themselves with a people of their own imagining rather than the people of the book as the Judaeo-Christian world knew them.

The way the early Mormons used ancient scripture and their stated attitudes toward it do not go far toward supporting the contention that Mormons were closer to the Old Testament traditions than their contemporary Christians. They quoted it infrequently (except those prophecies of the future which they saw as relating directly to them and their time), imposed Mormon doctrine upon it, and subordinated it to latter-day revelations. But does this evidence disprove the claim that Mormons were a people who were similar to the Israelites of the Old Testament? There is evidence to be weighed in the realm of applied theology rather than stated theology.

One of the most distinguishing features of the Old Testament people was their firm belief in "a God who acts." Their God was not merely a being, he was a doer. He was not to be understood by contemplation of his nature or his creation, but by what he had done in history for his people. He was the God who promised to redeem his people from the tyranny of Egypt (Ex. 6:6) and then did it (Ex. 15: 13). He was the God who raised up a deliverer for his people when they cried out to him (Jud. 3:9, 6:7–8). He was the God who respected the request of Joshua and caused the sun to stand still so that the battle could be won (Josh. 10). This God was the orchestrator of historical events and was to be known by experience, not by speculation.[18] He responded to Israel's specific crises with specific direction and blessings.

Joseph Smith's dedicatory prayer of the Kirtland Temple in 1836 expresses the same kind of trust in a God who manifested himself in historical events, saying, "If [any people] shall smite this people thou wilt smite them; thou wilt fight for thy people as thou didst in the day of battle, that they may be delivered from the hands of their enemies."[19] In this same military vein, the *Doctrine and Covenants* records promises from the Lord that he "would fight their battles and their children's battles, and their children's children's until they had avenged themselves on all their enemies to the third and fourth generation" (98:37).

The *Millennnial Star* kept a close watch on the hand of God in nature in its regular feature "Signs of the Times." It recorded that the Lord had said that if the persecution of the Saints in America continued, He would "COME OUT OF HIS HIDING-PLACE, AND VEX THAT NATION IN HIS FURY, AND IN HIS HOT DISPLEASURE. . . . The Lord has begun to vex that Nation and he will continue to do so, except they repent."[20] After a summary of the disasters in America, including the unexpected death of President William Henry Harrison, an editorial concluded:

> The whole put together is certainly a striking manifestation of Providence, and seems to whisper that the Lord is beginning to vex that nation for their wickedness, and because of the wrongs of the saints which still go unredressed.[21]

A military event from Mormon history plays up another important aspect of the nature of the Mormon God. In *Doctrine and Covenants* 103 (1834), the Saints were told to go and reclaim their lands in Jackson County, Missouri, by force, with the promise that God was raising up a leader like Moses for them and that his angel would precede them. After the Saints had organized a motley army and had marched some distance toward their Zion, they were told through revelation to abandon their campaign because, as a result of the people's disobedience, it would be unsuccessful (*D&C* 105). The New Testament provided no precedent for a God who would have given the revelation of section 103 about using military means to regain lost property, because the New Testament God was unconcerned with things of this world. Most contemporary Christians would not have recognized or respected this God of section 105 who changed his word and promised things that did not come about.

Yet an Israelite would not have found this to be strange behavior for his God. He would remember that God gave Joshua a commandment to take the land of Canaan for the Israelites, and promised to be with him to secure it for them (Josh. 1:2-3). When the Israelites went up against the men of Ai they were miserably defeated. When Joshua asked why, he was told that Israel had sinned and disobeyed the commandments of the Lord. This is typical of the God of the Old Testament, whose promises are often conditional, depending upon the the righteousness of God's people for their fulfillment. "A prophetic forecast, far from being inevitably fulfilled with literal exactness, can be modified or withdrawn altogether."[22] Things would go well for Israel when she obeyed, but when she did not, she could expect no blessings.[23]

Mormons also had reason to expect things to go well when they were obedient and could expect nothing when they were not. *Doctrine and Covenants* 97:15ff. records that if they built up a temple and a holy city, that city would prosper and become great. But if they did not, the Lord would "visit her [Zion] according to all her works, with sore affliction, with pestilence, with plague, with sword, with vengeance, with devouring fire." The conditions of God were succinctly declared in, "I, the Lord, am bound when ye do what I say, but when ye do not what I say, ye have no promise" (*D&C* 82:10). This God who acted in the lives of his people could only be expected to do so favorably when it was merited by their obedience.

The New Testament tended to support a philosophy of detachment from this mundane world, from the normal living of life, favoring a higher, spiritual existence. The Christian was exhorted to abide in the word of God and believe in Jesus as Savior. This did not make any action necessary on the part of the believer. He was to take no thought for what he should eat or drink or what he should wear, but was to seek the kingdom of God and those things would take care of themselves (Matt. 6:31-34).[24] The Beatitudes (Matt. 5:1-11) promised the earth to the meek, the kingdom of God to the persecuted, comfort for the mourner, the kingdom of Heaven to the poor in spirit, and satisfaction for those hungry for righteousness. The promises seem to speak of a future time far different from this one, after this world passes away.

In contrast, the God of the Old Testament made promises to Israel that there would be no poor (Deut. 15:4-5). He removed his persecuted people from Egypt and fed them real, not spiritual, bread for their hunger in the wilderness. He gave

them material blessings of lands, cities and vineyards. (Josh. 24:12). The Israelite, to demonstrate his belief in God, obeyed the ethical and ritualistic demands of the law. He worked his fields and tended his flocks, believing that his worldly prosperity was his reward from God for his righteousness, and that in payment, God wanted some of it returned in sacrifice. The prophetic exhortation to repent, believe, and clean up the mode of worship was always accompanied by the ethical admonition to treat one's neighbor with compassion. There was no room for passive belief in the religion of Israel; the Israelite had a promised land to conquer, a holy city and temple to build and maintain, and brothers and even strangers who needed care. Israel's God was "working to realize goodness in the life experience of individuals and of a people."[25] In the Old Testament, God and man both act. God was not passive, to be apprehended only by faith, but he moved in history and Israel knew him by what she saw him doing for her. Israel was not saved merely by faith, but by obedient action, by serving her God.

Mormons in the nineteenth century also had a responsibility to actively demonstrate their belief. There was little time to contemplate the nature of God or his attributes because there were always houses to build and crops to plant. Even the highest church leaders supported themselves. While the early Mormons' contemporaries also had these responsibilities to sustain life, to them they were affairs of this world and had nothing to do with religion and worship. These Mormons, whether living in a communitarian or cooperative society, or merely giving 10 percent of their increase or labor to the church, believed in the sacredness of their mundane concerns. The purpose of all their wealth and labor was the building up of the kingdom of God. God was directing his kingdom and naturally was willing "to improvise politically and economically, to enter the world of land speculation, to be entrepreneur, business executive, and political manipulator."[26] All life was spiritual, and all matters of life were acceptable interests for God and man.[27] Mormons had revelation telling them that "All things unto me are spiritual, and not at any time have I given you a law which was temporal" (*D&C* 29:34). Not only did they *take thought* for the morrow, they repeatedly took bricks and mortar and land, and built the future in material terms.

The Mormons were like their spiritual ancestors, the Hebrews, in their concern for a holy land and a holy city.[28] God promised the Hebrews that they would possess the land of the Canaanites, a good land, flowing with milk and honey. Their possession would be obtained by the efforts of the people in battle, with the Lord's assistance, so long as the people were righteous. The Mormon promise echoed this, offering a land of milk and honey for an inheritance never to pass away (*D&C* 38:18-20). Some, such as John C. Bennett, accused the Mormons of having designs to conquer their promised land, as the Israelites had conquered theirs:

> Their leaders had formed, and were preparing to execute a daring and colossal scheme of rebellion and usurpation throughout the Northwestern States of the Union . . . conquering the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Missouri, and erecting upon the ruin of their present governments a despotic military and religious empire, the head of which, as emperor and Pope, was to be Joseph Smith.[29]

This effectively alarmed neighbors of the Mormons in the Midwest. Though this was gross distortion, Mormons increased antagonism toward themselves by their public preaching of their divine right to the land, including the land on which their neighbors lived:

> The Lord has said, it is a good land, and . . . I will give it you: who then . . . would not join Joshua in saying, let us go up and possess the good land, for we are well able! And when you bid your native land farewell . . . and set your face towards the land that the Lord has blessed, may the same principles that bore up the mind of Moses in his afflictions yield comfort to you . . . And what would be the feelings in his heart when he with such emotion says . . . "We are journeying to the land that the Lord our God hath said he will give us!"[30]

However, the Mormons were commanded to acquire their land by purchase, not by conquest (*D&C* 57:1–5). Still they were told that if they were prevented from occupying their lands, they would be guiltless if they took their inheritance by violent means (*D&C* 105:30).

The land was important to both Israelites and Mormons because it was God's land and his presence was in his holy cities. The prosperity of the city was proof of the victory of this God over any other God or any other people's notion of God. When the Lord returned to Jerusalem, it was commanded in Isaiah 52:9–10 to:

> Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem. The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.

In Zion, goodness would reign because the land was God's and he would care for it. Its prosperity was due to him (Levit. 25:23, Josh. 24:13). The Mormons were promised that their "Zion shall flourish, and the glory of the Lord shall be upon her" (*D&C* 64:41). They were further promised that if they built a temple there to God, and kept it undefiled, "My presence will be there, for I will come into it, and all the pure in heart that shall come into it shall see God" (*D&C* 97:16). Their city inspired reverence because God's glory would be upon it making it prosperous, peaceful and beautiful.

Regardless of how similarly the two groups may have felt about their promised inheritance, the experience of possession of the promised land was quite different for the early Mormons than it was for the Israelites. The Israelites were promised a land and gradually were able to become dominant in that land, eventually building a sacred city, Zion, for their religious and political center. This city thrived as the only Zion for almost half a millennium. It was the hope of the captive exiles to return to this city and rebuild it, which they did. This sacred place continues to be the geographical focal point of the Jewish religion even now, after almost three thousand years.

The Mormons' concentration was on cities, rather than on a whole land. They attempted to build a city of Zion first in Kirtland, then in Independence, then Far West, Nauvoo and finally Salt Lake City, each time with a revelation sanctioning the new location of Zion.[31] The faithful saints, with astonishing perseverance,

began to build up Zion wherever they were driven, regardless of how many former Zions had been abandoned. They believed that when the time was right for the Lord and they had done their share of work, the Lord could intervene and make their inheritance secure.

Because both groups' Zions proved vulnerable, the people experienced similar crises of faith. When Jerusalem was besieged in 700 B.C., it was miraculously delivered (2 Kings 19). This was consistent with the promises that had been given that the kingdom and the dynasty of David would be established forever and the Israelites would be forever free from affliction (2 Samuel 7:10-17). In light of this promise and this precedent, the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. was devastating to the faith of the people. Some Israelites decided that their God was no longer powerful enough to preserve them and turned their allegiance to the Queen of Heaven, Goddess of the Babylonians, who proved her strength in the Babylonian's victory (Jer. 44:15-19). Others tried to find some reason for the devastation, in the behavior of this people of God (Ez. 1-10, and the final redactor of Deuteronomy, Samuel and Kings). There were still others who reinterpreted the theology of Israel and found a reason for the destruction in a larger plan of God, rather than a fault within themselves (Isaiah 40-66).

The Mormons, even as they were driven out of the Zion that was in Independence, were told that Zion would not be moved, that its inhabitants would return and build it up again. There was no other place which the Lord had appointed or would appoint to be Zion (*D&C* 101:16-22). Joseph Smith's revelation that Nauvoo was Zion[32] seemed inconsistent with this prior revelation. Here was an example of an unchanging God changing. He had given assurances that were valueless; they did not prove true. Some Mormons must have considered changing their allegiance, thinking that Joseph and his God were not worth following either in general or in regard to this commandment to go to Nauvoo and build it up.[33] Others were probably satisfied with the answer in this same revelation that declared the fixed site of Zion, explaining that because of their iniquities they deserved to be driven from their promised land (*D&C* 101:1-9). Those who went to Nauvoo to build up Zion there must have accepted Joseph Smith's theological reinterpretation that the incidentals could change in order to accommodate the larger plan of God. He complained that some people were not accepting this:

> A man would command his son to dig potatoes and saddle his horse, but before he had done either he would tell him to do something else. This is all considered right; but as soon as the Lord gives a commandment and revokes that decree and commands something else, then the Prophet is considered fallen.[34]

Those who did not believe Joseph fallen were able to push hope of the return to Zion at Independence to a distant future and put their efforts into this interim measure of building up Zion at Nauvoo.

The Israelites believed what was told them about their Zion being a city where God could dwell because they had a special relationship with him; they were his people, the Chosen. Their salvation at the Red Sea was proof of their

status. The reasons for choosing Israel were varied, some complimentary, some not:

> For you are a people holy to the Lord your God: The Lord your God has chosen you to be a people for his own possession, out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth. It was not because you were more in number than any other people that the Lord set his love upon you and chose you, for you were the fewest of all peoples; but it is because the Lord loves you, and is keeping the oath which he swore to your fathers.[35]

The initial choosing was unmerited, for Israel was not chosen for her righteousness, but because other nations were more wicked than she was (Deut. 9:4). Staying in favor would take effort because, "The Lord your God is God, the faithful God who keeps covenant and steadfast love *with those who love him and keep his commandments,* to a thousand generations (Deut. 7:9, emphasis added).

There were other responsibilities in being God's chosen. The people were required to be God's servants (Is. 41:8, Levit. 25:55). Isaiah 42:1, 6–7 explains what this service meant:

> Behold my servant, whom I uphold, my chosen, in whom my soul delights; I have put my spirit upon him, he will bring forth justice to the nations. . . . I have given you as a covenant to the people, a light to the nations, to open the eyes that are blind, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, from the prison those who sit in darkness.

It is notable that in the history of Israel, she is never seen acting in this capacity; the only interaction she seems to have with other nations occurs when she is coerced. However this chapter in Isaiah apparently refers to a future period, and the servant referred to is not necessarily all of Israel.

The Mormons, in bearing the responsibilities of being chosen, took seriously this admonition to be servants of God. They applied it first in terms of the Book of Mormon scripture which said, "When ye are in the service of your fellow-beings, ye are only in the service of your God" (Mosiah 2:17). They saw all their communal endeavors, all their charitable actions as fulfilling this responsibility. But they also saw themselves in the servant role spoken of by Isaiah, that they were a light to the nations. They were inheritors of the promise to Joseph in Joseph Smith's inspired revision of the Bible, that he would be "a light unto my people to deliver them in the days of their captivity and bondage; and to bring salvation unto them, when they are altogether bowed down under sin."[36]

They were to serve God by serving the world. The kingdom of God that they were beginning to set up would eventually become the millennial kingdom of Christ and thereby benefit all people. Therefore, all their efforts to build their Zion were acts of service for God. They were to spread the gospel to all nations of the earth and invite their converts to come to Zion to engage in the service of God there. Proselytizing was their main service for God. They identified themselves as the hunters and fishers of Jeremiah 16:16, sent out to bring Israel back to God and to their land. Excerpts from the Mormon hymn, "Ye Elders of Israel," typify this sense of mission:

Ye Elders of Israel, come join now with me,
And search out the righteous, wherever they be;
In desert or mountain, on land, or the sea,
And bring them from Babylon to Zion so free.

O Babylon, O Babylon, we bid thee farewell,
We're going to the mountains of Ephraim to dwell.

We'll go to the poor, like our Captain of old,
And visit the weary, the hungry and cold;
We'll heal up their wounds, and we'll dry up their tears,
And lead them to Zion to dwell there for years.[37]

God expected much from those he singled out, declaring, "Of him unto whom much is given much is required" (*D&C* 82:3), and "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities" (Amos 3:2). Those who were inclined to see the hand of God in these peoples' histories saw that they were often punished for failing to meet the terms of God's covenant. The *Doctrine and Covenants* recorded (95:1):

> Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you whom I love, and whom I love I also chasten that their sins may be forgiven, for with the chastisement I prepare a way for their deliverance in all things out of temptation, and I have loved you.

God could very well pour out his wrath upon his people, not as revenge, but as holy intolerance of that which was hostile to man's best interests.[38]

For neither group was it merely a relationship of responsibility without reward. They were often reminded that they were God's people and that he loved and cared for them:

> Fear not, for I have redeemed you; I have called you by name, you are mine. . . . When you pass through the water I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you; when you walk through fire you shall not be burned, and the flame shall not consume you. For I am the Lord your God, the Holy One of Israel, your savior. . . . Because you are precious in my eyes, and honored, and I love you, I give men in return for you, peoples in exchange for your life.[39]

The only response to this love could be the awe and gratitude expressed in Deuteronomy 4:7: "For what great nation is there that has a god so near to it as the Lord our God is to us, whenever we call upon him?"

The making of this covenant was different for Mormons and Hebrews. Abraham, the great ancestor of the Hebrews, was given a blessing in reward for his righteousness. The covenant that the Lord made with him extended to his descendants. Because of this covenant, the Lord saved those descendants in the crossing of the Red Sea. After this salvation he made them this offer: "If you will obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my own possession among all the peoples; for all the earth is mine, and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation."[40] Israel periodically renewed this covenant and cemented her unique relationship with her God. She was already a nation when God chose her, but a nation who, thereafter, formed her identity around the fact of her being chosen by this particular God.

There was no historical moment at which the Mormons were singled out and designated as God's people. At the time that Joseph Smith was chosen by God there were no Mormons. Each convert after him became one of the New Israel, the latter-day Chosen, because he *chose* God, as understood by this group, rather than was *chosen by* God, as his spiritual ancestors were. God ratified this choice because:

> It was ever the purpose of the Lord in every age to classify his people by themselves—to separate them from the wicked of the earth, and so to organize and establish them, that he might be able to bestow upon them the blessings of the spirit.[41]

The Mormon baptismal covenant was considered adoption as a son or daughter of God.[42]

A collection of these children of God constituted a family. As children of God they were brothers and sisters of one another, tied inseparably to those working to build up the kingdom of God. This sense of family tended to equalize the Mormons because it gave the most humble member the same title that was commonly used for even the president of the church, "Brother." It also did something to destroy the aura of importance due to age:

> Our fathers and grandfathers in this world are our brothers—that is, our spirits are brothers. . . . They will not be ahead of us for being our fathers in this world because we will all be brothers and all have one father.[43]

The New Testament teaches a sense of brotherhood, but only among Christian believers. There is no place for those who do not believe, regardless of blood ties to those believers, as shown in Matthew 12:46–50, where Jesus proposes that the believers, rather than his literal family, are his brothers, sisters, and mother.

This feeling of unity with all believers is just one aspect of the sense of family manifested in the Old Testament. The prophets referred to God as the Father of Israel, and therefore, the Israelites were brothers and sisters with moral and social responsibility for each other. Ideally, Israel was a family of families.[44] The social responsibility that the Israelites and Mormons took for others in their group was often more a matter of necessity than a matter of voluntary obedience. Frequently survival depended on pooling material and emotional resources. It was utilitarian to see those within the group as a family whose safety and prosperity depended upon the whole group.[45] But added to this was a deep sense of blood ties. They were the literal offspring of the patriarchs, and the epithet, "children of Israel," expressed blood relationship.[46]

The importance of fathers and lineage in the Old Testament is apparent in the number of tediously extensive genealogies it contains. (The only genealogy of any length in the New Testament is that of Jesus.) Literal family ties were emotionally important since reputation was largely a matter of family and tribe, and a person's good name would live on through his children, granting him some measure of immortality. But literal ties were even more important religiously and legally. Brothers had responsibility to father children who would be raised as the seed of their deceased, childless brothers (Gen. 38:7–26; Deut. 25:5–10). Whatever household a person belonged to could be a matter of life or death, since

punishment for guilt could extend from the guilty person to his wife, children, servants and all his possessions (Joshua 7, Numbers 16).

The religious responsibility to kin was different for Mormons than for Israelites, though it was no less important. In Israel, the responsibility was "this worldly," for doing things in this mortal state. Mormons focused on the eternities and acted in order to save themselves and their dead in the world to come. Not only were Mormons unable to leave the dead to bury the dead (Matt. 8:22), they baptized their dead in order to take them with them to salvation. There were also "sealing" ordinances which bound the living to each other and to their children yet unborn.[47] Joseph Smith emphasized the importance of their actively showing concern for their extended families:

> The greatest responsibility in this world that God has laid upon us is to seek after our dead. . . . I say to you, Paul, you cannot be perfect without us. It is necessary that those who are going before us and those who come after us should have salvation in common with us. . . . Hence, God said, "I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse."[48]

This sense of family drew together those within the church just as it drew together the Israelites. Both groups kept histories of God's dealings with them in order to keep alive in the memory the knowledge that they were the family with whom God was concerned. They saw each other as brothers and all those outside their group as the enemy. The histories of both peoples justify this attitude because these people were often in a state of war with their neighbors, declared or undeclared, fought with military hardware or merely emotional and verbal harassment. Their common suffering made them dependent upon one another and suspicious of all outsiders. A natural result of having a common object of hate was that those within their exclusive circle became objects of love.[49]

These people suffered and prospered as a group *because of* their peculiar identity. They were to separate themselves from their neighbors, having no intercourse with them beyond what was unavoidable, in order to have their minds and their worship uncontaminated by the beliefs or practices of the people around them. The continual message of the Old Testament prophets was that the people were adopting the idolatrous practices of those among whom they lived, "whoring after other gods"; they needed to remove themselves from the wicked influence of the Canaanite Ba'al worshippers. They were forbidden to marry foreigners, for wives with different gods had a habit of drawing away their husbands' loyalties from the one true God.[50] Israel needed to be faithful to her God, and the chances of her compromising were always far greater the more she had contact with non-Israelites.

Some of these reasons motivated the Mormons to remain separate, and to these they added some peculiar to their own situation and beliefs. They too desired to keep their environment pure to aid the Saint in righteous living, an endeavor made easier when surrounded by others with the same desire. The Mormons, like the Israelites, were attempting to be a nation not subject to the political and religious control of any other people.[51] They needed to band together

and, at times, to remove themselves from geographical proximity to others for their own physical protection.[52] Because the sealing ordinance of marriage was a prerequisite to salvation in the highest heaven and these ordinances were only performed for members of the church in good standing, marriage to someone outside of the Church jeopardized the salvation of the Saint just as it jeopardized the daily faith of the Israelite. The believer in God, concerned with his relationship to him, would not want to take any action that would compromise that relationship. Withdrawal was a wise measure if the groups and their individual members hoped to remain faithful.

There are many similarities between the Mormons of the nineteenth century and the Israelites of the Old Testament. This is true in spite of the distortion that resulted from Mormons reading their own religion back into and overlaying their own theology on top of the Old Testament. They saw the Old Testament as a Christian document written by people very much like themselves. Scholarship does not support their view of Israelites as Christians, yet the two groups were very much alike. They shared a view that God acted in history, concerning himself with the temporal prosperity and preservation of a special people. This people had a mission of service for their God which had worldwide implications. Each group saw itself as the Chosen People, a family with God at its head. He would assist them in doing his work if they obeyed the ritual and ethical demands of his law. Given the completely different historical, social and geographical situation of the nineteenth-century Mormons and the Israelites, it is surprising that these peoples share so many common concerns. Whether or not God chose the early Mormons to be his new Israel must be taken on faith. But in their actions and beliefs, the early Mormons demonstrated a strong resemblance to those Israelites whose spiritual descendants they were.

NOTES

[1] Gordon Irving, "Mormonism and the Bible, 1832-1838," Senior Honors Project, University of Utah, 1972, pp. 2, 5, 18, 58, 61, 63.

[2] Ellis Rasmussen, "Textual Parallels to the Doctrine and Covenants and Book of Commandments as Found in the Bible," Master's Thesis, BYU, 1951, pp. 6, 3, 262, 342, 344.

