



DIALOGUE
a journal of mormon thought

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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. Contents copyright © 1979 by the Dialogue Foundation. 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

remembering brother lyon

The tears came unexpectedly and profusely when I walked into my brother's house and saw the very natural picture of my husband on the cover of *Dialogue* as it lay on the table there. (My copy came the next day.) How generous and kind of you to honor him by this beautiful cover, your editorial, Davis Bitton's tribute, Lowell Bennion's reflections and, in addition, an article by him. I am amazed that you would do so much. It comes over me strongly that he was held in higher esteem than even I realized. My sincere and deep gratitude to all of you.

In my thinking your editorial tribute to my husband is one of the most accurate assessments of his personality that anyone has yet written. I was especially pleased that you spoke of his boundless energy and his cheerfulness and that you said "his voice was always on the verge of laughter." You captured his spirit and expressed it beautifully.

Thank you also for the other thought-provoking and informative articles in the issue.

Hermana Lyon
Salt Lake City, Utah

I wanted to send you this note expressing my appreciation for the memorial pieces that appeared in the latest issue of *Dialogue*. I thought your introduction captured Dad's personality to a "T." Having sat through a number of his classes, I can also see him with a twinkle in his eye and a half smile, talking about St. Augustine or telling of St. Bernard of Clairveaux and the founding of monasteries. I was also fascinated by his piece on Mormon Church historians, as I had not seen it before now. Again, thank you for this very lovely tribute.

Joseph L. Lyon, M.D.
Salt Lake City, Utah

Thank you for the lovely tribute! You've done a first-rate job with *Dialogue* generally, though my lapsed subscription does

not prove it. That is a consequence of sloth and ever-shrinking reading time. Tomorrow I plan to repent. Let me say how profoundly I appreciate what you said about my father and did for him. It meant a great deal to me.

James K. Lyon
Del Mar, California

How grateful we are for your wonderful *Dialogue* featuring Dad on the cover. I almost hate to write a formal thank-you letter since your remarks were so warm and personal—you truly captured some of Dad's essence in your introductory paragraphs. My own very biased opinion happens to correspond with yours—he was one of the greatest men in "these here parts."

Ted Lyon
Provo, Utah

Thank you for the articles about and by Brother T. Edgar Lyon. I was at the University of Utah during his time, and I feel fortunate and blessed that I came under the influence of two great men, Brother Lyon and Brother Lowell Bennion.

I drop everything when *Dialogue* comes, and I read it from cover to cover. Keep up the good work!

Donna F. Nelson
Ellensburg, Washington

I am pleased to remit a check for another year's subscription. This latest *Dialogue* will be prized by the Smiths. You see, T. Edgar Lyon was a life-long friend—we were almost inseparable until we each married. Since then we had seen each other every year or two and always for a good visit.

It is well to spend some time with Leonard Arrington, too. This remarkable and gifted writer is by far the most professional Church Historian. I have enjoyed especially his biography of Edwin Woolley.

Keep up the good work. Our wishes for your success.

Jesse R. Smith
Washington, D.C.

The Winter 1978 issue was of particular meaning to me [containing an article on] my great uncle T. Edgar Lyon. I regret that distance separated us, for I could have learned so much more. But one of my best memories is of a visit a decade ago. Like many young people I had unanswered questions and inner struggles about the Gospel—and found some solace in *Dialogue*. It was exhilarating to hear of “Uncle Ed’s” enthusiasm for *Dialogue*. I’m sure he enjoyed reading this issue from the other side, unless they’re keeping him busy telling his anecdotes.

Scott S. Smith
Thousand Oaks, California

I thought your last issue with its tributes to T. Edgar Lyon was marvelous. The article on J. Bracken Lee and the Mormon Church was especially insightful.

James N. Kimball
Salt Lake City, Utah

bouquets for “brack”

My husband and I feel that Dr. Lythgoe’s extensive and fair research into my husband’s political life has given him a rather broad view of my husband’s activities and accomplishments during those busy years. Surely that was a unique period in the history of our state and a challenging one! Our kindest best wishes to you.

Margaret D. Lee
(Mrs. J. Bracken Lee)
Salt Lake City, Utah

I enjoyed reading Dennis Lythgoe’s article about “Brack.” He is a very special friend and a super honest person. It is too bad that there are not more Lees!

Ray Phillips
Salt Lake City, Utah

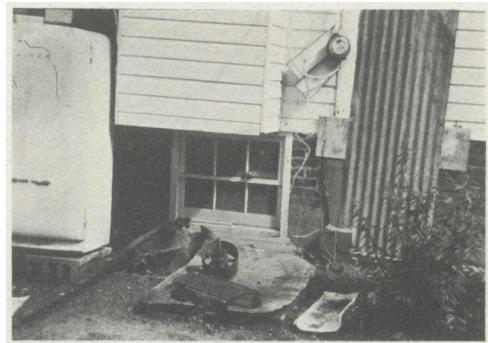
project liahona

When I saw your last cover with the Siamese montage of Freud and Jung, I thought surely the subject of dreams would be discussed at last. Not so. I can’t help but think of our most fundamental scriptural beginnings such as Moroni’s quotes from the Bible to Joseph Smith, in particular Joel 3:28,

... your sons and daughters shall prophesy. Your old men shall dream dreams and your young men see visions ...

In this light it is surprising to me that a culture like ours, boasting as we do of a love of truth, is so ignorant of as vital a subject as dreams. The dreaming process is such a simple, direct and self evident way to inner truth. All one need have to tap its treasures is simple desire to know and a little faith. A simple prayer request is often all it takes to wake the next morning with a dream response. The simple act of placing a pad of paper by the side of one’s bed with pen and flashlight is a powerful suggestion to the maker of dreams that you are serious and receptive and prepared.

This is a personal subject. But is *Dialogue* required to be impersonal? Or, to be scholarly and responsible, must our subjects be abstract and “objective”? I hope not!



One of the best metaphors on dreams I’ve read recently comes from *The Dream Diary* by Carrol Regnier Associates, referring to the activity of “The mind at night:”

The human mind is rather like a parliament. By day the ruling rationalist party has a comfortable majority, and therefore is able to govern without much interference from the other parties. True, it may have to put up with a motion of no-confidence now and then, or even endure the occasional filibuster by a still small voice, but it always gets its way in the end. It devises the priorities, makes the decisions, responds to the crises, takes credit for the triumphs, explains away the defeats, and in general supervises the day-to-day running of a life.

At night, however, the loyal opposition comes into its own. With all the government

offices shut down, your shadow government is free to review the majority party's performance, hold hearings, make demands, raise alarms, issue warnings, call attention to mistakes, and in general throw its weight around.

So, I propose we figure out a way to dialogue on dreams. Let us discover, present and share with each other the findings of our collective "loyal opposition." Perhaps we could call it "Project Liahona?"

Eugene Kovalenko
Provo, Utah

porridge of pap

Your Autumn issue served up a porridge of condescending pap when the Saints need nourishment most of all. Here is Brother Larson comparing the RSV to the King James: who cares if we have the New Translation? Here is Brother King's pseudo-erotic "Marriage Song"; how dare he insult the readership by footnoting his poetry! Are we swines to which Dialogue must throw literary pearls? And here is "Star Wars" as gospel truth! Never give the sucker an even break.

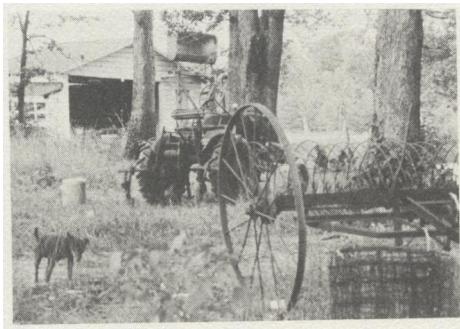
But what hurts most is Sam Taylor's admission that "like it or lump it" he has slipped into the comfortable irrelevancy of California's armchair Mormonism. That is the hardest lump in the porridge to swallow. I would have thought more from John W.'s son.

It hurts because I've lived in Brother Taylor's California, and it has about as much to do with early Utah as the Osmonds' version of "The Great Brain." It hurts when the ward grinder is assigned to the garage of a Seventy who hawks food storage containers when members show up to grind their wheat. It hurts to hear returned missionaries tell racial jokes about ghetto blacks and then hear the whole congregation break out in laughter. It hurts to leave a sick and pregnant Asian wife in the care of the Priesthood and the Relief Society and return to find her collapsed on the floor and my three-year old nursing her back to health. Despite promises and even long-distant pleas when no one answered my phone, no one ever came.

And it hurts when the Bishopric won't visit a black member because of his neighborhood (That same black man left groceries on my doorstep when he thought I was

out of food.) Three times I moved to find my Zion; three times I told the Bishopric all the hurt and embarrassment my wife had endured when members would ask her did she work in a bar just because her eyes were slanted; three times we moved before the home teachers ever bothered to come.

There is a world crying for help, waiting for someone or something to help. How do we distribute wealth? How do we bring back the Order of Enoch? How do we prepare for Jackson County? At what point does our allegiance to governments stop? What are the harbingers of unification with the Reorganized? Should we begin to pray for the return of the Principle? Or else what do we intend to do with the plural wives of Islamic converts when we proselytize in the Mid-east? What should be the shapes of our cities, our towns, our wards and our temples: Should Zion be built-up through new town developments or lie scattered as she is? Do we feed the poor before we preach the gospel? Here are your priorities, not the junk food we have been getting. We can no longer afford the luxury of looking in on your little Essene community when you have turned your back on the evils of Rome which threaten to batter Israel: inequitable



wealth, selfishness, insensitivities to other cultures, complacency, materialism, legalism and hypocrisy.

Once I was told (perhaps in jest) that the Genesis Group resorted to smuggling messages under President Smith's birthday cake in order to keep the lines of communication open. I once thought Dialogue did the same. Surely the revelation on blacks would not have come if President Kimball had not asked, and he would not have asked, if he did not feel sure that we were ready to receive. But there is more revelation to come, and who is there to tell the Prophet

we are ready? Certainly not your Autumn contributors.

Happily, the Ensign in recent issues has struck hard at the evils which threatened to keep Zion from rising forth. If Dialogue cannot keep pace, then perhaps it is time to call it quits. I already get Newsweek.

Neil B. Hall
Subic Bay, Philippines

... and a scoop of praise

The essays by Adele Brannon McCollum and Owen Clark (Vol. XI, No. 3) were landmark publications, especially where Clark speaks of a "synthesis of religious experience and current scientific thought." They tend to scoop some of the more simplistic pieces written by others. Thanks for a truly insightful and sensitively edited issue, Ellis Dye, Karl Keller and David Rowland to the contrary.

Thomas L. Rogers
Provo, Utah

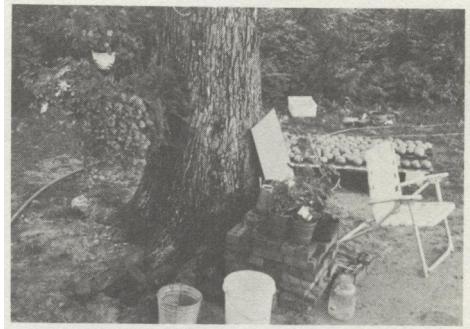
Editor's note: See also Gerald Bradford's contribution in Notes and Comments

timeless nibley

It is absolutely startling to think that there are really human beings on this planet with brains like Hugh Nibley's. Even now, after all these years, I can still see him coming to class armed with a stack of books that would not only educate us, but delight and entertain us as well. I took Literary History of the Greeks from Dr. Nibley, the then and now foremost intellect of Brigham Young University and most other western colleges as well. He would read to us directly from the Greek texts, translating Homer into current comicstrip vernacular. Incredible!

I really did not belong in that class. All my fellow students were Rhodes Scholars, or were working on some thesis or the other. My major was Fun-Around-Campus, with a minor in Elementary Education. I only took the class because a friend had urged me to get acquainted with Dr. Nibley. I soon discovered that I could get to know Dr. Nibley only after a fashion. I had the feeling that he wouldn't recognize me outside of class (or in class for that matter). Indeed, I don't remember his taking roll more than once during the term. But if you're thinking that he did not have an interest in his students, do not be misled. He had so much concern that he willingly set up a series of

debates with the leader of a religious group that had been sent to Provo to "convert" the students at BYU. I had chosen to do my class paper on the "Mysticism" of this particular group. Though he never admitted he was protecting his lambs from the wolves, Dr. Nibley nevertheless made shambles out of their arguments with his lucid insights. It was not until much much later that, from



my own mature vantage point of both parent and teacher, I could gain a full appreciation for what he had been doing then.

I congratulate the committee that produced *Nibley on the Timely and the Timeless* and I salute Dr. Nibley, former BYU Professor of the Year. Indeed, he has been my professor of the year every year since!

E.C. Weaver Shaeffer
Clovis, New Mexico

In one of the essays in *Nibley on the Timely and the Timeless*, Hugh Nibley compares the brain to a pair of glasses with different colored lenses through which one would see alternate flashes of red and green flickering at high speed. This image, as well as being literally true of the modality of human attention, might well serve as a metaphor for the kind of mind Dr. Nibley displays to those of us who have long known him in print, selecting and filtering flashes of insight in different modes and presenting them in the spluttering, supererogatory prose style which is his signature. It is almost as though he were matching his style to our cerebral functions in order to bypass the conscious censor which keeps us from learning anything really new. Actually it is an effort at condensation, rather than an overabundance of words, that gives Nibley's prose its strobelight effect. He has too much of the Arab commentator in him to leave out a single instance that might bear some

light on the point he is making, so example is piled on example with a minimum of smooth transition to round it into an article or more often a string of "parts."

But Nibley can speak with other voices, and they are represented here. One sample of the dialogue defense of Joseph Smith against the likes of Brodie is presented in "Their Portrait of a Prophet." Most satisfying are his talks, which are well represented by "Genesis of the Written Word" and "Zeal Without Knowledge." I only lament the exclusion of the articles on statecraft, which are less available to the Mormon audience for whom this volume was presumably intended than many of the inclusions. Particularly attractive to the Nibleyphile is the "Intellectual Autobiography" which freshly prefaces this collection, unlike Truman Madsen's somewhat tired list of Nibley prodigies in the Foreword.

Kathleen R. Snow
Seattle, Washington

praise for a poet

I have been receiving your excellent publication for some time, and I read it with enjoyment and delight. It is refreshing and encouraging to read articles of scholarship beyond the sometimes confining limits of "official" information. I have also been impressed with the quality of the fiction and poetry published in your magazine. I particularly like a poem I read in the Autumn issue 1977 by Dawn Baker Brimley (Koos-harem, Utah—1914). It is vivid and moving. I hope to read more of her work in future issues.

Della Mae Wood
Calgary, Alberta, Canada

Editor's note: see this issue

and a round of applause

One round of applause for the comment by Stanton L. Hovey, Letter to the Editor, Vol. XI, No. 4 (Winter, 1978):

... Certainly some church members desire to explore on their own the pros and cons of a social issue but feel threatened by doing so and need to conform to someone else's official position.

The point is even more pertinent to purely intellectual issues as opposed to merely "social issues." The Mormon gospel teaches us fundamental truths. But our understanding

and articulation of those truths and their relationship *inter se* require each of us to study the logical and practical implications of all that we are taught. As one of the founders of your august journal oft quoted: "Prove all things; hold fast to that which is good."

G. L. Ensley
Los Alamitos, California

from the british grapevine

I have recently become a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and during my reading as an 'investigator' I came across a number of extracts from and references to *Dialogue*. As the books available to me are rather dated, I had thought that *Dialogue* was no longer published, especially as I could find no one who had come across it. (*Dialogue*, it appears, is a common title for educational publications in the U.K.) And as my university, Victoria Manchester, is not really connected with religion *per se*, I thought there was no hope of gaining copies. However, while looking for something totally different, I discovered the address of *Dialogue*, and I thought it worth the attempt to write and ask if it is possible to subscribe. One is rather cut off from what one might call advanced or intellectual Mormon thought, and it would be refreshing to be plugged in. Apart from that, as far as I am aware *Dialogue* is the only specifically Mormon publication not run by the Church itself and as such opens the possibility of raising issues in a committed but not propagandist manner.

Nigel R. Johnson
Manchester, England

Can I open a subscription to your excellent journal, several copies of which I have recently digested?

We rarely ("never" would be a more appropriate word) see any promotions of your "mag" over here. It is left to a very tenuous grapevine to circulate the good news. Yet there is clearly a need for such a stimulating publication among members here. We cannot be saved in ignorance!

I enclose my remittance and proof of my student status, and I look forward to my first year's copies in due course.

Ross Andrews
Manchester, England

Students may follow Mr. Andrews' example and subscribe at half price. Ed.

INTRODUCTION

LESTER E. BUSH, JR.

Friday, June 9, 1978. A day not to be forgotten. Like the bombing of Pearl Harbor, or the assassination of President Kennedy, most Mormons will remember exactly where they were and what they were doing when they first heard the news.

I was in a school meeting some ten miles away from my home when a secretary rushed into the room. "They just announced over the radio that President Kimball has had a revelation and the blacks will be given the Priesthood." We were stunned and jumped up to get to the radio. It was the kind of story that had to be shared, and within minutes five or six people had phoned.

I was too excited to continue the meeting and drove home as quickly as possible to watch the story unfold on television. It was the only thing being broadcast. My wife and I kissed and started to cry. In a rush of emotion, I ran downstairs, got our American flag, and proudly unfurled it in front of our home. Then I drove down to church headquarters to mingle with the crowd of reporters, tourists, and excited church members who were reacting to the news.

THUS WROTE REED WAHLQUIST of Salt Lake City, one of many who responded to *Dialogue's* invitation to contribute to a special issue celebrating the first anniversary of The Revelation. With minor variations, Reed has said it for many of us—the exhilaration, the phone calls and the tremendous weight lifted at last. "It must have been big news in heaven," someone else commented, and for most of us down below it will probably remain the most singular event in our church experience.

As we reflect on the developments since that dramatic day last June, the most remarkable realization is that there have been few if any remarkable developments. At the practical, day-to-day level, the mass exodus out of (or into) the Church foreseen by some failed to materialize. Black Mormons have begun to advance, with little fanfare, to positions of increasing leadership within the Church. Growing numbers of black converts are being incorporated smoothly into Mormon congregations in all areas of the United States. Given our collective record on this score in decades past, this is as astonishing as it is refreshing. The time, some would say, must have been "right."

On the more theoretical, doctrinal level, the past year has been more a non-event than seemed likely. Although many guessed before the revelation that any change in the Negro doctrine would be announced with a minimum of explanation, few also supposed that there would be no subsequent discussion whatever either

LESTER E. BUSH, Jr., is associate editor of *Dialogue*. His "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview" (*Dialogue*, Spring 1973) won Mormon History Association and *Dialogue* "Best Article" prizes in 1973.

in General Conference or through the official publishing arms of the Church. Although such issues have always been at the heart of *Dialogue's* commitment to Mormon thought, it is still premature to attempt any "definitive" retrospective of the recent events. Much remains to be learned about our earlier history on this subject. Despite the plethora of books and articles addressing the Negro doctrine in the past fifty years—many heralded as "definitive"—poorly understood facets of the history remain readily identifiable. Consider the last few decades. We have yet to see a thoughtful analysis of the Church's attitudes and activities in the realm of civil rights or a study of the Nigerian mission. No one has assessed the refinement, during the McKay administration, of the definition of "black" or "Negro."¹ We have remarkably little insight into the views of President McKay and his counselors on the fundamental nature of the priesthood restriction—its basis, and the conditions under which it would be terminated.

The 1970's will be a challenge to historians for years to come: Black activist harassment of BYU; the Genesis Group; litigation with the Boy Scout movement; *Roots*-spurred interest in genealogy; heightened leadership awareness of the historical antecedents of current Mormon beliefs; and once again questions over the identification of the cursed lineage, this time with reverberations in both Brazil and the U. S. Congress.² Did any of these developments influence the events of 1978? A circumstantial case can be made that they did. But there is about as much evidence, (i.e., none) that they mattered not at all. Conclusions, then, must be a matter of faith and philosophy.

The greatest challenge to future historians, and that of most interest and importance, will be 1978 itself, about which very little can now be said with confidence. There are a few tantalizing hints. That the forthcoming dedication of the Brazilian temple figured conspicuously in the deliberations leading up to the revelation is clear from some published comments. LeGrand Richards, for example, is quoted as saying, "All those people with Negro blood in them have been raising the money to build the temple. Brother Kimball worried about it. He asked each one of us of the Twelve if we would pray—and we did—that the Lord would give him the inspiration to know what the will of the Lord was. . . ."³

Beyond this the story is hazy and intriguing. According to his son Edward, President Kimball was "exercised about the question" for "some months at least," during which time "he could not put it out of his mind."⁴ He solicited individual written and oral statements from the Twelve, conveying, to Apostle Richards, the impression that "he was thinking favorably toward giving the colored people the priesthood."⁵ That any such disposition followed a great internal struggle is evidenced by a statement from President Kimball himself, in an interview with the *Church News*: ". . . I had a great deal to fight, of course, myself largely, because I had grown up with this thought that Negroes should not have the priesthood and I was prepared to go all the rest of my life till my death and fight for it and defend it as it was."⁶ Indeed, according to son Edward, his father "could not comfortably debate things about which he felt deeply."⁷

Whatever the contributing factors, President Kimball apparently was persuaded even before the June first revelation—as Richards suggested—that a change in the priesthood policy was indicated. Again from the *Church News* interview:

I went to the temple alone, and especially on Sundays and Saturdays . . . when I could have it alone. It went on for some time as I was searching for this, because I wanted to be sure . . . [“Gradually, most of his doubts and questions faded away,” writes Edward.⁸ Then, on June 1, in a special prayer circle with the Apostles,] . . . I offered the final prayer and I told the Lord if it wasn’t right, if He didn’t want this change to come in the Church that I would be true to it all the rest of my life, and I’d fight the world against it if that’s what he wanted . . .⁹

The “revelation and assurance came to me so clearly,” Kimball later said, “that there was no question about it.” The revelation thus appears to have been a spiritual manifestation in *confirmation* of a decision made after a period of lengthy and profound study and prayer. This “spiritual witness” was reportedly experienced by all present at that time as well as a week later when the First Presidency presented their official statement to the Twelve.¹⁰ Commenting on the factors responsible for the revelation coming at this time, Apostle Bruce R. McConkie later is said to have stated, “It was a matter of faith and righteousness and seeking on the one hand, and it was a matter of the divine timetable on the other hand.” In a thought-provoking analogy of the Apostles in Jerusalem, who might have learned about the Nephites, “[b]ut they didn’t ask, and they didn’t manifest the faith; and they didn’t get an answer,” Elder McConkie reportedly added, “One reason for what happened to us is that the Brethren asked in faith; they petitioned and desired and wanted an answer—President Kimball in particular.”¹¹

If accurately reported, Elder McConkie’s comments at a meeting of Seminary and Institute personnel at BYU two months after the revelation also give a glimpse into the implications of the revelation—both for past and present. Coming from one so closely associated with the traditional Mormon position on blacks, his views seem worthy of note. Referring to many Book of Mormon passages on universality of the gospel message, he observed that “these words have now taken on a new meaning. We have caught a new vision of their true significance . . . Many of us never imagined or supposed that [these and a number of other passages] had the extensive and broad meaning that they do have. . . .” And, later,

We have read these passages and their associated passages for many years. We have seen what the words say and have said to ourselves, “Yes, it says that, but we must read out of it the taking of the gospel and the blessings of the temple to the negro people, because they are denied certain things.” There are statements in our literature by the early brethren which we have interpreted to mean that the negroes would not receive the priesthood in mortality. I have said the same things, and people write me letters and say, “You said such and such, and how is it now that we do such and such?” . . . Forget everything that I have said, or what President Brigham Young or President George Q. Cannon or whomsoever has said in days past that is contrary to the present revelation. We spoke with a limited understanding and without the light and knowledge that now has come into the world. . . .”

Thus—and very happily—the events of the past year may have rendered moot some of the painful doctrinal questions of the twentieth century. New and significant questions have been raised, however. While perhaps not so fertile a field as polygamy, Mormonism’s late Negro doctrine deserves to receive insightful

scholarly attention for some time to come. *Dialogue* is therefore pleased to contribute articles, notes, and personal reflections toward a broader understanding of an era which is now at an end.

NOTES

¹ Directed principally at resolving the "lineage" of such groups as the West Irians and Papuans of New Guinea. Difficulties are well illustrated by the Fijians, whom the Church considered to have "negro blood" prior to 1935, but not to be of "negro descent" from 1935 until 1953 when they were again termed "negroid in origin" by the First Presidency. The question finally was put to rest in 1955 when, after a visit to the South Pacific, President McKay declared Fijians to be "a branch of the house of Israel." See Normal Douglas, "Mormon Missionaries and the Fijian: Caution, Confusion and Compromise," unpublished manuscript, Historical Department of the Church.

² The latter resulting ultimately in the First Presidency statement of February 22, 1978—just weeks before the revelation—transferring back to stake and mission leaders the determination of "whether or not one does have negro blood." This chapter apparently began with Black Caucus objections to Mormon use of Federal records for the purposes of priesthood or temple discrimination.

³ Wesley P. Walters, "Interview with Mormon Apostle LeGrand Richards Concerning 1978 Negro Revelation," 16 August 1978, published as a tract by Ex-Mormons for Jesus (Phoenix, Ariz.: 1978), pp. 1-2.

⁴ Edward L. Kimball, "I Sustain Him as a Prophet, I Love Him as an Affectionate Father," *Dialogue* XI (4):61 (Winter 1978).

⁵ Walters, *op.cit.*, p. 2.

⁶ "'News' Interviews Prophet," *Church News*, January 6, 1979, p. 4.

⁷ Kimball, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁹ *Church News*, January 6, 1979, p. 4.

¹⁰ Bruce R. McConkie, "All Are Alike Unto God," talk delivered to Seminary & Institute of Religion personnel, Brigham Young University, August 18, 1978, printed copies of which have been circulated informally. (Regarding the *Time* report that rumors were current that the Lord or Joseph Smith had delivered the revelation in person: "... these things did not happen.") A similar scenario has been assembled from various accounts emanating from the families of General Authorities, in the form of a notarized (!) typescript by David John Buerger, "Events Surrounding the 1978 Negro Revelation," (23 July 1978). See also Kimball, *op.cit.*, p. 61.

¹¹ McConkie, *op.cit.*

*SAINT WITHOUT PRIESTHOOD:
THE COLLECTED TESTIMONIES
OF EX-SLAVE
SAMUEL D. CHAMBERS*

EXACTLY ONE-HALF CENTURY AGO, black Mormon Samuel D. Chambers (1831-1929) died, ending one of the most impressive conversion stories in Church history.¹

Samuel was born May 21, 1831, in Pickens County, Alabama. In 1844, as a thirteen-year-old slave in eastern Mississippi, he listened to the preaching of Preston Thomas and accepted baptism from that Mississippian, himself a new convert.² But, unlike other converts in the area who relocated to Nauvoo or other Mormon centers, Samuel stayed behind. He was property, a slave, not free to migrate. For a quarter of a century he had no further contact with the Church and no hope of ever joining the body of the Saints. Unable to read or write, and lacking parents or peers or missionaries to encourage him in his youthful faith, he retained his testimony through the Holy Spirit.

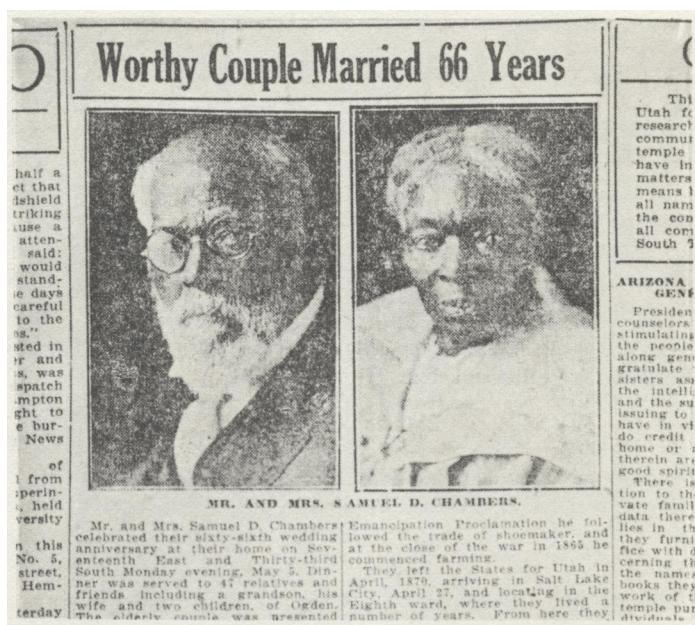
During that quarter century Samuel married, fathered a son, lost his wife, then married Amanda Leggroan in 1858. When the Civil War brought freedom in its wake, Samuel as freedman worked four years to earn items needed to make a long overland trek to Utah. With son Peter and wife Amanda and the young family of Amanda's brother, Edward (Ned) Leggroan, Samuel undramatically arrived in Salt Lake City in 1870. Unlike so many thousands of converts and emigrants, the Chambers group had gathered to Zion on their own without missionary encouragement or Perpetual Emigration Fund assistance.