[3] *Millennial Star,* 1 (May 1840), 30.

[4] Brigham Young in *Journal of Discourses* (hereafter *JD*) 1 (July 1853), 237.

[5] Oliver Cowdery in *Times and Seasons,* 2, p. 212.

[6] Orson Hyde in *JD,* 2 (Oct. 1854), 75.

[7] John Taylor in *Millennial Star* 9, pp. 323-24.

[8] Parley P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning* (Manchester, England, 1846), reprint.

[9] See *Millennial Star,* Vol. 1, pp. 3, 5, 6, 29; Vol. 2, pp. 103, 126, 141, 179. See also the table in Irving, "Mormonism," showing the scriptures frequently used in Mormon writings.

[10] Brigham Young in *JD* 1 (July 1853), 237. See also Brigham Young in *JD,* Vol. 11, p. 340; Wilford Woodruff in *JD,* Vol. 18, p. 111; *Elders Journal* (July 1838), p. 42.

[11] The New Testament scriptures used were Eph. 1:4, Gal. 3, Jude 14-15, Matt. 23:34-35, and Romans 4:11-13.

[12] *LDS Messenger and Advocate* 1 (Jan. 1835), 52. See also 1 (June 1835), 131; Wilford Woodruff in *JD* 16 (1873), 263-64; Irving, "Mormonism," pp. 2-10, 19, 63.

[13] "The Gospel," *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (May 1835), 119.

[14] *The Evening and the Morning Star* 2 (March 1834), 143.

[15] *Evening and Morning Star* 2 (April 1833), 81. See also John Taylor in *JD* 21 (1879), 160: Orson Pratt in *JD* 7 (1859), 253; *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (Feb. 1835), 71-74, and 1 (March 1835), 87-89, and 1 (June), 131.

[16] *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (Nov. 1834), 20.

[17] Irving, "Mormonism," p. 80.

[18] H.H. Rowley, *The Faith of Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956), p. 48.

[19] *Doctrine and Covenants* 109:28 (hereafter *D&C* in citation).

[20] *Millennial Star* 1 (1840), 65-67. [21] Ibid., 2 (1841), 24.

[22] R.B.Y. Scott, *The Relevance of the Prophets* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1952), p. 10. See Jonah 3:10; Gen. 18:22-23; Nu. 14:11-25; 16:20-35; 2 Kings 20:1-7.

[23] Deut. 11:13-17; 15:4-5; Levit. 26:3-33; Jer. 11:3-5.

[24] There are ethical demands of Christianity as well as Judaism, but this generalization attempts to capture the overriding tone of each for purposes of contrast.

[25] Scott, p. 197.

[26] Robert Bruce Flanders, "To Transform History: Early Mormon Culture and the Concept of Time and Space," *Church History* 50 (1971), 414.

[27] *D&C* 94:4-5 gives the exact measurements for a building, for which Ezekiel 40-42 gives precedent. In *D&C* 124:62ff. there are detailed instructions for buying stock for the Nauvoo House.

[28] Land and its importance is an enormous issue in Hebrew and Mormon cultures, an issue whose complexion changes with the frequent historical and geographical shifts. This paper will touch only a few aspects of the larger issue.

[29] Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: *Deseret News,* 1950) V, 80n.

[30] *Millennial Star* 1 (1841), 252-55. Cf. Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: Univ. of Texas Press, 1968), p. 70.

[31] *D&C* 39, 57, 115, 124; Smith, *History* 6 (April 1844), 318-19.

[32] *D&C* 124; Smith, *History* 4 (Jan. 1841), 49-50.

[33] Flanders, *Nauvoo,* pp. 40-50. [34] Smith, *History* 4 (Dec. 1841), 478-79.

[35] Deut. 7:6-8, also Ex. 19:5-6; Deut. 4:37; 10:14-15.

[36] *Joseph Smith's New Translation* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1970), Gen. 48:11.

[37] Thomas Cheney, *Mormon Songs from the Rocky Mountains* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1968), p. 59, quoting *Millennial Star* of Jan. 8, 1859, p. 41.

[38] Rowley, *Israel,* p. 65. [39] Is. 43:1-4.

[40] Ex. 19:5-6. [41] *Millennial Star* 3 (April 1843), 193.

[42] Pratt, *Warning,* p. 57; *Millennial Star* 4 (June 1843), p. 17.

[43] Brigham Young speech Oct. 8, 1854, as recorded in John Pulsifer, *A Scrapbook Containing Some of the Phraseology Choice and Selected Instruction—Abridged Speeches of Inspired Men,* photocopy in LDS Church Archives.

[44] Scott, *The Prophets,* p. 22.

[45] E.E. Erickson, *Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1922), p. 88.

[46] Mormons also claimed literal descent from Abraham. *D&C* 132:30-33 tells Joseph Smith that he is of Abraham's lineage, and many Mormon patriarchal blessings say the same. In Gordon Irving, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830-1900," *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974), p. 293, is recorded that Joseph identified temple sealings with election

into the House of Israel.

[47] See Irving, "Adoption," for a fuller explanation of the special ordinances that sealed people together in family relationships.

[48] Joseph Smith, "King Follett Discourse," in Smith, *History* 6 (April 1844), p. 313.

[49] Erickson, *Group Life,* p. 83.

[50] Gen. 24:3–4; Ex. 34:12–17; 1 Kings 11:1–8; Ezra 10:10–11; Deut. 7:2–4.

[51] See Klaus J. Hansen, *The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of 50 in Mormon History: Quest for Empire* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1974).

[52] *Millennial Star* 5 (June 1844), p. 44.

THE AARONIC ORDER: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MODERN MORMON SECT

HANS A. BAER

SOCIAL SCIENTISTS HAVE FREQUENTLY REMARKED on the proliferation of religious denominations, sects and cults in the United States. Since its early history, Mormonism has spawned a large number of sects directly or indirectly. At least eighty-nine religious groups (many of which no longer exist) can be traced back to the church established by Joseph Smith on April 6, 1830.[1] One of these schismatic groups, the Aaronic Order, emerged in response to various tensions within the social structure and ideology of twentieth century Mormonism. Individuals were attracted to and eventually joined the Aaronic Order largely because the Mormon Church became increasingly oriented to the middle classes in the twentieth century. Whereas nineteenth century Mormonism was characterized by many sectarian features, twentieth century Mormonism took on more denominational or "church-like" features.

The Aaronic Order is a small millenarian group founded by Maurice L. Glendenning in the early 1930s. Many members of the Aaronic Order believe they are lineal descendants of Aaron and/or Levi of Old Testament times. The members of the Aaronic Order (who refer to themselves as Levites or Aaronites) also believe that they are to perform special religious functions before the second coming of Jesus Christ, which they claim will occur before 2000 A.D.

The Aaronic Order consists of the following branches: a congregation located in a suburb of Salt Lake City and serving the Salt Lake Valley; a congregation located in Springville and serving the Utah Valley (Provo-Orem) area; the Eskdale commune located in western Millard County a few miles from the Utah-Nevada border; and a cooperative community called Partoun located in western Juab

HANS A. BAER *is a professor of anthropology and sociology at George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee.*


Levi

County, also a few miles from the Utah-Nevada border.

Of the 400 members in the Order, a minority resides in the Eskdale commune, but it is the center of Levite activity. The Eskdale commune is the principal Levite economic endeavor, the location of the Aaronic Order's educational and musical facilities and the site of the annual June convention. It serves as a model for communal living and is a place where many Levites aspire to live eventually. Eskdale and the other desert communes which will be established are the places where the Levites will be "purified as gold and silver" and will prepare for the second coming of Christ.

The data that I obtained on the Aaronic Order was gathered primarily between October 1973 and December 1975, although some follow-up was carried out as late as July 1976.[2] Between January and June 1975, I worked among the Levites full-time, frequently visiting the desert communities of Eskdale and Partoun, attending worship services and study classes at the Salt Lake and Springville branches and interviewing various members in all the branches. I also interviewed the leaders and many middle-aged and elderly members, many of whom have been affiliated with the Aaronic Order since the 1940s and some of whom were followers of Glendenning in the 1930s.

HISTORY AND BELIEFS

The Aaronic Order is rooted in Mormonism. Most of the early followers of Glendenning were members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as have been the more-recent converts of the sect. Glendenning, his wife and his young daughter settled in the staunch Mormon community of Provo, forty-five miles south of Salt Lake City, in 1929. Glendenning had previously resided in several places, including Oregon, Montana, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Colorado. On April 14, 1929, Glendenning and his wife were baptized members of the Mormon Church, deciding to follow the example of their daughter. They became active in the Church and looked forward to the day when they would receive a temple recommend.

Shortly after Glendenning joined the Church, he began to inform various individuals that he was receiving revelations from a supernatural source. He found certain concepts in Mormonism similar to those in the writings that he had received.[3] On July 16, 1930, he received a writing in which the voice identified itself as the "Elias who should come in the last days."[4] In a later writing the voice identified itself as a forerunner and messenger for God prophesying the second coming of Christ.[5] It was not long before the church hierarchy opposed Glendenning.

He maintained that he was a literal descendant of Aaron and that the revelations given to him by the Angel Elias directed the Levites to restore the House of Israel and prepare the tribes of Israel for the second coming of Christ. The Levites are the priesthood tribe and will "minister unto" the other tribes of Israel. According to Levite belief, in March of 1938, Glendenning climbed to the top of a small hill near Crystal Springs, Nevada, where the Angel Elias restored to him "all the keys and authority of the Priesthood" unto which he had been ordained in the spirit during pre-mortality.[6] Glendenning was further told that he

would have the power to confer the "keys and authority of the Priesthood" to others who were patrilineal descendants of Aaron.

Between the early 1930s and 1942, discussion meetings dealing with the Levitical Writings, which Glendenning periodically received, were held in the homes of interested people in the Salt Lake and Utah Valleys. Apparently, during this period, a fair number of people investigated Glendenning's claims but gradually lost interest. He nevertheless, gained a small but devoted following during the 1930s, which formed the nucleus of the Aaronic Order when it was formally established. After an unsuccessful attempt to establish a communal venture in southwestern Utah in the 1930s, he worked at various jobs in southern Utah and eventually moved to Los Angeles where he established a chiropractic practice.

While Glendenning lived in southern Utah and in Los Angeles, small groups still regularly met in Salt Lake City and Provo to discuss the Writings. Some of his followers expressed concern that an organization based on the Writings had not yet been established.[7] Some members of this group contacted him and consecrated their belongings for the establishment of the Aaronic Order in late November of 1942. Articles of incorporation were filed with the State of Utah under the name of "Aaronic Order" or "Order of Aaron" as a nonprofit, religious organization listing Maurice L. Glendenning as its president.

Like the Mormon Church, the Aaronic Order claims to be a "restoration" of a previously existing religious organization. Even though many Levites accept the restoration of the Mormon Church, they claim that another restoration must occur before the second coming of Christ—that of the Order of Aaron and the House of Israel. Although there are strong similarities between Levite and Mormon theology, the members of the Aaronic Order vehemently deny that their organization is a Mormon "offshoot" or schism. They believe that their church and the Levitical priesthood were established in 1736 B.C. by Jesus Christ (also believed to be Jehovah) when Levi was consecrated a priest.[8]

There are definite ideological and structural similarities between Mormonism and the Aaronic Order. Many Levites, particularly middle-aged and elderly ones, acknowledge a certain theological connection between the two. These Levites believe that the Mormon Church was theologically valid (and perhaps still is in some respects) until about the time of the formal establishment of the Aaronic Order. A fair number of Levites still feel that eventually the Aaronic Order and the Mormon Church will merge and that meanwhile they may have separate but complementary functions.

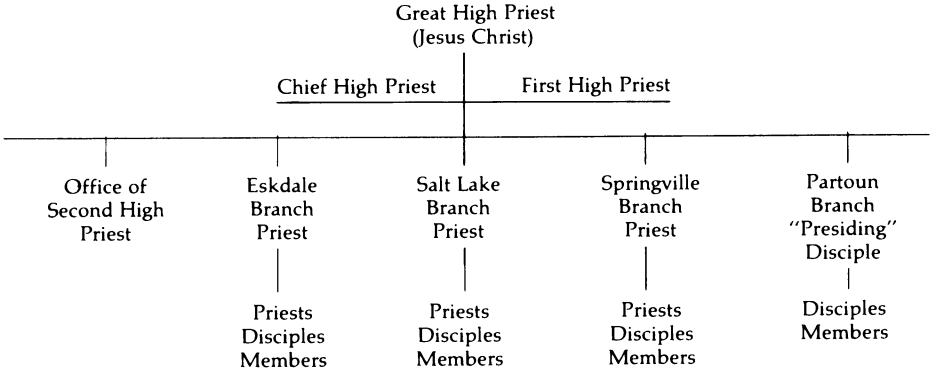
The Levites generally recognize the Mormon scriptures and Joseph Smith, although some say that he became a "fallen prophet" later in his life. The revelations that Glendenning received from the Angel Elias are transcribed in three separate books—the *Book of Elias*, the *Book of New Revelations*, and the *Disciple Book*. Glendenning is not considered to have been a "prophet" or "revelator" but a "mediator" whose duty was merely to record the revelations given by Elias. Although the Doctrine and Covenants ends with Section 136 and the *Book of Elias* begins with Section 137, the Aaronic Order denies that the latter is a continuation of the former. The Levites believe that with the death of Maurice Glendenning, the Angel Elias ceased speaking to the Chief High Priest.

Significant parallels exist between Levite and Mormon cosmology. The Levites, like Mormons, believe in a plurality of gods, the pre-mortal existence, the progression of gods and the "three degrees of glory." On the other hand, the Levite concept of the Trinity resembles that of Catholics and Protestants more than that of Mormons. The Levites also deny the practical universalism of Mormonism and accept the concepts of heaven and hell as found in most other Christian churches.

The Levites' ideal is to avoid the outside world, but they desire to be well-informed about its affairs. Many "worldly" recreational activities are considered to be sinful and "of Satan" by the Levites: alcoholic beverages, drugs, tobacco, dances and many motion pictures. Other recreational outlets such as hiking, biking, hayrides, sightseeing and singing are considered necessary and desirable. Educational films and "wholesome" entertainment films are occasionally viewed at the Eskdale commune. The Levites do not believe in observing Christmas in the traditional American manner because it is based on pagan practices. Members of the Order also believe in pacificism and nonviolence and maintain that the Levites of Old Testament times were exempt from military service.

Because Levite politico-religious organization is complex, despite the small size of the Order, only a brief description can be presented here. Although the priesthood hierarchies of the Mormon Church and the Aaronic Order are similar, appreciable differences have also developed. Unlike the Mormon Church, the Aaronic Order strongly emphasizes the Aaronic priesthood. The Levites believe the Melchizedek priesthood became corrupted after the time of Malachi and, according to one male informant, has not yet been "set in order." Young males designated to be "of Aaron" are not permitted to officiate as priests until they reach their early twenties. Figure 1 illustrates the priesthood hierarchy and its relationships to other members of the Aaronic Order.

Figure 1: Priesthood Hierarchy and Relationships within the Aaronic Order



The Levites believe that Jesus Christ is the Great High Priest of the Aaronic Order and the True Church of God. Through him the authority is delegated to the priests and the councils of the Aaronic Order. The Chief High Priest is in charge of the "spiritual affairs" of the Aaronic Order and the First High Priest is

in charge of the "temporal affairs." Both these offices have been held by Robert Conrad since the death of Glendenning in 1969. At one time Glendenning held the title of First High Priest, but later he was designated the Chief High Priest and Robert Conrad the First High Priest. The Office of Second High Priest consists of a principal Second High Priest and his assistants, also referred to as Second High Priests. The Second High Priest and his assistants are responsible for the performance of certain ordinances. At the present time, the Aaronic Order has four Second High Priests, of whom three, including the principal Second High Priest, are brothers. The former principal Second High Priest, now deceased, was the father of these three men.

The Priest of the Branch is responsible for the "spiritual and temporal affairs" of a particular branch. The Salt Lake and Springville branches both have a permanent Priest of the Branch. The branch priest of the Eskdale commune is called the "acting priest," a position that is rotated every three months among the priests residing at Eskdale. Other priests and disciples assist the branch priest in the performance of ordinances and other branch functions. Although Partoun has had resident branch priests in the past, it presently does not have one. A male resident of Partoun, referred to as the "lead" or "acting" disciple, carries out many of the spiritual and temporal functions that a branch priest ordinarily conducts. An attempt is made to have priests from the Eskdale commune visit the Partoun branch at least twice a month for certain rituals.

Fully consecrated males are disciples organized into a "brotherhood" that meets regularly in each branch. Female disciples are not organized into a "sisterhood" but, according to the Chief High Priest, this may be done in the future. All of the priests and male disciples in the Aaronic Order are now married.

The members of the Aaronic Order believe that the "law of consecration," which embodies "giving all one's possessions of this world's goods" and "all one's time, talents, and energy to the service of God," was given to the tribe of Levi in 1736 B.C.,[9] and that the Levites and other Israelite groups lived communally as did Jesus Christ and his followers. The members of the Aaronic Order consequently maintain that they should strive to live communally, advancing to this state through several steps.

In the spring of 1949 the Levites established their first community, Partoun, in the desert of western Utah. Their decision was partly a response to a writing called, "Go ye into the lands of the earth."[10] Partoun was established as a cooperative rather than a communal venture, although participants theoretically were to consecrate their property and possessions to the Aaronic Order. Thirty-seven homesteads (each 160 acres) were filed for, some by non-Levites, and of these, thirty were actually settled for some time. Partoun had many economic problems and only a few homesteads became somewhat productive. Several individuals and families, most of them older, still live at Partoun, convinced that some day this portion of the Snake Valley will be populated by thousands of refugees from the cities.

The Eskdale commune was established in 1955 under the guidelines of the Desert Entry Act, which enabled the community, unlike Partoun, to concentrate the residences in one area rather than establish individual homesteads. The commune gradually gained population, developed land for agriculture and added

new buildings. Most early settlers of Eskdale lived in one-room houses lit by coal-oil and gas lamps. Later the community acquired a 60,000 watt generator for electricity. In 1972 Eskdale hooked up its electrical system with the Mt. Wheeler Power Company of Nevada. In September 1956, Eskdale established a public grade school with nine students, which became part of the Millard County School District.[11] A high school, completely funded by the Aaronic Order, was added to the community in 1960.

The Levites maintain that they should not count the members of their group. To determine the size of the Levite community, I divided the Levite community into two categories according to their religious activity. "Active" members either attend Levite activities at least once every two months or fail to attend because they reside outside of the state of Utah or because of old age and poor health, but still express a strong commitment to the Aaronic Order. Individuals (except for young children) who did not meet these qualifications were classified as inactive members. Table 1 presents census figures for mid-1975.

Table 1

A Census of the Levite Community

	Active Members		Inactive Members
	Over Age 18	Under Age 18	Over Age 18
Male	56	50	51
Female	71	52	57
Total	127	102	108

Because I was unable to contact most inactive adult members, their children were usually not included in the census. When adults are inactive, in nearly all cases their children under eighteen years of age are not active members of the Levite community. Since I usually had to rely on information given by active members to identify inactive members, the census figure for the latter is conservative.

Table 2 presents selected demographic characteristics of the Eskdale commune in early May 1975. In one of the nuclear families the husband-father is a metallurgist who works in Idaho and plans to move to Eskdale. Because Eskdale has a number of school children whose parents are not residents of the community, its population is lower during the summer months. A few of the school children are not members of the Aaronic Order. After I conducted my census, Eskdale's population declined by about twenty-five percent due to a major schism of young and middle-aged members during late 1975 and 1976.

Table 2

Selected Demographic Characteristics of the Eskdale Commune

Nuclear families with children	9
Couples without children	3
Widows	4
Bachelors	6
School children whose parents are not Eskdale residents	17
Eskdale population	94

THE ESKDALE COMMUNE

The Levites believe the Eskdale commune fulfills the United Order principle that played such a vital role for the nineteenth century Mormons. The Aaronic Order theoretically requires an individual or family who residues at Eskdale to be fully consecrated and free of debts. The Eskdale Community Council, however, has made some exceptions. Just as the Salt Lake Valley was viewed as Zion by the early Mormon poineers, the Levites view the Snake Valley of the Great Basin—the location of both Eskdale and Partoun—as a refuge from the "wickedness of Babylon." Today Eskdale is composed of thirteen houses arranged in two semi-circular rows on the eastern side of the community grounds, two small trailers housing two widows, and several public facilities. Except for the grade school, all the public buildings are located on the western side of the community grounds. These include the dining hall/kitchen/laundry complex, a small high school building, the auditorium/school/music complex, the Montessori school and the school dormitory. The dairy is located southeast of the community center, and the shop buildings are directly north of it.

Eskdale's primary economic activities are crop and dairy agriculture. In the spring of 1975, Eskdale had about 750 acres under cultivation and 21 wells, which varied in depth from about 40 to 200 feet. Eskdale's principal crop is alfalfa, most of which is used to feed the community's cattle, although some is sold commercially; generally there are three or four alfalfa crops a year. Other crops grown at Eskdale include corn, wheat and barley. Eskdale also has two vegetable gardens that provide potatoes, corn, onions, carrots, beans, peas, pumpkin, squash, beets and parsnips for the community and other members of the Order. In 1975 Eskdale owned about 70 milk cows and about 100 calves, springers and dry cows. Several years earlier Eskdale owned about 30 head of beef cattle, but this number decreased to a handful. Eskdale's modern dairy was completed in December 1972; milk and cream are picked up at Eskdale and trucked to Delta, about 85 miles northeast of the commune.

According to the work manager, Eskdale's immediate economic goal is to become "self-sufficient." Since its establishment Eskdale has not operated at a profit, and it is subsidized by the tithes and contributions of members of the Order. For example, a member who works as a metallurgist in Idaho contributed a large amount of money for the construction of Eskdale's dairy several years ago. Although at one time most Levites earned a relatively low income, in the past decade or so a number have become professionals, well-paid craftsmen, and contractors, undoubtedly improving the financial status of the Order. In theory, the Order opposes going into debt, but it will borrow money if it has material or real assets that can be used as collateral.

There are many reasons for Eskdale's failure to operate at a profit during any fiscal year since its establishment in 1955. One is the constant expansion of the community's physical facilities—the construction of family dwelling units, school buildings, a school dormitory, a dairy, a community center, a shop building; the drilling of wells; the purchase of farm equipment; the installation of plumbing, heating and electrical systems; and the development of desert land into agricultural land. Although members donate labor, the building materials, transportation costs and other expenditures make operating at a profit difficult. Limited farm equip-

ment prevents greater development of land. According to the work manager, it takes three to five years of planting for the alkaline soil of the Snake Valley to become productive. Other factors that have retarded self-sufficiency include community factionalism, inefficient administrative and farming techniques and a heavy investment of financing and staffing the Eskdale educational system.

Like Mormons, the Levites emphasize education and are atypical of many sectarian groups. A focus of the Eskdale commune has been its school system: a Montessori school (the first in the state of Utah), a grade school and a high school. In February of 1975 the grade school had twenty-two students, about half of whom were children of people not residing at Eskdale. The grade school enrollment fluctuates from year to year (thirty students attended during the 1973–74, academic year). The size of the student body and faculty of the high school also fluctuates from year to year. During the 1974–75 academic year approximately twenty-five students attended the high school and two graduated in May, but during the 1973–74 academic year thirty-two students attended and seven graduated. As many as forty students attended high school in previous years. During the 1974–75 academic year the high school had three full-time instructors (all with teaching degrees) and two part-time instructors (both without college degrees). During the 1972–73 academic year the high school had eight full-time and part-time teachers, six of whom had college degrees, but not necessarily in education.

Although the schools lack many of the facilities of outside schools, the low student-faculty ratio compensates for this. Eskdale graduates have been readily accepted by colleges and universities, although the high school is not accredited. A proportionally high number of Eskdale graduates receive college scholarships, and many students pass tests granting them the equivalent of one year's college course work. Levite college students, particularly those whose families live at Eskdale, support their own education with scholarships and part time work.

The people of Eskdale and the Order are proud of the music program and community orchestra. Since the Levites of Old Testament times were musicians, the Levites believe they must continue this tradition. They sing hymns frequently at religious services and meal singing is a recreational outlet. In addition to a Christian evangelistic hymnal, the Levites use a hymnal called *Songs of Levi and Aaron*, which contains songs composed by members of the Order. Undoubtedly, the strong emphasis on music in the Order is partly a carry-over of the Mormon musical tradition, as well as a result of Glendenning's emphasis.

Piano instruction is basic to the music education program and begins for many students in the third grade. Students may be involved in one to four hours of musical instruction and practice daily. In 1973 the school orchestra became the community orchestra after some adults expressed a desire to learn how to play musical instruments. The community orchestra consists of grade and high school students, young people who recently graduated from high school and adults, the majority of whom are females. The forty-five piece orchestra plays primarily religious and classical music and has performed at locations in Utah and eastern Nevada, including the University of Utah and Brigham Young University.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE AARONIC ORDER

Max Weber and Anthony F. C. Wallace have discussed the importance of the

"charismatic leader" to the emergence of new religious movements.[12] Just as Joseph Smith and Brigham Young had a strong and permanent influence on Mormonism, so has Maurice L. Glendenning affected the Aaronic Order. Many Levites note that Glendenning was a striking figure. Although he was only about five feet seven inches tall and fairly heavy (weighing about 200 pounds), he is described as a handsome man with a well-groomed beard (although at times he did not wear one) and, in later years, silver-colored hair. Some Levites commented that when Glendenning walked into a public place, people would immediately notice his impressive appearance. He is remembered as an interesting conversationalist who could comment on almost every subject. Perhaps ten or more diplomas and certificates, including some in chiropractics and naturopathy, hung on the walls of his office. The current Chief High Priest told me that although Glendenning did not hold a degree in geology, he could speak knowledgeably about geological matters with geologists and petroleum engineers.

Glendenning instituted the practice in the Aaronic Order of granting certificates to individuals who reached various positions such as discipleship, and he was quick to grant leadership to those who impressed him. He placed one informant on the Eskdale Community Council who had just joined the Order and still had debts. Another Levite male, now deceased, was made the chairman of the Supreme Council shortly after joining the Order. The current Chief High Priest, who lived at Eskdale for about a year before he joined the Order, was called to be the First High Priest shortly after his conversion.

The Levites often speak of Glendenning's winning and charming personality. He was warm, friendly, optimistic, and decisive. He had a good sense of humor and was very affectionate with children. According to one male informant, Glendenning "made people feel like they were something special." Two other informants said that Glendenning told some people, themselves included, that he had known them in an earlier existence.

The Levites who were personally acquainted with Glendenning admit that he had "weaknesses" and personality differences with some members of the Order. He was very assertive and could become angry if people opposed him. According to a Levite woman who had known Glendenning since the 1930s, he could be very vindictive and carry a "grudge for a long time." According to the current Chief High Priest, if people acted cordially toward Glendenning, he would respond toward them in a similar manner. But if they insulted him, they might receive a "surprise."

Weber's concept of church-sect dichotomy views charisma in the church as being attached to the office, whereas in the sect it is attached to the religious leader.[13] According to Weber, the sect develops into a church through the process he calls "routinization of charisma." In Mormonism this process has been completed. The average Mormon is not so much impressed with the personality of the president of the Church as with the power of the office he holds. At times Mormons express dislike for the personal attributes of a particular president but still maintain that he has access to supernatural guidance. Maurice Glendenning, like Joseph Smith, possessed a tremendous amount of personal charisma, but unlike Smith, his charisma has not become routine. Robert Conrad is not as charismatic as Glendenning. He is well liked and addressed as "Brother Bob" by the Levites even though he holds a doctorate in education.

Social scientists recognize that the "church" and "sect" classifications of religious organizations is oversimplified, and they have developed typologies that also include the concept of "denomination" as first defined by Niebuhr.[14] Denominations maintain a more relaxed, world-comprising ethic fully attuned to the needs of the bourgeoisie. According to Becker, denominations are "in an advanced stage of development and adjustment to each other and the secular world."[15] Although the Mormon Church has not developed a spirit of tolerance for other religious groups, it has accommodated itself to the economic and political institutions of American society. Members of a sect withdraw from the larger society. While the Levites do not reject the larger society as vehemently as do groups such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, they regard many American values and pursuits as irrelevant to spiritual salvation. While the Mormon Church approaches both the "church" and "denomination" categories, the Aaronic Order is closer to the "sect" category.

Nineteenth century sectarian Mormonism emphasized cooperation, egalitarianism and provisions for the needy. Despite their early failures to live communally as the United Order in the Midwest and later in the Intermountain West, the Mormons developed a number of cooperative institutions in the West, including irrigation cooperatives, stores, industries, cattle and sheep companies and the Women's Relief Society. It would be misleading, however, to romanticize nineteenth century Mormon cooperative efforts. Mormonism has had a hierarchical, political-religious organization from its very beginning, and a strong correlation between church position and socio-economic status emerged at a fairly early date. But the disparity between rich and poor within the Mormon Church was not as apparent and pronounced in the nineteenth century as it became in the twentieth century.

After the proclamation of the Manifesto in 1890, Mormon cooperative efforts declined. According to Leonard Arrington, "Most of the goals of the pioneer church—the gathering, the Mormon village, unique property institutions, economic independence, the theocratic Kindgom—were abandoned, or well on their way toward abandoment, at the end of the century."[16] As the Mormon Church entered the twentieth century it accommodated itself to the political and economic institutions of the United States. Individualism, laissez-faire capitalism and social inequality were accepted by the Mormon hierarchy. The LDS leaders generally became conservative Republicans who spoke out against federal welfare programs and unionism.

As the twentieth century progressed, the Mormon Church expanded its financial investments and created new ones in the sugar beet industry, mercantile establishments, publishing houses, communications, ranching and farming, real estate, insurance, mining and many other economic enterprises. The Church rationalized its financial investments on the premise that they provided income and employment for the poor. Mormon leaders often sat on the board of directors of Church-owned businesses or ones in which the Church had large investments. Several years after the onset of the Depression, the cooperative approach was reasserted by the establishment of welfare farms and industries, but these efforts were modest compared to those that existed under nineteenth century Mormonism.[17]

The Mormon Church still espouses the "Law of Consecration" or "United Order" and the concept of stewardship as ideals but maintains that these are not followed because the members are not yet ready. Joseph Smith maintained that the United Order would have to be established before the second coming of Christ.[18] Today Mormons do not seriously discuss the establishment of communal living in the near future. The Mormon hierarchy and most active Mormons are firm believers in the free enterprise system. They are often outspoken critics of socialistic practices and governments. J. Kenneth Davies' study of the Mormon Church's "middle-class propensities" clearly illustrates its accommodation to secular political and economic institutions during the twentieth century.[19] Whereas nineteenth century Mormonism drew many of its converts from the "disinherited" and often substituted religious for social status, twentieth century Mormonism achieved middle class respectability and made religious and social status congruent. Positions of leadership in the church hierarchy became progressively difficult for the "common man" to acquire and tend to be granted to the successful businessman or professional. The accommodation of the Mormon Church to the political and economic institutions of American society was responsible for its loss of various sectarian qualities. In response to this accommodation, various sects emerged, including the Order of Aaron, that appealed to the "disinherited" of Mormon culture. Although not all groups that seceded from the Mormon Church can be analyzed by the church-sect model, many can, particularly those that developed in the twentieth century.

It is not a coincidence that what later became the Aaronic Order emerged shortly after the onset of the Great Depression. Boisen notes a great proliferation of new sects in American society during the 1930s.[20] According to several long-time members of the Aaronic Order, many people interested in the Levitical writings during the 1930s were adversely affected by the Great Depression. In a sample of thirty-five male and thirty female Levite pioneers, most early members were individuals of low socioeconomic status.

Early members of the Order complained of the failure of the Mormon Church to practice consecration and the United Order, particularly during the Depression but also later. A few converts, particularly men, questioned the business orientation of the Mormon Church's hierarchy. Some converts felt discriminated against because they were not as affluent or educated as the prominent members of their wards. Although some men achieved positions in the Mormon Church at the ward level, most Levites held a minor position if one at all. Except for the present Chief High Priest, who was in a ward bishopric and a stake mission presidency in California, it appears that no other members of the Order had held a position in a ward bishopric or one of higher status.

Some features of the Levite political-religious organization suggest that it has compensated for the low social status experienced within American culture and, more specifically, Mormonism. Liston Pope's observation that "the sect substitutes religious status for social status" appears to hold true for the Aaronic Order.[21] Whereas the Mormon Church may offer the "common man" only a minor position within its hierarchy, the Aaronic Order may make him a high-ranking member in the priesthood and in the councils of the House of Israel. His position can be comparable to that of the cardinals and archbishops of the Catholic Church

or the general authorities of the Mormon Church. Whereas a Mormon views himself as a member of a "chosen people," a Levite priest or disciple is part of the "chosen of the chosen." In commenting on the social psychological significance of the Council of Fifty for its members, Hansen notes that "it was, after all, a heady prospect for a tinsmith or farmer to be told that he would be one of the governing princes in the Kingdom of God with authority to rule the nations of the earth."[22] The councils of the Aaronic Order perform much of the same function as did the Council of Fifty.

LATER DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORDER

Once a religious organization establishes its social structure and ideology, further development depends on forces different from those responsible for its origin. In the Aaronic Order, two factors especially significant in its development were the dynamic and charismatic leadership of Maurice L. Glendenning and the group's contact with fundamentalist Protestant groups. Glendenning was disturbed that many members of the Aaronic Order were still holding on to many Mormon beliefs and behavioral patterns. After the formal establishment of the order, particularly during the 1940s, Levites still attended Mormon meetings, often using these as vehicles to express their belief in the messages of Elias. It was not until the mid-1950s, that the Order encountered Protestant fundamentalists and made a definite break with Mormonism. During the 1950s and 1960s, young Levites attended a pentecostal Bible college in Colorado. This experience together with other contacts with Protestant groups and individuals resulted in a shift away from Mormonism and toward fundamentalist Protestantism.

The Aaronic Order can be divided into three generations: The first generation, or "pioneers," includes all members sixty years of age and older; the second generation, those between thirty and fifty-nine years of age; and the third generation, those under thirty years of age. Beliefs tend to be unified on a generational rather than a group-wide level. The differences between the first and third generations are considerable—the first generation being a product of Mormon culture and the third having little exposure to Mormon ideology. The second generation stands with a foot in both camps, many of its members raised in Mormonism but also exposed to fundamentalist Protestantism in late adolescence or early adulthood. Even within each generation viewpoints differ as some individuals incorporate concepts from other belief systems, a phenomenon particularly characteristic of the first generation.

The Aaronic Order's shift toward fundamentalist Protestantism is best reflected in members of the third generation. Almost all of them were raised not as Mormons but as Levites. They generally know little about Mormonism and often do not regard Joseph Smith as a prophet or give the matter only little consideration. When Mormon doctrinal points are discussed by middle-aged and older Levites, young people express surprise that some of these points are part of "official" Levite ideology. Formal religious training in the Eskdale schools emphasizes traditional Protestant doctrines rather than the doctrines of the Aaronic Order. Although the young people are present at study meetings where various Levite beliefs are discussed, generally these discussions do not actively include school

children. Some members of the third generation over twenty years of age have a greater comprehension of "official" Levite ideology than the school children, but generally they were not as interested in ideology as in a personal relationship with Jesus Christ and in receiving the "gifts" of the Holy Spirit. On the other hand, a Levite bachelor in his early twenties told me that he has not read the *Book of Elias* nor was he sure where he could obtain one. For many young people, Glendenning is a remote figure, although they may remember having seen and heard him. Members of the third generation deemphasize doctrines and stress a deep commitment to Jesus Christ. Specific doctrines are often viewed as divisive. This new philosophy within the Aaronic Order was a reaction to the relatively weak exposure to "official" Levite ideology that many young people have received.

By the fall of 1975, however, the ideological differences between fundamentalist Protestantism and the Aaronic Order became apparent to many young members and even to some middle-aged members. The ensuing controversy resulted in the expulsion of the leader of the charismatic movement and his chief disciple. These events, in turn, led to a major schism in which over twenty-five of Eskdale's residents and a number of young Levites residing on the outside left the Aaronic Order.

CONCLUSION

The Aaronic Order is a sect that appealed to a certain alienated segment within the Mormon Church, which, by accommodating to the larger society, no longer satisfied the needs of some of its lower working class members. Members of the Order attempted to resurrect the *Gemeinschaft* ethos, which they perceived to have been characteristic of nineteenth century Mormonism. The emphasis of the early Levites on communalism, egalitarianism, the imminent millennium, and modern day revelation indicates that they strongly desired to revitalize Mormonism. The ideological shift away from Mormonism and toward fundamentalist Protestantism beginning in the mid-1950s, was promoted by Glendenning and later condoned by the present Chief High Priest. The implications of the resulting schism remain to be seen, but a process of retrenchment of the remaining Levites can be expected.

The Mormon Church and the Aaronic Order were both established by charismatic individuals claiming to be divinely directed. Both emphasized egalitarian and communal ideals, appealed to people of humble origins and attempted to rejuvenate their respective sociocultural milieus. Although the early Mormon Church did not come out of any particular religious body, it attracted people who felt that the churches they belonged to were not following Christian ideals.

Despite a variety of external and internal problems, the Mormon Church managed to grow. Its structure has changed from a socialist theocracy in the nineteenth century to a complex bureaucracy resembling the modern corporation in the twentieth century. After several decades, the Aaronic Order is not much larger than it was during its early years. It has not made the transition from a sect to a church or a denomination-like organization. The recent schism has drained much of its vitality by pulling away many younger members. The Aaronic Order is not likely to get larger, but it may occasionally attract the "disinherited" of the Mormon Church.

NOTES

[1] Kate B. Carter, *Denominations That Base Their Beliefs on the Teaching of Joseph Smith*, (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1969), and Russell R. Rich, *Those Who Would Be Leaders*, (Provo, Utah: Brigham University Lecture Series, Extension Publications, 1959).

[2] For a more detailed description and analysis of the Aaronic Order consult my doctoral dissertation, "The Levites of Utah: The Development of and Recruitment to a Small Millenarian Sect," (Salt Lake City: Department of Anthropology, University of Utah, March 1976).

[3] Blanche W. Beeston, *Purified as Gold and Silver*, (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1966), pp. 35-56.

[4] *Book of Elias*: Section 166, (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President of the Aaronic Order, 1944). The revelations that Glendenning claimed to have received from the Angel Elias are compiled in the *Book of Elias*, the *Book of New Revelations*, and the *Disciple Book*.

[5] *Book of Elias*: Section 185.

[6] *Book of Elias*: Section 217.

[7] Blanche W. Beeston, *Now My Servant*, (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1957), pp. 90-93.

[8] Maurice L. Glendenning, *The True Church of God (With His Levites)*, (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President of the Aaronic Order, 1955), pp. 10-13.

[9] Beeston 1966, p. 260, and *Book of New Revelations*, Chapter 8, (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President of the Aaronic Order, 1948).

[10] *Book of New Revelations*, Chapter 23.

[11] Beeston 1966, p. 223.

[12] See Reinhard Bendix, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait*, (New York: Doubleday, Anchor, 1962) and Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Mazeway Resynthesis: A Biocultural Theory of Religious Inspiration," *Transaction of the New Academy of Science*, 1956, *18*, 626-636.

[13] Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, Ephraim Fischoff, trans., (Boston: Beacon, 1963).

[14] Richard H. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1929).

[15] Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology, on the Basis of the Beziehungslehre and Gelilderlehre of Leopold von Wiese*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1932) p. 626.

[16] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1890*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1958), p. 403.

[17] Wallace Turner, *The Mormon Establishment*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), pp. 102-136.

[18] Nels Anerson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, Phoenix), p. 374.

[19] J. Kenneth Davies, "The Mormon Church: Its Middle Class Propensities," *Review of Religious Research*, 1963, *4*, 84-95.

[20] Anton T. Boisen, "Religion and Hard Times: A Study of the Holy Rollers," *Social Action*, 1939, *5*, 8-35.

[21] Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers*, (New Haven: Yale University, 1942), p. 137.

[22] Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History*, (Lansing: Michigan State University, University of Nebraska Press, 1967), pp. 188-189.

AMONG THE MORMONS

A SURVEY OF CURRENT LITERATURE

STEPHEN W. STATHIS

AS HEMINGWAY PUT IT, "A writer's problem does not change. He himself changes and the world he lives in changes but his problem remains the same. It is always how to write truly and, having found what is true, to project it in such a way that it becomes a part of the experience of the person who reads it." Against this standard, those who write on Mormon topics fare quite well. Today, for the most part, Mormons and Mormonism are looked upon with a professionalism and objectivity that only a few years ago would have been considered unthinkable. Equally amazing is the number of quality pieces. Although much of the writing comprising "Among the Mormons" is undistinguished, the periodical selections are in general both well written and interesting (as the accompanying selections illustrate). If Mormon literature is to continue the marked improvement it has experienced over the past two decades, much more of the same will be needed; authors represented here must be encouraged. These writings warrant special attention, as do the authors.

Articles not appearing here but of equal quality are 1977–78 *Ensign* articles on the Book of Mormon characters and on saints in different parts of the country.

STEPHEN W. STATHIS *is an analyst in American history with the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress.*

PERIODICAL ARTICLES ON MORMONS AND MORMONISM

GENERAL

Brink, T. L. "Ecumenical Beginnings in the Mormon Church." *Ecumenist* 15 (May-June 1977): 56-61.

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. "Can You and Your Children Agree on How They Should Live?" *Reader's Digest* 113 (December 1978): 8 page insert.

———, "Can You—As a Man, As a Woman—Get More Satisfaction Out of Life?" *Reader's Digest* 112 (June 1978): 8 page insert.

———, "Can You Feel More Secure in Life?" *Reader's Digest* 113 (September 1978): 8 page insert.

———, "Can You Have a Happier Family Life?" *Reader's Digest* 112 (April 1978): 8 page insert.

Hardy, B. Carmon. "The Schoolboy God: A Mormon-American Model." *Journal of Religious History* 9 (December 1976): 173-188.

Hatch, Randall. "Mormon Church: Managing the Lord's Work." *MBA/Masters in Business Administration* 11 (June 1977): 35-36, 38.

Hill, Samuel S., Jr. "A Typology of American Restitutionism: From Frontier Revivalism and Mormonism to the Jesus Movement." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 44 (March 1976): 65-76.

"How Mormons Cope With 'Deterioration in Morals': Interview With Spencer W. Kimball, President, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." *U.S. News & World Report* 83 (December 19, 1977): 60-61.

Hoyt, Edwin. "The Mormons March On." *Far Eastern Economic Review* 99 (January 20, 1978): 29.

Kostman, J. C. Louis, and Harvey Yazijian. "The Latter-day Intrigues of the Mormon Church." *Oui* 6 (November 1977): 45-46, 120, 122-127.

Michaelson, Robert S. "Enigmas in Interpreting Mormonism." *Sociological Analysis* 38 (Summer 1977): 145-153.

"Mormon Utah: Where a Church Shapes the Life of a State." *U.S. News & World Report* 83 (December 19, 1977): 59-61.

"Mormonism Enters a New Era: But America's Biggest Native Faith Remains a Kingdom Apart." *Time* 112 (August 7, 1978): 54-56.

Shipps, Jan. "The Mormons: Looking Forward and Outward." *Christian Century* 95 (August 16-23, 1978): 761-766.

Smith, John L. "The Travesty of Joseph Smith: A Look at Mormonism: An Unparalled Increase." *Faith for the Family* 5 (May/June 1977): 3-8.

"Utah: Inner Sanctum of the Right." *Economist* 267 (May 6, 1978): 48, 51.

ART AND MUSIC

"A Portfolio of Mormon Painters." *Ensign* 7 (July 1977): 39-57.

Lundstrom, Harold. "Alexander Schreiner Retires After a Half Century as Tabernacle Organist." *American Guild of Organists* 12 (February 1978): 28-29.

Myer, Peter, and Marie Myer. "New Directions in Mormon Art." *Sunstone* 2 (Spring 1977): 32-64.

Oman, Richard G. "Baskets and Dancing Blankets: In a Worldwide Church Appreciating All Cultures' Art is a Real Part of Day-to-Day Brotherhood." *Ensign* 7 (July 1977): 74-79.

Slaughter, William W., and W. Randall Dixon. "Utah Under Glass: An Introduction to Four Prominent Pioneer Photographers of 19th Century Utah." *Sunstone* 2 (Summer 1977): 28-39.

Walker, Ronald W., and D. Michael Quinn. "'Virtuous, Lovely, or of Good Report': How the Church Has Fostered the Arts." *Ensign* 7 (July 1977): 80–93.

ARCHITECTURE

Goss, Peter L. "Prairie School Influence in Utah." *Prairie School Review* 12 (First Quarter, 1975): 5–22.

BIBLIOGRAPHY, PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE, AND SOURCES

Bitton, Davis. "The Year in Church History." *Ensign* 7 (December 1977): 57–58.

Cannon, Donald C. "Thomas L. Kane Meets the Mormons." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Fall 1977): 126–128.

Ellern, Ahoran. "Zion in the Far West [A Modern Israeli View of the Mormons]." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Fall 1977): 119–121.

Esplin, Ronald K. "From the Rumors to the Records: Historians and the Sources for Brigham Young." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 453–465.

Evans, Max J. "Handling Photographs in the L.D.S. Church Archives." *American Archivist* 40 (April 1977): 173–177.

———, and Ronald G. Watt. "Sources for Western History at the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." *Western Historical Quarterly* 8 (July 1977): 303–312.

Flake, Chad J. "Mormon Bibliography 1976." *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Spring 1977): 361–372.

———. "Mormon Bibliography 1977." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Summer 1978): 570–584.

Mulder, William. "Mormon Sources for Immigration History." *Immigration History Newsletter* 10 (November 1978): 1–8.

Poll, Richard D. "Nauvoo and the New Mormon History: A Bibliographical Survey." *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978): 105–123.

Walker, Ronald W. "Young Heber J. Grant and His Call to the Apostleship." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Fall 1978): 121–126.

BIOGRAPHY AND FAMILY HISTORY

Arrington, Leonard J. "Idaho's Benson Family." *Idaho Heritage* 9 (1977): 18–19.

———, and Jon Haupt. "The Mormon Heritage of Vardis Fisher." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Fall 1977): 24–47.

Baldwin, Orval F. "A Mormon Bride in the Great Migration." *Nebraska History* 58 (Spring 1977): 53–72.

Benson, Ezra Taft. "Oral History: Ezra Taft Benson." *Idaho Heritage* 9 (1977): 14–17, 50; and 10 (October 1977): 12–15.

Bitton, Davis. "Great-Grand Father's Family." *Ensign* 7 (February 1977): 48–51.

Bower, Larry D., ed. "Marriner Stoddard Eccles Memorial Issue." *First Security Branch Clearings* 28 (January 6, 1978): 1–8.

Britsch, R. Lanier. "Another Visit With Walter Murray Gibson." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 65–78.

Brooks, Juanita, and Janet G. Butler, eds. "Utah's Peace Advocate, the 'Mormona': Elise Furer Musser." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Spring 1978): 151–166.

Childress, William. "Lula's Butch." *Westways* 68 (April 1976): 18–21, 76.

Cooley, Everett L. "A Dedication to the Memory of Dale L. Morgan, 1914–1971." *Arizona and the West* 19 (Summer 1977): 103–106.