The Chambers settled in the Eighth Ward where they tithed and donated, received patriarchal blessings, accepted rebaptism during the mini-reformation of 1875 and attended meetings. Samuel "was appointed as assistant Deacon," noted the ward records on May 1, 1873, but he received no priesthood. Amanda became a Relief Society "deaconess." Deacons, whose main work then was to care for the meetinghouses, included adults as well as youths. Samuel represented his ward at monthly stake deacons quorum meetings. In January 1876, in appreciation for

Samuel's service in the ward, "A vote of thanks was unanimously rendered Br. Chambers for being so faithful in the discharge of his duties as Deacon and that he be blessed."³

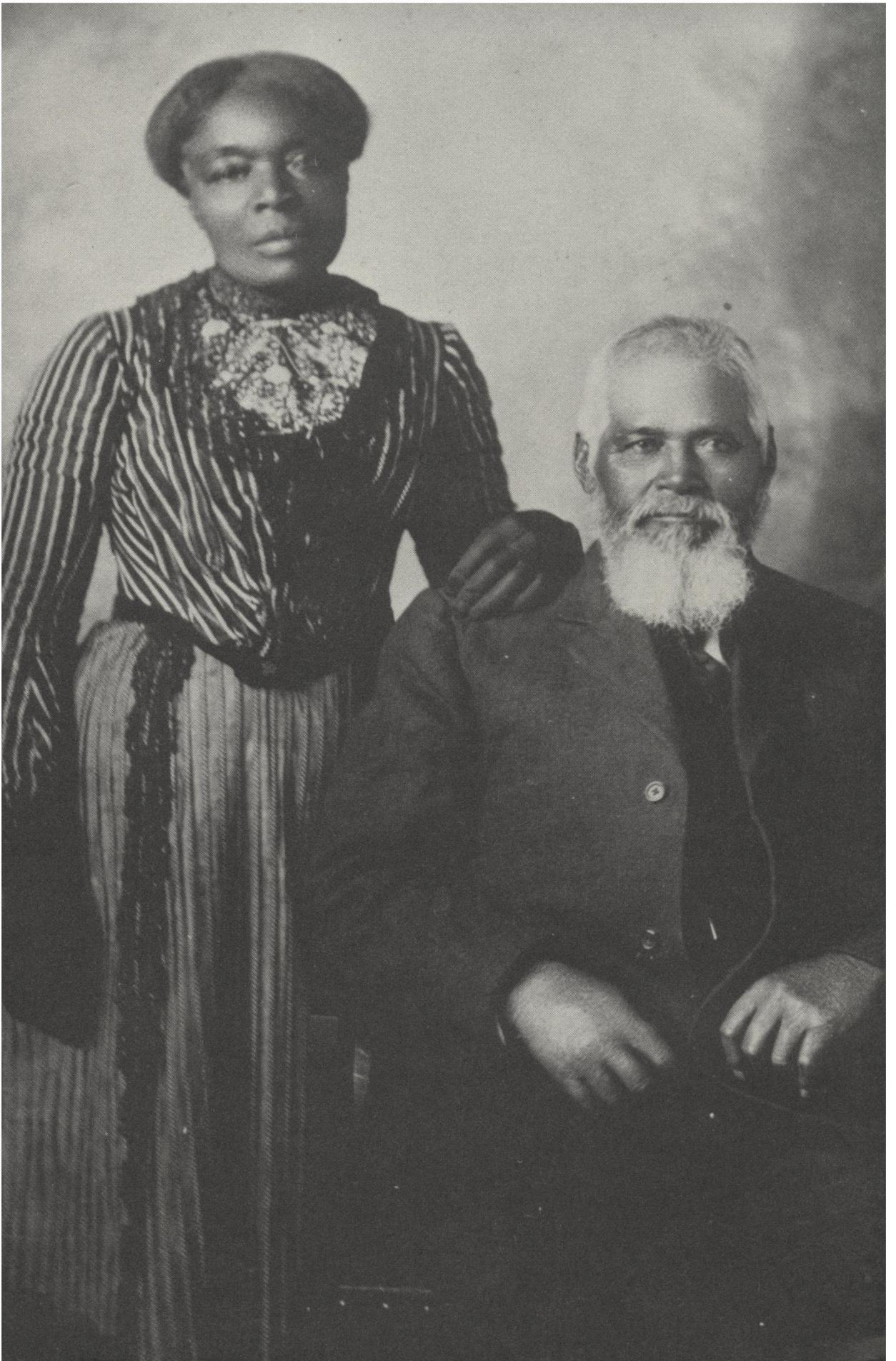
Soon the Chambers moved to southeast Salt Lake City. Over the years their small fruit business prospered. Late in life they owned over thirty acres of good farmland and a brick home which still stands. In Wilford Ward they were well known and well liked. Samuel met with the high priests quorum for a while. The couple became known for their firm testimonies, their strict loyalty to Church leaders, their keeping of the Sabbath and generous church donations.

As promised in his patriarchal blessing, Samuel lived to an old age. To his death at age ninety-eight in Salt Lake City in 1929, he was strong in the faith. (Born one year after the Church was restored, he died one year before its hundredth birthday.) Amanda died earlier, in 1925, just after the pair celebrated their sixty-sixth wedding anniversary, an important occasion noted in an article and photographs by the *Deseret News*.⁴



Beyond biographical facts, the real power in the Samuel Chambers' story radiates from his deep feelings and long lasting convictions. These personal convictions would be lost to us were it not for the excellent minutes kept during the 1870s by the stake deacons' clerk, Thomas C. Jones. Unlike our modern clerks, who merely list full names of people bearing testimonies, clerk Jones recorded testimonies in good summary form or nearly verbatim at the monthly quorum testimony meetings. (Evidently he took shorthand notes, then used these when making longhand entries in the minute book.)

The twenty-six times clerk Jones recorded Samuel's testimonies created a rare and valuable document. Samuel, unable to read and write then, left no autobiography, no diary, no written testimony. Only clerk Jones' faded ink entries allow us to appreciate the boy and man who kept his faith alive for a quarter century.



For the first anniversary of the black revelation, *Dialogue* feels it a fitting commemoration to publish the entire collection of Brother Chambers' testimonies from the Salt Lake Stake Deacons Quorum Minute Book, 1873-1877.⁵ Samuel Chambers' testimonies forthrightly remind us of the handicap black brothers and sisters suffered when, despite faithful service, they lived and died knowing they were considered unworthy of priesthood ordination, temple ordinances, eternal marriage (even after sixty-six years of marriage) and ultimately full exaltation. These records offer an important illustration of Joseph Smith's teaching that the written testimony of the things of God is as important as the spoken testimony. Here a black Saint, born a century ago, testifies in our own day.

Samuel D. Chambers' Testimonies as Recorded in the Salt Lake Stake Deacons Quorum Minute Book, 1873-1877

Some comments *about* Samuel, found in the minute book, deserve mention. After Samuel's testimony on May 6, 1873, a Brother Cram said that "he has noticed Bro. Chambers at meeting a good while. He knows that he spoke by the Spirit of God. The greater the fall the greater the rise. If he hangs on he will be a savior to his brethren." On November 11th, John Picknell recorded that when Samuel sat down, "Bro. Chambers has preached as good a sermon as I ever wished to hear." Fellow Eighth Warder Joseph McMurrin said of Samuel on November 10, 1874: "It is a high and holy calling to be a deacon. I was a deacon in the old country, and am still one and Bro. Chambers is my assistant and he is faithful. If some white men are not more faithful than they are, the coloured will come out best in the end." On April 11, 1876, Samuel volunteered to attend to the Tabernacle doors during summer meetings. That September 11th, Samuel, the only one in attendance except for the three in the quorum presidency, gave the opening prayer. On November 13th that year James Leach observed:

I love to hear my brethren talk. Brother Chambers likewise. He will be a mighty man. There are not many of his kindred in this church. If we are faithful we don't know what the Lord has in store for us, if we will do his will.

Meeting attendance varied from four to sixty or more, and to the men and boys assembled, Samuel, nearly six feet tall and of large frame and impressive appearance, arose and said the following:

6 May 1873. Bro. Chambers said he received the gospel when he was quite a youth while slavery was, and he saved a little money, and came to the valley. He was glad to meet with the Saints, he desired to live with them while he lives, knows the Church is true and the Saints are the people of God. He knew it from the time the Elders laid their hands on him. He feels to be active in doing what he can do for the building up of the kingdom of God. The race he comes of fall away. He feels it is right, the servants of God should keep the Priesthood pure. He feels glad to have the privilege to pay tithing and donations.

3 June 1873. Bro Chambers said It was a source of happiness to him to be here,

feels to be the least of all the saints of God, but blest to be one of the number. It is joy to him to fill all calls made upon him. Asks an interest in our faith and prayers, that he may receive an exaltation in the kingdom of God. Feels to fulfill his duty. Had been 29 years in the Church, feels as youthful as ever. Is pleased to have the privilege of paying tithing. Did not come here to sit down and be still. Said when he had lived up to the law of tithing, he had never lacked anything. May God help us to be faithful.

1 July 1873. Bro Chambers said it always gives me pleasure to meet with the Saints, and speaking feelings to let you know how I get along and by so doing we may judge of each others feelings. It is good for us to meet together, and speak to each other. I ask an interest in your prayers that I may be faithful to the end. Amen.

5 August 1873. Bro Chambers said I love to meet with the Saints, no matter what meeting, it does me good. I have been 29 years in the church, and have never been dissatisfied yet. As I have been appointed a deacon I feel to fulfill my mission. I feel happy to meet any of my brethren. I hope I may always be valiant. May God help me as I grow older in days, that I may ever live with the saints, in time and in eternity.

14 October 1873. Bro Chambers said it affords him satisfaction to meet and bear testimony. Said he must apologise for not being here at the last meeting, his wife had been sick, but said I have the privilege to be here to night and have the instructions that are given us. I feel least among the servants of God. I know it is the work of God, but I did not come to Utah to find it out. I ask an interest in your faith and prayers that I may prove faithful to the end. I ask it in the name of Jesus Christ Amen.

11 November 1873. Bro Chambers said notwithstanding all my weakness and failings, I feel to fulfill every calling, and desire to attend to every duty when called, and bear my testimony. I have a source of satisfaction in meeting with the saints. Tho' a small company yet as the Saviour said "Where two or three are met together in my name I will be in the midst to bless them." I hope it may be the case to-night. I know we are the people of God. We have been led to these peaceful vallies of the mountains, and we enjoy life and a many other blessings. I don't get tired of being with the Latter-day Saints, nor of being one of them. I'm glad that I ever took upon me the name of Christ. It is our privilege to call our families together, and we can sleep sweetly, and rise and thank God in the morning, for his care thro' the night. It is good when we can go about our business, and return again, and find all right. I've a good woman and that is a great blessing. I thank God, for my soul burns with love for the many blessings I enjoy. I've been blest from my youth up, altho in bondage for 20 years after receiving the gospel, yet I kept the faith. I thank God that I ever gathered with the Saints. May the Lord bless us and help us to be faithful is my prayer. Amen.

9 December 1873. Bro Chambers said it is always a source of satisfaction to meet with the Saints. I feel strong in the gospel. I never feel encouraged to fall back but to do my duty. I thank God for all his blessings. I enjoy the good instructions given to us. May we go on, and fulfill our duty as a people is my prayer, Amen.

10 February 1874. Bro Chambers said I feel as a little boy. I always feel to be humble and obedient and fulfill every thing placed upon me. I'm apt to forget

sometimes. I'm sorry I forgot tonight. I have a testimony to bear. The oftener I bear testimony the better I feel, it strengthens me. May the Lord bless you.

12 May 1874. Bro Chambers said it is a source of satisfaction to me to feel that I have the Kingdom of God at heart. I have been a member of this Church a many years, yet it seems but a few days. I was baptized in the year 1844 and after that I was 21 years in bondage, during which time I never heard a word of the gospel. The spirit of God remained within me. In 1865 I was liberated. I then commenced to save means to gather. This took me 4 years. I have rejoiced in the blessings of God thro' all my life. Tho' lacking age and experience yet God kept the seeds of life alive within me. I feel to be as clay in the hands of the potter. I don't boast in my own strength. I ask an interest in your prayers to help me to be faithful. I have joy in cleaning up and whatever I am called to do. I have my weaknesses in connection with all men. I pray that we may be as one to build up the Kingdom of God.

14 July 1874. Bro Chambers said I feel it a source of satisfaction to have the privilege to rise and say a few words and bear my testimony. My weakness is great. We have to lay our cares and dependence on God daily. My mind wanders over many things and causes great reflections to arise. The President at a conference some time ago, prayed us as a people to live our religion and he repeated it last conference. It seems strange that the greatest among us should pray to us. I feel to renew my covenant, and be obedient to the servants of the Almighty. It is not for me to direct, but for them to direct me. I feel to receive consolation this evening for I have felt to ask your faith and prayers before. I have known the gospel to be true ever since I was confirmed. I never set bounds how long I should serve the Lord but I hope to serve him always.

11 August 1874. Bro Chambers said I know this is the church and kingdom of God. I know it is my duty to bear testimony as well as my privilege. I feel timid, yet I ought not, because I know it is my duty to be obedient. I may rebel once, but I pray God to help me to keep the prize in view. I desire to live my religion, so that I can rise and say I know the gospel I embraced in my youth is true. This causes me to tell the truth. I ask an interest in your faith and prayers that I may live obedient to those set over us. I feel to step forward and vote, and done it with all my power, and gave it all to my friends. I feel proud I've done it. I looked, and can't see when or where I've done wrong to any of the servants of God.⁶

8 December 1874. Bro Chambers said, There is a call for us all, those of us who came here as well as those who were born here. We have met to exchange our views and ideas, as to our everyday duties. I have a great relish for the work I am engaged in. I realize it is all in the gospel. I was not so well placed as these young brethren here, most of you were born in the church. I was born in a condition of slavery, and received the gospel in that condition. I realized I had done right. I received the spirit of God. I was only between 12 and 13 years of age. I was from 23 to 25 years and never heard another word of the gospel. After the war I was made free, then I went to work 4 years and made money and came out here. It is not only to the Gentiles but also to the African, for I am of that race. The knowledge I received is from my God. It is a high and holy calling, without the testimony of God we are nothing. I pray God that we may live true and faithful to the end. Amen.

13 January 1875. Bro Chambers said I am the only one of the 8th Ward present

as the rest are in the other room practising for a concert. I feel well in the kingdom of God, and always do in the line of my duty. I testify that the gospel is true. I have done so many a time in my youth. I feel blest. I feel to press forward. I feel to say "God bless the Faithful." Amen.

9 February 1875. Bro Chambers said I am a boy as well as others. We have all the right to rejoice. The minutes of the last meeting were good and give encouragement to the deacons. We should realize we are called to act in the Kingdom of God, we should respond to every duty. I feel to give my assistance to roll on this work, for I know it is the work of God. I feel happy to be with you. I would like to hear from the young. It would be a source of joy to all of us. May God help us to be faithful. Amen.

11 May 1875. Bro Chambers said I always feel well to meet with the Latter-day Saints, tho' this evening I must plead slothfulness, tho' I try to attend to all duties. I can report the deacons of the 8th Ward to be in the main good, tho' some don't think till they are told. When I live in the discharge of my duty I feel well.

13 July 1875. Bro Samuel Chambers bore testimony and said I am thankful to be here, and to be a Latter-day Saint. It is a privilege to know the gospel is true. I did not come to Utah to know of the truth of the gospel, but I received it away back where the gospel found me. I know it is of God, I am well and feel well to give all I have for the Kingdom of God. I desire to do right and live my religion, and keep the Sabbath day and give all my power and strength to the Kingdom of God.

14 September 1875. Bro Samuel Chambers said it always [does] me good to rise and speak. My reflections are I'm pleased I live in this day and age when God has spoken from the heavens. I know the brethren who teach us are men of God and if we will put away our weaknesses we shall grow, and I pray that we may ever continue. I've been a member of this Church over 31 years and I am not tired of it yet, and if these young brethren do right they will wish when they have been in it that long they [will] wish to live as long again.

12 October 1875. Arose and said it is always a source of pleasure for me to bear my testimony and inasmuch as we live our religion, we shall have the spirit of it. I feel more anxious today than I did in the beginning. We have at our head the Elders of Israel, our Fathers. When I reflect on these things it gives me joy and satisfaction. I feel to improve all the time that I may have the full power of my calling. I know the gospel is true. I received this knowledge in the country where the gospel came to me. I desire to have your faith and prayers, that I may prove faithful, for I realize I shall not have any reward unless I endure to the end. It is there where those who run well will get their reward. May God help us to be faithful is my prayer and desire. Amen.

14 December 1875. I desire to improve the time, it has been my desire from my youth up. I came here for my religion. I disposed of all I had and have come here to help to build up the kingdom of God. I desire to be an example to the young. When I realize the great privilege we enjoy in going forth into the waters of baptism,⁷ we have one of the greatest blessings we enjoy since we have been here on the footstool of God. I hope we may prove by our works we are determined to carry out the will of God. I'm pleased the Almighty has seen fit to call forth his holy priesthood. He has said you shall hear my voice, for I will declare it by my servants. May the Lord be with us. I realize it is the work of God. I did not come here to find it out, but went forth, not having kind parents as you have, but heard

for myself between 10 and 12 years of age. We should be awake. It is a great privilege to us all to be permitted to speak. Joseph was a boy and also Samuel, and the Lord spoke to them, so we see the Lord is willing to speak to boys.

12 January 1876. Said it seems to be my privilege to bear my testimony. We are blest with this privilege from time to time. I esteem it the more, the older I get. I am numbered in the quorum, with you, and if I don't bear my testimony, how do you know how I feel, or how you feel? But if I rise and speak, I know I have a friend, and if I hear you speak as I speak, I know we are one. I pray God to bless those who preside over us in this quorum for where they speak to us, it is the same as the word of God. May we be permitted to live on the earth, and do good to each other, is my prayer, in the name of Jesus Christ, Amen.

12 June 1876. Was happy to meet, and feels determined to press forward and try to live his religion and do as he is told by those placed over him. Some think it is small to be a deacon. Said I think there is nothing small in the kingdom of God. David said "I'd rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God than to dwell in the tents of wickedness." I thank God I've a name and standing in my church and kingdom of God. May we all be faithful and live up to every duty is my prayer in the name of Jesus.

10 July 1876. I'm pleased being called upon to bear my testimony. I am glad to know I'm as well as I am. I did not come to this part of America to learn the gospel was true, for I knew that in my native part of the land. I knew it for my self. I testify that all who will do the will of the Father shall know for themselves. May God bless us.

14 August 1876. Said I feel it a duty to add my testimony to what has been said. I feel it a source of satisfaction to rise and bear testimony to the work of God. I feel there is much to come to pass and it will come shortly. It is our duty to sustain every move made by those over us. It has been said that "God and one good man are a great majority." I never regretted doing anything to build up the Kingdom of God. I'm pleased to live in this day and age "when the Lord has set his hand again, a second time to recover a remnant of his people." We are on a sure footing and we will live and if we live our religion we shall enjoy the Spirit of it. I never feel better than while I'm engaged in my duty. I pray God to help us to live our religion and be saved in the kingdom of God. Amen.

11 September 1876. I am always happy when I meet one, two, or three of my brethren in or out of meeting. It is a great satisfaction to me when I am permitted to speak something of our holy religion. I always feel happy when I have risen and given away to my words. I know it is the gospel of Jesus Christ, and we'll always feel happy, if we die before we wake. I always return my thanks to God for his care. If I put it off to a late hour I feel bad. I feel to press forward and be one with you. I feel happy to meet with my brethren and hear their determinations. I feel that their spirit is the same as mine. I think when we have passed the veil how we can re-count our troubles and trials over. I've always felt as I've been taught. It has fallen to my lot to have this spirit. I pray to God to help us to do his will, that we may be exalted in his kingdom, is my prayer in the name of Jesus.

9 October 1876. I feel to endorse the words of Bro Picknell. We are few in number, but we have the blessing of God with us. We find it to be so and we can bear witness to the same. Whenever I've met with my brethren, few or many, I've

felt blest and I will continue to have the blessing of God. If I neglect to do my duty I feel bad. I feel proud to be associated with this quorum, and to be with you tonight. I know it is of real worth, I feel to attend to every duty, and I wish I could do more. I look back upon my past life, and feel it has been for the best, the course that God has led me. May he still continue to bless us is my prayer.

13 November 1876. It comes to my turn to try and say a few words. I pray I may have the spirit of the Lord to enable me to say a little, and speak whatever the Spirit may give me. I rejoice I ever lived in this great and momentous age, for truly, in the days of my youth, tho' in bondage, I greatly longed to come here, tho' I never could see how it would be brought about. I desire to carry out every measure. I could not see (for a while) how I could pay tithing and live. But the spirit said to me, "All things are possible with God." I never questioned it any longer. May the spirit of God be with us that we may never doubt. I feel thankful to be one with you. I pray God to bless you, brethren in the name of Jesus Christ, Amen.

[Note. These minutes cover but three years of Samuel's long life in the Church. He continued to bear his testimony over the decades, and we could offer more excerpts here if other clerks had taken minutes as conscientiously as Thomas C. Jones did. Records from Samuel's Wilford Ward list him as testifying often during the 1901 to 1920 period. His former bishop there, Charles Fagg, recalled that Samuel "frequently" bore his testimony. Samuel's ward teacher, Mahonri White, remembered that Samuel "testified like a man who held the priesthood," and "bore his testimony like an apostle," adding that on occasion "Samuel could holler pretty loud." Black Mormon Monroe Fleming recalls that when he first came to Salt Lake as the non-LDS son of a Methodist preacher, LDS leaders arranged for him to talk about Mormonism with Samuel Chambers and other devoted black Saints in the Wilford Ward area. Editors.]

NOTES

¹ *Dialogue* is particularly grateful to William Hartley, research historian in Salt Lake City, for his help in making this compilation.

² William G. Hartley, "Samuel D. Chambers," *The New Era* 4 (June 1974), 46-50.

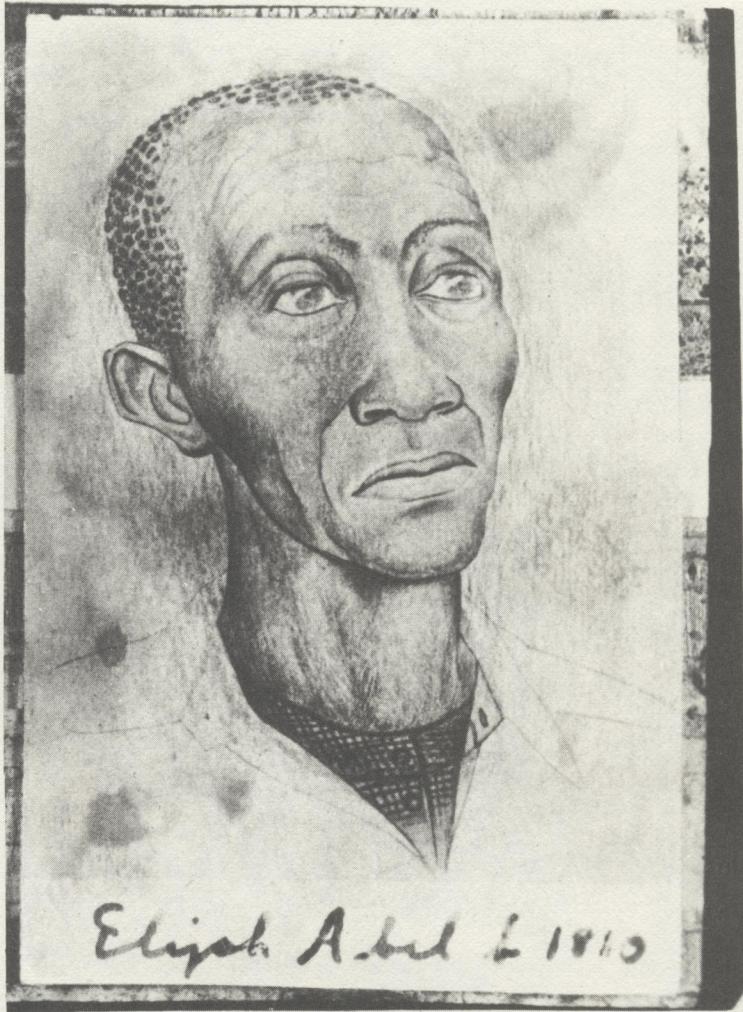
³ Daniel H. Thomas, "Preston Thomas, His Life and Travels," Historical Department of the Church, Archives (cited as HDCA), photocopy of typescript, pp. 10-11.

⁴ Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Historical Record Book B, 1856-1875, and the same ward's Ward Teachers Report Meetings 1876-1879, both in HDCA.

⁵ Salt Lake Stake, Deacons Quorum Minutes, 1873-1877, HDCA.

⁶ A month later, on September 5, 1874, Samuel and Amanda received their patriarchal blessings under the hands of Church Patriarch John Smith.

⁷ Samuel and Amanda were rebaptized November 27, 1875, like hundreds of faithful Saints that year. Amanda probably was not baptized in the South, and we find no record of her initial baptism prior to this "rebaptism."



Elijah Abel L 1810

ELIJAH ABEL AND THE CHANGING STATUS OF BLACKS WITHIN MORMONISM

NEWELL G. BRINGHURST

ON THE SURFACE it was just another regional conference for the small but troubled Cincinnati branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on a summer day in June 1843. Not unlike other early branches of the Church, the Cincinnati congregation had a number of problems, including internal dissension and just plain "bad management." Presiding over this conference was a "Traveling High Council" consisting of three Mormon apostles.¹ As the visiting council probed the difficulties plaguing the Cincinnati Saints, its attention was drawn to the activities of Elijah Abel, a unique member of the branch. Abel, a black Mormon Priesthood holder, found himself under fire because of his visibility as a black Mormon. Apostle John E. Page maintained that while "he respects a coloured Bro, wisdom forbids that we should introduce [him] before the public." Apostle Orson Pratt then "sustained the position of Bro Page" on this question. Apostle Heber C. Kimball also expressed concern about this black priesthood holder's activities. In response, Abel "said he had no disposition to force himself upon an equality with white people." Toward the end of the meeting, a resolution was adopted restricting Abel's activities. To conform with the established "duty of the 12 . . . to ordain and send men to their native country Bro Abels [sic] was advised to visit the coloured population. The advice was sanctioned by the conference. Instructions were then given him concerning his mission."²

This decision represents an important turning point not only for Elijah Abel but for all Mormon blacks. For the first time race was used as a criterion for limiting the activities of a black Latter-day Saint. Until 1843, Abel had suffered no known racial discrimination despite his status as one of Mormonism's few black

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members. His membership in the Church went back to 1832 when he was baptized by Ezekiel Roberts.³

Abel was born on July 25, 1810 in Maryland and later migrated to Mormonism's headquarters in Kirtland, Ohio.⁴ Within four years of his conversion, he was ordained an Elder in the Melchizedek Priesthood.⁵ By June 1836, he was listed, along with a number of other Mormon priesthood holders, as a duly licensed "minister of the gospel."⁶ As a member in good standing, he was promoted in the Melchizedek Priesthood to the rank of Seventy in December 1836⁷ and received a patriarchal blessing in the same year. This ordinance, performed by Joseph Smith, Sr., father of the Mormon Prophet, proclaimed that Abel was "ordained an Elder and anointed to secure thee against the power of the destroyer." In this blessing were apparent allusions to Abel's unusual status as one of Mormonism's few black members. In contrast to his white fellow Saints who were often declared descendants of a particular biblical lineage—usually Joseph or Ephraim—Abel was not assigned such a lineage. Instead, he was proclaimed "an orphan." Finally, this blessing promised, "Thou shalt be made equal to thy brethren, and thy soul be white in eternity and thy robes glittering."⁸

Like many of his white male priesthood brethren, Abel served as a missionary for the Church during the late 1830s. The field of Abel's missionary labors included New York state and Canada. Little is known about his success as a missionary, but his activities did generate controversy. According to one account, Missionary Abel was accused by the non-Mormon residents of St. Lawrence County, New York, of murdering a woman and five children. "Handbills were pasted up in every direction . . . and a great reward was offered for him." Apparently Abel was successful in refuting these charges, leaving the community "unmolested."⁹ While in Canada, Abel also ran into difficulties—this time with his fellow Saints. He was challenged on "some of his teachings, etc." Abel proclaimed "that there would be Stakes of Zion in all the world, that an elder was a High Priest and he had as much authority as any H.P." He was also accused of "threatening to knock down" a fellow elder. Abel reportedly rationalized this behavior, declaring that "the elders in Kirtland make nothing of knocking down one another." The topic of Abel's behavior came up in a meeting of church leaders, which included Joseph and Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon as well as the Quorum of Seventies, but no disciplinary action was taken.¹⁰

Abel had not been the only black Mormon to create controversy within the Church during the 1830s. "Black Pete," through his activities in Kirtland as a self-styled "revelator," attracted notoriety both within and outside Mormonism.¹¹ Unfortunately, little is known about his background. According to one account, Pete migrated to Ohio from Pennsylvania where he had been born to slave parents.¹² After his arrival in Ohio, Pete joined the Mormon movement in late 1830 or early 1831. This "man of colour" was described in two other accounts as "a chief man, who [was] sometimes seized with strange vagaries and odd conceits."¹³ On at least one occasion Pete fancied he could "fly" and

took it into his head to try his wings; he accordingly chose the elevated bank of Lake Erie as a starting-place, and, spreading his pinions, he lit on a treetop some fifty feet below, sustaining no other damage than the demolition of his faith in wings without feathers.¹⁴

There is some confusion over Pete's other activities among the Saints. According to one reminiscence Pete "wanted to marry a white woman" but Joseph Smith could not get any "revelations" for him to do so.¹⁵ According to another, however, Pete was active at a time when Joseph Smith and other church authorities were not around. Whatever the case, the Mormon Prophet brought forth in February 1831 a revelation condemning false revelators such as Black Pete. Smith was told that only certain individuals "appointed unto you" were authorized "to receive revelations."¹⁶ Thereafter, several of the self appointed revelators, possibly including Pete, were "tried for [their] fellowship" and "cut off" from the Church.¹⁷

Despite the controversy caused by the Mormon activities of both Black Pete and Elijah Abel, Latter-day Saint leaders did not establish a subordinate ecclesiastical place for black people within Mormonism during the 1830s. The number of free blacks casting their lot with the Saints was very small. According to Apostle Parley P. Pratt, "one dozen free negroes or mulattoes never have belonged to our society in any part of the world, from its first organization [in 1830] to this date, 1839."¹⁸ As for the secular status of black slaves in Missouri and the slaveholding South—regions of increased Mormon activity during the 1830s—the Church in 1835 officially adopted a strong anti-abolitionist position which assented to the servile conditions of these blacks.¹⁹ At the same time, concerned Latter-day Saints maintained a basic dislike for slavery as a viable institution for themselves. This attitude, originally articulated in the Book of Mormon but muted during the 1830s, was still evident throughout this period. By expressing antipathy for both slavery and antiabolitionism, in turn or even concurrently, the Saints were able to avoid internal divisions over slavery and to minimize Mormon involvement in the increasingly acute national controversy.²⁰

Thus, in 1839 when Elijah Abel migrated from Kirtland to Nauvoo, Illinois, he was still accepted in full fellowship both within the Church and the larger community. As an active Latter-day Saint, Abel participated in at least two baptisms for the dead following his arrival in Nauvoo.²¹ He earned his livelihood as a carpenter and joined with six others who described themselves as "the House Carpenters of the Town of Nauvoo." In February 1840 the group published a small "book of prices" which outlined the uniform rates to be charged by these Nauvoo carpenters.²² In addition, Abel, according to his own recollections, was "appointed" by Joseph Smith "to the calling of an undertaker in Nauvoo."²³ In this occupation, Abel was kept busy by the appallingly high number of deaths from malaria and other diseases during the early years of Nauvoo's settlement.²⁴

While in Nauvoo, Abel apparently had close contact with the Joseph Smith family. According to one account, Abel was "intimately acquainted" with the prophet and lived in his home.²⁵ Abel recalled being present at the bedside of Patriarch Joseph Smith, Sr. "during his last sickness" in 1840. The following year Abel, along with six other Nauvoo Mormons attempted to rescue Joseph Smith after his arrest for earlier difficulties in Missouri.²⁶

In 1842 Abel moved for unknown reasons from Nauvoo to Cincinnati, where he continued to labor as a carpenter.²⁷ While in Cincinnati he married a black woman, Mary Ann Adams, and by the time of his migration from Cincinnati to Salt Lake City in 1853, he was the father of three children.²⁸ Just six months before the June 1843 conference that attempted to limit Abel's visibility, Joseph Smith

apparently alluded to him in a positive way. The prophet declared "Go to Cincinnati . . . and find an educated negro, who rides in his carriage, and you will see a man who has risen by the powers of his own mind to his exalted state of respectability."²⁹

Abel continued to remain active in the affairs of the Cincinnati branch. In June 1845, for example, "Elder Elijah Able [sic] preferred a charge against" three women for their failure to attend church meetings and for "speaking disrespectfully of the heads of the Church."³⁰ Nevertheless, the Mormon status of Elijah Abel and all black Latter-day Saints deteriorated after 1840 despite their faithful activity.