Derr, Jill Mulvay, and Susan Oman. "The Nauvoo Generation: Our First Five Relief Society Presidents." *Ensign* 7 (December 1977): 36–43.

———. "These Three Women: They Presided Over Relief Society in the Twentieth Century." *Ensign* 8 (February 1978): 66-70.

Dix, Fae Decker, ed. "The Josephine Diaries: Glimpses of the Life of Josephine Streeper Chase, 1881-94." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Spring 1978): 167-183.

Edwards, Paul M. "The Secular Smiths." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 3-17.

Gates, Susa Young. "From Impulsive Girl to Patient Wife: Lucy Bigelow Young." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1977): 270-288.

Herschensohn, Bruce. "The Marriotts: A Family's Success Story." *Success Unlimited* 24 (May 1977): 12-16, 55, 58-61.

Hunt, Larry E. "Frederick Madison Smith: The Formative Years of an RLDS President." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 67-89.

Huth, S. A. "The Osmonds." *Success Unlimited* 25 (April 1978): 36-42, 108.

Keller, Charles L. "Promoting Railroads and Statehood: John W. Young." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1977): 289-308.

McKiernan, F. Mark. "David H. Smith: A Son of the Prophet." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 233-245.

Porter, Larry. "The Joseph Knight Family." *Ensign* 8 (October 1978): 39-45.

Quinn, D. Michael. "The Newell K. Witney Family." *Ensign* 8 (December 1978): 42-45.

Sessions, Gene A. "Clark Memorandum Myth." *Americas* 34 (July 1977): 40-58.

Tobler, Douglas F. "Karl G. Maeser's German Background, 1828-1856: The Making of Zion's Teacher." *Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte* 29 (1977): 325-344.

Turney, Catherine. "John D. Lee: Villain or Scapegoat?" *Mankind* 5 (No. 8, 1976): 60-67.

Watt, Ronald G. "Sailing 'The Old Ship Zion': The Life of George D. Watt." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Fall 1977): 48-65.

Wirthlin, LeRoy. "Nathan Smith (1762-1828): Surgical Consultant to Joseph Smith." *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Spring 1977): 319-337.

BLACKS

"Black Mormons Cling to Church Despite Obstacles." *Jet* 54 (May 1978): 28.

Bringhurst, Newell G. "An Ambiguous Decision: The Implementation of Mormon Priesthood Denial for the Black Man—A Reexamination." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 45-64.

———. "Forgotten Mormon Perspectives: Slavery, Race, and the Black Man as Issues Among Non-Utah Latter-day Saints, 1844-1873." *Michigan History* 61 (Winter 1977): 352-370.

Carpenter, T. S. "Final Tribute." *New Times* 11 (July 24, 1978): 76.

Johnson, Martin A., and Gary L. Bunker. "Ethnicity and Resistance to Compensatory Education: A Comparison of Mormon and Non-Mormon Ethnic Attitudes." *Review of Religious Research* 16 (Winter 1975): 74-82.

"Revelation: Now Blacks Can Become Full-Fledged Mormons." *Time* 111 (June 19, 1978): 55.

Wells, Elmer E. "Unjustifiable Denial of Priesthood to Black Mormons." *Negro History Bulletin* 40 (July 1977): 725-727.

Woodward, Kenneth L., with Jack Goodman. "Race Relations." *Newsweek* 91 (July 11, 1978): 67.

BOOK OF MORMON

Howard, Richard P. "Beating Solomon Spaulding's Poor, Dead Horse One More Time." *Saints Herald* 124 (September 1977): 37.

———. "Clarifying the Book of Mormon Manuscripts." *Saints Herald* 124 (November 1977): 39.

Larson, Stan. "Conjectural Emendation and the Text of the Book of Mormon." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Summer 1978): 563-569.

Merrill, David. "Behind the Spalding Controversy." *Sunstone* 3 (November-December 1977): 28-30.

"Mormon Mystery." *Time* 110 (July 11, 1977): 69.

Plowman, Edward E. "Mormon Manuscript Claims: Another Look." *Christianity Today* 22 (October 21, 1977): 38.

———. "Who Really Wrote the Book of Mormon?" *Christianity Today* 21 (July 8, 1977): 32-34.

BRIGHAM YOUNG

Arrington, Leonard J., and Ronald K. Esplin. "Building a Commonwealth: The Secular Leadership of Brigham Young." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1977): 216-232.

Bitton, Davis. "George Francis Train and Brigham Young." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 410-427.

Bush, Lester E., Jr. "Brigham in Life and Death: A Medical Review." *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978): 79-103.

Coates, Lawrence C. "Brigham Young and Mormon Indian Policies: The Formative Period, 1836-1851." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 428-452.

Cornwall, Rebecca, and Richard F. Palmer. "The Religious Background of Brigham Young." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 286-310.

Croft, David James. "The Private Business Activities of Brigham Young 1847-1877." *Journal of the West* 16 (October 1977): 36-51.

Derr, Jill Mulvay. "Woman's Place in Brigham Young's World." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 377-395.

England, Eugene. "Brigham's Gospel Kingdom." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 328-376.

Esplin, Ronald K. "From the Rumors to the Records: Historians and the Sources for Brigham Young." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 453-465.

Irving, Gordon. "Encouraging the Saints: Brigham Young's Annual Tours of the Mormon Settlements." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1977): 233-251.

Jessee, Dean C. "Brigham Young's Family." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 311-327.

Kimball, Stanley B. "Brigham and Heber." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 396-409.

Moorman, Donald R. "Shadows of Brigham Young as Seen by His Biographers." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1977): 252-264.

O'Neil, Floyd A., and Stanford J. Layton. "Of Pride and Politics: Brigham Young as Indian Superintendent." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 236-250.

Quinn, D. Michael. "Brigham Young: Man of Spirit." *Ensign* 7 (August 1977): 34-37.

Walker, Ronald W., and Ronald K. Esplin. "Brigham Himself: An Autobiographical Recollection." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 19-34.

Watt, Ronald G. "Calligraphy in Brigham Young's Office." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1977): 265-269.

BUSINESS, ECONOMICS, AND LABOR

Davies, J. Kenneth. "Secularization of the Utah Labor Movement." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Spring 1977): 108-134.

Hill, Marvin S., C. Keith Rooker and Larry T. Wimmer. "The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics." *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Summer 1977): 389-475.

Kaye, Jeffrey. "An Invisible Empire: Mormon Money in California." *New West* 3 (May 8, 1978): 36-37, 39, 41.

Leone, Mark P. "The Economic Basis for the Evolution of Mormon Religion," in Irving L. Zaretsky and Mark P. Leone, eds. *Religious Movements in Contemporary America*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1974, pp 722-766.

Powell, Allan Kent. "Mormon Influence on the Unionization of Eastern Utah Coal Miners, 1903-33." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 91-100.

"Salt Lake City: Land Flowing With Mormons and Money." *Advertising Age* 48 (December 12, 1977): 123.

DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, AND ORGANIZATIONS

Alder, Douglas D. "The Mormon Ward: Congregation or Community?" *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978): 61-78.

Bachman, Daniel W. "New Light on an Old Hypothesis: The Ohio Origins of the Revelation on Eternal Marriage." *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978): 19-32.

Hartley, William G. "Mormon Sundays: A Historian Looks at How We've Observed the Sabbath Since 1830." *Ensign* 8 (January 1978): 19-25.

Holland, Jeffery R. " . . . Of Countries and of Kingdoms." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Fall 1977): 3-11.

Norman, Keith. "Ex Nihilo: The Development of the Doctrines of God and Creation in Early Christianity." *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Spring): 291-318.

Oman, Susan, and Carol Madsen, "100 Years of Primary." *Ensign* 8 (April 1978): 32-39.

Peterson, LaMar. "For the Letter Killeth: Mormon Justice." *Humanist* 38 (January-February 1978): 16-19.

EDUCATION

Arrington, Leonard J. "The Latter-day Saints and Public Education." *Southwestern Journal of Social Education* 7 (Spring/Summer 1977): 9-25.

Card, Orson Scott. "A Lively Institute in Manhattan, Kansas." *Ensign* 7 (August 1977): 28-33.

Christensen, Harold T., and Kenneth L. Cannon. " The Fundamentalist Emphasis at Brigham Young University, 1935-1973." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 17 (March 1978): 53-57.

Eble, Kenneth E. "A Counter Force Within the System." *Change* 9 (July 1977): 66-69.

Hoyt, Edwin. "Studious Missionaries." *London Times Higher Education Supplement* 321 (December 30, 1977): 3.

Rowe, Glenn R. "Can You Read Deseret? This Pioneering Mormon Alphabet was More Than an Educational Experiment." *Ensign* 8 (March 1978): 60-61.

Schulthess, Dave. "Campus Close-Up: Brigham Young University." *Coach and Athlete* 40 (March 1978): 8-10.

Worthington, Boyd G. "Assessment of Personal and Consumer Finance Literacy Among Undergraduate Students at Brigham Young University." *Business Education Forum* 31 (February 1977): 35-37.

EMIGRANTS, IMMIGRATION, AND SETTLEMENT

Allen, James B. "To the Saints in England: Impressions of a Mormon Immigrant (The 10 December 1840 William Clayton Letter From Nauvoo to Manchester)." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 475-480.

———. "'We had a Very Hard Voyage for the Season.' John Moon's Account of the First Emigrant Company of British Saints." *Brigham Young University Studies* 17, (Spring 1977): 339-341.

Grant, H. Roger, and David E. Kyvig. "A Mormon Plan for an Island Kingdom of God." *Prologue* 4 (Spring 1972): 26-30.

Hammarberg, M. "Sampling Design for Mormon Utah, 1880." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7 (Winter 1977): 453-476.

Jackson, Richard H., and Robert L. Layton. "The Mormon Village: Analysis of a Settlement Type." *Professional Geographer* 28 (May 1976): 136–141

Lifchez, Raymond. "Inspired Planning: Mormon and Fourierist Communities in the Nineteenth Century." *Landscape* 20 (Spring 1976): 29–35.

Schomakers, G. "Mormonen Trekken Westwaarts." *Spiegel Historiael [Netherlands].* 9 (July/August 1974): 422–429.

Walker, Ronald W. "The Willard Richards and Brigham Young 5 September 1840 Letter From England to Nauvoo." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 466–475.

Weeks, Robert P. "A Utopian Kingdom in the American Grain." *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 61 (Autumn 1977): 3–20.

FAMILIES

Barlow, B. "Notes on Mormon Interfaith Marriages." *Family Coordinator* 26 (April 1977): 143–150.

Kunz, Phillip R., Evan T. Peterson, and Gail W. Peterson. "Does Family Size Affect Academic Achievement." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Summer 1978): 529–535.

FOLKLORE

Fife, Austin E. "Seagulls and Crickets." *Western Folklore* 37 (January 1978): 61.

Poulsen, Richard C. "'This is the Place': Myth and Mormondon." *Western Folklore* 36 (July 1977): 246–252.

Wilson, William A. "Utah Folklore and the Utah Librarian." *Utah Libraries* 20 (Spring 1977) 25–36.

GENEALOGY, TEMPLES, AND TEMPLE WORK

Anderson, Paul L. "The First of the Modern Temples." *Ensign* 7 (July 1977): 6–11.

Center, Don B. "Genealogy and the Mormons." *Journal of Genealogy* 2 (July 1977): 12, 16.

Hall, Joseph. "The Genealogy Racket: Or How To Make Money Off the Faithful." *Sunstone* 2 (Summer 1977): 16–17.

Embry, Jessie. "Missionaries for the Dead: The Story of the Genealogical Missionaries of the Nineteenth Century." *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Spring 1977): 355–360

Leonard, Glen M. "From the Association Bookshelf." *History News* 33 (February 1978): 43–45. Essay on the newest genealogical how-to-do-it books.

Leone, Mark P. "The New Mormon Temple in Washington, D.C." in Leland Ferguson, ed., *Historical Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things.* Special Publications Series, Number 2. Published by the Society for Historical Archaeology 2 (1977): 43–61.

Powell, Ted F. "Saving the Past for the Future: Sales of International Search and Cooperation." *American Archivist* 39 (July 1976): 311–318.

"Rare Opening of Oahu's Temple." *Sunset* 160 (May 1978): 100.

Wimmer, Larry T., and Clayne L. Pope. "The Genealogical Society Library of Salt Lake City: A Source of Data for Economic and Social Historians." *Historical Methods Newsletter* 8 (March 1975): 51–58.

INDIANS

Adams, Larry LaMar, and Others. "Academic Success of American Indian Students at a Large Private University." *College and University* 53 (Fall 1977): 100–107.

Broadfoot, Raymond. "Indians of the Americas: A Racial Puzzle." *Saints Herald* 125 (February 1978): 16–18; and (March 1978): 24–25.

Christy, Howard A. "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847–52." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 216–235.

JOSEPH SMITH

Alexander, Thomas G. "The Place of Joseph Smith in the Development of American Religion: A Historical Inquiry." *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978): 3-17.

Cannon, Donald Q. "The King Follett Discourse: Joseph Smith's Greatest Sermon in Historical Perspective." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 179-192.

Carter, Carol L. "The Joseph Smith Home Restored: Preserving the Church's Heritage in Lamoni." *Saints Herald* 124 (April 1977): 31-33.

Hale, Van. "The Doctrinal Impact of the King Follett Discourse." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 209-225.

Jessee, Dean. "Howard Coray's Recollections of Joseph Smith." *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Spring 1977): 341-347.

Larson, Stan. "The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 193-208.

Porter, Larry C. "Christmas With the Prophet Joseph." *Ensign* 8 (December 1978): 8-11.

Rhodes, Michael Dennis. "A Translation and Commentary of the Joseph Smith Hypocephalus." *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Spring 1977): 259-274.

Scherer, Mark A. "Joseph Smith, Jr.: Presidential Candidate." *Saints Herald* 124 (June 1977): 18-20, 47.

Wirthlin, LeRoy S. "Joseph Smith's Surgeon." *Ensign* 8 (March 1978): 58-60.

Woodford, Robert J. "Book of Mormon Personalities Known by Joseph Smith." *Ensign* 8 (August 1978): 12-15.

KIRTLAND AND NAUVOO

Anderson, Lavina Fielding. "Kirtland's Resolute Saints." *Ensign* 9 (January 1979): 49-55.

Backman, Milton V., Jr. "Kirtland: The Critical Years." *Ensign* 9 (January 1979): 24-28.

———. "Truman Coe's 1836 Description of Mormonism." *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Spring 1977): 347-355.

Enders, Donald L. "A Dam for Nauvoo: An Attempt to Industrialize the City." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 246-254.

England, Eugene, ed. "George Laub's Nauvoo Journal." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 151-178.

Hill, Marvin S., C. Keith Rooker, and Larry T. Wimmer. "The Kirtland Economy Revisited." *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Summer 1977): 391-482.

Kimball, Stanley B. "The First Road West: From New York to Kirtland, 1831." *Ensign* 9 (January 1979): 29-30.

———. "Nauvoo West: The Mormons of the Iowa Shore." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 132-142.

Lyon, T. Edgar. "Recollections of 'Old Nauvooers' Memories From Oral History." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 143-150.

Quinn, D. Michael. "The Practice of Rebaptism at Nauvoo." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 226-232.

Rowley, Dennis. "Nauvoo: A River Town." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 255-272.

"The Way It Looks Today: A Camera Tour of Church History Sites in the Kirtland Neighborhood." *Ensign* 9 (January 1979): 31-48.

LAW, POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Beeton, Barbara. "James Hervey Simpson in the Great Basin." *Montana: The Magazine of Western*

History 28 (January 1978): 28-43.

Long, E. B. "The 'Terrible Combat' at Bear River. For Federal Officials Serving in the West, Mormons and Indians Created Far More Problems Than the Rebels." *Civil War Times Illustrated* 15 (April 1976): 4-6, 7-10, 40-43.

Shepherd, Allen R. "Gentile in Zion: Algernon Sidney Paddock and the Utah Commission, 1882-1886. *Nebraska History* 57 (Fall 1976): 359-377.

"Utah: Inner Sanctum of the Right." *Economist* 267 (May 6, 1978): 48, 51.

Watters, Gary L. "Utah Territory [in the Civil War]." *Journal of the West* 16 (April 1977): 44-56.

White, William Griffin, Jr. "The Feminist Campaign for the Exclusion of Brigham Henry Roberts From the Fifty-Sixth Congress." *Journal of the West* 17 (January 1978): 44-52.

LITERATURE AND SPEECH

Bitton, Davis, and Gary L. Bunker. "Mischievous Puck and the Mormons." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Summer 1978): 504-519.

Center, Don B. "Maligning as a Technique in Anti-Mormon Rhetoric, 1847-1890." *Georgia Speech Communication Journal* 8 (Spring 1977): 4-12.

Geary, Edward A. "Mormondom's Lost Generation: The Novelists of the 1940s." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Fall 1977): 89-98.

Stott, Graham St. John. "Zane Grey and James Simpson Emmett." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Summer 1978): 491-503.

Topping, Gary. "Zane Grey in Zion: An Examination of His Anti-Mormonism." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Summer 1978): 483-490.

Whittaker, David J. "Early Mormon Pamphleteering." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 35-49.

MISSIONARY WORK

Barney, R. D., and G. G. Y. Chu. "Differences Between Mormon Missionaries' Perceptions and Chinese Natives' Expectations in Intercultural Transactions." *Journal of Social Psychology* 98 (February 1976): 135-136.

Britsch, R. Lanier. "The Founding of the Samoan Mission." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Fall 1977): 12-26.

Goddard, J. R. "A Mormon Missionary in Essex." *Essex Countryside* 26 (September 1978): 34-35.

"Status Report on Missionary Work: A Conversation With Elder Thomas S. Monson of the Missionary Committee of the Council of Twelve." *Ensign* 7 (October 1977): 8-14.

Thorp, Malcolm R. "The Religious Backgrounds of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837-52." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 51-66.

MORMON HISTORY ASSOCIATION

Esplin, Ronald K., and Kenneth Stobaugh. "In Quest of the Past: The Mormon History Association Today." *Sunstone* 2 (Summer 1977): 45-47.

Howard, Richard P. "The Mormon History Association at Kirtland." *Saints Herald* 124 (August 1977): 45.

MORMON TRAILS

Bauer, Irwin. "Exploring Mormon Trails." *Travel Incorporation Holiday* 149 (May 1978): 40-45.

Kauer, Hans Gerd. "Der Mormonen-Trail: Ein Stück Pionier-geschichet aus dem Widen Westen." *Damals* 6 (December 1974): 1059-1078.

POLYGAMY

Bitton, Davis. "Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article." *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 101-118.

Bradlee, Ben, Jr. "Mormon Manson: Deaths Attributed to Sect Leader E. LeBaron." *New Times* 10 (March 6, 1978): 38-43.

Burgess-Olsen, Vicky. "In Her Own Words: A Feminist Studies Mormon Polygamy and Remarkably Finds It Liberated the Wives." *People* (July 10, 1978): 55-56, 58.

Campbell, Eugene E., and Bruce L. Campbell. "Divorce Among Mormon Polygamists: Extent and Explanation." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 4-23.

Cannon, Kenneth L., II. "Beyond the Manifesto: Polygamous Cohabitation Among LDS General Authorities After 1890." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 24-36.

Kronstadt, Sylvia. "Till Death Us Do Part." *Penthouse* 9 (October 1977): 85-86, 94, 96, 98, 122.

"President Lincoln, Polygamy, and the Civil War: The Case of Dawson and Deseret." *Lincoln Lore* 1644 (February 1975): 1-4; and 1645 (March 1975): 1-4.

Shah, Diane K., with Janet Huck. "Eternal Triangles." *Newsweek* 90 (November 21, 1977): 113, 118-119.

POPULATION

Bean, Lee L., Dean L. May, and Mark Skolnick. "The Mormon Historical Demography Project." *Historical Methods* 11 (Winter 1978): 45-53.

Jarvis, George K. "Mormon Mortality Rate in Canada." *Social Biology* 24 (Winter 1977): 294-302.

Smith, James E., and Phillip R. Kunz. "Polygyny and Fertility in Nineteenth Century America." *Population Studies* 30 (November 1976): 465-480.

REED SMOOT

Alexander, Thomas G. "Teapot Dome Revisited: Reed Smoot and Conservation in the 1920s." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Fall 1977): 352-368.

Allen, James B. "The Great Protectionist, Senator Reed Smoot of Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Fall 1977): 324-345.

Shipps, Jan. "The Public Image of Sen. Reed Smoot, 1902-32." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Fall 1977): 380-400.

Swanson, Jeffrey L. "That Smoke-Filled Room: A Utahn's Role in the GOP Convention." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Fall 1977): 369-379.

SCIENCE AND HEALTH

Sherlock, Richard. "A Turbulent Spectrum: Mormon Reactions to the Darwinist Legacy." *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978): 33-59.

Smith, Scott. "The Mormons." *Vegetarian World* 2 (June 1976): 13.

UNITED ORDER

Israelsen, L. Dwight. "An Economic Analysis of the United Order." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Summer 1978): 536-562.

Nelson, William O. "To Prepare a People: The Lord's Law of Consecration, Restored in the Early Days of the Church, Still Applies to Us." *Ensign* 9 (January 1979): 18-23.

Sorensen, A. Don. "Being Equal in Earthly and Heavenly Power: The Idea of Stewardship in the United Order." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Fall 1977): 100-117.

WELFARE PROGRAM

Barton, Betty L. "Mormon Poor Relief: A Social Welfare Interlude." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Fall 1977): 66-88.

Fisher, Albert L. "Mormon Welfare Programs: Past and Present." *Social Science Journal* 15 (April 1978): 75-99.

WOMEN

"A Conversation With the General Relief Society Leaders." *Ensign* 7 (March 1977): 32–42.

Adix, Shauna. "Education for Women: The Utah Legacy." *Journal of Education* 159 (August 1977): 38–49.

Baldwin, Orval F., II. "A Mormon Bride in the Great Migration." *Nebraska History* 58 (Spring 1977): 53–71.

Beeton, Beverly. "Woman Suffrage in Territorial Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Spring 1978): 100–120.

Bitton, Davis, and Gary L. Bunker. "Double Jeopardy: Visual Images of Mormon Women to 1914." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Spring 1978): 184–202.

Edwards, Carolynn. "Women in the Early Church. Who Were They? Can We Know?" *Saints Herald* 124 (March 1977): 27–30.

Kimball, Camilla. "A Woman's Preparation." *Ensign* 7 (March 1977): 58–59.

Larson, Carol. "The Gospel Counterculture: What Happens to Women Around the World as the Gospel Teaches New Family Patterns, Leadership Skills, Self-Improvement Goals?" *Ensign* 7 (March 1977): 22–27.

Wohl, Lisa Cronin. "A Mormon Connection? The Defeat of the ERA in Nevada." *Ms.* 6 (July 1977): 68–70, 80, 83–85.

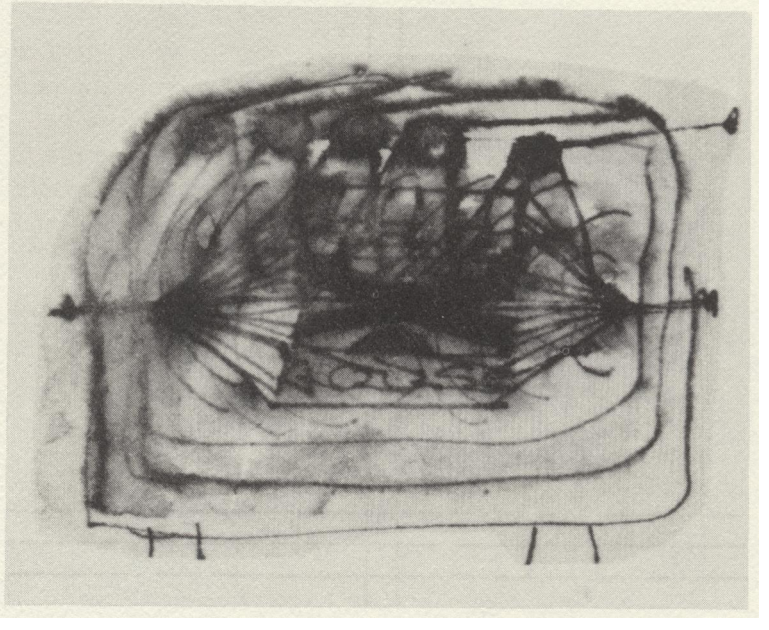
WORD OF WISDOM

Bergeson, Paul S. "Infants and the Word of Wisdom." *Ensign* 7 (April 1977): 54–56.

"Doctrine and Covenants 86: A Principle With Promise: Some Contemporary Perspectives." *Saints Herald* 124 (April 1977): 12–15, 45.

Larson, Lora Beth. "The Do's in the Word of Wisdom." *Ensign* 7 (April 1977): 46–53.

Williams, Roger R. "Tobacco and Alcohol." *Ensign* 7 (April 1977): 57–60.



MICHAEL FILLERUP

BROTHER ANDERSON COUNSELS HIS SON THE NIGHT BEFORE BEING SEALED "FOR TIME AND ALL ETERNITY" IN THE SALT LAKE TEMPLE

"For behold, I reveal unto you a new and an everlasting covenant; and if ye abide not that covenant, then ye are damned; for no one can reject this covenant and be permitted to enter into my glory . . .

"And for this cause, that men might be made partakers of the glories which were to be revealed, I sent forth the fulness of my gospel, my everlasting covenant, reasoning in plainness and simplicity . . . . "

—Doctrine and Covenants 132:4, 133:57

MICHAEL FILLERUP *is the Coordinator for English as a Second Language on the Navaho Reservation at Chinle, Arizona. His work has appeared in* Young Mormon Writers.

and

whatever you do, don't
go smiling
totally into it
because
after the wash and annointing, kneeling on velour pillows at the foot
of marble altars beneath the fairy lights, charmed
by your photogenic genius, dittoed
double down the forever funnel

of cross-firing mirrors, after

holy white hair, the gentle voices
beyond the veil
leading you down the brass
rod and back into flashbulbs, carnations, skyscraper cakes, the aisles
of hands and best wishes, the long tables
streaming with fruits and cheeses; after

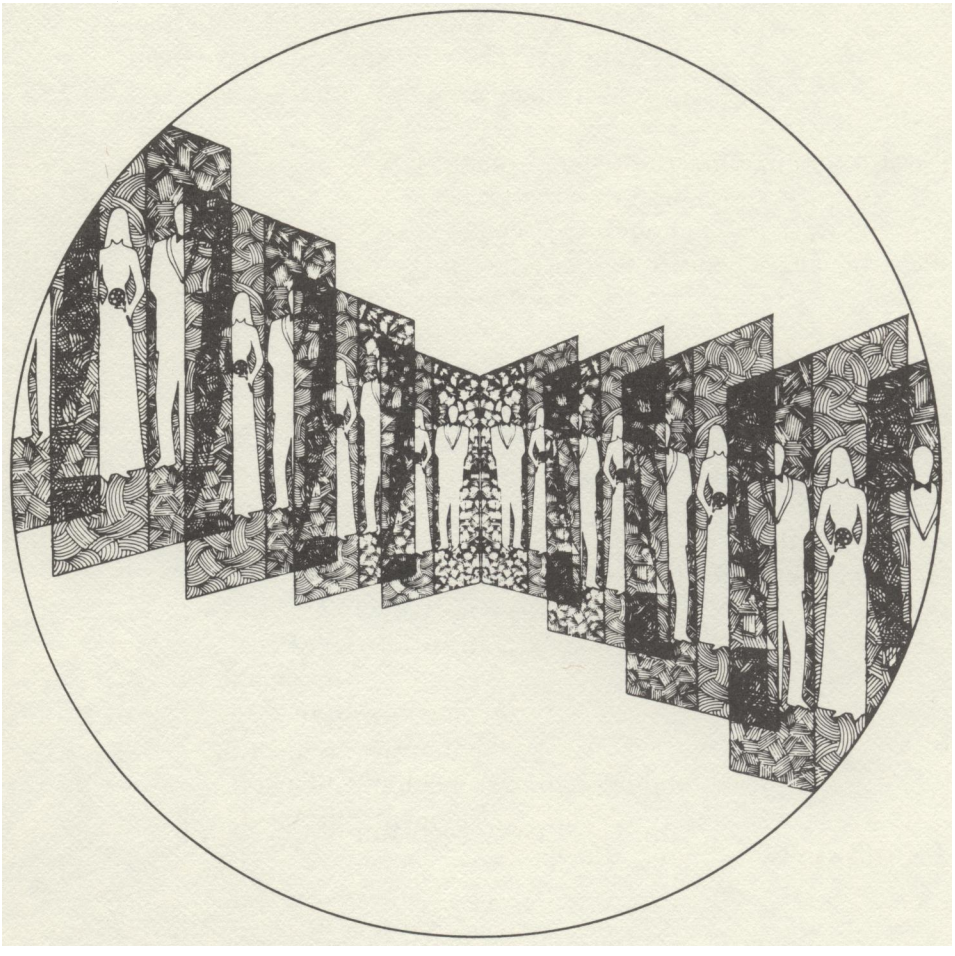
retreating, unwrapping the His & Hers,
stoneware, your bride,
six fondue pots; after mocking
the August rain, car payments, the seed
that still can't touch you; after

discovering headaches, celluloid
and Hamburger Helper; after washing the sheets, swapping
scuba tanks and shot guns

for Pampers and Winnie
the Pooh; after picking
hairs from the sink, the stony
nights smelling of gardenias; after rain
the sun slopped on your plate, the sky a burned out
bulb—

you can bag your fantasies
and sit

back down because
there's still this matter
of covenants, of reaching over shoulder
without reacting, offering your blind side—the ring, the rice
the lithographs: peripheral, filler
for the society



page. My father, never eloquent: Wyoming dairy
farmer, part-time surveyor, lost his legs
so he could better say what he wanted. Shot straight.
Made his point: summer night, just down
from pasture, moon cruising the canal, smell
of sage and muddy hands: "Don't
graze in someone else's pasture . . .

Your mother, she couldn't lace her boots
but I dragged her mumbling
in levis and plaid pendleton half way up Mt. Whitney
and she thanked me years later bursting
into an emergency room just
as the surgeon on-call
was smoothing the adhesive over
her brow—'Sara Mortenson-Anderson'—she'd
been getting that way, finicky about titles, activities—no more 'Mort'
or 'Smorgasbord,' the Balboa Classic. She

was heading for her night class
at Cody CC. They say she could have been
a concert pianist.

I'm still serving time: the sisters come in threes
and never stop
knocking. Remorse,

never regret.

You are Christ's

younger brother, God's child. But the cold north, a viking
in your blood: be tamed
when tempted. Remember

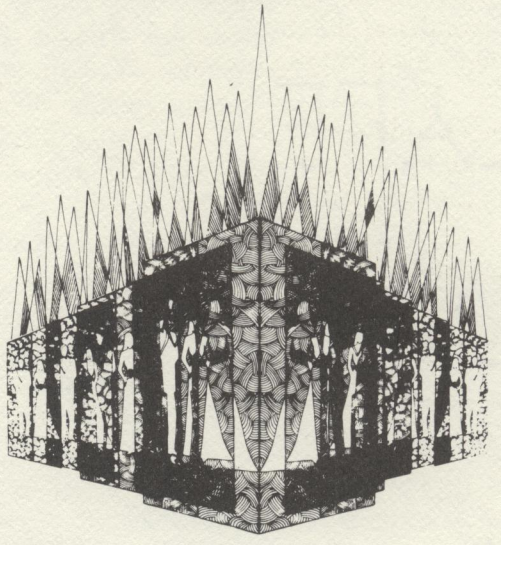
the promises. And when you stumble, no
hari-kari cop-outs. No
weekends at Tahoe. The sacrifice
simple and rinsed.
Love

before making love. Remember

the Third-Party Mediator of this world.

Pray often, in your closet.

Now go, and be happy. Forever's
a damn long time."



DAWN BAKER BRIMLEY

THE DEER

There is little sound, only the gulls'
Sailing song, way off, and the gush
On the grass more muted now and slow.

Sodden grass below spiked shafts
Absorbs him, and giddy, yellow day
Watches brightly as he hangs draining there.

Moments ago he fled, elegant in the trees,
Then veered down the lawn fast and free
To the gleam of the fence, the catapult;

The flawless fall, full of the long, knowing
Body twisting and driving toward steel,
Then golden and burst like a fruit in the sun.

Now hunters push into the slain silence,
Stopping in slow wonder at the rattle,
The bone-on-bone of his breaking breath.

Throbbing still, he shudders once as if
The captive coat could throw off pain;
Then stretched on the fence he comes to his

Determined dying, while high in the trees
The sound of the wind begins and balsam boughs
Blow in the face of the sun.

DAWN BAKER BRIMLEY *teaches children's literature at BYU and is writing a book of poetry.*

KRISTIE WILLIAMS GUYNN

I am no monk, no flesh-thresher I,
To winnow out, by dank silence,
By hooded hunger and the raw, unflagging flail,
That Adam's chaff, desire,
Till the husk of me lie powder on the stone.

But rather, Father, kindle my desire,
Fan my flickering resolve into a lust
For bread and wine, for mansions and their master,
Till its hot, holy tongue burn away the world,
And I, the heat-borne ash, aspire.

KRISTIE WILLIAMS GUYNN *is doing graduate work in English at the University of Virginia. She has published articles and poetry in* Exponent II *and various BYU publications.*

IRIS CORRY

THE ALLEGHENY SHARPSHOOTER

sallies forth
garbed for the hunt
in shirt of linsey-woolsey
and moosehide moccasins
eats berries and game
jerky and rockahominy gruel.

Through the woods he slips
on panther feet, toes
feeling twigs, rocks
never a rustle afoot
only flutters and caws
a crashing deer.

With his American rifle
(slow to load, quick to kill)
he stalks red coats
heavy skirted
tightly breeched and booted
picks them off like squirrels.

He fights at Cambridge and Freeman's Farm
walks in buckskin leggings
and naked thighs
to defeat in Quebec,
traded for two British prisoners.
Said of him, he starves well.

IRIS CORRY from Cedar City, Utah is well-known for her poetry published in *Dialogue* and other journals, Mormon and otherwise.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A NOTE ON JOSEPH SMITH'S FIRST VISION AND ITS IMPORT IN THE SHAPING OF EARLY MORMONISM

MARVIN S. HILL

SOME YEARS AGO SIDNEY E. MEAD, then professor of American church history at the University of Chicago, argued that the two live movements of the 18th century which shaped American Christianity were pietism and rationalism.[1] By pietism he meant that religious fervor and enthusiasm which were passionately promoted by the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s, whose advocates generally took the position that religion is essentially rooted in religious affections or, as they put it, the heart. The pietists maintained that the convictions which one thus feels are the best guide to ultimate religious truth. Pietists, Mead argued, cared much more for the heart than the head. Like John Wesley, it was more important to them that one's feelings toward Christ and the church were affirmative than that one should have an orthodox view of Christian doctrine.

Rationalism, on the other hand, is a movement which became powerful in the 17th and 18th centuries which sought to bring man's thinking about the universe, man, civil government and religion into conformity with the scientific discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo and Isaac Newton. The overriding tendency within the Enlightenment was to view the universe in all its aspects in largely naturalistic terms, to find its every activity governed by laws that man can comprehend through observation, reason and experiment. In Mead's view the Enlightenment constituted "a new religion" which placed emphasis on the study of God's handiwork as a better source of knowledge about the creator than the hearsay offered by biblical interpreters.[2]

It is my suspicion that both these movements had greater influence in shaping the genius of Mormonism—its essential spirit or thrust—than we have recognized. The starting point for Mormonism, as everybody knew until Fawn Brodie misinterpreted the matter, was the first vision. But historians have been so concerned with Brodie's question, whether Joseph Smith had such a vision, which I assume

MARVIN S. HILL *is a professor of history at Brigham Young University.*

has now been fairly well established, that they have failed to think about its import in a sufficiently broad historical context.[3] Smith's account of the vision is generally familiar.

> Some time in the second year after our removal to Manchester, there was in the place where we lived an unusual excitement on the subject of religion. . . . Some were contending for the Methodist faith, some for the Presbyterian, and some for the Baptist. For notwithstanding the great love which the converts to these different faiths expressed at the time of their conversion, and the great zeal manifested by the respective clergy, who were active in getting up and promoting this extraordinary scene of religious feeling, in order to have everybody converted, as they were pleased to call it, let them join what sect they pleased—yet when the converts began to file off, some to one party and some to another, it was seen that the seemingly good feelings of both the priests and the converts were more pretended than real; for a scene of great confusion and bad feeling ensued; . . . So great were the confusion and strife among the different denominations, that it was impossible for a person young as I was, and so unacquainted with men and things, to come to any certain conclusion who was right and who was wrong. My mind at times was greatly excited, the cry and tumult were so great and incessant. . . .
>
> While I was laboring under the extreme difficulties caused by the contests of these parties of religionists, I was one day reading the Epistle of James, first chapter and fifth verse, which reads: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him."
> . . . At length I came to the conclusion that I must either remain in darkness and confusion, or else I must do as James directs, that is, ask of God. . . . I retired to the woods to make the attempt. It was on the morning of a beautiful, clear day, early in the spring of eighteen hundred and twenty. It was the first time in my life that I had made such an attempt, for amidst all my anxieties I had never as yet made the attempt to pray vocally.
>
> After I had retired to the place where I had previously designed to go, having looked around me, and finding myself alone, I kneeled down and began to offer up the desires of my heart to God.

Smith recorded that after a struggle with the powers of darkness two personages appeared to him in vision.

> My object in going to inquire of the Lord was to know which of all the sects was right, that I might know which to join. No sooner, therefore, did I get possession of myself, so as to be able to speak, than I asked the personages who stood above me in the light, which of all the sects was right—and which I should join. I was answered that I must join none of them, for they were all wrong, and the personage who addressed me said that all their creeds were an abomination in His sight; that those professors were all corrupt; that "they draw near to me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me; they teach for doctrines the commandments of men; having a form of godliness, but they deny the power thereof." He again forbade me to join with any of them. . . .[4]

Mario DePillis has helped us to understand some of the significance of this vision by demonstrating that it provides a basis for religious authority in a sectarian age.[5] But I would like to consider the vision still further and see if there

is not something more than DePillis has perceived. I suspect that the whole quality of Mormon religious life has its beginnings in the first vision in ways that we have not adequately understood.

I begin by reconsidering the religious background of the Smith family. From some of the new sources available to us in Salt Lake City we are better able to reconstruct their early religious situation. In Vermont the Prophet's mother, Lucy, had suffered a terrible illness, but made a miraculous recovery which she attributed to the power of God. Seeking confirmation from her local minister concerning the divine power that had been manifest in her life, she found him concerned only about her physical comfort. Angry at his worldliness, she became a religious seeker, wandering from pastor to pastor and church to church seeking those of more devout mind and spirit.[6] At Tunbridge she began attending Methodist meetings, but her husband, Joseph, hesitated, being ridiculed by his brothers and also his father, Asael, who threw a copy of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* to him and demanded that he read it first.[7] Asael, a convert to Universalism, may have been trying to keep his son faithful to that sect which they both had joined by 1797.[8] Lucy says, however, that her husband afterward became a seeker, arguing that the true church of Christ was not upon the earth, an idea with which Lucy had flirted but apparently discarded upon her commitment to Methodism.[9]

When the Smiths moved to western New York, after many financial reverses and some hardships, they acquired a farm and revived the family fortunes to a modest degree. In time, we are not sure just when, but it may have been in 1823, Lucy and some of her children joined the Presbyterians, but again Joseph Sr. was reluctant, perhaps because of his general skepticism as to the validity of sectarian religion, but also because the local Presbyterian minister had offended him by saying that Alvin, his unconverted son, recently deceased, had gone to hell.[10]

This constitutes the Smith family's relevant religious background for reflection upon the first vision. To be sure, Joseph was confronted at the revival with ministers contending for the preeminance of their own sect, and he could not make up his mind amid the "war of words" which was right and which was wrong. But Alexander Neibaur's journal at the Historian's Archives tells us that when part of the Smith family was converted at the revival, Joseph "wanted to get Religion too wanted to feel & shout like the rest but could feel nothing."[11] In an emotion-filled situation he was numb, immobilized by conflicting feelings. It seems likely that his indecision resulted from the differing attitudes of his parents. His mother had reacquired commitments to organized religion. According to her son William, she had attended the revivals and, "being much concerned about the spiritual welfare of the family,"[12] persuaded most of them to attend. Joseph Sr. went to two or three meetings, but then "peremptorily refused going any more."[13] Young Joseph, according to Lucy, "from the first utterly refused even to attend their meetings,"[14] but she may have worn down his opposition, for he says in his history that he did attend at times.[15] It was while he was at one of the revivals that his mother and other members of the family were converted under highly emotional circumstances. Joseph's consternation was considerable, for he could not respond to the revival affirmatively and still please his father. Thus, he "wanted to feel & shout like the rest," but dared not. He shared his father's

distrust of the clergy involved with the revival for he told his mother that Deacon Jessup of the Presbyterians was a selfish and worldly man.[16]

He was unquestionably influenced by his father's conviction that the true church was not on the earth, for he wrote in his unpublished history that prior to his vision he searched the scriptures and decided that all "had apostatized from the true and living faith and there was no society or denomination that built upon the gospel of Jesus Christ as recorded in the new testament."[17] Yet he tells us elsewhere that he entertained the idea of joining the Methodists[18] and, according to one account, actually did so.[19] Here was a young man torn with doubt and uncertainty in an area of utmost concern to himself—his relationship to his parents and his relationship to God. His vision settled this turmoil. He would join no old-line church, but under the inspiration of his vision establish one on the New Testament model. He had settled finally somewhere between his two parents—convinced that existing churches were wrong, but determined to restore the true one and not remain the rest of his life outside the confines of organized religion.

There is another dimension here revealed by Oliver Cowdery. He tells us that a central question for Joseph when he inquired of the Lord was whether "a Supreme Being did exist."[20] Joseph's doubts may have developed when he was unable to reconcile the conflicting doctrines of the contending sects, or they may have been of longer duration, resulting from his direct or indirect contact with the ideas of the Deist, Thomas Paine, whom Asael had read and passed on to Joseph Smith Sr.

The Smiths may have gleaned from Paine one of the principles which became seminal for the new Mormon movement. Paine, like Thomas Jefferson, believed that the prevailing churches were apostate, that they taught the doctrines of men.[21] Paine also taught that the Bible was filled with error, especially due to mistranslation. That Mormon Article of Faith which affirms "we believe the Bible as far as it is translated correctly" might owe something to Paine's critical evaluations.[22] Paine's challenging arguments may also have led the Prophet to the conclusion that if Christianity was to be vindicated, a fresh revelation from the Lord was a necessity, and that there must be a restoration of the true church. But at this point, in proclaiming the reception of a new divine revelation, the prophet took issue with the Deists, a matter I will return to in a moment.

If Oliver Cowdery has correctly reported Joseph Smith's skeptical frame of mind on the eve of the first vision, then it may be that we have a key insight into the shaping of the Mormon mind. Brigham Young manifested a similar and a typically Mormon way of thinking after the collapse of the Kirtland bank when he said he had a feeling that "Joseph was not right in his financial management," but quickly realized that if he were to "harbor a thought in my heart that Joseph could be wrong in anything, I would begin to lose confidence in his being the mouthpiece for the Almighty, and I would be left . . . upon the brink of the precipice, ready to plunge into what we call the gulf of infidelity, ready to believe neither in God nor His servants, and to say there is no God."[23]

Robert West has shown that to a considerable extent the thinking of Alexander Campbell ran along parallel lines, that he had been enamored with rationalistic arguments, and due to these had become alienated from the old line

churches and their creeds. Campbell at one point in his life faced the possibility of total disbelief. West indicates that Campbell came to blame the "hireling" clergy and Bible mistranslations for the corruption of Christianity, and that Campbell's stress upon restorationism was a stopping place, a "half-way house to infidelity."[24]

There is considerable evidence to suggest that historically Mormonism was part of the same national movement.[25] When we recall the emphasis placed upon rational argument and scientific evidence by the Mormons,[26] that the Book of Mormon was a "new witness" for Christ, and that Alma refutes agnosticism and offers rationalistic arguments for the existence of God,[27] when we remember how the Mormons opposed man-made creeds and Bible mistranslations and stressed the need for a restoration, it seems quite possible that Mormonism was also a half-way house, a stopping place for those who were so alienated from the "sects" of the day that they were close to disbelief.

There is considerable biographical evidence to support this view. Converts to Mormonism ranged from those who were devout believers in the religion of the Bible (but not that of the "sects") to many who due to disillusionment with quarrelsome sectarianism or secular rationalism, had begun to doubt revealed religion and even the existence of God. Lorenzo Dow Young, Brigham's brother, indicated that although he was "from his youth a professor of religion, [he] was averse to joining any church, not believing that any of the sects walked up to the precepts contained in the Bible."[28] William Huntington, once a Presbyterian, had left the church in 1832, believing "they had a form of Godliness but denied the power thereof." He searched the scriptures and found that "the faith once delivered to the Saints was not among men."[29] Apostle Amasa Lyman, although religiously inclined, joined no church until he became a Mormon in 1832.[30] Wilford Woodruff said that

> At an early age my mind was exercised upon religious subjects, although I never made a profession until 1830. I did not then join any church for the reason that I could not find any denomination whose doctrines, faith and practice agreed with the Gospel of Jesus Christ.[31]

Hannah Last, a convert from England, spoke for many of these early converts who were disillusioned with sectarianism saying "the foundations of my religious faith had been shaken" by the discrepancies between sectarian doctrines and Bible teachings.[32] James Ure, another English convert, said he had joined no church for "such contention-devision[sic]-anarcy & corruption did not come from God, but was of man."[33] Like Ure, fully a third of the Americans who were converted to Mormonism in the early years belonged to no church at the time the Mormon elders called.[34]

There were many, leaders and ordinary members alike, whose alienation was such that they stood upon the brink of full-blown infidelity. John Taylor, a casualty of sectarian controversy, observed in 1844: "if fifty years find this nation prosperous without Mormonism, Joseph Smith was a false prophet, and there is no God."[35] Andrew Smith, an English convert, said he "began to sink . . . into enfedelity [sic] . . . began to think religion as taught by professed ministers of the Gospel was an imposition and that all were false teachers."[36] James Bywater said

that his father was "an unbeliever in [the] sectarian version of religion. He possessed some infidel works, which I read in after years, and partook of the same spirit to some extent."[37] Francis De St. Jeor said he had been a reader of historical works and "hereby I became a skeptic in regard to religion as taught and practiced by the professors of Christianity."[38] Leaders like John Boynton, Lyman Johnson, Warren Parrish and Benjamin Winchester, who apostatized from the church, entertained renouncing all revealed religion after their disaffection. One of these dissenters said "Moses was a rascal and the prophets were tyrants, Jesus a despot and Paul a base liar." Parrish said he agreed in principle. Winchester repudiated revealed religion as humbug, the result of naturalistic causes.[39]

Perhaps only a few, like Asael and Joseph Smith Sr., James Bywater, Benjamin Winchester and Francis De St. Jeor, were directly influenced by rationalistic writings. Nonetheless, a secular world view had challenged Christian assumptions and penetrated the thinking of the average man by the early nineteenth century.[40] There is ample evidence to indicate that the Mormons were no exception. In this light, some of the paradoxical aspects of Joseph Smith's well known remark about his personal history becomes understandable. Joseph is quoted by Willard Richards as saying "I don't blame you for not believing my history had I not experienced it I could not believe it myself."[41]

If, indeed, many converts to Mormonism were teetering upon the brink of infidelity before accepting the faith, it helps make it clear why they clung so tenaciously to the faith afterward, despite hardships, persecutions and disappointments in their prophetic expectations.[42] It helps explain too, why the Mormons tended to argue that the gospel is either "true or it isn't," an outlook which we find in early Mormon missionary tracts.[43] And it helps also to explain the need for supporting evidence, witnesses, physical ruins in South America, "internal consistencies" of the Book of Mormon and the rest.