In addition to Abel, other Mormon blacks found themselves in conspicuous situations during these years. One such member was Walker Lewis, a barber in Lowell, Massachusetts. Little is known of Lewis' background other than that he was apparently ordained an Elder by William Smith, the younger brother of the Mormon prophet.³¹ As with Abel, Lewis' role or place within Mormonism was not initially questioned by church officials. Various Mormon apostles visiting Lowell as late as 1844–45 seemed to accept Lewis' priesthood status.³² One of these visitors, Apostle Wilford Woodruff, merely observed in November 1844 that "a coloured Brother who was an Elder"—presumably Lewis—manifested his support for the established church leadership during this time of great internal division.³³ By 1847, however, Lewis' status within the Church was challenged by William L. Appleby who was in charge of Mormon missionary activity in the eastern states. During a visit to Lowell in 1847, Appleby encountered Lewis, and in a terse letter to Brigham Young expressed surprise at finding a black ordained to the priesthood. Appleby asked the Mormon leader if it was "the order of God or tolerated, to ordain negroes to the priesthood . . . if it is, I desire to know it as I have yet got to learn it." Unfortunately by the time Appleby's letter arrived at Winter Quarters, Young was on his way to the Great Basin with the first group of Mormon settlers, and thus was unable to reply in writing to Appleby's question.³⁴

However, by 1849, Brigham Young was willing to assert that all Mormon blacks were ineligible for priesthood ordination. Young's 1849 statement—one of the earliest known declarations of black priesthood denial—came in response to a question posed by Apostle Lorenzo Snow concerning the "chance of redemption . . . for the African." Young replied:

[T]he curse remained upon them because Cain cut off the lives [sic] of Abel, to prevent him and his posterity getting ascendancy over Cain and his generations, and to get the lead himself, his own offering not being accepted of God, while Abel's was. But the Lord cursed Cain's seed with blackness and prohibited them the priesthood, that Abel and his progeny might yet come forward, and have their dominion, place, and blessings in their proper relationship with Cain and his race in the world to come.³⁵

Brigham Young's decision to deny blacks the priesthood was undoubtedly prompted by several factors. Among the most important may well have been the controversy generated in 1846–47 by the flamboyant activities of William McCary, a half-breed Indian-black man referred to variously as the "Indian," "Lamanite," or "Nigger Prophet."³⁶ The descriptions of McCary are vague and often conflicting, making it difficult to determine his exact activities and relation-

ship to the Latter-day Saint movement. McCary's origin and occupation are not known. The earliest known account, written in October 1846, claims that Apostle Orson Hyde while at a camp near Council Bluffs, Iowa, "baptised and ordained . . . a Lamanite Prophet to use as a tool to destroy the churches he cannot rule."³⁷

By late October 1846, McCary shifted his base of operation east to Cincinnati. The Cincinnati *Commercial* described the exploits of "a big, burley, half Indian, half Negro, formerly a Mormon" who built up a religious following of some sixty members "solemnly enjoined to secrecy" concerning their rites due to their apparent practice of plural marriage.³⁸ McCary "proclaimed himself Jesus Christ" showing his disciples "the scars of wounds in his hands and limbs received on the cross;" and performed "miracles with a golden rod."³⁹ The blessing that he conferred upon his followers reflected at least some knowledge of Latter-day Saint ritual.

Accept this blessing in the name of the Son, Jesus Christ, Mary, the mother, God our Father, our Lord. AMEN. It will preserve yours, yourself, your dead, your family through this life into [the] celestial kingdom, your name is written in the Lamb's Book of Life, AMEN.⁴⁰

It is not clear whether McCary had any contact with Elijah Abel or any of the other Cincinnati Saints upholding the leadership claims of Brigham Young and the Twelve. Whatever the case, McCary's Cincinnati-based movement was short-lived. By mid-November his following had dwindled to thirty, and by February 1847, McCary himself had left Cincinnati.⁴¹

McCary returned west to Winter Quarters, Nebraska, joining the main body of Saints under the leadership of Brigham Young in their temporary encampment. Young and others initially welcomed McCary into the Mormon camp where he was recognized as an accomplished musician, entertaining the encamped Saints during the months of February and March 1847.⁴² The Saints might have had other uses in mind for McCary. In a somewhat ambiguous statement, John D. Lee, a follower of Young, said that the black Indian "seems to be willing to go according to counsel and that he may be a useful man after he has acquired an experimental knowledge," and he advised his fellow Saints to "use this man with respect."⁴³ By late March 1847, however, McCary had fallen from Mormon favor. What he did to offend Brigham Young is not clear but at a "meeting of the twelve and others" summoned to consider this matter

[William] McCary made a rambling statement, claiming to be Adam, the ancient of days, and exhibiting himself in Indian costume; he also claimed to have an odd rib which he had discovered in his wife. He played on his thirty-six cent flute, being a natural musician and gave several illustrations of his ability as a mimic.⁴⁴

Following this March 1847 meeting, Church leaders expelled McCary from the Mormon camp at Winter Quarters. Subsequently, Apostle Orson Hyde preached a sermon "against his doctrine."⁴⁵

This was not the end of McCary's Mormon involvement, although his subsequent activities are even more difficult to trace.⁴⁶ It appears, however, that McCary remained active in the area around Winter Quarters and proceeded to set up his

own rival Mormon group drawing followers away from Brigham Young.⁴⁷ According to a July 1847 account, the “negro prophet” exerted his influence by working “with a rod, like those of old.”⁴⁸ By the fall of 1847, McCary was teaching and practicing racial miscegenation in which McCary had a number of women

... seald to him in his way which was as follows, he had a house in which this ordinance was preformed his wife . . . was in the room at the time of the proformance no others was admitted the form of sealing was for the women to go to bed with him in the daytime as I an informed 3 diforant times by which they was seald to the fullest extent. [*sic*]

McCary’s activities and this “Sealing Ordinance” caused a negative reaction among those Latter-day Saints in the surrounding community not involved with his sect, particularly the relatives of McCary’s female disciples. One irate Mormon wanted “to shoot” McCary for trying “to kiss his girls.” But McCary, sensing the impending storm, “made his way to Missouri on a fast trot.”⁴⁹

While the whirlwind generated by McCary’s activities upset Brigham Young and other church leaders, the decision to deny blacks the priesthood was probably prompted as much, if not more, by the exposure of the Latter-day Saints to a large number of blacks—both slave and free—following the Mormon migration to the Great Basin. This region’s black population of 100 to 120 individuals, who arrived during the years 1847–49, stood in sharp contrast to the twenty or so blacks that had lived in Nauvoo during the Mormon sojourn there.⁵⁰ The sudden appearance of these Great Basin blacks—a significant proportion of whom were slaves—helped to encourage Brigham Young and other church leaders to clearly define both their secular and ecclesiastical status, and that of black people generally. In response, Latter-day Saint leaders not only prohibited blacks from holding the priesthood but also adopted through the Utah territorial legislature a set of antiblack laws that limited the rights and activities of free blacks and gave legal recognition to the institution of black slavery in the territory.⁵¹

A final factor not to be overlooked as influencing the 1849 Mormon decision to deny blacks the priesthood was the intensification of Mormon antiblack attitudes during the 1840s. The Latter-day Saints became more prone to associate blackness, black counter-figures, and indeed black people with a widening circle of opponents and enemies.⁵² While this tendency was certainly evident before Joseph Smith’s death, it became increasingly prominent after Brigham Young’s emergence as the leader of the Saints who migrated West. As Lester E. Bush, Jr. has suggested, Brigham Young was more willing than Joseph Smith to embrace certain antiblack racial concepts and practices prevalent in American society. This, in turn, played a crucial role in the emergence of Mormon black priesthood denial in 1849.⁵³

When Elijah Abel migrated from Cincinnati to Utah in 1853, he found that his status within Mormonism had been undermined. While no effort was made to declare Abel’s priesthood authority “null and void” (despite later suggestions to the contrary), Abel was prohibited from participating in certain temple ordinances considered essential for full Mormon salvation. When Abel “applied to President Young for his endowments . . . to have his wife and children sealed to him,” the Mormon president “put him off” because, according to one account, participation in these ordinances was “a privilege” that the Mormon president “could not

grant."⁵⁴ This refusal was ironic in light of Abel's willingness to contribute his time and labor to the construction of the Salt Lake Temple.⁵⁵

Despite these difficulties, Elijah Abel tried to make the best of his situation. By 1857 he was listed as a member of the Mill Creek Ward in Salt Lake City where he, his wife, and his oldest son, Maroni, were rebaptized like so many other Saints during the "Mormon Reformation" of 1857.⁵⁶ In 1877, "Bro Elijah Abel was notified that he was still a member of the Third Quorum" of Seventies.⁵⁷ In the meantime Abel's family continued to grow. At least four daughters and one son were born during the years 1856-1869.⁵⁸ Throughout most of the period, Abel continued to support himself and his family as a carpenter.⁵⁹ In addition, for a brief period in 1859, he and his wife managed the Farnham Hotel in Salt Lake City.⁶⁰ Abel also resided for a very short time during the early 1870s in Ogden, where according to the recollections of one old-time resident the Abel family "went around from ward to ward . . . putting on minstrel shows."⁶¹

The period 1855 to 1877 was also marked by difficulty and disappointment for Elijah Abel. On at least two occasions, in 1855 and again in 1864, Abel was listed as delinquent in paying his taxes.⁶² Also in 1864 Abel's son Maroni "was charged before Alderman Clinton with stealing a shaving knife from an emigrant on the Public square."⁶³ The Abel family was plagued with further heartache in 1871 when Maroni died while still in his early twenties.⁶⁴ Six years later Abel's wife Mary Ann died of pneumonia at the relatively young age of 46, leaving the aging black priesthood holder to care for himself.⁶⁵

Despite these difficulties, Abel once again renewed his application for his temple endowments to John Taylor, who by 1880 had succeeded Brigham Young as Church president. Taylor submitted Abel's request to the Council of the Twelve which rendered "a decision unfavorable to Brother Abel."⁶⁶

Abel was not the only black Mormon trying to secure temple ordinances during this period. Like Abel, Jane Manning James petitioned church leaders on several occasions for her endowments and sealings. The background and experiences of Jane Manning dramatized the changing and, indeed, deteriorating place of blacks within Mormonism.⁶⁷ Manning was also a long-time member of the Church. She joined the Mormon movement during the early 1840s while a resident of Wilton, Connecticut. Following her conversion she and eight members of her immediate family migrated to Nauvoo in 1843. Upon her arrival in the Mormon community, Manning became "a member of Joseph Smith's household" where she stayed until "shortly before" the Mormon prophet's death. Just before the Mormon abandonment of Nauvoo, she married Isaac James, a free black Mormon who had lived in Nauvoo since 1839.⁶⁸ Jane Manning James and her family were among the earliest Saints to migrate west, arriving in the Great Basin in 1847. Like so many Great Basin Mormons, the James family engaged in farming and achieved a fair degree of success. However, Jane and her husband had separated by late 1869 or early 1870.⁶⁹ Possibly as a result of this separation, Jane became concerned about her future salvation. Realizing the importance of temple ordinances for future exaltation, she petitioned for the right to receive her sealings and endowments. This was done in a number of requests submitted to various Latter-day Saint leaders, including John Taylor and Joseph F. Smith, throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁷⁰ In the most interesting of these requests, James asked to be "sealed" to Walker Lewis, the black Mormon elder who had lived in

Lowell, Massachusetts, during the 1840s. According to James, "Brother Lewis wished me to be sealed to Him."⁷¹ These requests were rejected by Church authorities.⁷²

As for Elijah Abel, even though he failed to secure his long-sought temple ordinances, he continued to be accepted as a member of the Third Quorum of Seventies as late as 1883.⁷³ In fact, during that same year Abel, then an elderly man in his early seventies, was appointed to serve a mission for the Church. He was set apart by Apostle Joseph F. Smith and sent to Ohio and Canada.⁷⁴ Abel's missionary activities, however, were cut short by ill health, and he returned to Utah in early December 1884. Two weeks later he died of "old age and debility."⁷⁵ His motives for going on a mission at such an advanced age is a mystery, especially at a time when his status as well as that of blacks in general had deteriorated. Perhaps he was motivated by a desire to demonstrate his "full faith in the Gospel" and thereby obtain long-sought temple endowments and sealings before his death.

The story of Elijah Abel and his activity in the Church is significant for several reasons. First, Abel's changing status was a microcosm of what happened to all Mormon blacks during the nineteenth century. Up until the 1840s, Mormon blacks were accepted in full Mormon fellowship including the right to receive the Priesthood. However, by 1849 this was no longer the case; Mormon black priesthood denial was recognized as a churchwide practice. Even though Abel "got in under the wire" in receiving the priesthood, he and all other black Mormons were unable to participate in temple ordinances considered essential for full Mormon salvation.

Abel was significant for a second reason. Despite the parallels between Abel and other black Mormons, he was unique because of his status as one of Mormonism's few known black priesthood holders. Because of his unusual status, Abel was the only known black Mormon to fulfill not one but three missions for the Church: full time missions in the 1830s and 1880s and a local mission in 1843. In addition, at least two of Abel's descendants were apparently allowed to hold offices in the priesthood despite their black ancestry.⁷⁶ The unique status of Abel and his descendants was further underscored by the fact that they apparently did not interact with other Great Basin blacks or really consider themselves a part of Utah's small but growing black community during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Abels stood part from other well-known black Mormons, including Jane Manning James, Samuel Chambers and Edward Leggroan.⁷⁷ In fact, it has been suggested that by the early twentieth century Abel's descendants had managed to "cross the color line" and "pass for white."⁷⁸

Despite these developments, Abel's race remained an issue that Latter-day Saints had to deal with during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1879, while Elijah Abel was still alive, his status as a black priesthood holder figured prominently in the efforts of certain Latter-day Saints to trace the origins of priesthood denial back to Joseph Smith. One of the leaders of this movement, Zebedee Coltrin, conceded that "Brother Abel was ordained a seventy because he had labored in the [Nauvoo] temple." But Coltrin maintained that when Joseph Smith learned of Abel's black lineage "he was dropped from the quorum and another was put in his place."⁷⁹ However, Apostle Joseph F. Smith felt that "Coltrin's memory was incorrect as to Brother Abel being dropped from the quorum of Seventies to which he belonged" since Abel had in his possession two

certificates attesting to his status as a Seventy; the first “given to him in 1841” and a “later one” issued in Salt Lake City.⁸⁰ Abel spoke up in his own defense, stating that he had been ordained a Seventy back in 1836 by none other than Zebedee Coltrin! In addition, Abel stated “that the Prophet Joseph told him he was entitled to the priesthood.”⁸¹ John Taylor tried to reconcile the conflicting views of Abel, Apostle Smith, and Coltrin by suggesting that Abel had “been ordained before the word of the Lord was fully understood.” Abel’s ordination, therefore, was allowed to stand.⁸² By 1908, Joseph F. Smith, then president of the Church, abandoned the position he had taken in 1879 that Elijah Abel’s priesthood authority had been recognized by the Mormon Prophet. According to Smith, even though Abel had been “ordained a seventy . . . in the days of the Prophet Joseph Smith . . . this ordination was declared null and void by the Prophet himself” when he became aware of Abel’s black lineage.⁸³ Smith’s later view of Abel’s relationship to Joseph Smith fit in with the widespread Mormon belief that it was Joseph Smith, not Brigham Young who had fostered the practice of black priesthood denial.⁸⁴ This “rewriting of the Mormon past” was also reflected in the way Elijah Abel was presented in Andrew Jenson’s *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (1920). According to Jenson, Abel was ordained to the priesthood because “an exception” was “made in his case with regard to the general rule of the Church” against black ordination.⁸⁵ By 1955 even this qualified view of Abel’s place as a Mormon priesthood holder was denounced by Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith. In response to a private inquiry, Smith rejected Jenson’s account of Abel, suggesting that there were *two* Elijah Abels in the early Church—one white and the other black. Jenson had confounded the “names and the work done by one man named Abel . . . with the name of the Negro who joined the Church in an early day.”⁸⁶

At about the same time Joseph Fielding Smith was trying to bury the ghost of Elijah Abel once and for all, other individuals brought Abel back into the limelight through their efforts to probe the origins of black priesthood denial and the changing role of blacks within the church.⁸⁷ By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the unique status of Abel figured prominently in studies on the Mormon-black issue written by Dennis L. Lythgoe, Stephen G. Taggart and Fawn M. Brodie.⁸⁸ However, it was Lester E. Bush’s seminal *Dialogue* article that really underscored the unusual position of Elijah Abel both during his lifetime and after his death and its relationship to the often contradictory twists and turns of Mormonism’s policy toward its black members.⁸⁹ It would be nice to believe that the publicity given the history of Elijah Abel and his unique Mormon ordeal had some effect in undermining the historical justification for black priesthood denial. Whatever the case, the bringing forth of the June 1978 revelation abandoning black priesthood denial has restored Mormon blacks to the position of equality that they occupied during the 1830s when Elijah Abel joined the Church.

NOTES

The author wishes to express his deep appreciation for the suggestions and information provided by the following individuals: Lester E. Bush, Jr., Associate Editor of *Dialogue*; H. Michael Marquardt of Sandy, Utah; Noel Barton of the LDS Church Genealogical Society; and William G. Hartley of the LDS Church Historical Department. Without the assistance of these individuals this article would not have been possible. In addition, a summer Grant-in-Aid provided by Indiana University at Kokomo

made it possible for me to examine certain crucial materials in the LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City.

¹The three included John E. Page, Orson Pratt and Heber C. Kimball. Lorenzo Snow, an apostle (1849) and later church president, was also a member of this "Traveling High Council."

²"Minutes of a conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints held in Cincinnati, June 25, 1843." Original in LDS Church Archives.

³ Andrew Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, vol. 3 (Salt Lake City, 1920), p. 577.

⁴ According to "Joseph Smith's Patriarchal Blessing Record," 88, recorded by W. A. Cowdery, Original, LDS Church Archives, Abel was born in 1808. In other census and church records, the 1810 birth date is used. There is some confusion about in which Maryland county Abel was born. According to Abel's patriarchal blessing, he was born in Frederick County, but the "Mill Creek Ward Record of Members," no. 1913, p. 63, original LDS Church Archives, lists Abel's birthplace as Hancock, Washington County, while the "LDS Missionary Record" books A & B, 6176, Pt. 1860-1906, p. 75 (1883), microfilm 025664, Original LDS Church Archives, lists Abel's birthplace as Hancock County. Finally, Abel's obituary in the *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City) December 26, 1884 lists his birthplace as simply Washington County.

⁵ The exact date of Abel's ordination as an Elder is not clear. Abel's December 26, 1884 *Deseret News* obituary says that he "was ordained an Elder as appears by certificate dated March 3d, 1836." It is possible that Abel had been ordained before this date since "certificates of ordination" were frequently issued after the date of original ordination.

⁶ *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland, Ohio) June 1836.

⁷ "Minutes of the Seventies Journal," kept by Hazen Aldrich, December 20, 1836. Original in LDS Church Archives.

⁸ "Joseph Smith's Patriarchal Blessing Record," 88, recorded by W. A. Cowdery. Original, LDS Church Archives. Copied from Lester E. Bush, "Compilation on the Negro in Mormonism," 16-17 (copy of unpublished manuscript in possession of author).

⁹ Eunice Kenney, "My Testimony of the Latter Day Work" (unpublished manuscript 1885?, LDS Church Archives).

¹⁰ "Minutes of the Seventies Journal," June 1, 1839.

¹¹ As indicated by articles in newspapers, not only in Ohio, but as far away as New York and Pennsylvania. See *Ashtabula Journal* (Ashtabula, Ohio), February 5, 1831, taken from *Geauga Gazette* [n.d.]; *Albany Journal* (Albany, New York), February 16, 1831, reprinted from *Painesville Gazette* [n.d.] and *The Sun* (Philadelphia) August 18, 1831, taken from the *A.M. Intelligencer* [n.p., n.d.].

¹² *Naked Truth About Mormonism* (Oakland, Calif.), January 1888, quotes a statement of Henry Carroll, March 18, 1885, on Black Pete's background.

¹³ *Ashtabula Journal*, February 5, 1831 and *Albany Journal* February 16, 1831.

¹⁴ *The Sun*, August 18, 1831. Also see *Ashtabula Journal* February 5, 1831. Later recollections have Pete chasing "a ball that he said he saw flying in the air" or "revelations carried by a black angel." See *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Illinois), April 1, 1842 and *Journal of Discourses*, (Liverpool, England), 11, George A. Smith, November 15, 1865.

¹⁵ *Naked Truth About Mormonism*, January 1888.

¹⁶ Doctrine and Covenants, 43:3-6.

¹⁷ This according to a later recollection in the *Times and Seasons*, April 1, 1842.

¹⁸ Parley P. Pratt, *Late Persecutions of the Church of Latter-day Saints* (New York, 1840), 28.

¹⁹ As outlined in "A Declaration of Belief regarding Governments and Laws in General" approved by a general assembly of the Church held on August 17, 1835 which stated in part, "we do not believe it right to interfere with bond-servants . . . to meddle with or influence them in the least to cause them to be dissatisfied with their situations in this life . . . such interference we believe to be unlawful and unjust, and dangerous to the peace of every government allowing human beings to be held in servitude." This declaration was included as part of the Doctrine and Covenants (ultimately section 134.12) which was canonized in 1835.

²⁰ For one view outlining the development of Mormon antiabolitionist-antislavery attitudes during

the 1830's see Lester E. Bush, "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," *Dialogue*, VIII (Spring 1973), 12-15. Also see: Warren A. Jennings, "Factors in the Destruction of the Mormon Press in Missouri, 1833," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 15 (Winter 1967); Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery and Mormon Doctrine," *Western Humanities Review* 21 (Autumn 1967); and Stephen L. Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1970).

²¹ See "Elijah Abel bapt for John F. Lancaster a friend," as contained in Nauvoo Temple Records Book A100, original LDS Church Archives. Also see two other entries in this same record: "Delila Abel bapt in the instance of Elisha [sic] Abel. Rel son. Bapt 1840, Book A page 1" and "Delila Abel Bapt. in the instance of Elijah Abel 1841, Rel. Dau. Book A page 5."

²² See Elijah Abel Papers, LDS Church Archives, for a description of this pamphlet which was printed according to an "Agreement," February 20, 1840, between E. Robinson and D. C. Smith—the Nauvoo town printers—and "Elijah Abel, Levi Jackson, Samuel Rolf, Alexander Badlam, Wm. Cahoon, Wm. Smith and Elijah Newman." Robinson and Smith agreed "To Print for Abel, Jackson & Co., small pamphlet of 200 copies 'Book of Prices of Work adopted by the House Carpenters of the Town of Nauvoo' to be paid upon in labor or putting up a building when called upon." The sum agreed upon was \$58. I have not had the opportunity to look at the original but according to this reference the "original is in the possession of Mrs. Alfred M. Henson, St. George."

²³ As recorded in "Minutes of First Council of Seventy, 1859-1863," p. 494, March 5, 1879, LDS Church Archives.

²⁴ As noted by W. Wyl, *Mormon Portraits* (Salt Lake City, 1886), 51-52.

²⁵ Kate B. Carter, *The Negro Pioneer* (Salt Lake City, 1965), 15; Jenson, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia*, 577. It is somewhat unclear what Carter meant by "living in the home" of Joseph Smith. It seems unlikely that Abel resided with the Smith family itself. Probably Abel lived in the Nauvoo House, a hotel guest-house run by the Smith family. In addition, Isaac Lewis Manning and his sister Jane Manning James were described as "servants" of Joseph Smith who both "lived for many years in the household of Joseph Smith." See Carter, 9-13.

²⁶ Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church*, (Salt Lake City, 1908). IV, June 6, 1841.

²⁷ As noted in the Cincinnati City Directories for 1842, compiled by Charles Cist (GS 194001) and for 1849-50 (GS 194002).

²⁸ As indicated by *1850 U.S. Census*, 10th Ward, Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio, August 26, 1850 and *1860 U.S. Census*, 13th Ward, Salt Lake City.

²⁹ Smith, *History of the Church* (Salt Lake City, 1902-1912) IV, January 2, 1843.

³⁰ "Minutes of a special Conference of the Cincinnati [sic] branch of the Church . . . held at Elder Pugh's on the 1st day of June, 1845" as noted by *Times and Seasons*, June 1, 1845.

³¹ William L. Appleby to Brigham Young, June 2, 1847; also noted in William L. Appleby, "Journal," May 19, 1847, William L. Appleby papers in LDS Church Archives. There is, however, some confusion over *who* actually ordained Lewis. According to the recollections of Jane Elizabeth James, "Parley P. Pratt ordained Him an Elder." See Jane E. James to Joseph F. Smith, February 7, 1890, as reprinted in Henry J. Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith: Jane Elizabeth James and the Origins of the Utah Black Community," p. 149. The Wolfinger article is contained in Clark Knowlton, Editor, *Social Accommodation in Utah* (American West Center Occasional Papers, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1975). Also through an error committed by the compilers of the "Journal History," MS in LDS Church Archives, the impression that Walker Lewis was a member of the Mormon branch at Batavia, New York was created. See "Journal History," June 2, 1847. Such a false impression was obtained because Appleby's letter describing Walker Lewis was mailed to Brigham Young from Batavia, New York. However, the contents of both this letter and Appleby's "Journal" show Lewis to be a resident of, and member of the church at Lowell, Massachusetts.

³² See Wilford Woodruff to Brigham Young, November 16, 1844. Woodruff in his "Journal" during late 1844 and early 1845 made note of his numerous visits to Lowell and the areas around Lowell. Woodruff Papers, LDS Church Archives. Both Apostles Brigham Young and Ezra Taft Benson visited these same areas during 1844-45 and reported nothing unusual in the ethnic or racial qualities of Mormon priesthood holders.

³³ Woodruff to Young, November 16, 1844. According to Ezra Taft Benson to Brigham Young, January 22, 1845, Benson Papers, LDS Church Archives, the particular difficulties in the Lowell Branch came about as a result of church finances and the collection of funds.

³⁴ William L. Appleby to Brigham Young, June 2, 1847; also noted in William L. Appleby, "Journal," May 19, 1847, William L. Appleby Papers, LDS Church Archives. When Young finally had a chance to respond to Appleby's inquiry following his return from the Great Basin to Winter Quarters in the fall of 1847, Appleby was present in person at Winter Quarters. Therefore, Young and/or other church leaders were able to respond to any questions that Appleby had on this matter. As for Walker Lewis, little is known about his activities after 1847. However, by October 4, 1851, Lewis had journeyed to the Great Basin where he received a Patriarchal Blessing at the hands of John Smith. It is interesting to note that Lewis was assigned the lineage of Cainan. "Historian's Office Patriarchal Blessings," vol. 11, p. 326 as noted in Patriarchal Blessing Indices," CR 5001 #64, LDS Church Archives. Lewis' assigned lineage stood in sharp contrast to the "orphan" status assigned Elijah Abel some fifteen years earlier. But the lineage of "Cainan" had been assigned to Mormon blacks as early as 1843. See references to patriarchal Blessings given by Hyrum Smith to Jane Manning and Anthony Stebbins as noted by "Patriarchal Blessing Index," CR 5001 #64.

³⁵ "Manuscript History of the Church," February 13, 1849, original, LDS Church Archives.

³⁶ McCary's name was spelled a number of different ways: "McGarry," "McCaistry," "McCarry," "McCary" as well as "McCary." In one source he was referred to as "Wm. Chubby," Juanita Brooks ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout* (Salt Lake City, 1966), entry for March 8, 1849. In *The True Latter Day Saints Herald* (Cincinnati, Ohio), March 1861, he was referred to as "Mr. Williams the imposter." For uniformity and simplicity of spelling I will refer to him as William McCary.

³⁷ *Voree Herald*, October 1846. According to the *True Latter Day Saints Herald*, March 1861, the agreement between Hyde and McCary was made in Nauvoo, Illinois where Hyde "married" McCary "to a white sister."

³⁸ Cincinnati *Commercial*, October 27, 1846.

³⁹ *Ibid.* As indicated by a warning in the *Commercial* cautioning the citizens of this city to "Lookout for more sensuality in open daylight, in your families, and almost before your eyes, all under the cloak of sanctity."

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, November 17, 1846.

⁴¹ *Zion's Revelle* (Voree, Wisconsin), February 25, 1847. Despite the short-lived nature of McCary's Cincinnati activities they were noted by newspapers as far away as Illinois and Missouri. See *Nauvoo New Citizen*, December 23, 1846 and *The Gazette* (St. Joseph, Missouri), December 11, 1846.

⁴² Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861* (Salt Lake City, 1965), Vol. II, p. 244; John D. Lee, "Journal," February 27, 1847, John D. Lee Papers, LDS Church Archives.

⁴³ John D. Lee, "Journal," February 27, 1847. Young possibly had one or more of the following uses for McCary's talents: (1) to dupe or mislead his Mormon rivals (2) to be an interpreter among the Indians as the Saints traveled west (3) to entertain the Saints on their westward trek with his talents as a mimic and ventriloquist.

⁴⁴ "Manuscript History of the Church," LDS Church Archives, March 26, 1847. According to other accounts this "cooled man [sic] . . . showed his body to the company to see if he had a rib gone" and demonstrated his talents as a ventriloquist by passing himself off as an ancient Apostle Thomas—throwing his voice and claiming that "God spoke unto him and called him Thomas." See Wilford Woodruff, "Journal," March 26, 1847, Wilford Woodruff Papers, LDS Church Historical Department; *The True Latter Day Saints Herald*, March 1861. A brief mention of the confrontation between McCary and church leaders is also contained in Willard Richards, "Journal," March 26, 1847, Willard Richards Papers, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁵ Lorenzo Brown, "Journal," April 27, 1847, Lorenzo Brown Papers, LDS Church archives; John D. Lee, "Journal," April 25, 1847, Lee Papers.

⁴⁶ According to one account McCary joined the dissident Mormon Apostle Lyman Wight, then on his way to Texas. See John D. Lee, "Journal," May 7, 1847 and the *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, January 1, 1849, which notes the interaction between Wight and the "Pagan Prophet." Other accounts, however, suggest that McCary joined Charles B. Thompson, the leader of a minor Mormon schismatic sect based initially in Missouri and later in Iowa. In this regard see my "Forgotten Mormon Perspectives: Slavery, Race, and the Black Man as Issues Among Non-Utah Latter-day Saints, 1844-75," *Michigan History*, LXI, Winter 1977, 357-70. Finally, it has been suggested that McCary traveled "South to his own tribe." See Lorenzo Brown, "Journal," April 27, 1847, Brown Papers.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Nelson W. Whipple, "Journal," October 14, 1847, Nelson W. Whipple Papers, LDS Church

Archives; Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, entry for April 25, 1847.

⁴⁸ *Zion's Revelle*, July 29, 1847.

⁴⁹ Nelson W. Whipple, "Journal," October 14, 1847.

⁵⁰ These are my own compilations as derived from a number of sources including: Kate B. Carter, *The Negro Pioneer*; Henry J. Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith," and Jack Beller, "Negro Slaves in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 2, 1929, 123-26. It is worth noting that the total number of blacks within Utah as compiled from these sources is considerably greater than the official U.S. census totals of 24 black slaves and 26 free blacks as reported for 1850. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, D.C., 1853), p. 993.

⁵¹ For two discussions of the forces leading to the enactment of these measures see Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine," 22-29 and Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 39, 1971, 40-54.

⁵² Newell G. Bringhurst, "An Ambiguous Decision: The Implementation of Mormon Priesthood Denial for the Black Man—A Reexamination," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 46, 1978, 45-64.

⁵³ Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine," 22-29.

⁵⁴ Council Meeting Minutes, January 2, 1902, George A. Smith Papers, University of Utah Library; Council Meeting Minutes, August 12, 1908, Adam S. Bennion Papers, Brigham Young University Library.

⁵⁵ "Salt Lake Temple Time Book," December 1853, June and July 1854, originals in LDS Church Archives.

⁵⁶ "Mill Creek Ward Record of Members" #1913, pp. 63, 69. Original in LDS Church Archives.

⁵⁷ First Quorum of Seventies Minute Book, June 6, 1877, original in LDS Church Archives.

⁵⁸ This according to U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1860 Census*, Utah, Salt Lake City, 13th Ward, #805313, and *1870 Census*, Weber County, Ogden, July 16, 1870, p. 44.

⁵⁹ This according to *Salt Lake City Directory* for 1869 and 1874, p. 14.

⁶⁰ *Valley Tan*, (Salt Lake City), April 26, 1859; *Deseret News*, April 27, 1859.

⁶¹ Mrs. Annie Hermine Chardon Shaw, Federal Writer's Project, pp. 1 & 5, Manuscript File, Utah State Historical Society.

⁶² *Deseret News*, November 30, 1855; February 5, 1862.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, July 27, 1864.

⁶⁴ "Ogden City Cemetery Records," GS#979228/01 Vol. 220, pt. 1, give Maroni's date of death as October 20, 1871.

⁶⁵ *Deseret News*, November 28, 1877, and "Salt Lake City Death Records," 1848-1884, #8099, p. 203.

⁶⁶ Council Meeting Minutes, January 2, 1902, Adam S. Bennion Papers.

⁶⁷ For an excellent description of Jane E. Manning James' life and activities see Henry J. Wolfinger "A Test of Faith: Jane Elizabeth James and the Origins of the Utah Black Community," 126-147. Also see her autobiographical "Life Sketch of Jane Elizabeth Manning James," original in the Wilford Woodruff Papers. A copy of this "Life Sketch" has been included with Wolfinger's essay, pp. 151-56.

⁶⁸ Wolfinger, 129-30.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 130-34.

⁷⁰ See "Documents Relating to Jane E. James" as contained in Henry J. Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith," 150-151.

⁷¹ See letter from Jane E. James to Joseph F. Smith, February 7, 1890 as reprinted in Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith," 149.

⁷² Church officials allowed Jane James to "be adopted into the family of Joseph Smith as a servant" through a "special" temple ceremony prepared for that purpose. See minutes of a Meeting of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, January 2, 1902, George A. Smith Papers.

⁷³ Third Quorum of Seventy, Minutes, 1883-1907, December 10, 1883, original in LDS Church Archives.

⁷⁴ Missionary Records, 6175, Part 1, 1860–1906, p. 75, 1883, original in LDS Church Archives.

⁷⁵ Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, vol. III, p. 557; *Deseret News*, December 26, 1884.

⁷⁶ This according to the findings of Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Mormons and Negroes* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1970), pp. 12, 16, which contains documentary evidence indicating that Enoch Abel, a son of Elijah Abel, was ordained an Elder on November 10, 1900, and that a grandson Elijah Abel was ordained a priest on July 5, 1934, and an Elder on September 29, 1935. The Tanners also suggested that Elijah Abel's other surviving son, also named Elijah, may have been ordained to the priesthood.

⁷⁷ This is my own tentative conclusion based on an examination of various secondary works which describe the interaction and, indeed, intermarriage between members of Utah's black community. See: Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith," Kate B. Carter, *The Negro Pioneer*, and William G. Hartley, "Samuel D. Chambers," *The New Era*, June 1974, 47–50.

⁷⁸ According to Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Mormons and Negroes*, 18.

⁷⁹ L. John Nuttal, "Journal," May 30, 1879, L. John Nuttal Papers, Brigham Young University Library. Coltrin also recalled that:

In the washing and Anointing of Bro Abel at Kirtland I annointed him and while I had my hands upon his head, I never had such unpleasant feelings in my life—and I said I never would again Anoint another person who had Negro blood in him. unless I was commanded by the Prophet to do so [sic].

⁸⁰ Council Meeting, June 4, 1879, Adam S. Bennion Papers.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Minutes of a Council Meeting, August 26, 1908, Adam S. Bennion Papers.

⁸⁴ This important development is described in Bush, "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine," 31–34.

⁸⁵ Vol. III, 577.

⁸⁶ Joseph Fielding Smith to Mrs. Floren S. Preece, January 18, 1955, S. George Ellsworth Papers, Utah State University, Logan.

⁸⁷ The first to do this was L. H. Kirkpatrick, "The Negro and the LDS Church," *Pen*, 1954, 12–13, 29.

⁸⁸ Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery and Mormon Doctrine," Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy* and Brodie, *Can We Manipulate the Past?* (First Annual American West Lecture, Salt Lake City, 1970).

⁸⁹ Bush, *Op Cit* 16–17, 31–34.

A PRIESTLY ROLE FOR A PROPHETIC CHURCH: THE RLDS CHURCH AND BLACK AMERICANS

WILLIAM D. RUSSELL

IN RECENT YEARS many RLDS Church members have been proud of the fact that the church has been ordaining blacks into the priesthood since early in its history. Sometimes they have made unfavorable comparisons between RLDS policy and that of their cousins in Utah who denied holy orders to black men and women until last year when half of the restriction was lifted.

I suspect some of these RLDS members were disappointed when the General Authorities in Utah announced the change in racial policy, for no longer will the RLDS be able to cite racial exclusion as one of the "differences that persist" between the two churches. But that did not mean the RLDS would be prevented from getting in one last lick. In response to a UPI story that ran in the Independence (Mo.) *Examiner* on June 10, 1978, the Acting Director of the Public Information Office wrote a letter published in the *Examiner* ten days later in which he took issue with a UPI statement that the Mormons' racially discriminatory policy was based on the teachings of Joseph Smith. He pointed out that Elijah Abel had been ordained and had served the church during the lifetime of Joseph Smith. He went on to assert, inaccurately, that the RLDS Church "has never discriminated against black members."

The Public Information officer would have had only to consult recent scholarship on the subject to find evidence of racist as well as nonracist attitudes in the first Mormon prophet.¹

THE CANONICAL WRITINGS OF JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

Potentially serious impediments to an egalitarian policy on race were evident in

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Smith's writings canonized by both the LDS and RLDS churches. While the RLDS had the good fortune not to have elevated the *Book of Abraham* to canonical status, both the Book of Mormon and Joseph Smith's "New Translation" contain apparent racist elements.

The Book of Mormon, published by Joseph Smith in 1830, included the notion that because of their iniquities God caused a "skin of blackness" to come upon the Lamanites so that they would be "loathsome."² People were warned against intermarriage: "And cursed shall be the seed of him that mixeth with their seed: for they shall be cursed even with the same cursing."³ In the Book of Jacob, the Nephites were told that if they did not repent of their sins the Lamanites' skins "will be whiter than yours, when ye shall be brought with them before the throne of God."⁴ In Mormon 2:44 (LDS 5:15) the Nephites are specifically warned that they

shall become a dark, a filthy, and a loathsome people, beyond the description of that which ever hath been amongst us; yea, even that which hath been among the Lamanites; and this because of their unbelief and idolatry.

Those who defend the Book of Mormon against the charge of racism usually quote II Nephi 11:113–115 (LDS 26:33): "He inviteth them all to come unto him . . . black and white, bond and free, male and female, . . . all are alike unto God." But the Book of Mormon also seemingly invited black people to come unto God with the result that this would produce a white skin!⁵

In Joseph Smith's "New Translation" of the Bible, the only change this author is aware of that has racial connotations is in Chapter 9 of Genesis. The King James Version reads:

And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his youngest son had done unto him, and he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.⁶

At this point Joseph Smith added the words: "And a veil of darkness shall cover him, that he shall be known among all men." While it can be argued, as some have done for the Book of Mormon, that the "veil of darkness" may not refer to skin color, the passage certainly leaves that impression.⁷

Whatever seeds may have been planted in these and other writings during Joseph Smith's lifetime, it is nonetheless true that an important facet of racial discrimination—priesthood denial—was not officially implemented until several years after the Prophet's death.

THE EARLY REORGANIZATION

That the Reorganization did not follow the lead of the Mormons under Brigham Young in this decision is attributable directly to the Prophet's son, Joseph III. He assumed the leadership of the RLDS Church in 1860. It is my thesis that the RLDS Church has generally followed the trend of secular society on racial matters by adopting the "respectable" attitudes of white society. In short, the church has normally adopted a "priestly" or "pastoral" rather than a "prophetic" model.⁸ This can be shown in the relevant documents from 1860 to the present.

The policy of not excluding racial minorities from the priesthood in the RLDS Church stems from an 1865 revelation purported to have been received by President Joseph Smith III, Section 116 of the RLDS *Doctrine and Covenants*. The Civil War was drawing to a close. According to the memoirs of W. W. Blair, an apostle in the RLDS hierarchy, the question as to whether to ordain blacks was being discussed by the saints, and in a prayer meeting on April 2, 1865, President Smith prophesied that "prejudice of race, color, and caste would soon be done away among the Saints."⁹ One month later, on the evening of May 3, 1865, twenty-four days after Appomattox, the RLDS Council of Twelve discussed the ordination question. According to W. W. Blair the question was debated "pro and con, with great warmth and persistency." When a vote was asked, "none would vote for it nor against it," so Zenos H. Gurley, Sr. suggested that they ask President Smith to seek inspiration. The minutes of the meeting record the following:

After much discussion, it was, Resolved that we refer the question respecting the ordination of Men of Colour to the Lord and that we come together fasting and praying that God may reveal His will on this matter unto us through His servant Joseph.

Adjourned until Thursday morning at 8 o'clock.¹⁰

At the 8 o'clock meeting the next morning, Smith presented a revelation, now Section 116, in which the Lord reportedly indicated that "it is expedient in me that you ordain priests unto me, of every race who receive the teachings of my law . . ." The revelation closes with the following admonition:

Be not hasty in ordaining men of the Negro race to offices in my church, for verily I say unto you,

All are not acceptable unto me as servants, nevertheless I will that all may be saved, but every man in his own order, and there are some who are chosen instruments to be ministers to their own race. Be ye content, I the Lord have spoken it.¹¹

Although the revelation is permissive on the ordination of blacks, it has been criticized by RLDS liberals for its apparent suggestion of a segregated ministry and for its note of caution, warning against haste in ordaining Negro men. Such caution is appropriate for all priesthood calls, they argue, and thus it is inappropriate to single out Negroes for such caution. Other RLDS members defend the note of caution by asserting that it was probably wise in its historical context.

A difference of opinion apparently arose among early RLDS leaders as to whether the term "priest" in the revelation referred to priesthood offices generally, or to the office of priest only. Joseph Smith III recalled in his memoirs:

I was of the opinion at the time that the term "priests" occurring in the opening portion of the revelation covered the authority as ordinarily represented by anyone properly ordained according to the New Testament plan. This opinion, however, did not prevail with a majority of the members of the Council, who believed that . . . such ordinations should be restricted to the office of priest, only. I did not contend for my own understanding very strongly, as at the time there was no apparent necessity for making any such serious discrimination; since the office of priest would permit the preaching

of the Word, I felt that time would either soften asperities or the Lord would make the matter still plainer by further direction.¹²

The following year, on April 3, 1866, the Council of Twelve discussed "whether Coloured Members should be organized by themselves into Branches or in connection with the White Brethren." After discussion the Twelve passed the following: "Resolved that as the Author of Life and Salvation does not discriminate among His rational creatures on account of Colour neither does the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints."¹³

At the April 1868 General Conference, the Quorum of Twelve presented a motion, "Resolved that this conference would encourage the carrying out the provisions made for preaching the gospel to the negro race in the revelation of May 4, 1865."¹⁴

Seven years later, in the February 15, 1875 *True L.D.S. Herald*, President Smith wrote an editorial strongly condemning elders who were making racial distinctions:

We are pained to learn that some few Elders are making an unnecessary distinction between the white and colored races in regard to gospel ordinances and fellowship. . . .

It is unjust to the Church for one, two or more Elders to teach, preach, or advise a distinction and exclusion from church fellowship and communion upon the ground of race or color; while the "articles and covenants of the Church" nowhere warrant such exclusion, and the practice of the Church has never sanctioned it. . . .

We think it derogatory to the teaching of Jesus, as found in the New Testament, Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants to insist upon a separation of the races.¹⁵

Perhaps Smith's editorial led to the General Conference Resolution adopted two months later. General Conference Resolution 171 stated that the gospel is for

all mankind, irrespective of color, nationality, sex or condition of life; and that elders in Christ are not justified in making, or insisting on being made, any separation in church privileges, worship, or sacrament, other than is made in the church articles and revelations in regard to ministerial ordinations and labor; and that we advise all officers of the church to be governed by the spirit and tenor of this teaching and this resolution.¹⁶

Thus, during the decade immediately after the Civil War, President Smith, The Council of Twelve and the General Conference seemed to have formulated a somewhat liberal racial policy, opening the door for black priesthood and rejecting racial segregation or discrimination in the church. During that same period, the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments were added to the United States Constitution in an attempt to legally establish racial equality. But, as has been well documented historically, the United States government backed off from the equalitarianism expressed during the Reconstruction period. So did the RLDS Church.

Despite the 1865 revelation and the other pronouncements, very few blacks were ordained to the priesthood. It was not until 1889 that a black man was ordained to the Melchisedec priesthood, and he was a Canadian, Emanuel Eaton.¹⁷ As late as the 1960's, it could rightfully be said that very few blacks had been

ordained to the RLDS priesthood, although the situation has improved somewhat in the last decade or so.

Joseph Smith III's views changed as American society backed off from commitment to civil and political rights for the former slaves. He may have felt—as indicated in his memoirs—that time was on the side of the interests of Negro citizens. But history suggests that this was not the case. The drift of American society in the last third of the 19th century was away from the ideal of racial equality. Similarly, Smith's own attitude seems to have backed away from his liberality of the 1860s and 1870s. We find him writing in an editorial in the *Saints' Herald* in 1893 that even though the gospel is for everyone ("There are none so low but that Jesus would weep and pray for them."), it would be wise not to offend social sensibilities, or violate laws such as those prohibiting miscegenation. Smith suggested separating the races in church and establishing separate branches where practicable so that black priesthood could minister to their own race. He stated that the various races "are now unequal in the scale of civilization, and are not equal, socially or morally." The prophet was willing to give way to social custom: "Custom and the natural barriers in the way must have their weight."¹⁸

Smith concluded the editorial as follows:

Church privileges and equal access to God's mercy do not necessarily destroy the social distinctions which wisdom and peculiarities of condition impose and make distinctive. Any attempt to urge the unrestrained intercourse of all classes, races, and conditions will stir up strife and contention far more dangerous to the welfare and unity of the church, than the principle contended for will justify.¹⁹

The previous year the *Herald* had contained an editorial about Priest C.D.G. Taylor, "the colored brother received into the church at Lamoni, not long ago," complaining that he wasn't making a special evangelistic effort with his own race.²⁰ "Dr. Taylor," as he is called in the editorial, was briefly under general church appointment, but his appointment was not renewed, apparently due to dissatisfaction with his lack of effort on behalf of his own race.

George H. Graves, another black man, was under appointment for ten years, from 1898 to 1908. His initial assignment was "among the colored people."²¹ He was soon working Chicago with an associate, W. H. Fuller, apparently white. Graves reported that Brother Fuller "baited his hook to catch white fish" while he "baited his hook to catch black bass."²² By 1903 Graves, laboring in Kentucky, wrote to the *Herald* saying he hoped to be able to "get started the first branch in the world known as a colored branch of the Latter Day Saints."²³ F. Henry Edwards notes that Graves ran into difficulties with the church administration when he showed his preference for ministry to white congregations.²⁴ In 1908 the First Presidency suggested he be appointed to some large city to "labor exclusively among the people of his race" and "that he also be prevented from making any petitions to the Saints at large for financial aid. . . ." But after further consultation with the Twelve, his appointment was simply not renewed.²⁵

Edwards, writing about the racial situation in the United States and in the church around 1900, indicates that church people tended toward a modified reflection of their environment: they were not against Negro members or priesthood, but they showed little objection to the segregation policies of their times.²⁶

C. Vann Woodward, in his *Strange Career of Jim Crow* and in *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction*, has suggested that after the Civil War it required nearly a generation for the South to develop the rigid Jim Crow racial structure that was in place by the end of the century. Woodward points out that after the Civil War, southern whites exhibited attitudes toward blacks that were more humane than the Jim Crow attitudes which became dominant about the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896.

A key turning point came during the disputed Presidential election of 1876 which was settled by allowing the apparent loser, Republican Rutherford Hayes, to assume the Presidency. Part of the deal was a Republican promise to withdraw the federal presence in the South and allow the Southern states to handle the race problem as they saw fit. This decision indicated that the North was not going to insist on civil and political equality for blacks. From the end of Reconstruction to the turn of the century, the South gradually degraded the social and political status of blacks, culminating in Jim Crow and voter disfranchisement laws enacted in various states around the turn of the century.²⁷

During this period the churches, which had been somewhat integrated in the 1870s, moved toward complete segregation. In a recent article in *Church History*, Kenneth K. Bailey documented this in the southern churches. He noted that near the turn of the century, a respected Southern Methodist, the Rev. William Martin, reminisced about bygone days when blacks “enjoyed the same preaching with the white people; they communed at the same altars, they were served by the same hands, and drank in remembrance of the crucified One from the same cup.”²⁸

Although the RLDS Church was primarily a midwestern church, it appears that the RLDS attitude toward black-white mixing underwent the same general transition between the end of the Civil War and the turn of the century that Woodward and Bailey describe in the South.

FROM PLESSY TO BROWN

The period between the Supreme Court’s *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896 and its *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954 was a bleak one for black people in the United States. Segregation—*de jure* in the South and *de facto* in the North—made it easy for Americans to turn their backs upon the aspirations of black people. It was also a period in which the RLDS Church paid little attention to black people and their problems despite the organization of the NAACP, the Urban League and CORE during this period. There were very few blacks in the church—north or south—and in the South they were segregated.²⁹

Joseph Smith III died on December 10, 1914 and was succeeded by his son, Frederick Madison Smith, who was President of the church until his death on March 20, 1946. In his recent Ph.D. dissertation on Fred M. Smith, Larry Hunt concluded that Smith took a middle-of-the-road position on race—he accepted segregation because of his primary concern for “social safety,” but he disliked racial discrimination and violence.³⁰

In light of the tendency of the RLDS to expound on the differences between themselves and the LDS Church, it is significant that RLDS polemical literature during this period remained silent on the subject of race. The church published two large tracts during this period which discussed the basic differences between the two churches. In 1930 Herald House issued a 60-page tract by Calvin H. Rich,

Some Differences in Faith Between the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, with Headquarters at Independence, Missouri, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints with Headquarters at Salt Lake City, Utah. In 1943 Presiding Patriarch Elbert A. Smith produced a 62-page tract, *Differences That Persist Between the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and the Utah Mormon Church*, which subsequently went through more than a dozen printings before it was discontinued about 1965.³¹ In both tracts a great deal of ink was spilt on the perennial questions of polygamy, the plurality of gods, succession in the Presidency and temple rituals. But the policy difference between the two churches on ordaining blacks was not mentioned in either tract, which suggests a lack of interest in the issue by the RLDS Church during that period.

More recently—as interest in civil rights has become more respectable—the RLDS people have been far more inclined to note the difference. Two full length books on the “differences that persist” have been published by Herald House since the civil rights movement was renewed in the 1950s. One, by Russell F. Ralston, included a brief four-page discussion of “The Negro Question” at the end, after 230 pages of the usual issues. The other, by Aleah Koury, ignored the race question.³² The authors, both Seventies who had served the church in Salt Lake City, were promoted to the Twelve not long after their books were published. Various other statements and actions by RLDS leaders on race have clearly shown a motivation to distinguish between the churches in Independence and in Salt Lake City.³³

THE CHURCH DURING THE “SECOND RECONSTRUCTION”

After World War II the United States gradually began to address the problem of racial injustice as it had not done since Reconstruction. As Philip C. Dolce has written, “The Cold War was forcing the United States to prove that its democratic heritage extended to black Americans.”³⁴ Harry Truman became the first twentieth-century President to advocate a full-scale civil rights program.³⁵ But the *Brown* decision of May, 1954 appears to have been the real catalyst in re-awakening the nation to the oppression of its black citizens, thereby ushering in the so-called “the second Reconstruction” in the United States. Soon after *Brown*, the Montgomery bus boycott propelled Martin Luther King, Jr. into national leadership with his non-violent direct action strategies.

The RLDS Church also rediscovered the race issue during this period. Though comment on the race issue became more frequent in church periodicals,³⁶ the impetus came from a few rank-and-file saints, rather than from the top.

Since Reconstruction the first effort to enact a general church policy statement came in 1948 in a resolution submitted to the General Conference by the Chicago District delegation.³⁷ Citing scripture, the resolution both endorsed racial equality and acknowledged discrimination by saints. Israel A. Smith, who was President of the Church from 1946 until 1958, opposed the resolution: “There is nothing in the law of the church which creates or tends to create racial inequality or racial discrimination.”³⁸ He continued: “To legislate with respect to a specific race raises, by implication, the presumption that that race heretofore had been unjustly dealt with in our church law and discipline, which we cannot and do not admit.”³⁹ Smith also asserted that the church “places no ban or bar against ordaining those

of colored races, as witnessed by the fact that many have been ordained and some have been appointed to labor as missionaries."⁴⁰ Israel Smith showed his determination to avoid the racial controversy, indicating in a 1957 *Herald* editorial that race relations "are political in their nature" and that as churchmen we "feel a natural hesitation to subject ourselves to criticism for getting into politics."⁴¹

RLDS General Conferences are held every two years. In 1954 a resolution was brought to the conference, co-sponsored by Muirl Robinson of Battle Creek, Michigan, and James Everett of Salt Lake City. The resolution asked

That a special committee be appointed, composed of General Church appointees and lay ministers of professional competence in the field of social relations, to study and make recommendations on the problems involved, and to prepare recommended outlines of methods and procedures for activating an effective program for carrying the gospel message to colored peoples, and with particular emphasis to the immediate problems in the United States and Canada where most of our present members reside.⁴²

The resolution also called upon the membership at large to support the 1948 United Nations "Declaration of Human Rights" asking the U.S. members to support "The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights."⁴³ Rather than pass the resolution, the conference referred the matter to the First Presidency, Council of Twelve and the Quorum of Seventy, instructing them to report back to the 1956 General Conference.⁴⁴

One month later, in May 1954, the Supreme Court handed down the *Brown* decision. When the delegates gathered for the next General Conference in April 1956, the three quorums presented their resolution on race relations. The document, General Conference Resolution 995, that emerged after three amendments were offered from the floor by J.C. Stuart, reads as follows:

The gospel is for all mankind. It knows no distinction of race or color.

The possibility of sharing the gospel has always been influenced by racial, social, economic, educational, and political factors. This is still true.

The social patterns are changing in the direction of closer integration by the various groups comprising the total population. It is difficult to imagine segregated churches in a society which teaches the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Wherever groups, missions, branches, and congregations are organized they should be formed as a matter of administration and not as a matter of racial discrimination.

There are areas where the church must first build up the will to welcome all races. In such situations discretion is important, but only as an essential factor in breaking down barriers.

The church welcomes all who respond to the call of the Lord from among all races.

Persons of any race who are ordained to the priesthood should function freely according to their gifts and callings. Some may well receive church appointment. Such appointees should be assigned with reasonable consideration for the opportunities for ministry to their own race, but such assignments should not be to that race only.

The appointing authorities should carry the needs of all men in their hearts with ministry being directed according to the spirit of wisdom and revelation

in the general, local, and missionary presiding officers concerned. It should be shared in by the Saints in the spirit of fraternity, which is the spirit of Zion.⁴⁵

Seven years later an editorial by the First Presidency appeared in the August 1, 1963, *Saints' Herald*. Entitled, "Our Position on Race and Color," this editorial was written after the Birmingham demonstrations and just before the March on Washington. Public opinion favorable to civil rights was building, and President Kennedy, after more than two years of caution, had decided to push for new civil rights legislation. The First Presidency's editorial specifically reaffirmed the principles of the 1956 General Conference Resolution, i.e., the gospel knows no racial distinctions, the church welcomes all persons who respond to the gospel, and priesthood holders of any race should function freely according to their gifts and callings. However, the editorial contained little hint that the RLDS Church or its members have been anything but egalitarian or have in any way contributed to discrimination in the past century or more since the church has existed. There was no mention of the segregation of RLDS congregations in the South and only a vague hint that internal problems have existed in congregations that were integrated. A member of the Presiding Bishopric stated privately at the time that the editorial failed to take into account the racial difficulties experienced in virtually every congregation where there were Negro members. The following quotation from the editorial will illustrate:

The internal racial problems in our church have been very minor. Integration has been such a natural process that there would be no need to discuss it in these columns were it not for the national attention that has resulted from the tense integration question.

We have Negroes in our branches, in our priesthood, and in our church college. Our integration preceded any social pressures or Supreme Court decisions.

It would be difficult to say how many of our Negroes now hold priesthood. No systematic records have been kept based on race or color. We have felt no reason for such accounting.

These optimistic words were sounded despite the fact that the church had very few black members; black priesthood holders were so rare that systematic records were not required to keep track of them. Nor had very many black students attended Graceland, the only RLDS college. While the number of blacks at Graceland has increased since 1963, those blacks have had their share of problems. Few have been church members; many were non-members recruited by the coaching staff.

It appears that the Presidency's editorial reflected the church's new awareness of the racial issue, but the content and tone suggest a rewriting of its history to prove to itself that its new attitude was the one it had always held.

Critics also noted that the editorial implied that civil rights organizations are strictly for Negroes. While the principle of having black leadership in the civil rights movement was probably sound, even black militants generally believed that whites were needed to assist, if only as Stokely Carmichael once said, to civilize fellow whites. The editorial further suggested that civil rights organizations were

for Negroes' physical well-being, implying a dualism between the spiritual and physical and apparently ignoring the fact that the movement provided spiritual renewal for many as well.

Finally, the First Presidency's editorial cautioned against participation in "extremist movements—any mob action—either for or against segregation." The statement was vague as to what was meant by "extremist movements" or "mob action." Church members could as easily have believed the editorial condemned non-violent demonstrations as KKK-style violence.

During the week of the 1968 conference, Martin Luther King was assassinated. In response, the conference passed two resolutions. One was a tribute to Dr. King; the other was a call to "more adequately implement the policies and resolution previously adopted by the World Conference."⁴⁶ The latter resolution also deplored extremism: recent racial changes have "uncovered extreme militant feelings." Again, interpretation among members could have varied widely.

Both resolutions and the editorial stated that the RLDS Church welcomed all persons into its fellowship. Only the 1968 resolution suggested consciously seeking to win non-whites into active participation in the church. This omission in the two earlier statements is strange for a missionary-minded church which expects its members to aggressively seek out converts. None of the statements dealt with racism in other areas—education, housing, employment and so forth. It is as if proper evangelism would solve the racial problem. The "official position" calls for no corporate action by the church.