But to return to my discussion of the first vision. Perhaps the principal message of that vision was not the nature of the Godhead, but that a variety of contending denominations each preaching a different message could not be right. The vision informed Joseph Smith that none was right and that the true church would have to be restored. That announcement placed the Mormons at odds with the rest of Protestant America who were making adjustments to American religious pluralism. Most American Protestants in the 19th century came to terms intellectually with American religious diversity by tacitly accepting a concept which the 18th century rationalists called "the essentials of true religion." Protestants grudgingly acknowleged with the rationalists that all evangelical denominations teach the essentials—faith in God and belief in divine judgment—and are thus worthy to coexist in American society. By so defining the essentials, Protestants also came to uneasy terms with existing religious pluralism, in the meantime leaving much of everyday life and society outside the realm of church concern. As Sidney Mead has shown, this left Protestants singularly unprepared to deal with the non-essentials of industrialism, immigration and urbanization which became major portions of the American post-Civil War experience. From the standpoint of influencing the social order, institutional Protestantism was bankrupt and whatever reform efforts there were largely had to come from outside the churches.[44]

Now here the Mormons made a somewhat paradoxical but enormously

important departure from the mainstream. While their world view, as Sterling McMurrin maintains,[45] was pluralistic, their social attitudes were anti-pluralistic, and it was this anti-pluralism that governed much of the Mormon social experience. Mormons stressed that the mainline churches were totally corrupt, that within their confines there can be no salvation. By denouncing sectarianism as confusing and faith-destroying, and by insisting upon the necessity of new religious authority, Joseph Smith denied the sufficiency of the essentials of true religion. He thus repudiated the rationale for American religious pluralism, condemning it as ungodly. The logical consequence for Smith and Mormons was the anti-pluralistic Kingdom of God, where all aspects of life were brought under the control of a prophet-politician who set out to restructure society from the ground up. An infallible prophet, a political kingdom, the United Order and even polygamy were four of the major by-products of this rejection of American pluralism. Mormons made enemies of their fellow Americans for this restructuring, and especially for the stipulation so evident at Nauvoo that the prophet, not the people, shall judge.[46]

The first vision has special significance with respect to another point. In joining the Methodists and then the Presbyterians, Lucy Mack Smith became more or less reconciled to the American religious settlement. However, in siding with his father, the prophet took the road to religious dissent. His program of new revelation and new scripture was a declaration of war upon a basic Protestant belief—that the Bible is a sufficient guide to faith and salvation. Sensing this, the Protestant historian, Robert Baird, writing in 1844, unjustly included the Mormons among the infidels. No wonder that in New York the first organized opposition to Mormonism and its prophet came from the Presbyterians who frankly admitted that their purpose in taking Joseph Smith to court in 1830 was to frustrate his religious innovations and stop his preaching of the Book of Mormon.[47]

There is, on the other hand, another aspect of the first vision experience that is difficult to treat historically, but important in shaping the Mormon mind. Clearly, in the grove in 1820 Joseph Smith repudiated Protestant revivals, for it was his conviction that they led to sectarian conflict and this in turn led to family tensions, disorientation and disbelief. But revivalism was a virtual American institution and in repudiating it the prophet set his face against what to many Americans was the crux of Christianity itself. Thus, Robert Baird listed the Mormons among the infidels not only because they had adopted a new scriptural base, but because they were hostile to revivalism.[48] In rejecting some of the most sacred forms of religious expression in America the Mormon prophet set himself and his people upon a new and divergent path.

Yet I wonder if in rejecting the forms of Evangelical Protestantism—its confusing revivals and pluralistic churches—the Mormon prophet rejected entirely its Spirit.[49] That is, I wonder whether he rejected the pietism that was manifest in the revivals, the religion of the heart, which seems to me to be so much a part of Mormonism as well as of Protestantism. It may be that Mormon testimony as a pledge of commitment to the community has its roots in the Puritan conversion experience, but such a relationship is hard to trace. However, somewhere along the way Mormon testimony became more Protestant than Puritan by expressing the idea that whatever truth reason may convey, the greater truth is revealed in

the heart. It was a position taken by Horace Bushnell when he was confronted with the challenge of rationalism in the early 19th century.[50] I wonder if this commitment to what the heart says, or in Mormon terminology the spirit, was a part of Joseph Smith's conscious experience in the grove and thus something of a deliberate choice. That is, was there a rejection by the prophet in 1820 of some of the secular implications of rationalism, and a commitment to a kind of experiential faith that transcends to some degree the reason? Again, Joseph's statement "had I not experienced it I could not believe it myself" suggests this possibility.[51] If so, if the vision thus provided young Joseph with a conscious commitment to pietism above rationalism, while he retained his faith in an orderly universe and a reasonable God, we can better understand why there has been such an uneasy tension between faith and reason in Mormonism, as Thomas F. O'Dea has shown.[52] I think it helps to make clear also why so much of Mormonism, at least the Utah variety, has become a religion that is largely program oriented rather than ideologically oriented. Mormonism affirms the reality of two world views that are basically irreconcilable. Mormons who have their roots most firmly planted in the world of the spirit and those who have theirs in the naturalistic world can come together only by playing down ideas and stressing an everyday religious program.

Notes

[1] Sidney E. Mead, "American Protestantism During the Revolutionary Epoch," *Church History*, 23 (December, 1953), 279-94.

[2] See Mead's recent, *Old Religion in the Brave New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 82-84.

[3] On the limitations of Fawn Brodie's interpretation of Joseph Smith's first vision see my "Secular or Sectarian History: A Critique of *No Man Knows My History*," *Church History*, 43 (April, 1974).

[4] Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, I (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1973), pp 3-6.

[5] Mario DePillis, "The Quest for Religious Authority and the Rise of Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, I (Fall, 1966), 68-88.

[6] Lucy's account of this in the unpublished manuscript of her history in the Historian's Archives reads as it does in the more accessible edited version by Preston Nibley. See Nibley's *History of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954), p. 35.

[7] In Lucy Mack Smith's unpublished manuscript, n.p. Joseph Senior told his wife there was little to be gained for attending Methodist meetings and "it gave our friends such disagreeable feelings."

[8] Richard Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1971), p. 106.

[9] Nibley, pp. 36, 46.

[10] Ibid., p. 90 and the recollections of William Smith in *Deseret News*, January 20, 1894.

[11] There are no page numbers in the diary, but Joseph's remarks were made on May 24 between 1841 and 1844.

[12] See William Smith's testimony in the *Saints Herald*, XXXI, pp. 643-44.

[13] Nibley, p. 90.

[14] *Ibid*.

[15] Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, I, 3.

[16] Nibley, p. 91.

[17] This is Joseph's initial account of his vision included in his Kirtland Letter Book, written in 1832. The letter book is in the Church Archives.

[18] Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, I, 3.

[19] Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1867), p. 18.

[20] Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, *Messenger and Advocate*, I (February, 1835), p. 78.

[21] Thomas Paine, *Age of Reason* (London, 1796), Pt. I, pp. 19-20, 36, 43, and Merrill D. Peterson, *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation* (New York: Oxford University, 1970), pp. 50-52.

[22] Paine, Pt. I, p. 16.

[23] "A Discourse, by President Brigham Young, Delivered in the Bowery, Great Salt Lake City, March 29, 1857," *Journal of Discourses*, IV, p. 297.

[24] Robert Frederick West, *Alexander Campbell and Natural Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948).

[25] See my "Role of Christian Primitivism in the Origin and Development of the Mormon Kingdom, 1830-1844" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Chicago, 1968), pp. 8-60.

[26] A casual reading of the diaries and/or letters of many important Mormon missionaries, such as John E. Page, William E. McLellin, Orson and Parley Pratt, Benjamin Winchester, Wilford Woodruff and others suggests the importance that rational debate and rational argument played in their early success. There was a strong tendency from the very first to place emphasis on physical evidence, such as the archeological findings in South America. The letters and diaries are in the archives of the RLDS or the LDS churches in Independence and Salt Lake City. Peter H. Burnett provides us with a very insightful account of how Joseph Smith made use of rational argument when in the midst of a new audience. See Burnett's *Recollections of an Old Pioneer* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1880), pp. 39-40.

[27] Alma 39:44, 48; and Lawrence M. Yorguson, "Aspects of Social, Geographical and Religious Backgrounds of One Hundred Early Mormon Converts, 1830-1837" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Brigham Young University, 1974), pp. 43-44, 47-51.

[28] "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star*, XXV (June, 1863), 406-07.

[29] William Huntington, "Diary," Part I, p. 2 in the Brigham Young University Library.

[30] "History of Amasa Lyman," *Millennial Star*, XXVII (July, 1865), 472.

[31] History of Wilford Woodruff," *Millennial Star*, XXVII (March, 1865), 167.

[32] Hannah Last Cornaby, *Autobiography and Poems* (Salt Lake City: J. C. Graham & Co., 1881), p. 22.

[33] "Diary of James Ure," pp. 1-3, in the Church Archives.

[34] Yorguson, pp. 43-44, 47-51.

[35] *Nauvoo Neighbor*, December 11, 1844.

[36] "Journal of Andrew Smith," in the Church Archives.

[37] Hyrum W. Vallentine, *The Trio's Pilgrimage* (1947), pp. 1-3.

[38] Andrew Jenson, *L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia*, I, pp. 548-49.

[39] Thomas B. Marsh said that after breaking with Joseph Smith, Warren Parrish became a "disbeliever in revealed religion." Although Parrish became a leader in the "Old Standard" movement, Marsh said he remained a deist. See *Elders Journal*, I (July, 1838), p. 36; also George A. Smith to Brother Fleming, March 29, 1838, in the George A. Smith papers, Church Archives. See also Charles L. Woodward, "The First Half Century of Mormonism," p. 195 for Benjamin Winchester's autobiography which reveals his inclinations towards rationalism and skepticism after leaving the Mormons. This manuscript is in the New York Public Library.

[40] R. Lawrence Moore, "Spiritualism and Science: Reflections on the First Decade of Spirit Rappings," *American Quarterly*, 24 (October, 1972), pp. 474-500.

[41] "Joseph Smith's Journal kept by Willard Richards," April 7, 1844, in the Church Archives.

[42] Benjamin F. Johnson comments in his letter to George Gibbs on how many of Joseph Smith's most "sanguine" expectations came to naught. A copy of his letter is in the BYU library.

[43] See Orson Pratt's *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1852), p. 1.

[44] Sidney E. Mead, "American Protestantism Since the Civil War. I. From Denominationalism to Americanism," *Journal of Religion*, Vol. XXXVI (January, 1956), pp. 2–4.

[45] Sterling M. McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1965), pp. 1–3.

[46] The prophet's first vision was anti-pluralistic in emphasis. So too were Mormon institutions. See my "Role of Christian Primitivism," especially pp. 64–79, but the entire dissertation develops the point. Anti-Mormon opposition to prophetic prerogative is traced too in Dallin H. Oaks and my *Carthage Conspiracy* (Urbana: University of Indiana Press, 1975).

[47] Robert Baird, *Religion in America*, Pt. I (New York: Harper & Bros., 1844), p. 288; and *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate*, II (April 9, 1831).

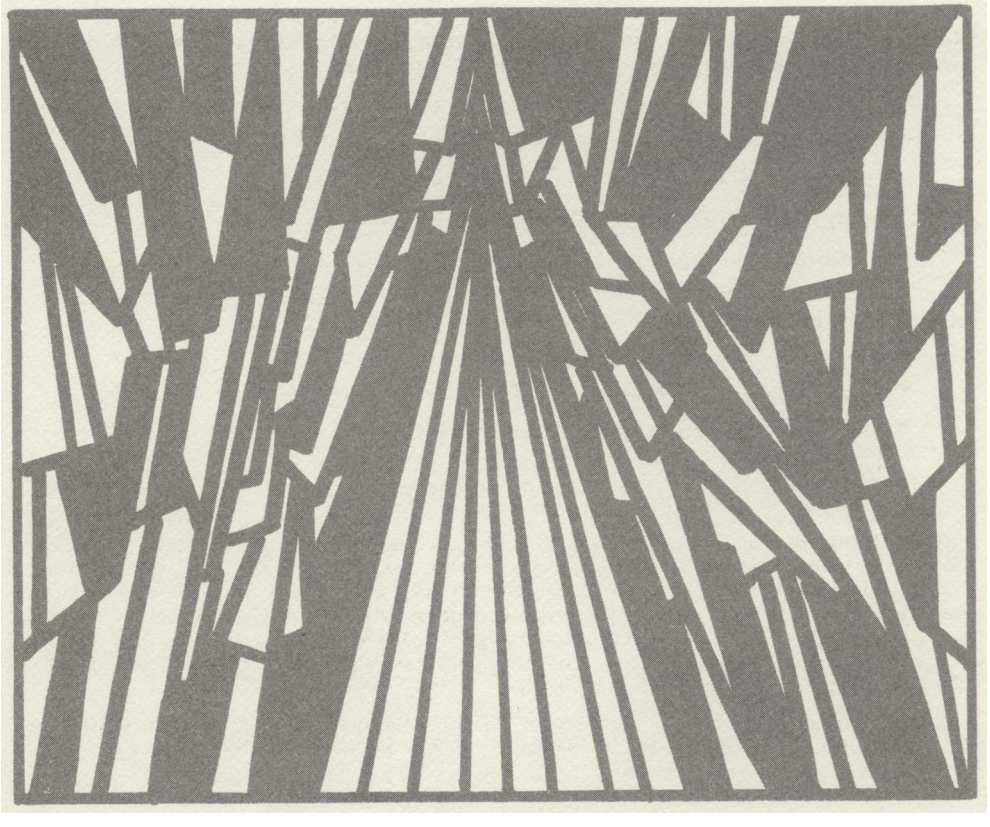
[48] Baird, p. 288.

[49] Winthrop Hudson discusses with insight the deep ideological commitment of Americans to the reality of religious pluralism. See *American Protestantism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 37–48.

[50] Sidney E. Mead, "From Denominationalism to Americanism," p. 3.

[51] Joseph Smith's Journal, kept by Willard Richards under date April 7, 1844.

[52] Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 222–42.



"ONE OF THE GREATEST LITERARY CURIOSITIES OF THE DAY"

The following note is reprinted from Times and Seasons, *Feb. 1, 1841, which in turn had reprinted it from a contemporary magazine called New Yorker*. "Josephine" was not a Mormon.

Feb. 1, 1841

D. C. SMITH, EDITOR, From
Times and Seasons,
2:305-6.

THE BOOK OF MORMON

One of the greatest literary curiosities of the day, is the much abused "Book of Mormon." That a work of the kind should be planned, executed and given to the scrutiny of the world by an illiterate young man of twenty—that it should gain numerous and devoted partizans, here and in Europe, and that it should agitate a whole State to such a degree that law, justice and humanity were set aside to make a war of extermination on the new sect, seems scarcely credible in the nineteenth century, and under this liberal government; yet such is the fact.

The believers in the Book of Mormon now number well nigh 50,000 souls in America, to say nothing of numerous congregations in Great Britain. They style themselves Latter Day Saints, as it is a prominent point in their faith that the world is soon to experience a great and final change.—They believe, and insist upon believing, *literally*, the Old and New Testament; but they also hold that there are various other inspired writings, which in due season, will be brought to light. Some of these (the Book of Mormon for example) are even now appearing, after having been lost for ages. They think that in the present generation will be witnessed the final gathering together of all the true followers of Christ into one fold of peace and purity—in other words, that the Millennium is near. Setting aside the near approach of the Millennium and the Book of Mormon, they resemble in faith and discipline the Methodists, and their meetings are marked by the fervid simplicity that characterizes that body of Christians. It is in believing the Book of Mormon *inspired* that the chief difference consists; but it must be admitted that this is an important distinction.

This is their own declaration of faith in that point: A young man named Joseph Smith, in the western part of New York, guided, as he says, by Divine Inspiration,

found, in 1830, a kind of stone chest or vault containing a number of thin plates of gold held together by a ring, on which they were all strung, and engraved with unknown characters. The characters the Mormons believe to be the ancient Egyptian, and that Smith was enabled by inspiration to translate them—in part only, however, for the plates are not entirely given in English. This translation is the Book of Mormon, and so far it is a faint and distant parallel of the Koran. In much the same way Mahomet presented his code of religion to his followers, and on that authority the sceptre-sword of Islamism now sways the richest and widest realms that ever bowed to one faith. But the Mormons have a very different career before them: their faith is opposed to all violence, and, from the nature of their peculiar doctrines, they must soon die of themselves if they are wrong.—If the appointed signs that are to announce the approach of the Millennium do not take place immediately, the Latter Day Saints must, by their own showing, be mistaken, and their faith fall quietly to the ground. So, to persecute them merely for opinion's sake is as useless as it would be unjust and impolitic.

The Book of Mormon purports to be a history of a portion of the children of Israel, who found their way to this continent after the first destruction of Jerusalem. It is continued from generation to generation by a succession of prophets, and gives in different books an account of the wars and alliances among the various branches of the lost nation. The Golden Book is an abridgment by Mormon, the last of the prophets, of all the works of his predecessors.

The style is a close imitation of the scriptural, and is remarkably free from any allusions that might betray a knowledge of the present political or social state of the world. The writer lives in the whole strength of his imagination in the age he portrays. It is difficult to imagine a more difficult literary task than to write what may be termed a continuation of the Scriptures, that should not only avoid all collision with the authentic and sacred word, but even fill up many chasms that now seem to exist, and thus receive and lend confirmation in almost every book.

To establish a plausibly-sustained theory that the aborigines of our continent are descendants of Israel without committing himself by any assertion or description that could be contradicted, shows a degree of talent and research that in an uneducated youth of twenty is almost a miracle in itself.

A copy of the characters on some of the golden leaves was transmitted to a learned gentleman of this city, who of course was unable to decipher them, but thought they bore a resemblance to the ancient Egyptian characters.

If on comparison it appears that these characters are similar to those recently discovered on those ruins in Central America which have attracted so much attention lately, and which are decidedly of Egyptian architecture, it will make a strong point for Smith. It will tend to prove that the plates are genuine, even if it does not establish the truth of his inspiration, or the fidelity of his translation.

In any case our constitution throws its protecting aegies over every religious doctrine. If the Mormons have violated the law, let the law deal with the criminals; but let not a mere opinion, however absurd and delusive it may be, call forth a spirit of persecution. Persecution, harsh daughter of Cruelty and Ignorance, can never find a home in a heart truly republican. Opinion is a household god, and in this land her shrine is inviolate.

JOSEPHINE.

PERSONAL VOICES

HARVEST VALLEY

LISA HANSON

THIS TIME OF YEAR in the Willamette Valley is full to bursting, glutted with the harvest. Hazelnut trees, tassled and drooping with nuts, trail their branches in the fat green rivers; grain and corn line the roads, poking through the wire fences, too full for the fields; tomatoes and cucumbers bask in the garden, and ripe pears beat the pickers, falling with soft plops to lie split and dripping on the ground, food for bees. In our kitchen we capture them in rows of gleaming bottles to guard against winter. This is the season I love, and I remember best the harvests I spent in the valley, at home.

We used to spend our afternoons with strawberries and apricots brought up in lugs from The Dalles, using our early mornings to whirl Astrikhans through the collander for sauce. Dutifully we put up Royal Anns, laced them with almond and lined them against the back cupboard as testimony to our good intentions. But it all was a trifle; we were holding our breaths for fall.

Fall starts with the peaches we've saved our wide mouth masons for. You wait and wait for the orchard lady to call. "The Elbertas are ripe; please remind your children to eat only the wind-falls and not to climb the trees." That's the sign. We pack our nine in the VW bus (if they can eat wind-falls they won't ravage the picked boxes), tuck bushel baskets in the corners, and we're off, hair blowing through the windows, to the river.

The richest farms lie in the thin, lush crease along the river's edge, a swampy maze of kaliedoscopic precision. They are sectioned by webs of field roads and policed by bosses in matching pickups zipping back and forth. There are no road signs to mark the turnoffs, but if you don't know where you are going, you've not been invited. We have come before and can drive straight by the silent clapboard

LISA HANSON *is a BYU English major.*

houses with no mail boxes, the slack-doored migrant camps sprawled in the trees.

Across the road from the orchard in the middle of the cabbages a wetback crew works, a dark swatch of rhythm that steps and hoes and thins. But in the trees our kids roll and play in the tall grass, peach juice shining on their bellies while we pick. We go two by two, one hand to pick and three to catch all the jostled that fall, fruit that fills up our hands and stretches our fingers. Each one is lovelier than the next, each tree fuller until we must stop, laughing, and eat the ripest and reddest before it loses something sweet and goes wasted in the jar, pitted, sliced and unknown.

When the leaves and the little boys begin to droop, and the orchard gets quiet with only the katydids singing, it's time to go home. Always slower going back, the car drives like an old mare, groaning up the hills. In the back, mother and the boys nap among the boxes, and in the front we sing and count the blue herons in the river shallows, feeling rich and sleepy and like dinner.

It's a lovely feeling to wake up in the morning with your kitchen smelling of Ambrosia and looking like the farmers market. It's good to wash, blanch, slice and pack all day and to go to bed at night with piles of peels in the garden and your table set with yellow and golden jars that go "pop" softly all night as they seal.

After the peaches and pears and beans (and whatever else the blight hit and is going for a good price), we do apples. Ten different kinds of apple trees grow on our hill, and there is a whole valley of them feeding worms and cows and passerbys—there for the asking. We do Gravensteins and Baldwins and Jonathans and any number of splotched and speckled varieties. They are cooked down for sauce and sliced for pies, dried for leather, or shook down and brought up in the wheelbarrow to be pressed for cider. Our press sways between two oak beams grown black and pock marked with use. Apples that are dropped into the top, crisp and red, emerge at the bottom, to trickle over the cracks in the baseboard and ooze into bottles, a pond green sludge. We set those heavy gallons of thick, dark cider far back in the corner to settle and mature. Just before Halloween, when the juice has cleared, we bring a bottle out to test. My father is the judge and if he smiles and smacks his lips we know it was another good year. "It's got to have a little nip" he says, "a little tingle to be good." We can only enjoy it for a short time—there's a thin line between jack and vinegar. So while we can, we sip it in tiny tastes, and giggle when it bites our tongues and sparkles down our throats.

"If you do tomatoes last they'll clean the canning stain out of your pans" my grandmother said; so we do, just before the first hard frost. We take our VW and grandmother out to Buena Vista to the tomato fields to glean what the pickers have left. We need hundreds of them, and there are plenty, lying in wide open fields that run along the driveways or fall in soft slopes behind the houses.

Picking tomatoes is different; you know because you have to wear jeans and a sweater out to the fields, and you go to get them after school. All the oaks have gone brown, the wheat is cut, the geese are back, and even the land is a weary, dusty brown; everything spent and rotting. Vines in shock from the cold have fallen back and the fruit is exposed. Anything we don't get, the slugs and birds will eat or will melt back into the mud with the little snapping nightshade berries

and the thistles; and there's not much time between the pickers and the frost, so we take them, to fill our jars, to save them from neglect. We have endless uses for tomatoes and pack them wantonly away. We can them whole for beans, and spiced for soup, pureed for sauce and cooked down with peppers and onions and brown sugar for relish. We even bring home the green ones to chop with raisins and suet for mincemeat; but best of all, we slice them for supper, red and ripe, with platters of cucumbers and corn on the cob.