There was considerable resistance from church members who did not like the official statements and articles advocating racial equality in the church press in the late 1950s and early 1960s. As an editor at Herald House in Independence for six years, 1960–1966, and as a private citizen in the Center Place during those years, I had an opportunity to observe individual church members and the church leadership in their responses to the problem of race. It was not uncommon for RLDS members to defend school segregation and racial exclusion in housing and public accommodations and to condemn intermarriage. A few priesthood members were also members of the Ku Klux Klan. Most top church leaders were unwilling to sign a "Good Neighbor" pledge being sponsored by all major faiths in the Kansas City-Independence area as a device to open up housing opportunities for non-whites. One pastor opposed open housing for Independence because Zion was to be reserved for "the rich, the wise, the learned and the noble," and another Independence pastor regarded civil rights activists as communists or fellow travelers. An elder in a public address to an Independence RLDS congregation defended segregation as the absolute divine will. Herald House editors were advised by church leaders to go slowly and not to offend on the race question.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the RLDS Church has followed the trend of secular society on race,⁴⁷ usually taking the currently respectable view.⁴⁸ The leadership has adopted the priestly rather than the prophetic role. Before the Civil War period, Joseph Smith, Jr., and other church leaders, generally assumed the attitudes toward race predominant in American society. After a period of liberalism during the Reconstruction period, the church, following the trend of society, turned its back on the

dream of racial equality. Some progress has been made in the second Reconstruction since the 1950s, but the church's cautious response is still being resisted by some members who would prefer that the church ignore the aspirations of black people.

NOTES

¹ Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, Spring, 1973, pp. 11-68; Newell G. Bringhurst, "'A Servant of Servants . . . Cursed as Pertaining to the Priesthood': Mormon Attitudes Toward Slavery and the Black Man, 1830-80" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1975).

² II Nephi 4:35, 36 (RLDS edition); II Nephi 5:21, 22 (LDS edition).

³ II Nephi 4:37 (RLDS); II Nephi 5:23 (LDS).

⁴ Jacob 2:59 (RLDS); Jacob 3:8 (LDS).

⁵ The following passages seem to me to be quite attractive to the racist: I Nephi 3:128-134, 151; II Nephi 4:31-33; 12:79-85; Jacob 2:42-65; Alma 1:104-119; and Mormon 2:36-54 (RLDS edition).

⁶ Genesis 9:24-26 (King James Version)

⁷ For an effective rebuttal to the typical segregationist's use of the Bible, see Everett Tilson, *Segregation and the Bible* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1958). For a more appreciative view of the Restoration Scriptures, see the series of three articles by John Bradley in the *Saints' Herald* (Hereafter *SH*), Vol. 110, November 15, December 1, and December 15, 1963.

⁸ Recent RLDS leaders' tendency to adopt the pastoral rather than the prophetic role is well documented in an undergraduate paper by Arlyn R. Love, "RLDS Church Leaders' Policy Concerning the Black Civil Rights Movement" (Lamoni, Iowa: Unpublished Senior Seminar paper, Graceland College, April 17, 1979).

⁹ W.W. Blair, *The Memoirs of President W.W. Blair*, compiled by Elder Frederick B. Blair (Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House, 1908), p. 113. Blair was an apostle in 1865 and later a member of the RLDS First Presidency. I am indebted to Diane Shelton's paper, "The 1865 Revelation," presented at the 1978 annual meeting of the John Whitmer Historical Association, held at Plano, Illinois. A copy of her paper is in the Graceland College Archives.

¹⁰ RLDS Council of Twelve Minutes, Book A, RLDS Archives, Independence, Missouri.

¹¹ Section 116, RLDS *Doctrine and Covenants* (Independence, Missouri: Herald House, 1970).

¹² Joseph Smith III, *Joseph Smith III and the Restoration*, edited by Mary Audentia Smith Anderson and condensed by Bertha Audentia Anderson Hulme (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1952), p. 607.

¹³ Council of Twelve Minutes.

¹⁴ *History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence, Missouri: Herald House, 1896), Vol. III, p. 495 (hereafter *History RLDS*).

¹⁵ "All One in Christ," *True L. D. Saints' Herald*, February 15, 1875, p. 112.

¹⁶ RLDS General Conference Resolution 171, adopted April 10, 1875.

¹⁷ *History RLDS* IV: 634.

¹⁸ Joseph Smith III, "Undue Strife," *SH*, Vol. 40, Number 19, May 13, 1893, pp. 289-90.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

²⁰ *History RLDS* V: 180; *SH* October 15, 1892.

²¹ *History RLDS* V:441.

²² *History RLDS* V:507.

²³ *SH* November 11, 1903, p. 1069; *History RLDS* VI: 77.

²⁴ *History RLDS* VI: 17.

²⁵ *History RLDS* VI:268.

²⁶ *History RLDS* VI:17.

²⁷ C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, second revised edition, 1966); *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951).

²⁸ Quoted in William P. Harrison, *The Gospel Among Slaves* (Nashville: 1893), p. 261; in Kenneth K. Bailey, "The Post-Civil War Racial Separation in Southern Protestantism: Another Look," *Church History*, Vol. 46, No. 4, December 1977, p. 472.

²⁹ William T. Blue, Sr., "A Negro Pastor Looks at Brotherhood," *Stride*, Vol. 345, No. 4, April, 1961, pp. 2-4.

³⁰ Larry E. Hunt, *Frederick M. Smith: Saint as Reformer, 1874-1946* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1978), p. 435.

³¹ Paul A. Wellington, Editorial Director, Herald House, to William D. Russell, April 17, 1979.

³² Russell F. Ralston, *Fundamental Differences Between the Reorganized Church and the Church in Utah* (Independence, Missouri: Herald House, 1960); Aleah G. Koury, *The Truth and the Evidence* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1965).

³³ See, for example, Roger Yarrington, "Mormon Race Views Enter Political Arena," *SH*, Vol. 109, May 15, 1962, p. 348; W. Wallace Smith, "Race and Priesthood," *SH*, Vol. 117, March 1970, p. 5.

³⁴ Philip C. Dolce and George H. Skau, eds., *Power and the Presidency* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1976), p. 127.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ See Carol Freeman Braby, "Desegregation's Challenge to You," *Stride*, Pilot Issue, 1956; Marian Blumenschein, "Racial Integration Through Friendship," *Stride*, November 1956; Dick Ankeny, "This Problem of Integration"; *University Bulletin*, Summer, 1957, pp. 13-15; Harley A. Morris, "Where the Solution Lies," *University Bulletin*, Summer 1957, pp. 16-18; Israel A. Smith, "Race Relations," *SH*, July 8, 1957, p. 8; Lucille Oliver, "The Worth of Souls," *SH*, February 17, 1958, pp. 10-11; Deam Ferris, "What is Color?" *Stride*, May 1958, pp. 3-8; Katherine Owens, "A Testimony on Race," *Stride*, May 1958, pp. 9-11; Dale F. Ward, "Brothers' First Meeting," *Stride*, May 1958, pp. 26-28; Roger Yarrington, "Negro Lessons in Christianity," *SH*, November 24, 1958, pp. 10-11; Minnie F. Armstrong, "Let Us Help Make People Free," *SH*, December 1, 1958, pp. 12-13, 17; Barbara Howard, "The Gospel's Not 'For White Only'" *Stride*, August 1959, pp. 28-31; H. Roy Vandel, "Brotherhood—A Christian Duty," *SH*, August 27, 1959, pp. 8-10; Mrs. Herman Eliason, "Prayer Helps Change Racial Prejudice," *SH*, January 11, 1960, p. 17; Ethyle D. Woodruff, "If Ye Love Me," *SH*, May 9, 1960, p. 11; Roger Yarrington, "Civil Disobedience Is Required of Saints," *SH*, August 29, 1960, p. 3; Wilford Winholtz, "Christ's Message Was for All the Races," *Stride*, December 1960, pp. 10-13; William D. Russell, "Our Number One Domestic Problem," *Stride*, October 1960; Blue, William T., Sr., "A Negro Pastor Looks at Brotherhood," *Stride*, April 1961, pp. 2-4; Louis Scott Wrigley, "Yes, We're Integrated," *Stride*, December 1961, pp. 21-23; Melvin Fowler, "An Anthropologist Looks at Race," *Stride*, February 1962, pp. 16-20; Lynn Weldon, "Probing Our Prejudice," *Stride*, March 1962, pp. 2-6; William D. Russell, "Deny Tax Exemptions to Segregationist Churches?" *SH*, September 15, 1962, p. 5; "Discrimination Common in Capital Punishment," *SH*, March 1, 1963, p. 2; "Can Intolerance Beget Freedom?" *SH*, April 1, 1963, p. 2; "Ten Years Later," *SH*, May 15, 1963, pp. 2, 21; "Martin Luther King: Satan or Saint?" *SH*, July 1, 1963, p. 2; "We Are On the Move Now," *University Bulletin*, Spring, 1965, pp. 50-55; "They Died for a Cause," *SH*, May 1, 1965, pp. 2, 13; "Taxation Without Representation," *Stride*, May 1965, pp. 4-9, 19; "Discrimination in the Administration of Justice," *Stride*, June 1965, pp. 14-19; W. Wallace Smith, "States' Rights and the Constitution," *SH*, November 15, 1962, pp. 4-5; Roy Muir, "Let's Teach our Children to Love," *SH*, June 1, 1963, p. 2; Deam Ferris, "Interracial Marriage," *Stride*, October 1963, pp. 4-8; Gladys Forbes, "Why I Marched," *Stride*, November 1963, pp. 20-21, 31-32; Paul A. Wellington, "The Restoration Attitude Towards Race," *SH*, November 15, 1963, p. 2; Roy Muir, "Blood, Sweat, and Prayers for Christian Brotherhood," *SH*, February 15, 1964, p. 2; Katherine J. Owens, "How Much Love?" *SH*, February 15, 1964, pp. 8-10; Carroll Thompson, "You Can Do Something About Prejudice," *SH*, April 15, 1964, pp. 12-13; Sara Baker, "We Bought in a White Neighborhood," *Stride*, September 1964, pp. 22-25; George W. Buckner, "Voter Registration: The Church's Business," *SH*, September 1, 1964, pp. 18-19; Reed W. Holmes, "The Right of a Dark-brown Skin," *SH*, September 15, 1964, p. 2; Paul A. Wellington, "The Test of Brotherhood," *SH*, February 15, 1965, p. 2; Joe Pearson, "Discrimination in Housing," *SH*, April 15, 1966, p. 5; Verne Sparkes, "Sinful Man and the Civil Rights Dilemma," *SH*, October 15, 1966, pp. 6-7, 17-18; Lloyd R. Young, "A Perspective on Racism," *SH*, July 15, 1968, pp. 11, 24; Bob Smith, "The Churches and White Supremacy in America," *SH*, July 15, 1968, pp. 12-17, 28.

³⁷ Arlyn R. Love, pp. 24–25.

³⁸ *The Saints' Herald Conference Daily* (1948), p. 105.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Israel A. Smith, "Race Relations," *SH*, Vol. 104, July 8, 1957, p. 8.

⁴² *The Saints' Herald Conference Daily* (1954), p. 95.

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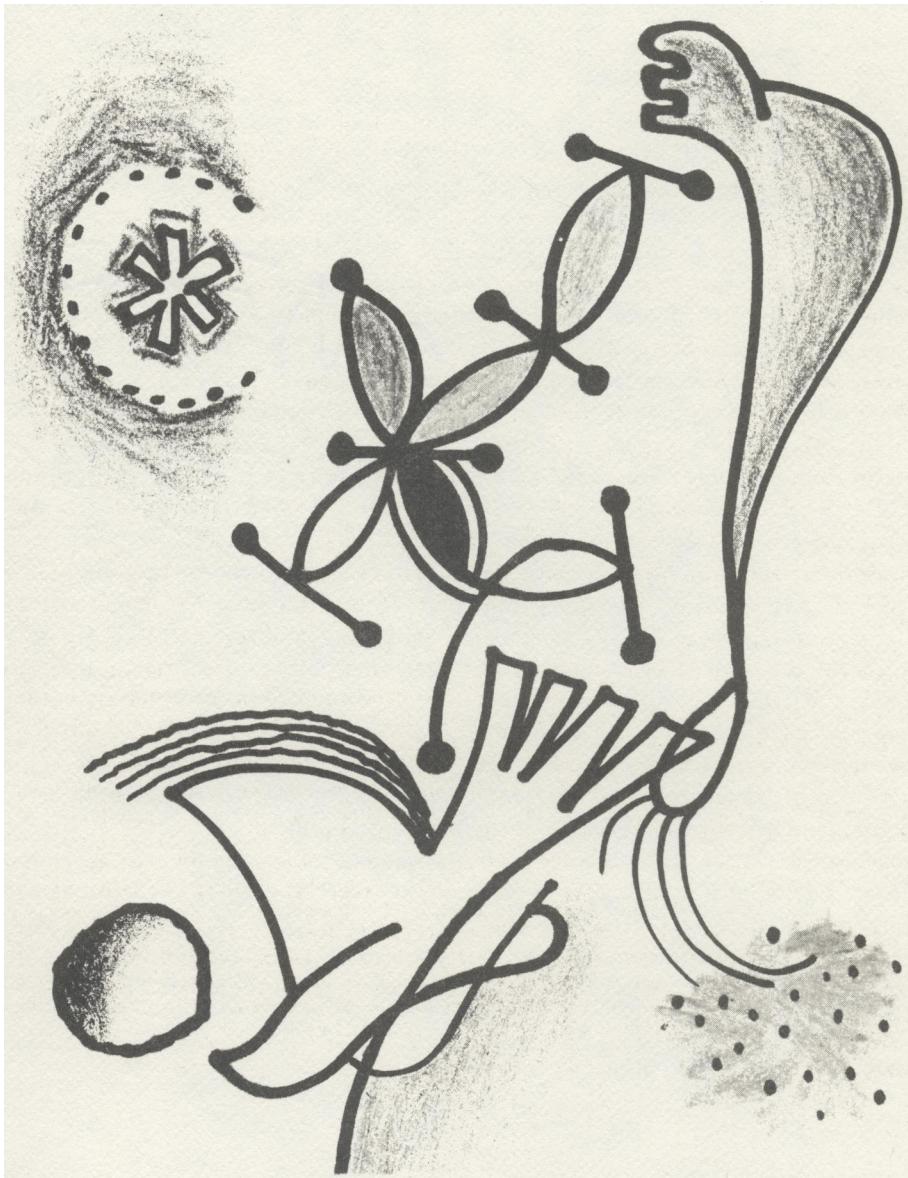
⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁴⁵ RLDS General Conference Resolution 995.

⁴⁶ *1968 World Conference Bulletin* (April 7, 1968) p. 288.

⁴⁷ Larry E. Hunt, p. 432.

⁴⁸ For the interpretation of the RLDS Church as seeking respectability in the eyes of the outside world, see Clare Vlahos, "Images of Orthodoxy: Self-Identity of the RLDS" (unpublished paper read at the annual meeting of the Mormon History Association, Logan, Utah, May 1978).



PERSONAL VOICES

The New Revelation: A Personal View

J. NICHOLLS EASTMOND, JR.

BECAUSE I SPENT ONE YEAR of my life as an undergraduate student at a Nigerian University, the June 9, 1978 announcement by the LDS Church First Presidency ended a period of internal unrest, a trial by fire. In the words of a friend: "Now I feel whole!"

My unrest began in 1964 when I attended Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria, Nigeria as one of two white students. My first year of college was exhilarating as I came to see my British and American expatriate teachers as the anomalous ones in the sea of black faces. Nigerian students looked out for me and, by their friendly actions, made me ashamed of the hatred vented in America toward James Meredith in Mississippi and Martin Luther King in Alabama. At the time I had little doubt as to who was most civilized.

Returning home to Salt Lake City one year later, I experienced profound cultural shock in relating my year's learning to family and friends in the Church. My attitudes were those of another world, and the bottom line, the underlying assumption behind any exchange of views with fellow Mormons, was the policy of priesthood exclusion. Vignettes stand out: a neighbor accusing my family of being so "un-Christianlike" as to consider selling our house to a black, thereby ruining the life savings of so many neighbors—that word, "un-Christianlike;" an opinionated Sunday School teacher lecturing for an entire hour on his particular views toward blacks and the priesthood, and then calling on me, the obvious dissenter, to close with prayer; a Nigerian convert in Salt Lake City expressing his desire to return with missionaries to his congregation to share newfound gospel insights, with or without a change in the priesthood policy.

During the sixties, although the issue was talked about frequently in church settings, I felt the majority of the explanations were specious. I remember my feeling of "Aha!" when I first read that the "mark of Cain" idea originated with Protestant Christians outside of the Church but was somehow assimilated by it. To me that argument reflected a nineteenth century racism which should have

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been laid to rest by the second Article of Faith, which explained that men would be punished for their own sins.

The other rationale, explicated by Stewart and Lund, that blacks were somehow “less valiant” in the preexistence, was common, but singularly unconvincing to me: the same justification is used by Hindus to explain the untouchable class, i.e., bad behavior in a previous existence leads to social exclusion in the present. Why would God mark a people with a dark skin just to keep them socially stratified? Wouldn’t God put men alongside others who could help them solve their problems? How could I face my black African friends and explain that I was in some way superior to them because of actions taken in another life?

I eventually came to recognize that a major impact of the priesthood prohibition fell upon the psyche of the white Mormon. Some openly advocated discrimination; others “compartmentalized” conflicting positions, drawing upon one side or the other depending upon the setting. Others stayed uncomfortable with judgment in abeyance. The dissonance of believing high ideals of human dignity, of equality, and of an impartial God, and at the same time being called upon to justify a policy of discrimination led to considerable discomfort for both blacks and whites in the Church.

The day came when the issue could no longer be discussed in church classes without intense discomfort. As pressure from outside the Church grew, the topic became taboo except for small groups in informal settings. I appreciated articles in *Dialogue* and discussions with friends that kept the issue alive for me. The well-documented Lester Bush article and the response by Eugene England entitled “The Mormon Cross” were particularly helpful. I resonated to the parallel drawn by England between Abraham asked to sacrifice Isaac, contrary to all he had been taught and held dear, and Mormons who sacrificed standing with colleagues and their own intellectual consistency. The concept of progress from a lower law of priesthood exclusion to a higher law of including blacks appealed to me, especially in putting the onus of responsibility with the white majority in the Church. It was reassuring to learn that Joseph Fielding Smith, when challenged to find scriptural support for the pre-existence explanation, had acknowledged other viewpoints on the subject.

The historically-based arguments advanced by Lester Bush and Stephen Taggart had considerable appeal as explanations of how we as a Church arrived at the policy of exclusion. Starting in the days of persecution in Missouri, the doctrine appeared to have grown by small but precedent-setting steps. The irony of the Church’s backing away from an abolitionist posture in the pre-Civil War period to find itself internally bound to discriminate on the basis of skin color seemed a strong case for a present policy reversal. The problem left by each of these explanations was the adamant stand of recent church leaders. By implication, the leaders’ inspiration to guide the Church, on this issue at least, was limited or distorted by the strength of traditional assumptions rather than revelatory insights. If that conclusion were accurate, then one could question the basis for other church claims and, in the extreme, even the worth of reforming the institution in such limited fashion.

At one point in my own thinking, I faced the question of whether or not to zealously pursue a change in policy in spite of consequences. The futility of

publicizing and embarrassing the Church has been lived out by Douglas Wallace, the disaffected lawyer from Washington. I loved the Church, its ideals and its teachings, too much for that. I was experiencing a growing testimony that God does, in fact, respond to prayer. During this time, I lived in Salt Lake neighborhoods near two recent Presidents of the Church and several Apostles. I watched them take morning walks and I heard them speak forthrightly in Church. I came to trust that the Lord did, in fact, lead his church and would respond by revelation in his own time and in his own way.

At one point in my reading of the Old Testament during graduate school days, I found an explanation which made sense to me. It allowed for divine direction but, like England, put the onus for delay upon the readiness of the white majority. Leviticus 21:17-23 prohibits handicapped Levite men from officiating in priesthood ordinances. Why were they barred? Assuming that his scripture was given by an unchangeable God, the handicapped person could not be unacceptable in God's eyes, because God formed him and "is no respecter of persons." (Romans 2:11) The answer had to be that *men* would despise the handicapped. To maintain respect for the ordinances, God chose not to have the handicapped officiate in Old Testament times. During New Testament times and in the latter days, however, when people were able to accept the handicapped, this restriction was superseded. We are told in Doctrine and Covenants 42:52 that those with infirmities who lack faith to be healed but who "believe in me, have power to become my sons; and inasmuch as they break not my laws thou shalt bear their infirmities." Similarly, when we Mormons were able to accept blacks, we were called to live a higher law and to accept people of all races and without restrictions.

A close friend with similar concern over the church policy had related to me his receiving a personal confirmation from the Lord in this matter. Such an assurance came to me after I had resolved to go ahead on faith. The instance was sparked by the attendance of a racially mixed couple at our sacrament meeting in Logan. I received an answer to personal prayer that the priesthood prohibition would be lifted soon, likely by revelation. That witness was a comfort to me then and is a testimony to me now. I believe that the higher law arrived officially on June 9th of 1978. I also believe that this revelation came according to the Lord's and not man's timetable.

Most impressive to me in the wording of the press release was the image of church authorities pleading with the Lord in the upper room of the temple for new revelation. Along with many others I had hoped and prayed for many years that church leaders would be that concerned.

The potential for the Church now exceeds our comprehension, with past barriers and eventually long-standing prejudices laid aside. The twenty-sixth chapter of Alma, where Ammon glories in the Lord over the results of his Lamanite mission, appears as a direct parallel to our day. In some aspects, its application in our time is now fulfilled; in other ways it is prophetic:

My brothers and my brethren, behold I say unto you, how great reason have we to rejoice . . . And now, I ask, what great blessings has [God] bestowed upon us? Can ye tell?

Behold, I answer for you; for our brethren, the Lamanites, were in darkness . . . but behold, how many of them are brought to behold the marvelous light

of God! And this is the blessing which hath been bestowed upon us, that we have been made instruments in the hands of God to bring about this great work.

Behold, thousands of them do rejoice, and have been brought into the fold of God. (Alma 26:1-4)

I share that joy in the clearing of the way for full fellowship for blacks in the gospel, with priesthood rights available and temple blessings extended.

The reasons given to Ammon and his brethren to dissuade them from approaching the Lamanites sound strangely familiar to our age.

For [the Nephites] said unto us: Do ye suppose that ye can bring the Lamanites to the knowledge of the truth? Do ye suppose that ye can convince the Lamanites of the incorrectness of the traditions of their fathers . . . whose hearts delight in the shedding of blood; whose days have been spent in the grossest of iniquity; whose ways have been the ways of a transgressor from the beginning? (Alma 26:24)

Who has not heard of the supposed loose morals of American (and African) blacks, of the perils of our urban ghettos, of the barbarities of Africa or of centuries of presumed ignorance? All contain half truths, half un-truths.

But Ammon's optimism and enthusiasm for the work could not be contained. The success that he and his brothers experienced in converting their enemies was in many ways a greater miracle than the angels they witnessed or the physical obstacles they overcame. And in all things, Ammon gave his thanks to God:

Yea, blessed is the name of my God, who has been mindful of this people. . . . Now my brethren, we see that God is mindful of every people, whatsoever land they may be in; yea, he numbereth his people, and his bowels of mercy are over all the earth. Now this is my joy, and my great thanksgiving; yea, and I will give thanks unto my God forever. Amen. (Alma 26:36-37)

The parallel is strong. We, too have cause to rejoice. Opportunities for black missionaries, bishops and General Authorities are ahead. New missions, better acceptance of missionaries among the public and temple work for all peoples should be some of the results. The revelation comes in fulfillment of prophecy, out of the goodness of God. It will cause anxieties and tensions for some who will now need understanding and prayers by others in their behalf. But the most profound change will be a healing of the heart under a higher law, an end to the trial by fire and the dismantling of the "Mormon Cross." My heart is full. The Lord does care.

The Challenge of Africa

M. NEFF SMART

THE CITY WAS LAGOS, NIGERIA, in the early 1970s. The place was the upstairs cinder-block apartment of Sabath Umoh, branch president of the Lagos “Mormon” church. On the card table pulpit was a black, hard-cover Bible alongside a well-worn Lowell Bennion manual, *The Church of Jesus Christ in Ancient Times*.

It was time for Sunday School. Sixteen persons were present, all black Nigerians. Independently of Salt Lake City they had organized a branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of Nigeria. Shortly after my arrival at the University of Lagos, I had been invited to attend the meetings. Now I was the Sunday School teacher.

They sang the opening song, “What a Friend We Have in Jesus,” as it never was sung at my ward in Utah, with an earnestness and fervor that brought tears. We knelt for Brother Umoh’s opening prayer. It was forceful, graceful and punctuated by “amens” which suggested unanimity.

Then I had an hour. Nothing special about it, but the New Testament lesson made points about universal and unqualified grace, about the fatherhood, the brotherhood, about community and about the acceptance of each other. Class members did not press me about the denial of priesthood to blacks.

I enjoyed the fellowship that came with Sunday services among black Africans, not only in Nigeria but in Ghana and Ethiopia where I also had teaching assignments. I also suffered a feeling of hypocrisy and guilt at avoiding an open acknowledgment that my church did not share certain of the Christian ideals we discussed at Sunday sessions. The church position on the equality of blacks, even if I were equivocal and clever with words, would read “racist” to Africans.

However, my feelings of anguish and guilt at failing to “level” with black Africans were modest compared with the pain and pity I have suffered in observing the struggles that typify their life style. I often think of a statement made by Bertrand Russell in his autobiography. He identified the three passions which governed his life—the longing for love, the search for knowledge, and the unbearable pity for the suffering of mankind—and he described his anguish:

Love and knowledge, so far as they were possible, led upward toward the heavens. But always pity brought me back to earth. Echoes of cries of pain reverberate in my heart. Children in famine, victims tortured by oppressors, helpless old people a hated burden to their sons, and the whole world of loneliness, poverty, and pain make a mockery of what human life should be. I long to alleviate the evil, but I cannot, and I too suffer.

“And I too suffer.” How well that describes the reaction one has—the feelings

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one *must* have—when visiting Africa and when remembering what one has experienced there.

Three out of every four Africans live in what sociologists call the “subculture of peasantry.” They exist through subsistence agriculture. Survival itself is the primary struggle. The people are illiterate. They are not integrated into national institutions of any kind. They are hostile to government authority. They have limited aspirations, and they often succumb to resignation and fatalism. They are likely to be infested with parasites and to be plagued by malnutrition and disease.

For generation after generation these people have been the victims of a cruel fate. They are born into a world of misery, a world totally unready to offer them the rights we describe as human. Illiteracy, malnutrition and pain are the “rights” of their heritage, and they have little opportunity even to dream of change, let alone work to bring it about.

And it has been my fate to teach these people, to share with them a religion which extols human freedom, human rights, human dignity and human compassion. Thus, I have struggled for half my life with the problem of my personal responsibility to the unfortunate human beings who are my companions in history and who need to be freed from the strictures of their birth.

Now, at last with the acceptance of blacks into full church fellowship, the problem of dealing with Africa’s subculture of peasantry—between 200 and 300 million people—is strikingly relevant to all Mormons. Mormons must now make decisions about Africa, and they are not easy decisions. The Catholics, the Anglicans, the Seventh Day Adventists and other church groups have struggled with those decisions for more than a century. What direction will evangelism take in Africa? Will missionary work include food production, health clinics and programs to induce reading and writing, or will the emphasis be entirely upon the spiritual deliverance of Africans?

I have had the enriching experience of an LDS mission during which my principal goal was to make converts. In the process I sought to widen spiritual horizons, to insure spiritual salvation, and I saw the process as one of liberation—of setting people free. Fortunately, most of those with whom I labored already possessed their fair share of freedom. They were economically secure; they enjoyed the attention of doctors and dentists; they had been the beneficiaries of formal schooling, and they had participated freely in elections. The missionary work had elements of love and knowledge, leading “upward toward the heavens.” My mission experience was heart-warming and satisfying.

I have since had the equally enriching experience of working among Africans in equatorial, or black Africa and thus have fraternized with and traveled among the voiceless and the dispossessed. These efforts too led upward toward the heavens, but pity, as Russell predicted, always brought me back to earth. And my anguish has not abated in the years since.

Africa has been called the dark continent because so little is known about it and its people; however, the continent is now demanding the attention of the world. Out of Africa come growing numbers of bizarre and dangerous events. The continent is rapidly becoming a symbol of the hopes and hazards of a changing and dangerous world—the hinge between East and West, between the backward and the modern, the rich and the poor. Africa is the most illiterate

continent on earth, one of the richest in natural resources; yet it is impoverished, diverse, fragmented, the most diseased, and politically the least experienced.

Africa now has nearly 400 million persons. Approximately 75 percent of those over 15 years of age cannot read, and fewer than one-half the school-age children are in school. The birthrate is nearly triple that of the United States; the death rate is more than double. The texture of African life is described by Waldemar Nielsen in *Africa*:

An African boy of 16 has lived nearly half his life, statistically speaking. It is unlikely that he can read or write or that he has finished primary school. There is only a slight chance that he will enter or finish high school and less than one chance in a thousand that he will be able to enter college. His diet, even when sufficient in quantity, is starchy and seriously deficient in vitamins and protein. He will probably be stricken by serious disease in the course of his life, and in that event it is unlikely that he will have access to medicine, a doctor or a hospital.

The Church's decision to accept blacks provides a new challenge in a new environment. Until now, black Africa has not existed for the Church. Now, church leaders must begin the process of discovering Africa and finding ways to penetrate the darkest of continents. It will not be easy.

Black African activists and those African patriots who led the fight for independence during the fifties and sixties believe Christianity and the expatriate churches are not true friends of Africa but the agents of imperialists, the handmaidens of colonial masters. Because the churches arrived in Africa with the colonizing forces, the missionaries carry, for many Africans, not only the sign of the cross but the stigma of the colonial curse. The new black governments, therefore, have begun the process of nationalizing parochial schools and discouraging the western clergy.

University students in Africa are also suspicious of and negative about western religion. Many who received their secondary educations in Catholic and Protestant schools are now Africanizing their given biblical and English names. Students who came to the campus as Paul, Robert or John are officially taking African names as a sign of their rejection of western culture and tradition. Africanization is the wind that is sweeping the continent, and the entry of the white man's institutions is being resisted.

I believe, therefore, that discovery of Africa by Mormonism and the possibility of its gaining a foothold of influence must necessarily be by indirection.