That's September: a mad rush to catch the golden horn before it drops, burst and spoiled on the ground; to fill your cupboards with gleaming fruits like jewels against the grey rains. Here in Provo, with books all around me and an "eight pound for a dollar" apple in my purse, it's still the harvest in Willamette, and I long to spend it at home.

CONFESSIONS OF A SUBURBAN HOUSEHUSBAND

MERVYN DYKES

"LEAVE HIS DIAPERS OFF FOR A FEW MINUTES each day," said Tina, my wife. "It will do him good." So I did, and that was how I came to be on my hands and knees cleaning the carpet. The battle with diaper rash and soiled carpets was just one of many strange incidents that followed my decision to become a suburban house-husband. One moment I was saying: "There you go . . . have a kick around." The next, I was cleaning something.

Some incredible times have taught me that an adult and an infant can become companions. We share jokes, hold intense conversations in strange languages, play games, experience moments of discovery, or just sit quietly, linked by the silence true friendship sees no reason to disturb.

Perhaps I should explain that Adam is not my first child. I have had plenty of time to lose the rosy glow of parenthood. Before my adventure in househusbandry began, I was no stranger to the ways of children, having come from a big family where I had to help care for my younger brothers and sisters.

What was new for me, though, was being the sole companion of a baby for nine hours of every day. Anyone can help out now and then, but to provide sustained service is one of the highest achievements of mother or fatherhood. I now have a much deeper respect for my wife and my parents, in spite of having

MERVYN DYKES *is a journalist living in Auckland, New Zealand.*

thought before that I loved them as much as I possibly could.

An old fairy story tells about a farmer and his wife who, to settle an argument, decided to switch roles and see who had the hardest work to do. They quickly came to appreciate each other's abilities and were only too happy to revert to the normal arrangement.

In my family's case, my wife had often expressed a desire to return to the work force "to meet people and really contribute to the family."

"You are contributing already," I said.

"I know that, but you are meeting people. There are days when I feel really shut in."

"It's no fun having to go to work whether you feel like it or not," I pointed out.

"Yes, but you *are* getting out!"

Before our first child, we had worked as journalists on rival newspapers. In those days we often told each other how lucky we were to have jobs we could do at home. But my wife found that freelancing from the kitchen was not as easy as it sounded.

"I need an office atmosphere as an incentive," she said, "and maybe even someone to bully me along."

The answer came unexpectedly. After a period in which we ran our own newspaper in the country and I served as president of a branch, we returned to the city where I started work on a morning daily as late man from 6 P.M. to 2 A.M. An advantage of this was going to be all those daylight hours in which I could write all those books I had been meaning to write for years.

While I was about it, I thought, why shouldn't I babysit during the day so my wife can get a job?

"Are you sure you can manage?" she asked several times.

"Of course," I replied.

"You won't get any work done—any writing work I mean."

"Oh yes I will. All those hours—all that free time."

As she swept away to fill out a job application, I wondered why she was laughing.

For the first few weeks things were fine. Besides doing the agreed-upon minimum chores—making beds, doing the breakfast dishes, supervising the preparation of school lunches, and giving the house a once-over-lightly with the cleaner—I was able to care for the baby, wipe out a reasonable pile of laundry and write myself into a stupor.

I wasn't getting much sleep, but I had never seemed to need much before.

Tina was reveling in her job too, coming home excited each night and unloading her experiences at machine gun pace above the rattle of pots and pans as I prepared the evening meal.

The kids quickly adapted to having a dad around the house instead of a mom. On my part I learned that when they came through the door, I was supposed to stop what I was doing in order to give them a full debriefing after their foray into the outside world. While this was going on, I collected handfuls of paintings, demands for school fees, notes from the PTA and requests for strange items that were essential for class projects.

Above it all I can recall hearing my own plaintive voice: "Please, guys, don't

hang your books/bags/coats/shoes/lunch leftovers on the floor!"

As the weeks flicked by, the novelty began to wear off in direct proportion to the mounting laundry pile. I began to feel tired, listless and short-tempered. I ate too much and typed too little. I started to resent not seeing much of my wife. When I wanted to talk to her, she was either asleep or about to go to sleep. When she wanted to talk to me, I was busy with dinner preparations. Most nights now, I was arriving at my job a few minutes late and building up feelings of guilt and defensiveness.

One afternoon while Adam was having a nap, I spent nearly an hour staring at my typewriter and doodling, thinking how unloved and unappreciated I was. Everything looked grim and black. I had read about this problem in the magazines but had dismissed it as something that attended people who suffered from a lack of imagination or enterprise. Never could it happen to me.

But it had. Was this what Tina had meant when she said she felt shut in? Was all this fruitless prodding of my typewriter a sign that I too needed an office atmosphere in order to work?

To keep myself from going under, I quickly ruled up two columns on my notepad and began to write down the pros and cons of the last few months:

I had finished a book started before my wife had taken a job.

I had written a travel book.

I had edited a book for a publisher.

I was half-way through a TV play.

I was revising a series of children's stories.

I was publishing a how-to-do-it book for home writers.

I had put together a concept for a magazine of my own, and I had secured a contract to write four more books.

In between I had written a score of magazine and newspaper articles and done several PR jobs for friends who could not afford a consultant.

At church I was just about as busy. I taught two classes and served as ward mission leader and as a member of the stake seventies council. Largely because of professional qualifications, I was also co-opted for regional and national publicity committees.

No, it was clear that I should stop feeling sorry for myself and start re-reading the Word of Wisdom, paying particular attention to the verses about eating wisely and getting proper sleep. So Adam and I started taking naps together each morning. In the afternoons, we often sprawl on the floor watching his favorite TV program, "Play School." At other times we do constructive things with his building blocks, or have wild games of chase. He comes home teaching with me and my companion some afternoons and has even been to a business lunch with a publisher.

When I started watching him as a pleasure rather than a chore, he opened a whole new world to me. This time with him has given me moments of such happiness that I am writing faster and with greater desire in the shorter time available.

But best of all are the shared moments of discovery. In one of them, Adam was sitting on the lounge carpet playing with a whistle. He knew it should make a noise, and he knew the noise was somehow made by putting the whistle in the

mouth. For a few seconds he sat there, whistle to his lips, waiting for something to happen. Then he burped. The sudden rush of air produced a sound from the whistle, and the lights came on in his eyes as his mind lit up with inspiration.

There are the tag-along moments too when he desperately wants to be like his dad, pounding at my typewriter, grunting and tugging in vain at my barbells, or trying to use the back door key to start his tricycle the way I start my "vroom-vroom" Honda.

"How are you, little man?" ask the missionaries when they call for our weekly correlation meeting. Adam solemnly shakes hands all round, then when the elders are seated, dives giggling into the district leader's lap.

The other children have started bringing their friends home on visits to see this strange dad who makes banana cakes and pizzas for refreshments. Other moms have started sounding me out as baby sitter. Once I took a party of nine kids to the movies. My insurance agent confessed during a visit to our home that he liked visiting me because I was . . . "er, unusual, er . . . ah, no, I mean interesting."

"Strange" may have been the word a group of startled moms chose the day I stumbled into a ballet class with two leotarded little girls in tow and said, "Gidday, where do we enroll?"

For all this, I know now that our days as a two-income family are numbered. My wife has found that being a working girl isn't as glamorous as she remembers and that she would prefer to be at home. And I have learned through my association with my youngest son that the rewards of fatherhood are too great to miss. Each day I take home my pay in chuckles, grins, fierce hugs and wet kisses.

Whatever happens to us our home will continue to be a strange place. The other day I came in from the garden to find seven little strangers watching television with no sign of my own children. I finally tracked them to the buttercup tree outside. They were perched high in the golden branches singing, "We shall not be moved."

NAUVOO

KATHLEEN LUBECK

I GUESS YOU COULD SAY that I've been a guest in my father's house but have confined myself to one room. At any rate, that's how I felt after visiting Nauvoo for the dedication of the Monument to Women.

KATHLEEN LUBECK, *National News Director for BYU, has published in New Era, Deseret News, Science Digest, Sunstone, BYU Today and Mountain West.*

Having been born Mormon, of pioneer (and yes, polygamous) stock, I felt fairly confident that I knew my heritage. Brigham Young had brought the Saints to the Salt Lake Valley, they settled in Utah, and that's where my "Mecca" has been. Even though I grew up in the grassy hills of California, I have always felt an affirmation of my Mormon heritage when walking the ground of Temple Square. To me it was a homeland that years of relocation in California had deprived me of. I somehow belonged.

Perhaps that's why Nauvoo was so unsettling. Having heard the songs of Zion sung by the waters of the Great Salt Lake, I was surprised to hear them sung by the Mississippi. But I did hear them, lightly on the Illinois wind, speaking to me of another heritage just as compelling as the pioneers I claimed in the West. They were the voices of over a hundred and thirty years ago, the voices of my spiritual forebears who had settled this lush bend in the river, a people of faith and tenacity, of hard work and strong belief. And a people who, in my mind, had never made the journey from hazy historical significance to reality.

I, who had somehow missed church history in seminary, recalled patchwork odds and ends about them, swatches of the relocation and sacrifice they experienced, of their persecution and durability. I was told that through it all they wore remarkably well, which made me more than slightly uneasy and disposed to settling them in a dusty corner of my mind where they would not be disturbed too often.

Nauvoo shook the dust off. I was confronted by them everywhere in that humid summer interim. Ostensibly, I was there to write some articles; actually, my sojourn was an introduction to my creditors.

The temple site was where I first had an inkling that Nauvoo's first inhabitants were indeed real people, similar to the variety one might find whistling in the wind on a Utah day, or even anguishing in solitude over a child gone wrong. At first glance I saw only the excavated foundation of the temple, where once had stood a cleanly symmetrical building, deliberately cut from rock. Stone was cut less easily in the green town of 19th century Nauvoo than it is today; the task necessitated a commitment independent of cash pay-offs for those people. They had done it, had painstakingly carved and placed the sunstones, moonstones and starstones on the pilasters of the temple, in a temporal kind of obeisance. The people had reported each morning by the hundred to donate their labor. What was left was not merely rock.

I know that "common cause" is not peculiar to Mormon culture. We have no corner on working hard, working together. But I did feel, that muggy summer day, that these people had given totally to a conviction, an understanding that underpins my total existence. And a bonding occurred between us that grew stronger the more I walked the reconstructed town.

I visited the restored homes of the Nauvoo Saints—spare brick homes built to last, an optimistic indulgence of their plan to stay. But they were prepared to trade their reasonable degree of comfort for belief, if necessary, and as committees organized to force them from the state, they made good that commitment.

On a morning's tour I walked down Mulholland Street, along which the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum had been transported from Carthage jail. The road was deserted; grasses lining each side lifted slightly as the breeze touched them.

To dance along dusty roads is easy when one has no knowledge of who has traveled them. To marvel at the sun skimming the river and the dragonflies drifting through the sultry afternoon is a luxury for the uninformed. But simplistic beauty pales beside visions of selflessness, even of those still grappling with their own inadequacies. That day I saw the people of a germinating Mormonism. I wanted to see myself as well.

The next evening a musical was performed, commemorating the women of the Church and their influence throughout generations. I waited until the crowds had scattered and then walked the Nauvoo night. The air was warm and musty and smelled of summer, and a few fireflies chased through the black air. Large leafy trees brushed the sky riveted with stars. I walked to the park, to the statues of Emma and Joseph. I touched them; the metal was hard, cold, tangible. And I knew that my days are carved from theirs, as others' shall be of mine.

REVIEWS

THE COST OF LIVING IN KIRTLAND

by Marcellus S. Snow

The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics by Marvin S. Hill, C. Keith Rooker and Larry T. Wimmer. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977, viii, 88 pp. $4.95.

Most readers of Mormon fiction would quickly agree that the genre still awaits a writer of the stature of Chaim Potok or James Michener, to say nothing of a Joyce or a Faulkner. Perhaps one of the small publishing houses or *samizdat* concerns in Utah's Yoknapatawpha will someday issue *the* Mormon novel. In the meantime, though, don't hold your breath.

But if our fiction has not yet found its Faulkner, it may nonetheless be safe to say that Mormon historiography has found its Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman. It will be recalled that these two economic historians wrote the celebrated and controversial *Time on the Cross* in 1974, the most publicly visible emanation of the happy marriage of economics, statistics and history variously referred to as cliometrics or the New Economic History. Fogel and Engerman used these disciplines to analyze American Negro slavery in a way that had never before been done. An unprecedented amount of large and small bits of data—slave ship manifests, bills of sale, newspaper advertisements, plantation account ledgers—was gathered and analyzed statistically to answer, either anew or for the first time, vexing questions about our nation's "peculiar institution." How well treated were slaves? What was the economic value of slaves by sex, age and state of health? What was the loss to the Southern economy when emancipation came?

Marvin Hill, Keith Rooker and Larry Wimmer, who are professors of history, law and economics at Brigham Young University, can rightly lay claim to having established a solid exemplar of this kind of cliometric methodology in Mormon historical research. They have crossed disciplinary lines in admirable fashion by examining a number of important aspects of the Church's experience in the Kirtland area during the 1830s. The result, a monograph-length study first issued as a separate number of *BYU Studies* and then as a BYU Press paperback, has won them an award from the Mormon History Association, praise from Robert Fogel, and the right to a careful reading by all students of Mormon history.

Church members often grow up relying on pat answers to difficult doctrinal and moral issues. Until the recent generation of Mormon historians (notably, Leonard Arrington, Juanita Brooks and others of their stature), pat answers abounded in historical questions as well: Mountain Meadows Massacre? War hysteria, pure and simple. Expulsion of the Saints from Missouri and Nauvoo? Persecution by the greedy and intolerant "old settlers," nothing more.

The Saints' experience in Kirtland affords a period particularly well suited to dispassionate treatment. The objective or economic factors dominate the Kirtland sojourn and exodus, unlike other periods of Mormon history. Nevertheless, the period has not fared well under earlier historians. Students of the epoch have had to be content

MARCELLUS S. SNOW *is assistant professor of economics at the University of Hawaii and a member of the* Dialogue *Board of Editors.*

with impressionistic one-liners like Fawn Brodie's reference to "frenetic land speculation." Only slightly more helpful is Brigham H. Roberts' statement that the Saints in Kirtland "... lived extravagantly on borrowed money" and "... entered into [a] spirit of reckless speculation ... which expressed itself chiefly in land speculation and in excessive banking ..." Even Joseph Smith's reference to "... evil surmisings, faultfinding, disunion, dissension, and apostasy" in addition to a "spirit of speculation in lands" comes far from telling the whole story.

Hill, Rooker and Wimmer avoid sweeping questions and glib moral generalizations. Their well-sharpened methodological and expository skills are instead brought to bear on more bite-sized issues: Was the Kirtland economy viable? Did rising land prices reflect population trends in the area instead of mere "speculation"? What was the extent of Joseph Smith's indebtedness and that of his associates? What was the constitutionality of Ohio laws requiring chartering of state banks, and what was the quality of the legal advice on the basis of which Joseph Smith apparently decided to open the Kirtland Safety Society Bank without a charter? What was the role of the Panic of 1837 in the downfall of the Kirtland bank? In the authors' words:

> Moral judgments upon Mormonism have obscured the real story of what happened to the Kirtland economy. Our argument is based upon the premise that the voluntary nature of market transactions imposes constraints upon behavior—that creditors demand assets or they refuse to make loans, and buyers and sellers expect fair market prices or they do not trade. We think the evidence demonstrates that these principles operated at Kirtland ... Previous historical accounts ... have overlooked the fact that Smith provided his creditors with assets, that he was buying and selling land at market prices, and that the economic reversals in the Kirtland economy involved a change in economic conditions that "reasonably prudent" economic men probably would not have anticipated [p. 4].

Thus, the presumably neutral morality of the marketplace is invoked to marshall evidence that Joseph Smith and other high-ranking Saints acted correctly and "prudently" at Kirtland. Those to whom the marketplace has a general repugnance, as well as those who deem as unacceptable any market ventures for private gain by religious leaders or institutions, will find little solace in the authors' conclusions. Mormon theology, nevertheless, is comfortably at home with capitalism, private property and the open market, whether in or outside the various communitarian arrangements known generically as the United Order. To those who accept this framework, the conclusions in *The Kirtland Economy Revisited* are welcome improvements on the facile references to speculation and greed that formerly passed as analysis of the Kirtland period.

The study can best be appreciated by recounting the methods of analysis used to discuss each issue. First of all, the claim that the Kirtland economy was not "viable," raised by Brodie and others, is countered by the use of population, trade and land value data from Ohio and from Geauga County during the 1830s. Figures from Painesville, a predominantly non-Mormon community near Kirtland, are used to refute the contention that Kirtland differed from surrounding towns. Discussing the crucial issue of the rise in land prices in and around Kirtland, the authors hypothesize that "changes in the real price of land from 1830 to 1840 were primarily determined by changes in population." Tax rolls are used to obtain population estimates. Then, the real price of land is related to Kirtland's population by a logarithmic regression. As the authors point out, income could not be used to help explain real land prices, due to lack of data. Nevertheless, regression results are presented, showing a highly significant positive relationship. On the basis of their simple model, which links exponential growth in population to exponential growth in land prices, the authors conclude that Joseph Smith "had sufficient reason for believing that land prices would continue to rise [p. 24]" when in fact they eventually fell. Whether a richer model could have predicted the coming deflation in land prices is a question the authors do not explore, and a moot one given the quality of econometric advice available in 1837.

The question of the extent of Joseph Smith's indebtedness is profusely documented. The authors note that many debts

listed in Joseph Smith's name "more accurately reflected debts of the community of Kirtland and of the Mormon Church [p. 40]." Nevertheless, they conclude that "Joseph Smith was eventually unable to meet all his financial obligations, and, in that sense, he was obviously responsible for an excessive amount of debt [p. 40]." The reader is asked to temper this conclusion with the consideration that "it does not seem that Smith accumulated more debt than he or his creditors have reason to believe he could manage [p. 40]," given the ebullient state of the Kirtland and national economies before the land deflation and banking panic of 1837. Again, however, this will offer scant comfort to church members and others looking for religious leaders who are either infallible in financial matters or completely uninvolved in them.

The final one-third of the monograph deals with the Kirtland Safety Society Bank that Joseph Smith founded and with the "Anti-Banking Company" used to circumvent the failure to obtain a corporate charter for the bank. Here the authors are somewhat harsher on the Saints at Kirtland. They deal frankly with what they determine to be errors of judgment on the part of Joseph Smith in particular. Declining to say whether the "poorly capitalized" institution could have succeeded even if it had possessed a state charter, they conclude that the lack of a charter was its primary reason for failure. Much of the indebtedness of Joseph Smith, in fact, arose from his efforts to make good the bank's debts long after its demise was inevitable. The authors contend that Joseph Smith's decision to go ahead with the bank after the failure to obtain a charter was due in large part to encouragement from newspapers and political groups using anti-monopoly arguments against the Democrat-controlled Ohio legislature, and to legal advice, apparently from one Benjamin Bissell, which was "incorrect, or at best poor [p. 67]." The strengths of the monograph's analysis of the banking failure include a legal exegesis of the Ohio laws against unchartered banking, and an ingenious statistical method to determine from serial numbers of surviving bills the amount and denominations of Kirtland bank notes originally issued. Of major import to the dominant historical interpretation of the period is the well-documented conclusion, contrary to the conventional wisdom, that "the banking panic of May 1837 was not a cause of the failure of the Kirtland Safety Society [p. 42]." It was decidedly not the case, in other words, that banks were failing left and right, and that the Safety Society was simply swept along in the maelstrom. Previous historians of the period have failed "to distinguish between suspension [by government authorities of banking activities] and failure [of banks] [p. 52]." Hill, Rooker and Wimmer find evidence of only one other bank failure in the entire state of Ohio during and immediately after the Panic of 1837! In fact, they argue, suspension of banking activities generally had the ironic and unintended effect of keeping the church bank from collapse longer than would otherwise have been the case. Finally, the authors do not hesitate to conclude that Joseph Smith's decision to operate the bank without a charter was "a very serious error in judgment [p. 68]." Indeed:

> The initiation of the anti-banking experiment was unquestionably a mistake, but one of political misjudgment rather than intentional fraud. Mormon losses at Kirtland were heavy for some, but perhaps not sufficient to explain the degree of disillusionment and protest which followed [p. 70].

Overall, then, this monograph's primary and considerable virtue is its ability to focus crisply upon and to test hypotheses concerning "objective," usually quantifiable aspects of the Saints' experience at Kirtland. It augurs well for the establishment of the New Economic History as at least one way of looking at Mormon history, a tradition that can be traced as far back as Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom.* That tradition is in the ascendancy today because of careful work by other scholars as well, including Dwight Israelsen of BYU, who has written cogently on the United Order and cognate subjects in a number of articles, and D. Michael Quinn, also of BYU, whose masterful Yale dissertation on the general authorities through 1932 should soon be available.

One might argue that the very narrowness of scope that contributed to the success of this monograph also renders it less valuable in dealing with larger questions of morality and motivation. The reader, however, is free to draw the more difficult, value-

laden conclusions on his own but he can do so on the basis of much more accurate information. The nonspecialist might have profited however, from more discussion of general banking and economic conditions during the 1830s. For example, the lack of a national bank, the ability of banks to issue their own currency and the generally more fluid milieu in which they operated at the time, tend to convey an image of chaos and disorder, an image too easily conjured up as a cause of the Kirtland bank's collapse and the Saints' difficulties.

The volume is well written and free of typographical blemish. It has four useful appendices, a bibliography, and an index, the latter not available in the *BYU Studies* version. I can't resist, however, calling attention to the references (pp. 59 and 87) to "Dudley Dean" as the author of a 1970 article on the Kirtland bank collapse. Dudley Dean is in fact the title character in a novel by Richard Scowcroft, a distant relative of mine. Dean A. Dudley is the economist in question. (His name is correct in the bibliography.)

TWO VENTURESOME WOMEN

by Cheryll Lynn May

Not By Bread Alone. The Journal of Martha Spence Heywood, 1850-56 Edited by Juanita Brooks. SCC: Utah State Historical Society, 1978. 135 pp., index. $10.95.

Letters of Elizabeth Cumming, 1857-58 Edited with Introduction and Notes by Ray R. Canning and Beverly Beaton. SCC: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1977. xvi + 101 pp., biblio, index. $12.50.

The study of early Utah history has been notably enriched by the recent publication of two contemporary accounts from the 1850s. *The Journal of Martha Spence Heywood, 1850 to 1856* includes Martha's accounts of the trek west, life among Salt Lake City's leading families and the settling Salt Creek (Nephi). The *Letters of Elizabeth Cumming*, wife of the first "gentile" governor of Utah Territory, begins in August 1857 and continues over the next year when she began her life as first lady of the territory after she and her husband were escorted to Salt Lake City by Johnston's Army. Since Martha Spence married into one of the more prominent Utah families after her arrival in Salt Lake, it seems quite possible that the two women might have met during one of the frequent gatherings Mrs. Cumming held for members of the local gentry.

Both the journal and the letters are written by intelligent and articulate women in their middle years. Both met the frontier experience as a privilege and adventure that more than compensated for its attendant hardships and discomforts. For example, within a few months of her arduous journey to Salt Lake City, Martha described a proposed emigration south to establish the settlement at Salt Creek as "a field of labor that I would delight in." She later described the prospective departure south with her new husband, Joseph Heywood, "a two-fold gleam of sunlight to lighten my dreary prospect." Elizabeth described her sojourn west and early weeks in Utah as the "happiest and pleasantest months" of her life. One wonders how many other well-bred Boston ladies would have thus described a 1500 mile trek across the wilderness. The Cummings' journey was beset by bitter cold winds and storms; provisions ran low and animals were killed by successful Mormon raiding parties. The trip included a six-month winter stopover in a mountain valley near Laramie where tents afforded the only protection against the winter cold.