It is the black country of Africa that cries for deliverance. It is in the so-called "bush" that three-quarters of black Africans live, and it is in that hostile environment that they scratch out a subsistence living, contending against the extremes of weather, resisting the southward sweep of the Sahara, dealing with their pains and ill health through herbalists and witch doctors, valuing their children in terms of domestic labor and clinging to faith through a variety of gods and spirits. Africans have many gods to entreat and cultivate, many demons to identify and exorcise, but the main struggle is against human misery, hunger, debilitating diseases and ignorance. The enemies are not yet manageable, and they are in full view. More Africans are illiterate today than a year ago; the number of malnour-

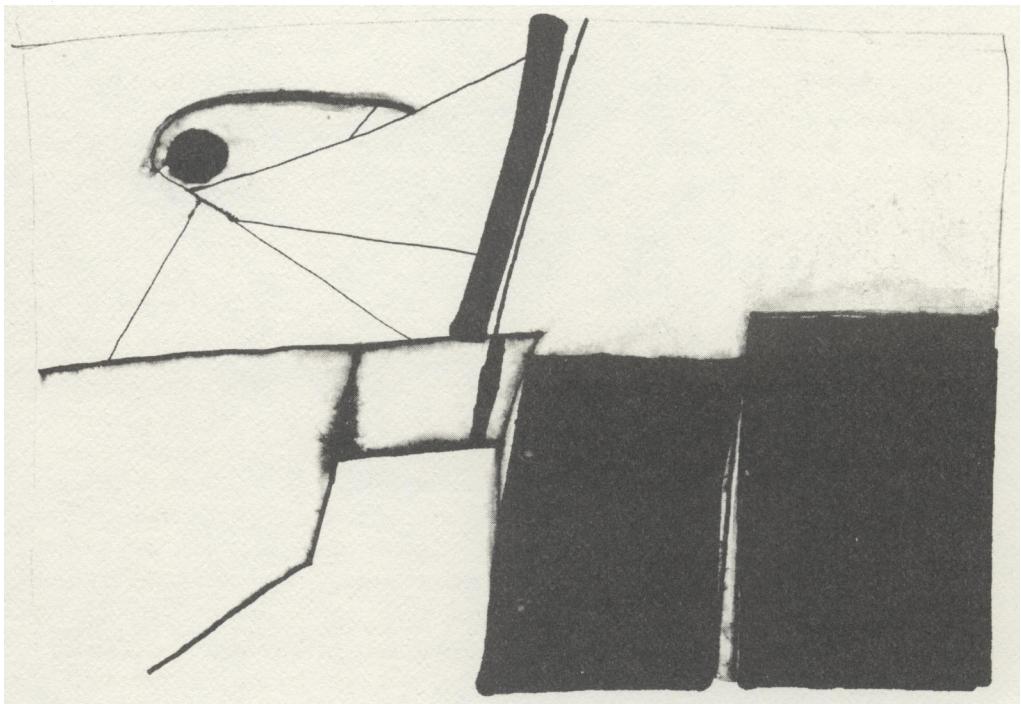
ished children grows larger; the gap between the haves and the have-nots grows wider.

The Christian calling and responsibility is to receive and to uphold all our companions in all relationships of life—in food, housing, education, employment, health, family and spiritual salvation.

If Mormonism is to succeed in Africa, it will think past the religious options open to the blacks. It will refrain from setting its truth against that of others. There are multiple truths in Africa, and all are demonstrably in the right. Africans are a believing people, generous in their loyalties. They like to believe and to ritualize beliefs. Though they are eager to join, their membership may mean little.

The acceptance of blacks by the Church makes feasible to Mormons the inclusion of Africa in the New Testament admonition "Go ye into all the world." A missionary effort in black Africa will also provide the opportunity to disperse a tradition and to expiate publicly the injustice of a century of racial discrimination. It will offer the Church and its members a new challenge to effectively meet human needs. It will permit all of us to act on our compassion for unfortunate companions with whom we share the planet.

Our goals must be to set people free—to do whatever we can to make certain that life's passions are limited to those that lead "upward toward the heavens," so that the next generation's Bertrand Russell need not cry, "And I too suffer."



EMMA LOU THAYNE

To The Bedouin Woman

Let me bring home your dark eyes
and the secret of their holiness,
your quick fingers and your fine
pride in the black tent they weave.
Let me secure your looped braids
somewhere in my tight house
where I can fondle their coins
when I forget the price of things.

Let your eloquent hand pronounce
its claims pressed on your sturdy
breast where that shy brown child
tasted his worth.

Come home with me, ample grandmother.
Let the desert, where your dry winds
seek out the pores like despair,
be sealed out by the resilience
of the black goat, as you spin through me,
ever and ever, leaving me never
the same.

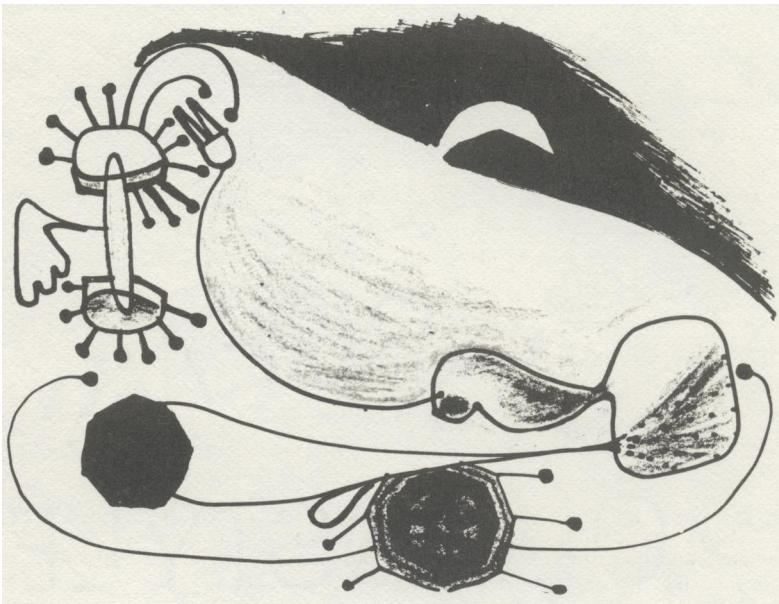
EMMA LOU THAYNE, *writer and lecturer*, is a member of the Board of Directors of the Deseret News Publishing Co. The accompanying poems are part of a collection entitled *Once in Israel* to be published in October.

Bedouin Lullaby

Here at my breast, my dark-eyed child,
Taste of your worth and sleep a while.
Under the tent of the black goat's wool
Safe from the cold and the wind, be full.

Grow to be strong and proud of the tent,
Drink of the courage that old sheiks sent
In the rumble of hoof beats, the moving, the land,
The intimate knowing of grasses and sand.

Here at my breast, my dark-eyed child,
Feast on the rightness of something wild;
Sense your belonging like braids to the strand—
Drink from by bosom: the sky and the land.



NOTES AND COMMENTS

A Note on the 1963 Civil Rights Statement

STERLING M. McMURRIN

ON THE TUESDAY before the 1963 October General Conference, Mr. Stephen Holbrook called on me at the University to tell me that the local NAACP was planning a civil rights demonstration sometime during the coming Conference. The idea was to have demonstrators at the gates of Temple Square for a march around Temple Square. According to Mr. Holbrook, the demonstration was to be entirely friendly and in the interest of urging the Church to use its influence to achieve the enactment of strong civil rights legislation by the Utah legislature. I later learned that concurrent demonstrations would be held by the NAACP in other places, particularly in New York City. Mr. Holbrook assured me, and I am sure that in this he was entirely correct, that the proposed demonstration was to be entirely in the interest of civil rights and that it had nothing to do with the question of the LDS priesthood. Mr. Holbrook indicated that he was a member of the committee charged with planning the affair.

I told Mr. Holbrook that although I was entirely sympathetic to the purposes of such a demonstration, I was not interested in becoming involved in it. Knowing the typical Mormon attitude at that time toward protest meetings, picketing, and demonstrations, I told him that I was quite sure such an affair would be counterproductive. He told me that he was not asking me to join in the demonstration but that he simply wanted me to know what was going on.

I questioned Mr. Holbrook on whether anyone in the NAACP had had any conversations with church leaders on the civil rights issue. He replied that he did not know for sure but that the committee was meeting that evening with the president of the Salt Lake NAACP Chapter, Mr. Albert Fritz, and that he would check the matter out with Mr. Fritz.

Later, while the committee was in session, Mr. Fritz called to tell me that there had been no contact whatsoever with church authorities on civil rights. I asked whether there had ever been conversations between officials of the NAACP and General Authorities of the LDS Church on matters of interest to the NAACP. He

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Author's note: This statement was written at the request of Dialogue's editors.

told me that he knew of none. He assured me moreover that he had made no effort to arrange for conversations with church officials on the civil rights problem or any other matter. Mr. Fritz agreed that it would not be wise to proceed with a demonstration at the Tabernacle without at least first attempting to pursue the question of civil rights legislation with church officials. When I asked if he would like me to arrange a meeting with the First Presidency, he responded with much enthusiasm. So I contacted President Hugh B. Brown, who said that he would like very much to meet with Mr. Fritz and any others who might accompany him to discuss any problems that they would like to put before the Church. Within the next few minutes, with some back and forth telephoning, arrangements were made to have Mr. Fritz and his committee meet with President Brown in President Brown's office on the following afternoon.

Since I was not present at the meeting in President Brown's office, I am not sure who accompanied Mr. Fritz, except Mr. Holbrook and Dr. Charles Nabors of the University's Department of Anatomy. President Nathan Eldon Tanner joined President Brown in the discussion with Mr. Fritz and his committee. It is my understanding that the conversation centered on the question of the proper role of a church in the matter of civil rights legislation. I was advised by both Mr. Fritz and President Brown that there was a mutual understanding that they would meet on future occasions to discuss matters that the NAACP might want to bring to the attention of the Church. I believe that only one other meeting took place, a year later when the state legislature was considering open housing legislation.

It is my impression that the NAACP committee simply discussed with Presidents Brown and Tanner their interest in having the Church support strong civil rights legislation for the state, but that the committee did not indicate to them the possibility of a demonstration at the Tabernacle during Conference. I may be in error on this. At no time did I mention the proposed demonstration to President Brown or President Tanner. I felt that the Church should take a position on civil rights for minorities and that it should do so freely and not under any kind of duress such as would be the case under the threat of a demonstration. It seemed wise, therefore, that I avoid any mention of the demonstration.

Following his session with Presidents Brown and Tanner, Mr. Fritz called a meeting of the NAACP for Friday evening. I was a member of the NAACP (if my dues were paid up at that time), and I attended the Friday meeting.

On Wednesday, before the NAACP meeting, President Brown asked me to discuss the Church's position with him. Thereafter I met twice with him and President Tanner in President Brown's office. They made it clear to me that as far as they were concerned the Church supported the principle of full civil rights for everyone, that they further felt that it should make a public statement to that effect, and that this should be done even without persuasion from the NAACP. On Saturday morning President Brown and President Tanner agreed to a brief statement which was prepared for them setting forth in an unequivocal manner the Church's position on civil rights. President Brown thereafter presented it to President McKay who approved the statement with the exception of one sentence, which he asked to have deleted. However, President McKay felt that it would be well for the statement to be read by President Brown in his Conference address rather than be presented as an official statement of the First Presidency.

In the meantime, on Friday evening, I had attended the meeting of the NAACP. The meeting attracted so many people that it was held in a small Catholic church, the Guadalupe Church. It was a lively affair with some of the more militant members, both black and white, pushing for a strong but friendly demonstration. It was clearly understood that the proposed demonstration was not geared to the matter of the priesthood for the blacks. It was to be entirely a civil rights affair, a friendly demonstration urging the Church to use its influence in support of civil rights legislation. It was not intended in any sense to be an anti-Mormon demonstration.

In the course of the meeting things became rather warm. I did not argue against the proposed demonstration but simply urged that it be delayed until the end of the Sunday morning session of Conference. This could give the Church until the end of that session to come out strongly in favor of civil rights, with the understanding that if a statement acceptable to the NAACP were not made by the end of the morning session, the demonstration would then go forward and continue through the afternoon session. Mr. Fritz, the NAACP president, and others favored this course. There was spirited argument both for and against this proposal, but when the vote was taken it carried. Though there was a strong dissenting minority, the entire body of the NAACP conformed to the decision.

At the time of the NAACP meeting I did not know for sure that a statement from the Church would be forthcoming. I was confident that this would be the case and went out on a limb at the meeting in an effort to assure the NAACP membership that there would in all probability be a statement, hopefully one which they would welcome. However, they were definitely prepared to go ahead with the demonstration if a satisfactory statement were not made by the end of the morning session.

On Sunday morning, as is now well-known, President Brown, with the full backing of President McKay and President' Tanner, read the following:

During recent months both in Salt Lake City and across the nation considerable interest has been expressed in the position of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the matter of civil rights. We would like it to be known that there is in this Church no doctrine, belief, or practice that is intended to deny the enjoyment of full civil rights by any person regardless of race, color, or creed.

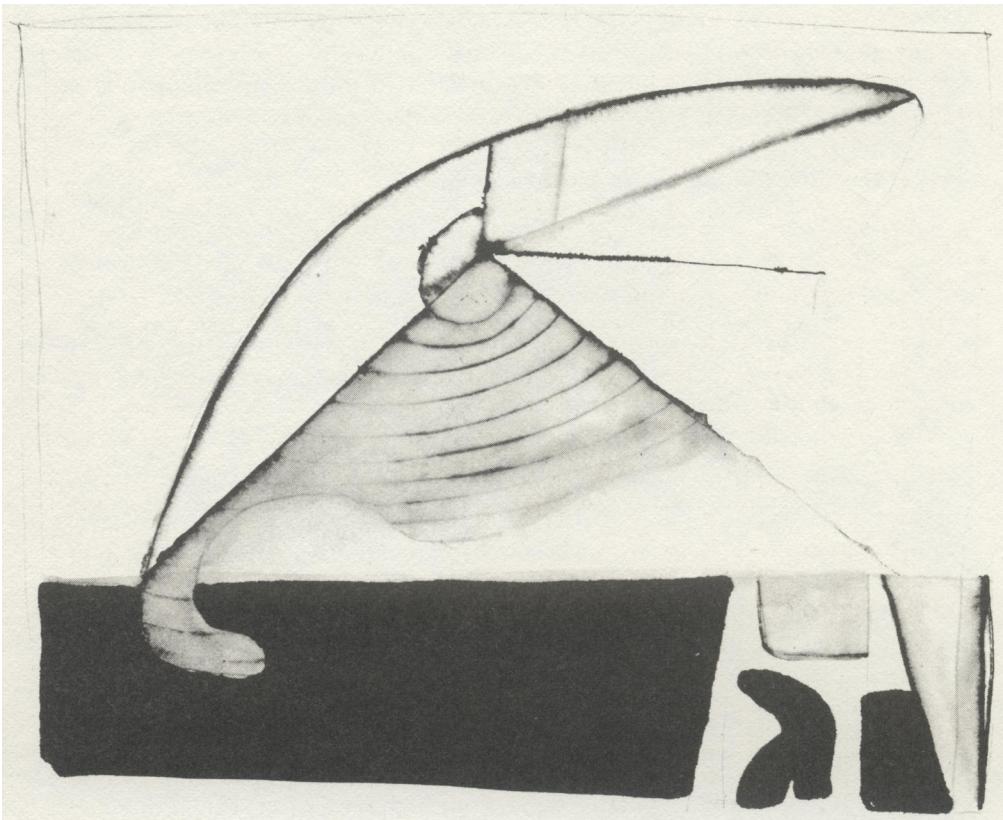
We again say, as we have said many times before, that we believe that all men are the children of the same God and that it is a moral evil for any person or group of persons to deny to any human being the right to gainful employment, to full educational opportunity, and to every privilege of citizenship, just as it is a moral evil to deny him the right to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience.

We have consistently and persistently upheld the Constitution of the United States, and as far as we are concerned that means upholding the constitutional rights of every citizen of the United States.

We call upon all men everywhere, both within and outside the Church, to commit themselves to the establishment of full civil equality for all of God's children. Anything less than this defeats our high ideal of the brotherhood of man.

I attended the Conference Sunday morning session and was very impressed by the way in which President Brown read the civil rights statement. He read it at the beginning of his sermon very much as if he were reading a separate official statement from the First Presidency. Then he set it aside and proceeded with his own address. It was most effective. As is well-known, his statement received considerable exposure in the local and national press and was thereafter treated as if it were an official statement of the Church. Despite the fact that it was not a statement issued by the First Presidency, it is apparently quite commonly regarded now as the official Church position.

At any rate, President Brown's statement was favorably received by the NAACP leadership, and the demonstration was cancelled.



The Negro Doctrine— An Afterview

GEORGE D. SMITH, JR.

ON JUNE 8, 1978, word of a revelation to President Spencer W. Kimball and the ruling councils abruptly removed one of Mormonism's more uncomfortable teachings and relegated it to the archives. As we bade farewell to this difficult doctrine, I couldn't help but wonder why blacks had been denied priesthood rites in the first place.

Did other church members share my uncertainty? What did they think or know about the history of our beliefs? Was the doctrine born of revelation or did it derive from the social and political problems of the early Church? In the absence of any published, "scientific" surveys, I sought out twelve "representative" Latter-day Saints, including five in bishoprics, and posed three fundamental questions to them. The following extracts are from their spontaneous answers.

When and how did the Negro Doctrine begin?

I believe there is evidence in Joseph Smith's seven volume *History of the Church* that he withheld the priesthood from blacks, although I don't know where. There was no initial revelation.

There is no evidence that Joseph Smith withheld the priesthood from blacks. He did sign Elijah Abel's certificate of ordination; the question remains whether this was an exception to an existing doctrine.

The doctrine did come by revelation, which is recorded in the Book of Abraham.

The practice probably goes back to Joseph Smith's time, although I don't know of any evidence contemporary with Joseph Smith that he withheld the priesthood from blacks. In fact, there were priesthood ordinations of blacks at the time of Brigham Young.

I never heard of any unrecorded or unpublished revelation initiating the practice. John Taylor's 1879 inquiry seems consistent with the absence of a revelation. I don't think that the Book of Abraham purports to be the revelation that introduced the doctrine.

The restriction began with Joseph Smith and a revelation, although it may not

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have been written down. The Book of Abraham passage could have been that revelation, or no revelation was needed.

I'm not aware of any evidence that Joseph Smith applied this doctrine; he was aware of it from translating Abraham. A restrictive attitude toward blacks was common in the 1800s.

It goes back to Joseph Smith, probably a revelation, but unpublished, maybe no revelation. I'm not aware of any evidence contemporary with Joseph Smith that he withheld the priesthood from Negroes.

The practice began partly because of the slavery issue. When they went to Missouri, Church members had no slaves and the Missourians killed off the Mormons. So the position was partly to relieve this persecution.

The doctrine began with Joseph Smith; I don't know of any revelation. I don't know if the practice is contemporary with Joseph Smith—I just assumed so.

The practice just evolved from circumstances, maybe combined with individual guidance of Church leaders. Maybe the Book of Abraham explains the doctrine somewhat.

I am quite certain that there was no recorded revelation. Someone reading the scriptures could have come to an inspired conclusion.

I can't find any evidence that Joseph Smith denied the priesthood to blacks, but people later said he did.

Brigham Young articulated many of the prejudices of his own culture. There was a lot of ambiguity which led President John Taylor to an honest inquiry in 1879.

Joseph Smith understood it as doctrine and told it to others. There was no revelation, at least not recorded. People repeated what Joseph Smith had said; later they assumed it was revelation. I'm not sure where it is, but I believe there is evidence that Joseph Smith denied the priesthood to Negroes.

It became a policy that developed without specific written instructions; it evolved partly because of conditions, but had doctrinal status since it originated with Joseph Smith.

John Taylor's 1879 inquiry proves that there was not a recorded revelation, but I believe there was a clear practice. Joseph Smith told others and they really helped formulate the doctrine.

The doctrine derives from historical tradition rather than scripture. Abraham is not definitive on the curse of Cain, but the doctrine became a tradition.

Why were the Negroes denied the priesthood?

It's hard to say what the Church thinks. They don't take positions on some things. The Church takes a position on the restriction, but not why. The restriction might have come from a rejection of the priesthood in the pre-existence. Not a lot of doctrinal things are explained. The Church membership just has faith in the prophets and knows that they are good men.

The pre-existent sin doctrine has its origin in the Pearl of Great Price, but was

defined by interpretation of the presidents of the Church. See McConkie's *Mormon Doctrine*.

Exclusion of blacks was a tradition that gained doctrinal status. I find no explanatory chapter and verse in any scripture. I've heard the phrases "cursed as to the priesthood" and "descendants of Ham", but who are these people? I don't know of any support for the "descendants of Cain" idea; perhaps there is some claim for the "pre-existent sin" idea. These people weren't neutral, but lukewarm. Have we now run out of all fence-sitters?

I don't know why blacks were singled out for discrimination, but it was a doctrine. Joseph Smith didn't say too much about it, but Brigham Young was more specific. The issue didn't really surface until David O. McKay, because of the civil rights activity at the time.

I regard this doctrine as a touchstone for orthodoxy. If you supported the brethren on this unpopular issue and were at peace and still able to live within the Church, I would have considered you a good member.

The Book of Abraham partly explains the doctrine, which was two-fold: (1) Cain slew Abel; he was the first to realize that you could kill and get gain; his black skin protected him from those who would slay Cain and his lineage, Canaan; (2) Ham saw Noah naked, which may have been a Hebrew allegory of lack of respect for Noah's priesthood.

The doctrine goes back to the pre-existence when one-third were neutral, they didn't accept or reject Christ. Also, Cain killed Abel and the lineage from Cain was cursed.

Blacks may have been singled out because they were not valiant in the war in heaven—I'm not sure of the source. Also, it may be related to tradition and the evolution of circumstances.

The priesthood restriction for Negroes is related to the missionary system which first seeks out remnants of the House of Israel, God's favored people. The blacks are heathen, the worst of heathen, the descendants of Cain who killed Abel. This sin of murder not only snuffed out one life, but the whole kingdom of the first-born. For this, the blacks must wait until everyone else has a shot at church blessings. Perhaps now, all have been given a reasonable chance.

There is no evidence for the pre-existent sin idea, although one can make general inferences from scriptures such as Acts 17:26: "God . . . hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation."

The "descendants of Cain" idea must be discounted; it was a popular myth that society in general used to justify slavery. The "lineage of Ham" was denied the priesthood but we don't know what Ham's sin was. The Book of Abraham is not at all clear in explaining the doctrine; everyone has been cursed in some sense since man left the presence of God.

In a practical sense, if the Church had opened its doors to blacks, because of its emotional, spiritual and mystical appeal, it would have become a predominantly black church and therefore would have been ineffective in proselyting the gentile nations.

What changes, if any, brought about the end of the Negro Doctrine?

The doctrine, at first, looks like a mistake. But if the Church leaders receive continuous revelation, which I believe, a mistake could not continue. Since the practice did continue, even with David O. McKay, a brotherhood-oriented person, it could not have been a mistake.

The change was in the worthiness of the Church, not of the blacks. Times have changed; we are in the last days.

I have a traditional feeling about the restriction of priesthood rites for the Negro. I believe in revelation.

I believe that the Church position is that the priesthood ban was not a mistake, but that the rescission is a concession which removes the curse as to the priesthood, while the blackness remains until the Millennium.

Something changed, but I'm not sure what. I feel that the First Presidency and the Twelve continuously supplicated the Lord in favor of the black race on this question.

The validity of the "descendants of Cain" and "pre-existent sin" rationales are less certain since the Abraham papyri have been translated as ordinary funerary scrolls.

I prefer to think of it as a restriction, rather than a curse. In the eternal economy of things there is no such thing as a curse. It was a restriction that was no longer necessary.

Whether a mistake or a change, or if the Church now rejects the "curse of Ham" argument, I don't know. President Kimball and the Church leaders have prayed about it for a long time, and now the Church is near to dedicating a temple at Sao Paolo where there have been problems in distinguishing race. The general authorities meet regularly and are close to the Lord. They receive guidance each Thursday. We're pretty safe in following them without asking too many questions.

Was it necessary to have a revelation in 1978 if there were none bringing forth the doctrine in the 1830s? I don't know. But circumstances have changed: the development of the Negro, and the problem of temple work in Brazil. All the prophets said the Negro would have the priesthood someday. Not all blacks, however! They have to be worthy. The First Presidency and Council of the Twelve had a consensus about what should be done because of the needs of the times.

I regard the change as a result of change in people: better blacks, just as there are better whites now; more choice spirits reserved for the last days. The doctrinal change is an indication that we are in the last days.

The time has come; perhaps the early Church couldn't have stood it. If it was just a social phenomenon, the change would have occurred in the 1950s or 1960s during the civil rights pressure.

Spencer Kimball is a Church leader committed enough to take positive steps to initiate the revelation, if that can be done. He was aggressive in seeking a change.

A revelation was required to change a practice of this importance. I would like to know whether this revelation was written down.

The change in white attitudes is more important than any change in blacks.

When Are the Writings or Sermons of Church Leaders Entitled to the Claim of Scripture?

J. REUBEN CLARK, JR.

In response to a suggestion by then Apostle Harold B. Lee, President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., of the First Presidency once addressed a summer session of Seminary and Institute Teachers at Brigham Young University on the subject, "When are the Writings or Sermons of Church Leaders Entitled to the Claim of Scripture?" His remarks, delivered July 7, 1954, were published in the Church News, July 31, 1954. Because of their continued timeliness, Dialogue again presents these remarks, as originally reported by the Church News.

WHEN ARE THE WRITINGS and Sermons of Church Leaders entitled to the claim of being scripture?

I assume the scripture behind this question is the declaration of the Lord in a revelation given through Joseph primarily to Orson Hyde, Luke S. Johnson, Lyman E. Johnson, and William E. M'Lellin, who were to engage in missionary work. After addressing a word first to Orson Hyde, the Lord continued:

And, behold, and lo, this is an ensample unto all those who were ordained unto this priesthood, whose mission is appointed unto them to go forth—

And this is the ensample unto them, that they shall speak as they are moved upon by the Holy Ghost.

And whatsoever they shall speak when moved upon by the Holy Ghost shall be scripture, shall be the will of the Lord, shall be the mind of the Lord, shall be the word of the Lord, shall be the voice of the Lord, and the power of God unto salvation." (D.C. 68:2-4.)

The very words of the revelation recognize that the Brethren may speak when they are not "moved upon by the Holy Ghost," yet only when they do so speak, as so "moved upon," is what they say Scripture. No exceptions are given to this rule or principle. It is universal in its application.

The question is, how shall we know when the things they have spoken were said as they were "moved upon by the Holy Ghost?"

I have given some thought to this question, and the answer thereto so far as I can determine, is: We can tell when the speakers are "moved upon by the Holy Ghost" only when we, ourselves, are "moved upon by the Holy Ghost."

In a way, this completely shifts the responsibility from them to us to determine when they so speak.

We might here profitably repeat what Brother Brigham preached. He said:

Were your faith concentrated upon the proper object, your confidence unshaken, your lives pure and holy, every one fulfilling the duties of his or her calling according to the Priesthood and capacity bestowed upon you, you would be filled with the Holy Ghost, and it would be as impossible for any man to deceive and lead you to destruction as for a feather to remain unconsumed in the midst of intense heat. (*Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 7, p. 277.)

On another occasion he said:

I am more afraid that this people have so much confidence in their leaders that they will not inquire for themselves of God whether they are led by Him. I am fearful they settle down in a state of blind self-security, trusting their eternal destiny in the hands of their leaders with a reckless confidence that in itself would thwart the purposes of God in their salvation, and weaken that influence they could give to their leaders, did they know for themselves, by the revelations of Jesus, that they are led in the right way. Let every man and woman know, by the whispering of the Spirit of God to themselves, whether their leaders are walking in the path the Lord dictates, or not. (*Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 9, p. 150.)

So, we might leave this whole discussion here except that there are some collateral matters involved in the problem that it may not be entirely amiss to consider.

From the earliest days of the Church the Lord has given commandments and bestowed blessings that involved the operation of the principle behind our main question—the determination of whether our brethren, when they speak, are “moved upon by the Holy Ghost.”

Speaking to the Prophet, Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer (at Fayette) as early as June, 1829, the Lord said to Oliver Cowdery regarding the written word:

Behold, I have manifested unto you, by my Spirit in many instances, that the things which you have written are true; wherefore you know that they are true.

And if you know that they are true, behold, I give unto you a commandment, that you rely upon the things which are written;

For in them are all things written concerning the foundation of my church, my gospel, and my rock. (D.C. 18:2-4.)

Thus early did the Lord seem to make clear to Oliver Cowdery that he must be guided by the written work; he was not to rely upon his own ideas and concepts.

Two years later (June 7, 1831), the Lord stressed again the importance of following the written word. Speaking to the Prophet, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, John Corroll, John Murdock, Hyrum Smith, and several others, the Lord said:

And let them journey from thence preaching the word by the way, saying

none other things than that which the prophets and apostles have written, and that which is taught them by the Comforter through the prayer of faith. (D.C. 52:9; and see D.C. 18:32–33.)

Time and again the Lord told these early Brethren of their duty to spread the Gospel, and in spreading the Gospel, they were to speak with the voice of a trump. (See D.C. 19:27; 24:12, 27:16; 28:8, 16; 29:4; 30:5, 9; 32:1; 33:2; 34:5; 35:17, 23; 36:1, 5–6; 37:2; 39:11; 42:6, 11–12; 49:1–4; 52:9–10; 58:46–47, 63–64; 66:5–13; 68:4–5; 71:1–11; 88:77 *passim*; 93:51; 101:39; 106:2; 107:25–35.)

In a commandment given to Lemam Copley (March, 1831) as he went into missionary work among the Shakers, the Lord gave this significant commandment, which has in it a message for all amongst us who teach sectarianism:

And my servant Lemam shall be ordained unto this work, that he may reason with them, not according to that which he has received of them, but according to that which shall be taught him by you my servants; and by so doing I will bless him, otherwise he shall not prosper. (D.C. 49:4.)

To a group of elders (in May, 1831), who had been confused by the manifestations of different spirits, the Lord, answering a special request made of him by the Prophet, gave these instructions and commandments:

Wherefore, I the Lord ask you this question—unto what were ye ordained?

To preach my gospel by the Spirit, even the Comforter which was sent forth to teach the truth.

And then received ye spirits which ye could not understand, and received them to be of God; and in this are ye justified?

Behold, ye shall answer this question yourselves; nevertheless, I will be merciful unto you; he that is weak among you hereafter shall be made strong.

Verily I say unto you, he that is ordained of me and sent forth to preach the word of truth by the Comforter, in the Spirit of truth, doth he preach it by the Spirit of truth or some other way?

And if it be by some other way it is not of God.

And again, he that receiveth the word of truth, doth he receive it by the Spirit of truth or some other way?

If it be some other way it is not of God.

Therefore, why is it that ye cannot understand and know, that he that receiveth the word by the Spirit of truth receiveth it as it is preached by the Spirit of truth.

Wherefore, he that preacheth and he that receiveth, understand one another, and both are edified and rejoice together.

And that which doth not edify is not of God, and is darkness.

That which is of God is light; and he that receiveth light, and continueth in God, receiveth more light; and that light groweth brighter and brighter until the perfect day." (D.C. 50:13–24.)

This whole revelation (D.C. Sec. 50) should be read with great care. There is

much instruction given in it. But I wish particularly to call your attention to verses 21 and 22, just quoted:

Therefore, why is it that ye cannot understand and know, that he that receiveth the word by the Spirit of truth receiveth it as it is preached by the Spirit of truth?

Wherefore, he that preacheth and he that receiveth, understand one another, and both are edified and rejoice together.

Both are "moved upon by the Holy Ghost."

I recur to the declaration of the Lord made (November, 1831) through the Prophet Joseph to Orson Hyde, Luke S. Johnson, Lyman E. Johnson, and William E. M'Lellin, as concerned their duties to preach the Gospel as missionaries. I will re-read the passages pertinent to our discussion:

And, behold, and lo, this is an ensample unto all those who were ordained unto this priesthood, whose mission is appointed unto them to go forth—

And this is the ensample unto them, that they shall speak as they are moved upon by the Holy Ghost.

And whatsoever they shall speak when moved upon by the Holy Ghost shall be scripture, shall be the will of the Lord, shall be the mind of the Lord, shall be the word of the Lord, shall be the voice of the Lord, and the power of God unto salvation.

Behold, this is the promise of the Lord unto you, O ye my servants. (D.C. 68: 2-5.)

Perhaps we should note that these promises relate, in their terms, to missionary work.

As to missionary work, we will wish to remember that in April of 1829, the Lord, speaking to Joseph and Oliver, said:

Say nothing but repentance unto this generation; keep my commandments, and assist to bring forth my work, according to my commandments, and you shall be blessed. (D.C. 6:9.)

The same instruction was given to Joseph and Hyrum a little later (May, 1829) in the same words. (D.C. 11:9.)

The instruction was repeated a third time (about a year later, March, 1830), now to Martin Harris (through a revelation given to him through the Prophet Joseph). In this revelation, the Lord added, after instructing Martin as to his missionary work which was to be prosecuted diligently and "with all humility, trusting in me, reviling not against revilers":

And of tenets thou shalt not talk, but thou shalt declare repentance and faith on the Savior, and remission of sins by baptism, and by fire, yea, even the Holy Ghost. (D.C. 19:30-31.)

This is repeating some essentials of what the Lord had commanded twice before. Then the Lord said:

Behold, this is a great and the last commandment which I shall give unto you concerning this matter; for this shall suffice for thy daily walk, even unto the end of thy life. (D.C. 19:32.)

The Lord seems just a little impatient here. It may be the Brethren had been talking about tenets, about which that time they were scantily informed. The Church had not yet been organized.

Assuming that the revelation regarding the scriptural character and status of the words of the Brethren when “moved upon by the Holy Ghost” referred, at the time, to missionary work, and reminding ourselves of our question—how shall we know when the Brethren so speak?—we should recall the quotation we have just made from an earlier revelation, when the Lord said:

“Wherefore, he that preacheth and he that receiveth, understand one another, and both are edified and rejoice together,—that is, both are led and inspired by the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth. (D.C. 50:22.) Both are “moved upon by the Holy Ghost.”

Again considering missionary work, this mutual understanding between preacher and investigator is surely that which brings conversion, one of the prime purposes of missionary work. It would not be easy to preach false doctrines, undetected, on the first principles of the Gospel. So we need say no more about that.

However, over the years, a broader interpretation has been given to this passage:

And whatsoever they shall speak when moved upon by the Holy Ghost shall be scripture, shall be the will of the Lord, shall be the mind of the Lord, shall be the word of the Lord, shall be the voice of the Lord, and the power of God unto Salvation. (D.C. 68:4.)

In considering the problem involved here, it should be in mind that some of the General Authorities have had assigned to them a special calling; they possess a special gift; they are sustained as prophets, seers, and revelators, which gives them a special spiritual endowment in connection with their teaching of the people. They have the right, the power, and authority to declare the mind and will of God to his people, subject to the over-all power and authority of the President of the Church. Others of the General Authorities are not given this special spiritual endowment and authority covering their teaching; they have a resulting limitation, and the resulting limitation upon their power and authority in teaching applies to every other officer and member of the Church, for none of them is spiritually endowed as a prophet, seer, and revelator. Furthermore, as just indicated, the President of the Church has a further and special spiritual endowment in this respect, for he is the Prophet, Seer, and Revelator for the whole Church.

Here we must have in mind—must know—that only the President of the Church, the Presiding High Priest, is sustained as Prophet, Seer, and Revelator for the Church, and he alone has the right to receive revelations for the Church, either new or amendatory, or to give authoritative interpretations of scriptures that shall be binding on the Church, or change in any way the existing doctrines of the Church. He is God’s sole mouthpiece on earth for the Church of Jesus Christ of

Latter-day Saints, the only true Church. He alone may declare the mind and will of God to his people. No officer of any other Church in the world had this high right and lofty prerogative.

So when any other person, irrespective of who he is, undertakes to do any of these things, you may know that he is not "moved upon by the Holy Ghost," in so speaking, unless he has special authorization from the President of the Church. (D.C. 90:1-4, 9, 12-16; 107:8, 65-66, 91-92; 115:19; 124:125; *DHC* 2:477; 6:363).

Thus far it is clear.

But there are many places where the scriptures are not too clear, and where different interpretations may be given to them; there are many doctrines; *tenets* as the Lord called them, that have not been officially defined and declared. It is in the consideration and discussion of these scriptures and doctrines that opportunities arise for differences of views as to meanings and extent. In view of the fundamental principle just announced as to the position of the President of the Church, other bearers of the Priesthood, those with the special spiritual endowment and those without it, should be cautious in their expressions about and interpretations of scriptures and doctrines. They must act and teach subject to the over-all power and authority of the President of the Church. It would be most unfortunate were this not always strictly observed by the bearers of this special spiritual endowment, other than the President. Sometimes in the past, they have spoken "out of turn," so to speak. Furthermore, at times even those not members of the General Authorities are said to have been heard to declare their own views on various matters concerning which no official view or declaration has been made by the mouthpiece of the Lord, sometimes with an assured certainty that might deceive the uninformed and unwary. The experience of Pelatiah Brown in the days of the Prophet is an illustration of this general principle. (*DHC*, Vol. V, pp. 339-345.)

There have been rare occasions when even the President of the Church in his preaching and teaching has not been "moved upon by the Holy Ghost." You will recall the Prophet Joseph declared that a prophet is not always a prophet.

To this point runs a simple story my father told me as a boy, I do not know on what authority, but it illustrates the point. His story was that during the excitement incident to the coming of Johnson's [sic] Army, Brother Brigham preached to the people in a morning meeting a sermon vibrant with defiance to the approaching army, and declaring an intention to oppose and drive them back. In the afternoon meeting he arose and said that Brigham Young had been talking in the morning, but the Lord was going to talk now. He then delivered an address, the tempo of which was the opposite from the morning talk.

I do not know if this ever happened, but I say it illustrates a principle—that even the President of the Church, himself, may not always be "moved upon by the Holy Ghost," when he addresses the people. This has happened about matters of doctrine (usually of a highly speculative character) where subsequent Presidents of the Church and the peoples themselves have felt that in declaring the doctrine, the announcer was not "moved upon by the Holy Ghost."

How shall the Church know when these adventurous expeditions of the brethren into these highly speculative principles and doctrines meet the requirements of the statutes that the announcers thereof have been "moved upon by the Holy

Ghost"? The Church will know by the testimony of the Holy Ghost in the body of the members, whether the brethren in voicing their views are "moved upon by the Holy Ghost"; and in due time that knowledge will be made manifest. I refer again to the observations of Brother Brigham on this general question.

But this matter of disagreements over doctrine, and the announcement by high authority of incorrect doctrines, is not new.

It will be recalled that disagreements among brethren in high places about doctrines made clear appeared in the early days of the Apostolic Church. Indeed, at the Last Supper, "there was also a strife among them, which of them should be accounted the greatest"; this was in the presence of the Savior himself. (Luke 22:24.)

The disciples had earlier had the same dispute when they were at Capernaum. (Mark 9:33; Luke 9:46.) And not long after that, James and John, of their own volition or at the instance of their mother, apparently the latter, asked Jesus that one of them might sit on his right hand and the other on his left. (Matt. 20:20 ff.; Mark 10:35 ff.)

This matter of precedence seems to have troubled the disciples.

There were disputes over doctrine. You will recall that Paul and Barnabas had differences (not over doctrine, however), and, says the record, "the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other." (Acts 15:36 ff.)

Paul had an apparently unseemly dispute with Peter about circumcision. Paul boasted to the Galatians, "I said unto Peter before them all . . ." (Gal. 2:14.)

Peter, replying more or less in kind, wrote: ". . . even as our beloved brother Paul also according to the wisdom given unto him hath written unto you; As also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction." (II Peter 3:15-16.)

This same question regarding circumcision became so disturbing to the Church that "the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter," in Jerusalem. Paul, Barnabas, and Peter were there and participated in the discussion. The Pharisee disciples stood for circumcision of Gentiles. James delivered the decision against the necessity of circumcising the Gentile converts. (Acts 15:1 ff.)

So it was with the Apostolic Church. After the passing of the Apostles, bickerings, contentions, strife, rebellion grew apace and ripened in a few generations into the Great Apostacy. I should like to quote here three paragraphs from a work by Dr. Islay Burns (at one time a Professor of Church History, Free Church College, Glasgow). He writes:

It is the year 101 of the Christian era. The last of the apostles is just dead. The rich evening radiance which in his solitary ministry had for 30 years lingered on the earth when all his companions were gone, has at last passed away, and the dark night settles down again. The age of inspiration is over—that peerless century which began with the birth of Christ, and closed with the death of John—and the course of the ages descends once more to the ordinary level of common time.

It was with the Church now as with the disciples at Bethany, when the last gleam of the Savior's ascending train had passed from their sight, and they

turned their faces, reluctant and sad, to the dark world again. The termination of the age of inspiration was in truth the very complement and consummation of the ascension of the Lord. The sun can then only be said to have fairly set, when his departing glory has died away from the horizon, and the chill stars shine out sharp and clear on the dun and naked sky.

That time has now fully come, The last gleam of inspired wisdom and truth vanished from the earth with the beloved apostle's gentle farewell, and we pass at once across the mysterious line which separates the sacred from the secular annals of the world—the history of the apostolic age from the history of the Christian Church. (Islay Burns, *The First Three Christian Centuries*, London, T. Nelson and Sons, 1884, p. 49.)

So spoke Burns.

This tragic sunset rapidly deepened into twilight of not too long life, and then came the spiritual darkness of an Apostate night. For the better part of two millenniums men groped about, spiritually stumbling one over the other, vainly seeking even a spark of spiritual light, until, on that beautiful spring morning, a century and a third ago, a pillar of light above the brightness of the noonday sun, gradually fell from the heavens till it enveloped a young boy in the woods praying mightily for spiritual light. As he looked up he saw two persons standing in the light above him, the Father and the Son. The morning of the Dispensation of the Fullness of Time had come, breaking the darkness of the long generations of spiritual night. As in the creation, light was to replace darkness, day was to follow night.

The Church was organized, named by direct command of the Lord, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

You know its history—the trials, tribulations, hardships, persecutions, mobbings, murders, and final expulsion of its members into the western wilderness. You know the loyalty to death itself of some; the disloyalty almost to the point of murder of others. You know the dissensions, the bickerings, the false witnessing, the disputes, the jealousies, the ambitions, the treachery, that tore at the very vitals of the young Church. You know the apostasies, the excommunications of men in the very highest places, because they did not recognize when men in high places were not "moved upon by the Holy Ghost" in their teachings. These malcontents followed those who had not the guidance of the Holy Ghost. Finally, the machinations of evil men, inside and outside the Church, brought Joseph and Hyrum to a martyr's death. But God's work moved on.

Preliminary to a little further consideration of the principle involved in being "moved upon by the Holy Ghost," we might call attention to the difficulties some have in conceiving how revelation comes, particularly its physiological and psychological characteristics. Some have very fixed and definite ideas on these matters and set up standards by which they test the genuineness or nongenuineness of revelations which Church members generally and the Church itself accept as revelations.

On that point I would like to call your attention to the experience of Naaman the leper, captain of the host of the King of Syria. A captive Jewish maiden, servant in the house of Naaman, told Naaman's wife there was a prophet in Samaria who could cure Naaman's leprosy. Hearing of this report, the Syrian King

ordered Naaman to go to Samaria, and gave him a letter to be delivered to the King of Israel. Naaman went to Samaria with presents, to the great distress and fear of Jehoram, who feared a trick.

Elisha, learning of the situation and the King's distress, had Naaman sent to him. When Naaman reached Elisha's home, Elisha did not go to see Naaman, but sent a servant to tell him to wash seven times in the waters of the Jordan and he would be healed.

"Naaman was wroth," says the record, and went away, saying he thought Elisha "will surely come out to me, and stand, and call on the name of the Lord his God, and strike his hand over the place, and recover the leper." Humiliated, for he carried a royal commission, Naaman "turned and went away in a rage." But his servants pointed out that if Elisha had asked him to do some great thing, he would have done it, then why not do the simple thing of washing in the Jordan. Mollified at least, perhaps half believing, he went and bathed seven times in the waters of the Jordan, "and his flesh came again like unto the flesh of a little child, and he was clean." (II Kings 5:1 ff.).

Read the whole story again; it is interesting and has valuable lessons.

One lesson is—We do not tell the Lord how to do things. He frames his own plans, draws his own blueprints, shapes his own course, conceives his own strategy, moves and acts as in his infinite knowledge and wisdom he determines. When lack-faiths and doubters and sceptics begin to map out the plans, methods, and procedures they would demand that God follow, they would do well to remember God's power, wisdom, knowledge, and authority.

Before noting a few ways in which the inspiration of the Lord and the revelations of his mind and will have come to men, I want to refer to one aspect of the First Vision, that part (on which is hung a charge of epilepsy to discredit and destroy Joseph's inspiration and mission) which relates that as he came out of the vision he found himself lying on his back, looking up into heaven, without strength, though he soon recovered. You might find it interesting to compare this with the account of the condition of Moses after his great theophany (Moses 1:9-10), and of Daniel (Dan. 8:27), and of Saul (Acts 9 and 22), also of the incidents connected with the transfiguration on the mount (Matt. 17 ff.; Mark 9:1 ff.; Luke 9:28 ff.).

I wish to make here one observation about the First Vision.

No man or woman is a true member of the Church who does not fully accept the First Vision, just as no man is a Christian who does not accept, first, the Fall of Adam, and second, the Atonement of Jesus Christ. Any titular Church member who does not accept the First Vision but continues to pose as a Church member lacks not only moral courage but intellectual integrity and honor if he does not avow himself an apostate and discontinue going about the Church, and among the youth particularly, as a Churchman, teaching not only lack-faith but faith-destroying doctrines. He is a true wolf in sheep's clothing.

There are those who insist that unless the Prophet of the Lord declares, "Thus saith the Lord," the message may not be taken as a revelation. This is a false testing standard. For while many of our modern revelations as contained in the Doctrine and Covenants do contain these words, there are many that do not. Nor is it necessary that an actual voice be heard in order that a message from our Heavenly Father shall be a true revelation, as shown by revelations given in

former dispensations, as well as in our own.

For example: Enos records that while struggling in prayer for forgiveness of his sins, first "there came a voice unto me, saying: . . ." Then, as he continued his "struggling in the spirit," he declares, "the voice of the Lord came into my mind again saying . . ." It is not clear whether the voice was the same on both occasions, or a real voice first and then a voice in the mind. But it does not matter, the message came from the Lord each time. (Enos 5, 10.)

In that great revelation, designated by the Prophet as the Olive Leaf, the opening sentence is, "Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you who have assembled yourselves together to receive his will concerning you . . ." Yet farther in the revelation, the Lord says:

Behold, that which you hear is as the voice of one crying in the wilderness—in the wilderness, because you cannot see him—my voice, because my voice is Spirit; my Spirit is truth; truth abideth and hath no end; and if it be [in] you it shall abound. (D.C. 88:1, 66.)

In that glorious vision and revelation recorded as Section 76 of the Doctrine and Covenants, the Prophet Joseph records:

By the power of the Spirit our eyes were opened and our understandings were enlightened, so as to see and understand the things of God . . .

And while we meditated upon these things, the Lord touched the eyes of our understandings and they were opened, and the glory of the Lord shone round about.

And we beheld the glory of the Son, on the right hand of the Father, and received of his fulness.

And later, telling of the works of Lucifer and the sufferings of those upon whom he made war and overcame, the record says:

. . . thus came the voice of the Lord unto us:

Thus saith the Lord concerning all those who know my power, and have [been] made partakers thereof . . . and then are overcome by Satan. (D.C. 76: 12, 19–20, 30–31.)

In another revelation, the record reads:

Verily, I say unto you my friends, I speak unto you with my voice, even the voice of my Spirit. (D.C. 97:1.)

Very early in Church history (April, 1929), giving assurance to Oliver Cowdery, the Lord said:

Yea, behold, I will tell you in your mind and in your heart, by the Holy Ghost, which shall come upon you and which shall dwell in your heart.

Now, behold, this is the spirit of revelation; behold, this is the spirit by which Moses brought the children of Israel through the Red Sea on dry ground. (D.C. 8:2–3.)

A little later, the Lord gave to Oliver the sign of the burning in his bosom when

his translations were right, and a stupor of thought when the translations were wrong. (D.C. 9:8–9.)

On other occasions, in ancient times and in modern days, the records leave no question but that a real voice was heard, as when the Lord spoke, time and again, to the boy Samuel, a servant to the High Priest Eli, from whose family the Lord took the high office belonging to it, because of the wickedness of his sons, Hoplini and Phinehas. (I. Sam. 3 ff.)

And in modern days (April 3, 1836), in the great vision of Joseph and Oliver in the Temple at Kirtland, the record reads:

The veil was taken from our minds, and the eyes of our understanding were opened.

We saw the Lord standing upon the breastwork of the pulpit, before us; and under his feet was a paved work of pure gold, in color like amber.

His eyes were as a flame of fire; the hair of his head was white like the pure snow; his countenance shone above the brightness of the sun; and his voice was as the sound of the rushing of great waters, even the voice of Jehovah, saying:

I am the first and the last; I am he who liveth, I am he who was slain; I am your advocate with the Father. (D.C. 110:1–4.)

To close this phase of our talk, I would like to read to you descriptions of how the Prophet received revelations, and how he looked on such occasions. You are probably all familiar with the record.

Elder Parley P. Pratt (speaking of the revelation now printed as Section 51 of the Doctrine and Covenants, given in May, 1831) describes how the Prophet worked when receiving revelations. He says:

After we had joined in prayer in his translating room, he dictated in our presence the following revelation:—(Each sentence was uttered slowly and very distinctly, and with a pause between each, sufficiently long for it to be recorded, by an ordinary writer, in long hand.

This was the manner in which all his written revelations were dictated and written. There was never any hesitation, reviewing, or reading back, in order to keep the run of the subject; neither did any of these communications undergo revisions, interlinings, or corrections. As he dictated them so they stood, so far as I have witnessed; and I was present to witness the dictation of several communications of several pages each . . .) (*Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*, Parley P. Pratt (fils), ed., Salt Lake City, Deseret Book Company, 1938, p. 62.)

It seems clear that on this occasion there was no audible voice, though the opening sentence of the revelation reads: "Hearken unto me, saith the Lord your God . . ."

However, President B. H. Roberts points out that when some of the early revelations were published in the *Book of Commandments* in 1833, they "were revised by the Prophet himself in the way of correcting errors made by the scribes and publishers; and some additional clauses were inserted to throw increased light upon the subjects treated in the revelations, and paragraphs added, to make the principles or instructions apply to officers not in the Church at the time some of

the earlier revelations were given. The addition of verses 65, 66 and 67 in sec. XX of the Doctrine and Covenants is an example." (*DHC*, Vol. I, p. 173, note.)

At Montrose, Iowa, in August, 1842 (there is some uncertainty as to the exact date), the Prophet, attending a Masonic ceremony, prophesied that the Saints would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, and declared events incident to the move. Brother Anson Call describes this scene as quoted in his biography by Tullidge, as follows:

Joseph, as he was tasting the cold water, warned the brethren not to be too free with it. With the tumbler still in his hand he prophesied that the Saints would yet go to the Rocky Mountains; and, said he, this water tastes much like that of the crystal streams that are running from the snow-capped mountains. We will let Mr. Call describe this prophetic scene:

I had before seen him in a vision, and now saw while he was talking his countenance change to white; not the deadly white of a bloodless face, but a living brilliant white. He seemed absorbed in gazing at something at a great distance, and said: "I am gazing upon the valleys of those mountains." This was followed by a vivid description of the scenery of these mountains, as I have since become acquainted with it. Pointing to Shadrach Roundy and others, he said: "There are some men here who shall do a great work in that land." Pointing to me, he said, "There is Anson, he shall go and shall assist in building up cities from one end of the country to the other, and you, rather extending the idea to all those he had spoken of, shall perform as great a work as has been done by man, so that the nations of the earth shall be astonished, and many of them will be gathered in that land and assist in building cities and temples, and Israel shall be made to rejoice."

It is impossible to represent in words this scene which is still vivid in my mind, of the grandeur of Joseph's appearance, his beautiful descriptions of this land, and his wonderful prophetic utterances as they emanated from the glorious inspirations that overshadowed him. There was a force and power in his exclamations of which the following is but a faint echo: "Oh the beauty of those snow-capped mountains! The cool refreshing streams that are running down through those mountain gorges!" Then gazing in another direction, as if there was a change in locality: "Oh the scenes that this people will pass through! The dead that will lay between here and there." Then turning in another direction as if the scene had again changed: "Oh the apostasy that will take place before my brethren reach that land!" "But," he continued, "The priesthood shall prevail over its enemies, triumph over the devil and be established upon the earth, never more to be thrown down!" He then charged us with great force and power, to be faithful to those things that had been and should be committed to our charge, with the promise of all the blessings that the Priesthood could bestow. "Remember these things and treasure them up. Amen." (*Tullidge's Histories, Vol. I. History of Northern Utah, and Southern Idaho.—Biographical Supplement, p. 271 et seq [in] DHC, Vol. V., p. 86 note.*)

Brother Pratt affirms he had frequently witnessed the Prophet receiving revelations always in the way he described, and Brother Call says he had before seen the Prophet in a vision.

Stirring records of glorious events!

One can partly understand how the early Saints clung to Joseph and why the early brethren followed and protected him even to death itself. Faith and knowledge and love rose to loftiest heights in those early days of tribulation and

martyrdom, and jealousy and hate and the spirit of murder, inspired by Satan, sank to the depths of lowest degree, working for the defeat of God's work.

Supremely great is the calling of a Prophet of God to declare the mind and the will of God touching the trials, the vicissitudes, the grievous persecutions that follow the righteous of the children of men, and then to proclaim the glories of the infinite goodness of God, his mercy and love, his forgiveness, his unbounded helpfulness, his divine purposes, his final destiny of man.

Yet we must not forget that prophets are mortal men, with men's infirmities.

Asked if a prophet was always a prophet, Brother Joseph quickly affirmed that "a prophet was a prophet only when he was acting as such." (*DHC*, Vol. V, p. 265.)

He pointed out that James declared "that Elias was a man subject to like passions as we are, yet he had such power with God, that He, in answer to his prayers, shut the heavens that they gave no rain for the space of three years and six months; and again, in answer to his prayer, the heavens gave forth rain, and the earth gave forth fruit." (James 5:17-18; *DHC*, Vol. II, p. 302.)

On another occasion Joseph quoted the saying of John that "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy," (Rev. 19:10) and declared:

. . . if I profess to be a witness or teacher, and have not the spirit of prophecy, which is the testimony of Jesus, I must be a false witness; but if I be a true teacher and witness, I must possess the spirit of prophecy, and that constitutes a prophet." (*DHC*, Vol. 5, pp. 215-216.)

There is not time to say more on this occasion.

I have tried to suggest the meaning of the scripture which says that what the Priesthood says when "moved upon by the Holy Ghost," is itself scripture. I have tried to indicate my own thought as to some of the limitations which attend the exercise of this principle, both as to those who are entitled to have their words taken as scripture, and also as to the doctrines that might fall from the lips of those not possessing the special gift and endowment. I have shown that even the President of the Church has not always spoken under the direction of the Holy Ghost, for a prophet is not always a prophet. I noted that the Apostles of the Primitive Church had their differences, that in our own Church, leaders have differed in view from the first.

I have observed that the Lord has his own ways of communicating his mind and will to his prophets, uninfluenced by the thoughts or views of men as to his proper procedure; that sometimes he evidently speaks with an audible voice, but that at other times he speaks inaudibly to the ear but clearly to the mind of the prophet. I quoted how the Prophet Joseph worked as he received revelations and how his countenance changed in appearance at such times. I have tried to explain briefly how, as Joseph said, a prophet is not always a prophet, but is a prophet only when acting as such, and that this means that not always may the words of a prophet be taken as a prophecy or revelation, but only when he, too, is speaking as "moved upon by the Holy Ghost."

I repeat here some of the elemental rules that, as to certain matters, will enable us always to know when others than the Presiding High Priest, the Prophet, Seer

and Revelator, the President of the Church, will not be speaking as "moved upon by the Holy Ghost."

When any one except the President of the Church undertakes to proclaim a revelation from God for the guidance of the Church, we may know he is not "moved upon by the Holy Ghost."

When any one except the President of the Church undertakes to proclaim that any scripture of the Church has been modified, changed, or abrogated, we may know he is not "moved upon by the Holy Ghost," unless he is acting under the direct authority and direction of the President.

When any one except the President of the Church undertakes to proclaim a new doctrine of the Church, we may know that he is not "moved upon by the Holy Ghost," unless he is acting under the direct authority and direction of the President.

When any one except the President of the Church undertakes to proclaim that any doctrine of the Church has been modified, changed, or abrogated, we may know that he is not "moved upon the by Holy Ghost," unless he is acting under the direction and by the authority of the President.

When any man, except the President of the Church, undertakes to proclaim one unsettled doctrine, as among two or more doctrines in dispute, as the settled doctrine of the Church, we may know that he is not "moved upon by the Holy Ghost," unless he is acting under the direction and by the authority of the President.

Of these things we may have a confident assurance without chance for doubt or quibbling.

God grant us the power so to live that always we may be "moved upon by the Holy Ghost," to the end that we may always detect false teachings and so be preserved in the faith that shall lead us into immortality and eternal life, I humbly pray, in the name of him through whom, only, we approach the Father. Even so. Amen.

Women Under the Law

SUSAN TAYLOR HANSEN

DURING A RECENT TAXI RIDE, MY DRIVER turned up his radio to hear the report that the Virginia State Legislature had just defeated the Equal Rights Amendment. Shaking his head he remarked, "Something's wrong when we need an amendment like that—no human should have to *ask* for equal rights in this country. We shoulda learned that for good in the Civil War."

The Civil War did indeed spawn considerable legislative, judicial and popular rethinking on the American notion of "equality." The Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, provides for "due process of law" and "equal protection of the laws." It has since become the major constitutional vehicle for changing perceptions of what equality should encompass. In the previous language of the second section of the Amendment, which first guaranteed the right to vote, the word "male" was placed in the Constitution for the first time. The use of the word "male" three times, and always in conjunction with the term "citizens" must have caused some to fear that the protections of the 14th Amendment might not apply fully to women. As everyone knows, a new amendment has been proposed which many feel to be a necessary adjunct to the protections long since afforded by the 14th Amendment. First introduced in Congress in 1923, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), stated that "Equality of Rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

Heated discussions on the necessity, intent and implications of the ERA are now commonplace within the LDS community. One of the most surprising developments was the emergence of an almost unprecedented, highly visible Mormon lobby, credited by the national press as a key factor in blocking ERA passage in Nevada, Washington, Idaho and Utah. If the credit is deserved, this has been no mean feat—only three state votes were needed before March 22, 1979, and the deadline for ratification has been extended until June 30, 1982. Less conspicuous but possibly as important, has been the closely related mobilization of well-organized groups of LDS women (and some men) to counteract the

perceived intent of the leaders of a number of IWY (International Women's year) conventions.

Such demonstrations of political power understandably have not been enthusiastically received by proponents of the ERA. Yet political opposition by religious organizations to legislation perceived as a moral issue has ample precedent and is surely legitimate. On the other hand, "Mormon" opposition to ERA to date, as commonly articulated on the local level of the Church—be it in Florida, Maryland, California or elsewhere—too often reflects astonishing ignorance of the basic legal questions involved. Too often one hears objections voiced by church members that are manifestly silly, obviously uninformed or even calculatedly misdirected. The uniformity and fervor with which this ignorance is displayed can, in the long run, only hurt the image of the Church.

Certainly there are many worthy arguments against the ERA. But only after addressing the facts, can we move on to a meaningful discussion of any underlying moral issues. To date the few articles or guidelines appearing in official church publications have been conclusory and much too brief to allow a reasonable "free agent" to come to an informed personal decision. With this goal in mind, the following comments are offered as a belated, but still very limited first step toward fuller understanding of this complex subject.

The arguments most often advanced in Mormon circles against the ERA are that it is 1) unnecessary, and 2) potentially dangerous to many revered, traditional values.

To consider first the question of the necessity of the amendment— It is generally admitted in discussion among church members that many inequalities faced by women are deplorable but that the solution lies in a case-by-case judicial or legislative remedy, not in a constitutional amendment. Such an assertion (really involving the proper role of government in social change) usually derives from the speaker's general political philosophy rather than from the specifics of the women's rights debate, perhaps explaining why supporting evidence is rarely offered or felt necessary. There are nevertheless a number of important practical considerations in assessing the appropriate avenue of redress.

The federal government has responded directly to acknowledged sexual discrimination in employment, principally through the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII, interpreted and enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), gives those employees recourse against discrimination "because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin."¹ This act and related federal laws and executive orders have had a profound effect on existing state and federal labor laws, many of which were passed decades ago to correct the shocking abuses of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Such "protective" laws were generally aimed at women and/or children, and designed 1) to confer benefits, such as a minimum wage or a mandatory rest period or lounging facilities, or 2) to exclude women from certain jobs for which they were felt to be unsuited, or 3) to impose other protective restrictions on women's employment, e.g., limiting the number of hours women can work, restricting women's work to certain hours of the day, or prohibiting employment of women in jobs requiring lifting above a set weight limit.