But the differences between these two venturesome women and the accounts they left, are more interesting than their similarities. The most apparent and essential difference of course is that Martha Heywood's

is an "insider's" account. She participated fully in early Utah society and actively supported the values of the Mormon establishment. Elizabeth Cumming was a socio-culturally detached observer.

Martha Heywood's journal has long been regarded by the limited circle of scholars who have had access to it as one of the most compelling and valuable in the extensive LDS Church archives. She came to America from Dublin in 1834, a shy and sickly girl with no money and few skills, but she soon learned the capmaker's trade and managed to sustain herself. Martha joined the Mormon Church in July 1848 and, to quote her diary, "Immediately after I was baptized I conceived the necessity of being where the Church was and at once decided I would get there as quickly as possible." This reflects Martha's clear and straightforward writing style and her firm determination to reach her goals. Arriving in Salt Lake City in October 1850 Martha went to live at the Joseph L. Heywood home. He was bishop of the 17th Ward and a principal aide to Brigham Young. She became Heywood's third wife the following January.

Some of the most fascinating entries in Martha's journal describe social activities in the new Mormon capital. The combination of puritanical values and the polygamous family structure dictated customs very different from those prevalent in the rest of the country. Polygamous wives were allowed much greater freedom to travel about without their husbands than would have been thought proper at that time in the East. It was not unusual for Mormon wives to be escorted occasionally by men other than their husbands.

Martha's journal gives many accounts of her interactions with well-known church leaders. Especially enjoyable are her trenchant summaries of sermons delivered by Brigham Young and other general authorities. At her home in Nephi she frequently entertained President Young and other Mormon pilgrims as they travelled to and from the Dixie settlements.

The most valuable contribution the journal makes is the introduction it gives to a woman well worth knowing. Arriving in Salt Lake a sensitive, bookish, thirty-nine-year-old spinster with virtually no knowledge of cooking and other homemaking skills, within two years she became a wife, mother, homemaker, colonizer, and hostess to the elite of Mormon society. The journal chronicles this transformation, though at times in tantalizingly brief detail. During the six years covered by her journal, Martha frequently lost the "buoyancy of spirits" she claimed to be hers by nature. But throughout the account she remains remarkably successful in communicating the passionate faith that was the propelling force in her life.

Elizabeth Cumming's "Utah War" letters, written mostly to a well-loved sister-in-law, contain both the strengths and weaknesses of this particular literary form. They are informative, entertaining and more polished, in a literary sense, than Martha's journal. But as one would expect, the letters tell us little about Elizabeth's soul. It would be instructive to read Elizabeth's own journal to which she often refers in her letters. The letters, however, make a substantial and distinctive contribution to our understanding of early Utah history. Governor Cumming could not have asked for a better helpmate in the difficult task of mediating between zealous Army officers eager for a fight and suspicious Mormon leaders willing to defend their land to the last breath. When the crisis passed and Johnston's Army was safely settled on the west shore of Utah Lake, Elizabeth greatly eased the new governor's early months in office with her tolerant and respectful behavior toward the Mormon majority, combined with sympathetic help for the disaffected minority who wished to leave.

The descriptive gem of the collection is a letter dated 17 June 1858 that gives a detailed account of the Cummings' trip from Camp Scott (their winter layover in Wyoming) to Salt Lake City, and their first days in the city. Elizabeth travelled (as she did most of the trip) on a pony, which allowed her considerable freedom to explore the spectacular canyons through which they descended as they approached the Salt Lake Valley. Particularly compelling is Elizabeth's description of their entry into the deserted city, beset by a "death-like stillness," unbroken even by the greeting of the Mormon leaders, since the welcoming delegation was waiting for the Governor's party at a different entrance to the Valley than the one actually taken by the federal officials. Not until after the army had marched through

the city and departed from its borders did the Mormons return to the capital they had threatened to burn.

The Heywood journal was edited by Juanita Brooks with the aid of Miriam B. Murphy from the Utah State Historical Society. The style of the footnotes is spare and to the point. One can see some virtue in allowing a document like Martha's journal to stand on its own without too much excess baggage in the form of discursive references. But there are places where we might have preferred greater exposure to Mrs. Brooks' wealth of historical and bibliographic knowledge of the period. Occasional footnotes, descriptive of Martha's feelings, irritate the reader ("Martha must have felt flattered by this," etc.). Such interpretations belong only in an introduction.

The Cumming letter collection is beautifully printed and illustrated. The footnotes compiled by Beverly Beeton and Ray R. Canning are impressive research. The reader feels he/she is reading two accounts at the same time, one by Cumming and one by the editors since the notes are almost as interesting as the letters themselves.

CHERYLL LYNN MAY *who lives in Salt Lake City, is currently completing a doctorate from the Fletcher School of International Relations.*

FISHING FOR EMMA

by Linda King Newell

Joseph and Emma Companions by Roy A. Cheville. Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1977. 206 pps. $8.00.

Judge Me Dear Reader by Erwin E. Wirkus. Idaho Falls: by the author, 1978. 50 pps. $1.50.

Accounts of Emma Hale Smith and her relationship with her husband Joseph are scattered, sketchy and superficial. In 1973 Irwin E. Wirkus published *Judge Me Dear Reader*, a little twenty-five-page booklet about Emma. This past year he released an expanded fifty-page version, spruced up with a cover picture of Florence Hansen's fine sculpture of Emma and Joseph. A melodramatic attempt to rescue Emma from the depths of hell to which Brigham Young had consigned her, *Judge Me* remains the only work on Emma Smith by an LDS writer. In the meantime, Roy A. Cheville, who holds the title "Presiding Patriarch Emeritus" of the RLDS Church, has written *Joseph and Emma Companions*. Although his book attempts to deal with the relationship between Joseph and Emma, it gives little more than a simple biographical sketch of their lives, padded with empty comparisons such as "Joseph and Emma were not identical." The two authors have gone fishing in the same river but on opposite banks. Occasionally they hook a "keeper" but, for the most part, what they land is unpalatable.

Both Wirkus and Cheville have tried to explain Emma and her association with Joseph to the members of their respective churches, but their volumes were meant to be inspirational rather than scholarly. In their introductions, they explain why they wrote as they did. "Authentic resources are limited," says Cheville, "and various materials undoubtedly have been altered to uphold some doctrinal or historical position." A few decades ago a statement such as this might have been acceptable. Today, however, too many people have emptied the contents of their attics, basements, boxes and trunks into archives from coast to coast, making voluminous, authentic primary source material available to the serious writer. Had the author taken advantage of the archives—even in his own region—he might have avoided many of the errors in his book.

Wirkus offers this explanation:

> It has always seemed to me that there is more said against Emma Smith . . .

> than in her favor . . . I know that Emma . . . told many falsehoods and brought much persecution against the church her husband founded under the direction of heaven. As I search the pages of history I find few women who were asked to go through as much hardship, heartache, and tragedy as did Emma Smith . . . I have attempted to tell her story as I believe she would have told it.

And he tells it as though it were Emma speaking. I had difficulty with this approach. As I read the account, I pictured a middle aged man dressed as Emma (shawl, dented gold beads and dangling curls in front of his ears) giving a program in a little ward somewhere in Idaho. I was further distracted as he threw in modern-day chitchat: "and would you believe" and "well, at any rate."

The two writers have accomplished a synthesis of information already published by a number of other authors. In doing so, however, they have repeated misinformation in many cases, even adding a few of their own erroneous conclusions. Even so, for those readers seeking only a sketch of Emma's life and her companionship with Joseph, these books may spark some interest.

The two authors used quite different approaches in organizing their materials. Cheville started most chapters with a summary, then burdened the body of his text with repetitive, unorganized detail. Wirkus used a strict chronological format with an occasional flashback. It was easy to keep in mind the order in which events happened, but the few dates made it difficult to place a particular incident. Cheville, on the other hand, crammed every page with as many dates as Wirkus used in his entire booklet.

Though both writers have interpreted Emma from their separate religious bases, the two books express their theological backgrounds in completely different ways. Wirkus packs *Judge Me Dear Reader* with an abundance of ward-house lingo: Emma wonders when she lost her "tremendous spirit", she asks the church leaders to "release" her from her "calling" and asks that Joseph rescue her from hell and "take me by the hand again and lead me to his side." In *Emma and Joseph Companions*, Cheville's theology is reflected not only in the rhetoric but also in the more philosophical sections of his book, particularly in Chapter XI ("Enduring Continuants") where he lists twenty-six "basics" that he feels held Joseph and Emma together spiritually.

They tiptoe around such controversial issues as Emma's marriage to Major Lewis C. Bidamon. (By coincidence, the two books have the date of that marriage as December 27, 1847; the correct date is December 23.) Bidamon is an embarrassment to both writers. Cheville passes the union off as one of convenience, then ignores any other role Bidamon may have played in Emma's life. Wirkus treats the marriage as a tragic mistake and Lewis as a bad influence on Emma and her children. He says young Joseph "would talk about the many happy hours he had spent . . . [with] Major, our beautiful and intelligent dog. It was quite a different Major he had come to know as his stepfather." Neither Cheville nor Wirkus ever consider that Emma and Lewis could have loved each other. However, their letters to each other clearly suggest otherwise.

Each author handles polygamy with the traditional kid gloves of both churches. Wirkus pours Emma into the customary Mormon wife mold of obedience to her husband's priesthood authority, reluctantly accepting plural marriage by giving Joseph other wives. Cheville hints that the practice of plural marriage might have crossed Joseph's mind but maintains that Emma would never have agreed. "If Joseph had made such a proposal," he argues, "Emma would have replied as negatively as she spoke up about the bar in the Mansion House. She would have told Joseph that if he brought home another woman, she, Emma, would leave . . . Joseph and Emma continued in their monogamous marriage." In reality, Emma struggled desperately with polygamy. She did make an attempt to accept the principle but finally could not. Backed into a corner, she fought with every tool she possessed. Until her death she denied its painful existence in her life.

Both books contain sections on the children of Joseph and Emma. They both make the mistake of calling Joseph and Emma's first child Alva instead of Alvin. Wirkus provides a brief sketch of Joseph's brothers and sisters but, ironically, in a work about Emma does not include similar information about *her* siblings. He has her say "I had six

brothers and two sisters," and then on the next page she names *five* brothers and *three* sisters.

Other errors are sprinkled throughout. Cheville has Joseph III moving into the Mansion House with his wife and child in the spring of 1850 when he did not even marry until 1856. The author also states that Emma died before her son David H. Smith suffered his mental breakdown. The commitment papers from the Illinois Asylum for the Insane state that David was committed on January 17, 1877. According to these records, he had been mentally unstable for two years or four years before Emma's death. She described her own reaction to his breakdown as a "living trouble," expressing "deep sorrow at his condition."

Wirkus completely misses the 1835 edition of Emma's hymnal. He indicates that the 1841 collection was the first. He states that all four of Emma's sons were "very active in the Re-organized [sic] movement." Fredrick died at age 26, never having joined the church his brother headed. At one point the writer claims Emma was forty-four when she married Bidamon. A few pages later he says she "must have been forty-one." (She was actually forty-three.)

The Relief Society is mentioned in both books. *Companions* has a brief but accurate account; *Judge Me* completely botches the subject. Wirkus erroneously indicates that the idea for a women's organization originated with Joseph. Then, after Joseph's death he has Emma say, "[The Quorum of the Twelve] kept after me to do my work as president of the Relief Society. I asked them to release me, and though they didn't, I still refused to go. How could I direct the women who looked at me as though I had gone out of my mind?" The Relief Society organization was dissolved by the time Joseph was killed; the last official minutes had been recorded three months earlier on March 16, 1844.

The award for the most serious shortcoming I believe should go to Erwin E. Wirkus in his *Judge Me Dear Reader* for his conclusion that Emma Smith lost her mind when Joseph was killed. He uses this idea to excuse her of actions he does not understand and, in doing so, robs her of the dignity and strength that were hers.

Had either Cheville or Wirkus consulted the journals, manuscripts, statements and papers, easily accessible in both the RLDS and LDS Church libraries—as are scores of additional archival sources—they would surely have written with clearer insights and fewer errors.

LINDA KING NEWELL *is co-author (with Valeen Tippitts Avery) of a soon-to-be-published biography of Emma Smith.*

GENERALIZED HATRED

by Elinore Hughes Partridge

The Women's Room by Marilyn French. 471 pages. New York: Summit Books, 1977. $10.95. Paper: 687 pages. New York: Jove (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich), 1978. $2.50.

Mira, the protagonist of Marilyn French's best-selling novel, did not usually buy women's magazines, but she pored over them at the dentist's office: "Rate yourself: are you a good wife? Are you still attractive? Are you understanding, compassionate, nutritive? Do you keep your eye-shadow fresh?" Mira had been perfect: she was careful of her husband's fragile ego, she never struck her children, her house was immaculate. "She had done it all, everything the magazines, the television, the newspapers, the novels, everything they told her she was expected to do." It wasn't enough.

Few of us aspire to perfection, but we have an idealized image, even if we resist it, of what we are expected to be as woman,

wife and mother. The Mormon culture places unusually heavy burdens on wife and mother. (The same is true of the expectations of man, husband, father, but that's not what this particular book is about.) Since we almost always fall short of our goals, and it's easy to forget that we are not alone in our failures, we often bear the additional burden of guilt.

The tyranny of expectations, both externally imposed and internally developed, is just part of the cause of the misery of the women French describes. The stories of Mira's friends mirror the lives of some women living in the suburbs in the late fifties and early sixties and others living in Cambridge as graduate students in the late sixties who have been victimized by social institutions and oppressed physically and verbally by men. I was often touched by the stories but not because I cared about the women in the novel. It was, rather, because I was reminded of women I have known.

These episodes read like case histories. They are presented to make a point rather than to create a believable world. They are trivial in the root sense of that word—crossroads gossip—commonplace, unshaped by the artistic magic of good fiction, not given the distance that provokes insight or allows catharsis.

The gossip is always absorbing, however, often fascinating. We hear some familiar horror stories: Husbands walk in from work impeccably dressed, demanding services from disheveled women who have been scrubbing floors, chauffeuring children, settling quarrels, wiping up vomit and juggling two different dinners to satisfy schedules and tastes. These men can't understand their wives' fatigue; they imagine them gossiping with the neighbors all day or sitting with their feet up in front of the television set, nibbling chocolates or sipping wine. A woman who screams at her husband is placed in a mental hospital where she receives electric shock treatments to restore her domestic docility. A girl is violently raped and accused by police and lawyers of having provoked it. A feminist activist is literally blown apart by police bullets.

The narrative point of view which French adopts is at once the most intriguing and irritating aspect of the novel. We follow Mira through her childhood, her life in the suburbs, a divorce and her enrollment in graduate school. At the same time, a first-person narrator confides in the reader and comments upon characters and action. In an interview (*N.Y. Times*, Nov. 4, 1977), French said that she adopted this split narrator in order to present the experiences of an ordinary woman, with whom her readers can identify, and to provide a perceptive commentator. When she speaks of Mira, the narrator is not overtly condescending. The portrayal of Mira as third-person protagonist, however, reveals more than a little self-hatred. While I would like to know more about the narrator, who realizes some of the ambiguities and paradoxes inherent in a complex life in which one must make choices, I grow weary of Mira, who is self-absorbed, puritanical and egoistically self-congratulatory when she finally shakes off some of her puritanism. Although the device creates a nice tension at first, I can't quite believe the merging of identities at the end.

Although the book presents episodes and ideas with which all but the most complacent women can identify, representative characters become stereotypes and righteous anger too often becomes unreasoned hatred. I would hope that this novel might make women feel less lonely, that it might articulate unexpressed resentments and help to alleviate guilt. I would also hope that it might make men feel less frustrated about trying to understand women's resentments. I would even hope that the real injustices documented in the book might arouse the complacent few. However, I fear that the novel polarizes human beings into US-THEM categories.

French warmly describes the strong support and love that women can give to other women, but the sympathy Mira extends to her neighbors and her fellow graduate students she does not extend to her husband or her parents. The narrator says to the reader: "You think I hate men. I guess I do . . . I don't like this position. I mistrust generalized hatred." I do too. We sometimes need anger, in order to act. We also need generous amounts of compassion and forgiveness for men and women alike. Unfortunately, Marilyn French's compassion, in *The Women's Room*, does not include men.

ELINORE HUGHES PARTRIDGE *is a noted style analyst who lives in Ogden, Utah.*

BRIEF NOTICES

by Gene A. Sessions

A Companion to Your Study of the Doctrine and Covenants by Daniel H. Ludlow. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1978, two volumes, 1124 pp. $16.95.

Designed to coincide with the adult Sunday school's study of the Doctrine and Covenants, this two-volume set provides a shortcut past D&C background one might discover with considerably more effort in the *History of the Church* or in Roberts. It also hopes to help the average gospel doctrine student make up for his teacher's inadequacies by providing some explanatory materials as well as a compendium of definitions. Volume two contains appendices, analyses of words and phrases, and brief biographies of most of the persons whose names appear in the D&C. Late of the LDS Church Correlation Committee, Dan Ludlow certainly represents the orthodox view of this intriguing piece of Mormon canon, and when contemplated with this in mind, *Companion* becomes at least as worthwhile as his work on the Book of Mormon of two years ago.

Having Your Food Storage and Eating It, Too. Provo, Utah: Ezra Taft Benson Agriculture and Food Institute, 1978, 16 pp. $1.00 (pb).

Drawn from scholarly papers of the Food Science and Nutrition Department at BYU, this pamphlet strikes a velvet blow against the hysteria that resulted from President Kimball's 1976 call for food storage. Among other things, it outlines the Church's family preparedness program, of which food storage is only a part, and carefully urges the reader to exercise care in his approach to following this particular part of the Prophet's word of warning. The booklet's most impressive quality is its concise statement of necessity and its clear guidelines for proper use and control of food storage supplies. A wide readership would help reduce the number of "doomsday" food storage bilks. The address of the Benson Institute is 475 WIDB, Provo 84602.

Others by Blaine M. Yorgason and Brenton G. Yorgason. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishers, 1978, xiv+135 pp., index. $4.95.

Among the more soporific books to come along in some time, *Others* reads like an hour-long sermon sounds. Designed specifically for those who never get enough on Sunday afternoon, this book gets as close to being a general-authority book without being one as it can. Indeed, the reader can easily picture one of its authors, with his elbow propped on the pulpit, trying his best to sound like a combination of Thomas Monson, Paul Dunn, and LeGrande Richards. As it tells us one melodramatic and quasi-humorous tale after another about service to our fellow beings, this team of brothers (a *double-entendre* inasmuch as both work in the church education system) proves once again that some Mormons will endure *anything* if someone calls it spiritual.

The Season to Prepare: An Open Letter to Young Mormon Women by Daryl V. Hoole. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1978, 17 pp., $1.50 (pb).

For Hoole, getting through the teenage years for young Mormon women is simple: Keep your room clean (in preparation for successful housekeeping), take child development classes (in preparation for motherhood), and organize your life (so that you may become a more effective wife). In other words, writes Hoole, every girl can be happy if she recognizes her place and does those things during her adolescence that will help her become most effective in that place. Somehow, Hoole is ignorant of or chooses to ignore certain powerful facts, such as that women tend to live some forty years after that set of comfortable roles no longer exists, and that a great many Mormon women will find themselves, either by choice or otherwise, single. For them all, the season of preparation will largely have been wasted.

How To Be a Perfect Wife and Other Myths by Afton Day. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishers, 1977, 112 pp. $3.50.

More to the point in this business of a woman's place is this little dissertation on how Mormon women should "cope" with the difficulties, as noble as they are, of being a good wife and mother. Critic Jama Y. Falsone applauds Day's book as a step in the right direction. At least it confesses that there may be some problems in the set of expectations placed upon a Mormon woman within the prescribed role structure of the patriarchal system, but Falsone finds the work disappointing beyond that. For example, Day's basic message is that failure to find success as a housewife demands compensation in the form of outside activities. As Falsone reads Day, the story is an old one: "A woman cannot have both worlds [work and home] and be successful. . . . "

The Gentle Touch by Ardith Greene Kap. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1978, x+104 pp. $3.95.

Kap's gentle touch has something to do with teaching children through sweetness. Parents more prone to use the swift kick might benefit from this Lady Bountiful approach, but for most Mormons there is little in this book they cannot get either from Elliot Landau or in mother training lessons at Relief Society. *Men* should read *Gentle Touch*. But then, Kap carefully explains that it is the woman's place to teach the children in the home, perhaps with some help from the father whose job it is to use the swift kick (in keeping with *his* place).

Brigham Young and Me, Clarissa by Barbara Williams. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1978, 80 pp. $6.95.

Here is a delightful children's book composed by a granddaughter-in-law of Clarissa Young Spencer, fifty-first child of Brigham Young and one of the more interesting. Williams is probably the most successful Mormon writer of children's books, and this one, while unique in its approach, is certainly the best of her work. There is, unfortunately, some serious danger in "Clarissa's" account of life in the family of the great and enigmatic Mormon leader. In bookstores throughout Utah, the Williams tale finds itself called "the book on Brigham Young by his daughter." The same kind of thing has happened with regard to Irwin Wirkus's imaginary autobiography of Emma Smith (see review in this issue). While Williams worked carefully with what she knew about her husband's grandmother from family lore and with what fragments of historical evidence she possessed, what she gives the children in *Clarissa* can be neither history, autobiography or reminiscence. The *Roots* phenomenon of "faction" has thus invaded Mormondom. Historical fiction is a legitimate way of exploring the past as long as readers recognize it for what it is. Had Clarissa (or "Clint," as her childhood friends called her) written this memoir, it would have been "a book on Brigham Young by his daughter." But since she did not, it is not. It's as simple as that.

111 Days to Zion by Stanley B. Kimball and Hal Knight. Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1978, 253 pp., index. $3.95.

A light survey of the day-by-day happenings of the trek of the original Mormon Pioneers (Brigham Young party) in 1847, this work first appeared over a period of months in serial form in the *Deseret News*. Promotional materials admit that its author was really Knight, a veteran *News* reporter, who worked from historian Kimball's notes and with his advice. In addition, the two traveled the route together and surveyed important sites. The journalistic flavor comes through clearly. The reader should expect neither careful history nor much analysis. *111 Days* is simply an enjoyable account of the journey, colorfully written and easily read. While it falls into the category of light reading, students of Mormonism might find it useful for its chronological quality if for nothing else.

INDEX TO VOLUME XI

COMBINED AUTHOR, TITLE, SUBJECT INDEX

General guidelines:

1. Subject headings appear in **BOLDFACE**. Occasionally an author will also be listed as a subject.
2. Articles are set off by quotation marks; only the page number on which article begins is listed.
3. Within an entry, names in sub-headings are listed alphabetically by *first* name. Thus, Brigham Young will precede Joseph Smith.
4. The following abbreviations are used: (L) designates a letter-to-the-editor; (R) designates a book review, and (F) a film review.

-I-

-J-

-K-

SCRIPTURE INDEX

SCRIPTURE INDEX

Dialogue's BACK ISSUES

Most recent issues of *Dialogue* are available at $5.00 per issue.

Vol. X No. 2	Sexuality and Mormon Culture
Vol. X No. 3	Mormons and the Media
Vol. X No. 4	General Issue (Book of Mormons)
Vol. XI No. 1	Tenth Anniversary Issue
Vol. XI No. 2	Arts and Letters
Vol. XI No. 3	Psychology and Sociology
Vol. XI No. 4	History — T. Edgar Lyon and Leonard J. Arrington
Ten-year Index	$5.00

Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: *An Historical Overview* $3.00
by Lester E. bush, Jr.

A list of back issues is available upon request.

Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought
Post Office Box 1387
Arlington, Virginia 22210