Praiseworthy as were the original intents of such laws, changing social attitudes and marked improvement of working conditions in general have made most of them irrelevant. Now such laws often operate solely to prevent women from getting higher paying jobs which might, for example, involve some manual labor. In short, many would say that these laws are now more repressive than protective.

Title VII has done much, on a case-by-case basis, to "neuterize" or eliminate these dated laws, forcing a reconsideration of the legitimacy of their current purpose. It has also led to an extension of their benefits and "protection" to men as well. For example, a "weight-lifting restriction" law in Oregon, applicable only to women has now been replaced by a new Consolidated Work Order which prohibits requiring *any* employee to lift "excessive weights."² A similar Washington statute, has been changed to state that "lifting requirements must be made known to prospective employees and proper instructions on lifting techniques must be provided."³ Seating, rest and mealtime requirements have been extended to workers of both sexes in eleven states.

Despite the influence of Title VII and pressure from other sources, many "straggler," sex-based state labor laws and industrial practices remain. Of recent note has been the practice of many companies to exclude pregnancy from disability insurance coverage, while including elective surgery. There is no assurance that state legislatures will address these remaining discriminatory laws and practices. Even though heightened awareness generated by the ERA debate greatly increases the chances that more state action will be taken, many laws and practices, theoretically illegal or invalid under Title VII will remain in force as long as they are not challenged or systematically examined.

Unfortunately, there are few mandates in federal law as clear as Title VII is in the area of employment discrimination. To some extent, Social Security laws are still based on dated stereotypes which offer inadequate protection to a person who spends substantial time as a homemaker supported by a spouse. Our legal structure regards the homemaker as a dependant rather than as a mature adult who also provides for the family. Social Security laws can tragically victimize divorced persons, often disfavoring men as well. They discourage remarriage by older divorced or widowed persons who may stand to lose or to reduce their benefits. Military recruitment and career opportunities are still handled in ways which unnecessarily—and some would say unfairly—restrict women. While a 1974 Supreme Court decision requires that military benefits be distributed regardless of sex,⁴ a quota system restricts the number of women accepted into the military and a 1948 law prohibiting women from involvement in combat⁵ is still used to bar women from service in the thousands of assignments in "combat-type" positions during peacetime. The result is that women cannot serve on virtually any seagoing vessel, any aircraft or in a large number of other responsible and rewarding positions. True, combat positions constitute only a small portion of the armed forces, but job opportunities in combat zones or units constitute a large number of the most appealing and important assignments.

Lacking a mandate of the kind expressed in Title VII, states have made spotty progress in reforming their analogous nonlabor laws. A few states have added equal rights amendments to their own constitutions. A half-dozen states have

undertaken, through special public or state commissions, a comprehensive review of state law, with the goal of bringing laws into conformance with the ERA. Ten or so other states have conducted similar reviews, using legislative bodies for preliminary review of sex-based laws. Usually though, the task of gearing up such a review is so political that it is assigned a low priority.

Perhaps the most serious remaining legalized sex discrimination is in the broad area of state domestic relations law, encompassing the management and ownership of real and personal property; the determination of domicile; divorce, including grounds for divorce, custody of children, alimony and support; inheritance laws and many other critical aspects of family life. Michigan, Massachusetts and North Carolina, for example, have retained an old rule of law which gives the husband the exclusive right to manage and control the marital property—thus giving him, as well, the right to squander and dissipate it. In Louisiana, a “community property state”, the husband still has the right (as he once had in eight states) to the sole management of the marital property, resulting, in one recent case, in the award of an injured wife’s lost wages to her husband, as “head and master of the community,” over her protest.⁶ Forty-two states have a common law property system, which means that the nonbreadwinner has no right to own or manage any of the property of the other spouse, other than the right to support (usually unenforceable as long as the spouses are living together). The person who has title to the property has all rights to it and can sell or give it away at any time. In ten states, courts do not have the power to transmit property (such as the family home) from one spouse to another upon divorce. While laws of this type are not explicitly sex-based, a strong argument can be made that they violate the equal rights principal because of their disparate impact on married women, who predominate among the nonwage-earning spouses or who earn, on the average, far less than their husbands. (A number of states still retain a double standard in other aspects of divorce law. Most child custody suits are won by mothers even in cases where fathers are manifestly better qualified to rear the children).

Inheritance tax laws in many states require a surviving wife who has spent all or most of her working life in the home or family business to prove direct financial contribution to the estate—often a difficult or impossible task—in order to reduce taxation. State inheritance tax laws which benefit widows but not widowers discourage property ownership by married women. Some state laws give a man a life interest in all his wife’s lands but give the wife a life interest in only one third (or other fraction) of the lands of her husband. In Illinois, which has passed a state ERA, a statutory scheme has been upheld by the State Supreme Court allowing illegitimate children to inherit from their mother’s but not their father’s intestate (without a will) estate.⁷

The criminal justice system of many states is, in both the letter and application of the law, sexually discriminatory. Many state laws against rape and similar offenses still stress the sexual, rather than the violent nature of the crime, and women are sometimes required to reveal details of past sexual activity in legal proceedings.

A number of jurisdictions require judges to impose minimum and maximum sentences for men, but allow indeterminate sentences for women, even for the same offense. The result is that women may be incarcerated for a longer period

of time than a man convicted of the same offense, while the man may have a longer wait for parole consideration. Because comparatively few women go to jail, facilities are often inadequate and female inmates generally have fewer opportunities to learn marketable job skills. One recent study showed that 30 percent of eligible men received work releases but only 9 percent of eligible women did.⁸

Many state laws dealing with unemployment compensation deny benefits to women forced to leave their jobs because their husband's employment required a move. A number of states terminate unemployment benefits to women in certain stages of pregnancy and for specified periods following delivery, regardless of their ability or willingness to work. Few states treat pregnancy as they would other similarly limiting medical conditions, with the result that those pregnant women or new mothers who need to work are penalized thereby discouraging child-bearing.

While one may not agree that every one of these areas of discrimination is or even should be major causes for concern, viewed collectively they go a long way toward explaining the concern of many people that something more is needed to secure for American women the same legal rights enjoyed by American men.

What, then, is the appropriate avenue? Several are available. An appeal to state and federal courts has produced varied results. In general, the courts respond to existing law, upholding discriminatory statutes if a clear "legislative purpose" can be found. Notably, the United States Supreme Court, in the century following the passage of the 14th Amendment, demonstrated almost complete deference to sex-lines drawn by the legislature. Until 1971, not one sex-based distinction had been overturned by the Supreme Court.

In the past few years, however, the highest court has been moving to deny enforcement of or otherwise limit sexually discriminatory laws. One of two major approaches used in Supreme Court sex-discrimination cases is an appeal to the Court to declare that differential classification on the basis of sex is impermissible because some other "fundamental right" is involved (i.e., one of a well-defined, narrow category of legal rights which includes, among others, the right to work and the right to travel). Because very few rights are viewed, in the constitutional sense, as fundamental, this argument is successful in very few cases.

A second, and more common approach has been to ask the Court to declare sex, like race or religion, to be a "suspect classification" and thus subject to the court's "strict scrutiny" in assuring equal protection of the law. This standard of review based on the 14th Amendment, has been available to disadvantaged minorities for many years. The argument advanced here is that sex *per se* is an undependable indicator of a person's attributes for the purpose of determining legal rights. The fact that a person is female is not an accurate indicator of her ability to perform certain kinds of work; similarly, the fact that a person is a male might not necessarily mean that he is the less-qualified parent for purposes of determining child custody. The Supreme Court, however, has thus far failed to rule that sex is a "suspect classification." To do so would be tantamount to declaring that the denial of legal rights on the basis of sex was unconstitutional under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It would be the judicial equivalent to ratifying the ERA, providing unmistakable anti-discriminatory precedent for lower courts and legislative bodies in determining the consti-

tutionality of existing and future law. The fact that the Court has had ample opportunity to make such a ruling without doing so suggests that it is unlikely to do so in the foreseeable future. (On the other hand, the same could have been said of discrimination based on race not many years ago.) As Representative Martha Griffiths noted, when the Equal Rights Amendment first passed the House of Representatives in 1970 (after a 47-year effort)⁹

There never was a time when decisions of the Supreme Court could not have done everything we ask today . . . The Court has held for 98 years that women, as a class, are not entitled to equal protection of the laws. They are not "persons" within the meaning of the constitution.

There are other limitations on the effectiveness of the judiciary as an avenue of redress in cases of apparent sexual discrimination. The Court has the right to sanction discrimination, even under a "strict scrutiny" review, if the government can show "compelling reason" to maintain the discriminatory law or practice. For example, the government has argued that sexual stereotypes should be retained in the social security system because of the "convenience" to the government in using actuarial or other standards and because of the "economic necessity" of using such distinctions.

In addition to recognizing both the Court's propensity to take an inconclusive, piecemeal approach to sex-discrimination cases, as well as the inherent limitations of existing legislation and the judicial system, it is important also to note that redress in court is often a very expensive and time-consuming undertaking—a luxury rarely available to those already deprived. Should a petitioner, through heroic individual effort, finally succeed in getting a case before the Supreme Court, there is still no guarantee that the case will be heard. In sum, many would argue that a judicial solution to the problem of sex discrimination has not proven effective, and offers no immediate hope of providing an adequate tool for fashioning genuinely equal rights for men and women.

What about a legislative solution? Legislatures could, by analysis and revision, eliminate discrimination in existing state and federal laws—and indeed they will be required to do so if ERA is passed. But will they all do so without this "coercion"? While a number of states have, as noted, begun to systematically review state laws, the majority are far from a serious full scale reevaluation. Both state and federal legislative bodies continue to operate piecemeal, responding to political and economic pressures and the press of time. The publicity surrounding ERA has unquestionably moved equal rights for women up the agenda for many legislatures, but without a broad national mandate on sex discrimination, they have approached discriminatory laws on a hit-and-miss basis. In other states, the issue of equal rights still receives a very low priority (because—some would argue—legislative bodies are largely male!). States without an ERA must debate the need for equality when considering each new piece of legislation on the subject. Many sex discrimination measures have passed in legislatures by very narrow margins—if three senators had changed their votes, women would not have recourse to employment discrimination. In light of the lethargy and unpredictability of legislatures, few legal scholars seriously believe there is any hope that a comprehensive legislative remedy will be accomplished, as one author put

it, “in the lifetime of any woman now alive.”¹⁰ Thus, the argument that solutions should be sought through a legislative approach, really reflects the belief that there is no pressing need for change.

Given the judicial and legislative record to date, one can more readily understand why those opposed to the perceived injustices see the ERA as a necessary step in the right direction. Even after its ratification, many judicial and legislative hurdles would remain. But there would also be an expression of national policy to cut through the often unenthusiastic treatment rendered by the courts and legislatures. It would, in their minds, “hasten the day,” giving our lawmakers the “bigger picture” and bringing some economy to both courts and legislatures in their treatment of sex discrimination.

The argument for an Equal Rights Amendment does not therefore stem from any inherent lack of power in the existing judicial and legislative systems to accomplish these objectives; it is rather, from the slow and spotty record of these branches of government in correcting existing abuses.

The second argument of the case against the ERA is a belief that it carries a grave risk to traditional Mormon values and a disagreement on the nature and extent of the physiological and psychological differences between the sexes. At the base of this is a fear that the ERA will threaten the traditional family, focusing perhaps on the gradual shift away from traditional male/female roles over the last several decades. Many Mormons regard the traditional marital roles (husband as breadwinner and wife as homemaker) as innate, believing that God-given characteristics unique to each sex equip a person for his or her traditional role. Others feel that the roles are more flexible, that some of the traditional differences between men and women actually grow from the predominance of these roles in society.

Any constitutional amendment unavoidably casts a shadow of uncertainty over its future interpretation and implementation. The Fourteenth Amendment, for example, has far exceeded the originally perceived purpose—elevating the status of blacks—and has come to serve as a tool of justice for many oppressed persons and groups. Few amendments, however, have had the same wealth of pre-passage legislative discussion of intent as has the ERA in the House of Representatives and the Senate. And, contrary to opinion popular in some circles, the numerical majority of legal scholars are comfortable in believing that the potential changes under the ERA are largely predictable.

What then could be expected from ERA? How substantive or potentially dangerous are the “unknown” elements of this or any constitutional amendment when measured against the desired benefit? Will it threaten the traditional values of home, faith, family and femininity?

Addressing these questions, Paul Freund, a leading constitutional scholar, has made an important point: “unless equality is denied by a public agency or because of a law, the Equal Rights Amendment, by its terms, *has no application*.”¹¹ [emphasis added] Thus, while significant social trends may spring indirectly from this amendment, its direct implications are very narrowly delineated. Further, laws which do discriminate between the sexes would not necessarily be eliminated, but rather, the *benefits* of the law would be extended to both sexes.

Thus, the maintenance of the traditional family structure,—a matter of choice,

not law—would still remain the option of each family. Married couples could still continue to distribute responsibilities in the home as they wished, and the level of support obligation within marriage would still depend on love, not law. On the other hand, if a family had broken up, the issue of custody of children would have to be given greater consideration by the courts. Simple, sex-based presumptions would be eliminated. Child support and/or alimony would be decided more equitably, if with greater difficulty, and they would reflect the responsibilities of the parties in marriage, the earning ability of the parties, the projected child care arrangements and other factors relevant to the child's welfare.

The Equal Rights Amendment would *not* require women to take a job outside the home. This would, as now, be an individual decision. For those women who do work (recalling that millions of women support their families and that over 70% of the women who work do so out of economic necessity), the ERA would reinforce existing laws which require equal pay for equal work. As previously noted, the repeal or revision of a number of "protective" labor laws, technically invalid under Title VII and similar laws, would be hastened after ERA passage. These illusory protections were addressed in the Senate Majority report on the Amendment which stated, in part,¹²

restrictive discriminatory labor laws such as those which bar women entirely from certain occupations will be invalid. *But those laws which confer a real benefit, which offer real protection will, it is expected, be extended to protect both men and women.* [emphasis added]

Many are fearful that women will become subject to the draft, and the ERA *is* likely to affect the military. At present there is no military draft; but the Pentagon has recently requested Congress to make women subject to a draft, if reinstated (as was previously done before the end of World War II), and to be trained for combat purposes. ERA would require that the draft system deferments and exemptions now available be adapted to a sex-neutral system. For example, women ministers, conscientious objectors, doctors, dentists and state legislators would be treated as are men in these categories. Dependency deferments in past wars provided that "persons in a status with respect to persons (other than wives alone, except in rare hardship) dependent upon them for support which renders their deferment advisable"¹³ may be deferred. Such a deferment could be applied by the President to persons with dependent children or wives and children, with whom they maintained a family relationship in their homes. Under the ERA this could be expanded to exempt both parents in a family with children, or could exempt only one (i.e., either the parent who was called or the parent most responsible for child care in the home). It is also possible to structure laws to allow a couple, in case of a draft, to decide which member would serve. Congress can opt for any alternative. Exemptions similar to the one which shields a "sole surviving son" of a family that has lost a member of the family in the service of country, must, of course, be available to both sexes equally under ERA.

Contrary to popular belief, all legislative debate on the ERA so far indicates that the ERA would *not* bar all distinctions between the sexes. Physical characteristics which are found in all or some women but *no* men, or in all or some men, but *no* women would still be a permissible basis for certain laws, or the basis of allowable exemptions from the application of the ERA.

This principle, for example, doesn't admit the use of such things as life expectancy tables because death is not a physical characteristic unique to either sex. The idea is that tables and many other presumptions are based on averages and majorities, and judgment of individuals by averages or majorities would be prohibited by the ERA. Therefore, laws relating to female wet nurses, maternity leave or male sperm donors (all frequently misunderstood examples) will be permissible. However, only distinctions based on clear physical characteristics will be allowed, and not psychological, social or other characteristics predominantly identified with one sex or the other.

A persistent ERA "bugaboo" is what Senator Cook termed the "potty excuse," the fear that no distinctions will be permissible between men and women with respect to restrooms, disrobing and sleeping facilities, or similar areas in which privacy is desired. It is clear from the legislative debate on ERA that existing precedents on the privacy concept will remain applicable in such situations. The passage of the ERA will not dismantle existing constitutional rights, including the imprecisely defined right of privacy. Despite the fact that some homosexuals are also active in the cause of equal rights of women, the legality and acceptability of homosexuality will not be affected by the ERA. (It will only mean that if men can't marry other men, women can't marry other women.)

Any person's choice to support or not to support the ERA should develop not from a fear of the unknown, but from a rational study of the need for change and the available avenues for change. Realizing that we Mormons often take a view somewhat divergent from American society at large, we must be sure that our understanding of basic issues is as complete as possible.

FOOTNOTES

¹ § 703(a)(1), 42 USC § 2000e-2(a)(1) 1964

² United States Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, Women's Bureau, *State Labor Laws in Transition: From Protection to Equal Status for Women* p. 12 (Pamphlet No. 15, 1976)

³ Washington Rev. Code Ann. §§ 49.12.005, 49.12.016, 49.12.035, 49.12.041, 49.12.170, As enacted by L. 1973 (wd Ex. Sess.), Ch. 16.

⁴ *Frontiero vs. Richardson*, U.S. Supreme Court, 1973, 411 U.S. 677, 93 S.Ct. 1794, 36. L.Ed 2d. 583.

⁵ 10 USC § 6015

⁶ *Sevin vs. Diamond M. Drilling Co.*, 261 S. 2d 375, 379 (La. App. 1972). See also L. Civil Code, Arts, 2402, 2404.

⁷ In re Estate of Karas, 61 Ill. 2d 40, 329 N.E. 2d 234 (Ill Sup. Ct. 1975)

⁸ Crisman, "Position Paper on Women in Prisons," June 10, 1976, at p. 1 (unpublished paper of ACLU National Prison Project, 1345 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 1031, Washington, D.C.)

⁹ J.J. Res. 264, 91st Cong. 2d Sess. (1970), reported at 116 Cong. Rec. H7953 (daily ed. Aug. 10, 1970)

¹⁰ Brown, Falk and Freedman, "Equal Rights for Women," 80 *Yale Law Journal* 883 (1971)

¹¹ Freund, "The Equal Rights Amendment is Not the Way," 6 *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review* 234 (1971)

¹² Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *Equal Rights for Men and Women*, S. Rep. No. 92-689, 92d Cong. 2d Sess. 15 (1972)

¹³ 50 USC App § 456 (h)(2) (Supp. V, 1969)

Response to Freud and Jung

M. GERALD BRADFORD

Note: The following responds to two articles on Freud and Jung in Dialogue, Vol XI, No. 3, Autumn 1978. Because of its length, it is included here rather than in Letters to the Editor.

THE TWO FIGURES cleverly depicted on the cover of the Autumn, 1978 cover of *Dialogue* are unquestionably among the most important individuals in the field of psychoanalysis. Both were trained in the medical profession and both considered their research and theoretical work to be scientifically grounded. Neither tolerated being labeled a theologian and yet both devoted a considerable amount of work to the study of religion. Thus it is inevitable that a comparison be drawn between certain of the insights of Freud and Jung and aspects of Mormon thought. These articles represent a beginning—but only a beginning.

The author of the article on Freud, Owen Clark, rightly resists the inclination to interpret Mormon beliefs from a Freudian perspective. He even stresses a number of fundamental differences between Mormon doctrine and Freudian thought. Clark wants to emphasize the value of Freud's insights and techniques to the discerning Mormon, but in doing so he raises a number of troubling questions.

Clark seems to be arguing that Freud was not a positivist because he refused to reduce our understanding of man to physical and chemical forces alone, thereby affirming "the importance of internal psychological processes." The fact is, Freud was a positivist par excellence. He tenaciously held to the positivist view of the three stages of man: mythical, religious and scientific. He acknowledged the efficacy of reason only in the quest for truth, and he claimed that only the enterprise of empirical science was truly objective. If one wants to broaden his understanding of scientific theory and method, should he follow Freud? Clark himself is clearly the better guide. He holds a much more enlightened view of science than did Freud.

Clark believes that a Mormon would say, with Freud: "Man is more than his observable behavior or conscious rational faculties." However, there is a world of

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difference between the Mormon “eternal” perspective on man and Freud’s “psychological” perspective on man.

Clark also sees a parallel between Freud’s view of psychic determinism and the Mormon belief in “orderly principles of causality in the universe.” But I would suggest that this is only a surface resemblance. The dilemma persists as to whether or not there is agreement between the two parties on the nature and interpretation of these causal principles. Clark has not shown this.

Consider Clark’s view of psychoanalysis. He carefully points out the chief characteristics of the discipline as a distinctive form of psychotherapy, and in doing so helps to dispel many lingering misconceptions about the practice. He holds that the technique is “morally neutral” and that religious belief and behavior are only threatened by psychoanalysis when they have a neurotic basis. Even if this last point is granted, isn’t the issue more deep-seated than this? Philip Rieff argues, for example, that when dealing with the claims of science and religion, Freud’s customary detachment failed him. “Confronting religion, psychoanalysis shows itself for what it is: the last great formulation of nineteenth century secularism.” (*Freud: The Mind of the Moralist*, p. 257.) In *The Future of an Illusion*, Freud implies that the abandonment of religion is necessitated by the practice of psychoanalysis and that this is true of the practice of any other science. Surely the question of whether or not psychoanalysis, or, for that matter, the whole of Freudian theory, functions as an ideology or as a competitive world-view needs to be addressed in any comparative study of Freud and Mormonism.

Lastly, Clark seems hard pressed to indicate which, if any, of Freud’s views on religion a Mormon might find helpful. But this is not a challenge just for Mormons. Freud’s metaphysical speculations on the origin and nature of religion are among the most troublesome of his ideas. Freud dealt with the phenomenon of religion in a restricted fashion—dealing only with religious beliefs or with religion as a social, cultural institution. There seems to be agreement that when Freud deals with “popular religion”—not the deep sources of religious experience but the common man’s view of religion—his psychological theories help us to understand something of the phenomenon of superficial religiosity. And there are many who feel that his description of the unconscious and the mechanism of repression are definite contributions to the psychology of religion.

The fact remains that many of Freud’s claims about religion are no longer upheld even within the professions of psychology and psychiatry. His anthropological and historical speculations about the origins of Judaism and Christianity as well as the origins of monotheism are all generally suspect. Many of his psychological and metapsychological explanations fail the test of being falsifiable. Most problematic about Freud’s views on religion is his inclination to dismiss the whole phenomenon as an *illusion*, as a universal obsessional *neurosis*, or as a mass *delusion*, especially when the conceptual confusion in Freud’s use of these crucial terms is uncovered.

By raising these questions, I do not mean to impugn the merits of Clark’s article. Indeed, it is an excellent illustration of the very thing he calls for, a selective use of Freudian insights, if not Freudian metaphysics, to enable the Mormon who is interested in psychology and who cultivates his own spiritual life to better understand human motivation and character development.

The article on Jung represents a totally different way of comparing the thoughts of a major psychologist and Mormon beliefs. Adele B. McCollum explicitly tries to interpret Mormonism from the perspective of C. G. Jung. In this regard she goes further out on a limb than does Clark, and therefore her conclusions are all the more dubious.

The author sees the basis for a comparison between the “theological” view of salvation taught by Joseph Smith and the psychological or “secular form of salvation” advanced by Jung. By using the Jungian notions of *coniunctio* (a “theme that permeates LDS thought with the hope and promise of ‘getting it all together’”) and *centroversion* (the idea of learning to live at the intersection of opposites, or what Jung referred to as *individuation*) but without specifying in any detail how she understands these key Jungian terms, McCollum provides an imaginative (she would say mythopoeic) interpretation of various Mormon beliefs.

For instance, McCollum renders the Mormon concepts of salvation and exaltation in the following manner: Body (matter) and spirit are said to realize a “first order” *coniunctio* in mortality; this is realized again when the spirit and body are united in the resurrection. Further, the doctrine of Celestial Marriage represents, in her reading, a “vastly superior” *coniunctio*—a *double coniunctio* or quaternity (the ultimate symbol of wholeness for Jung), namely, a uniting of the female/male and the historical/mythological dimensions. “The wholeness or fullness of salvation can come only when the male and female aspects of being are unified, that is, when male and female covenant to be bound together in both the historical and the eternal (or mythological) realms.” When this is brought about, “it becomes as god and goddess being given their own planet or world to create and populate.” Following this McCollum can conclude that, “wholeness, individuation . . . in Jung’s work entails the conjunction of consciousness and unconsciousness and is comparable to exaltation in LDS doctrine.”

Comparable in what sense? All we have been shown is that Joseph Smith taught that a man and his wife need to be “joined” in celestial marriage in order to gain the promise of exaltation and that Jung taught a person needs to learn to “live at the intersection of opposites” in order to gain psychic health. Presumably this is the kind of “blunting” of radical dualism that McCollum sees in both Mormonism and Jungianism. But surely here the comparison ends, unless a reinterpretation of the former is attempted. This is what she does.

The author states that her intention in writing the article “is not to show that there is something of Jung in Joseph Smith, or of Joseph Smith in Jung.” But this turns out not to be the case. The article is clearly a one-way street. The author finds elements of Jung in Joseph Smith but not vice versa. And consequently, she gives us an unusual rendering of certain of the latter’s ideas. Armed with her favorite Jungian notion, McCollum suggests a different reading of an important passage in the Doctrine and Covenants, 131:7–8. Rather than follow the suggestion of the text that the dualism between matter and spirit is overcome by seeing the latter as a type of matter, our guide asks that we visualize the two elements “as being paired, or as forming a *coniunctio*.” She gives us no indication as to how she arrives at this rendering, and we are left wondering what on earth she means.

Carrying this hermeneutical principle further, she attributes to Mormonism a metaphysical dualism, curiously enough, since this is what she says Mormon

thought overcomes. According to McCollum, the “New Dispensation philosophy” requires a distinction between two planes of existence—history and myth. B. H. Roberts is made to assert that there must exist a realm of mythic experience, eternity, cyclical time, absolute time, or timelessness, if you will, and a realm of historical experience, history or linear time. LDS thought is said to be grounded “in the conjunction of myth and history, and it is expected that time and eternity are in necessary dialogue within another.” Whatever happened to the suggestion that the Mormon concept of time is best understood in the biblical sense; that is, that there is no distinction between time and eternity, that the latter is meant to suggest simply endless time?

My point is that in order to follow McCollum on the Mormon doctrine of exaltation, we need to reconsider what is meant by such terms as “spirit” and “eternity.” And we need to entertain new ideas, for example, notice it is the *coinunctio* of a husband and wife in time and eternity, that “becomes as god and goddess . . .” Likewise, when McCollum turns to other theological topics, we are told that God the Father and the Christ symbolize something higher, “a perfect God-image.” And not only must there be opposition in all things, we are now informed, in strict Jungian fashion, that “the LDS Church has squarely faced the opposition between good and evil and pronounced that *evil is not without its benefits.*” (emphasis mine.)

It will not do to be told that these ideas must only be taken psychologically. They have their origin in the Jungian notions of a God-image and in such archetypes as the Shadow, and clearly Jung meant more by these terms than that they merely represented psychological truths. What is one to make of this article? This much seems clear: McCollum’s view of Mormonism is a view seen exclusively through Jungian glasses. And it must be judged accordingly. I find it hard to recognize what is depicted. I remain unconvinced that she has shown us anything about Mormonism other than that it can be made superficially to resemble certain Jungian claims.

AMONG THE MORMONS

A Survey of Current Literature

STEPHEN W. STATHIS

ONLY RARELY does a piece of writing capture the imagination of both novice and professional alike. Even more infrequently does such a work begin as a Ph.D. dissertation or master's thesis. Certainly the most renowned dissertation on a Mormon topic to reach booksellers is Leonard J. Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom*. An equally remarkable dissertation, a History Book Club selection in March of this year, is John D. Unruh, Jr.'s *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West 1840-1860*. Unruh's dissertation, acclaimed by many as one of the finest pieces of Western history yet published, skillfully challenges all of the familiar stereotypes associated with the epic covered-wagon migration.

Although Unruh readily concedes that the emigrants suffered grueling hardship, sickness, and death on the trail, and that they often demonstrated the "individualism, heroism, and bravado" seen in thousands of television and movie westerns, "at the base the overland movement was really a cooperative enterprise. The real explanation of the successful overland crossings," Unruh feels, "can be found in the heretofore neglected interaction among overlanders themselves as well as with the flora and fauna of the West." Unruh's most dramatic contrast with earlier historians is in his portrayal of Indian-white relations as being characterized by frequent cooperative interaction. He supports this contention by showing that of the nearly 400,000 persons who crossed the plains between 1840 and 1860 (thousands of which were Mormons), only 400 of an estimated 10,000 who met their death on the plains were killed by Indians. Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of Unruh's work focuses on the reality that private relief agencies, state-supported relief trains and Federal personnel, ranging from troops to bureaucrats, made the overland journey far less perilous and lonely than has been believed in the past.

The Plains Across is included in Ms. Thatcher's accompanying dissertation selections because it asks fresh questions for Mormons about the old mythology of "crossing the plains" that will demand volumes of new interpretations. Other writings cited in her survey may in time, with additional work, also achieve the same level of excellence, but such judgments at this point are premature.

Another of Gary Gillum's monumental contributions to *Dialogue*, "A Bibliography of Works Written By General Authorities," follows and, we hope, will prove not only a valuable source document but also an inspiration for other creative adventures in bibliography.

Dissertations and Theses Relating to Mormons and Mormonism

LINDA THATCHER

AGRICULTURE

Lamborn, John Edwin. "History of the Development of Dry-Farming in Utah and Southern Idaho." M.A., Utah State University, 1978.

BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS

Adkins, Marlow Condie, Jr. "A History of John W. Young's Utah Railroads, 1884-1894." M.S., Utah State University, 1978.

Thompson, Stephen J. *Mormon Economics, 1830 to 1900: The Interaction of Ideas and Environment*. Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana, 1973.

AUTHORITY, DOCTRINE AND THEOLOGY

Cook, Lyndon W. "George Q. Cannon's Views on Church and State." M.A., Brigham Young University, 1978.

Larche, Douglas Wayne. *The Mantle of the Prophet: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Quest for Mormon Post-Martyrdom Leadership, 1844-1860*. Ph.D., Indiana University, 1977.

Pace, Donald Gene. "The LDS Presiding Bishopric, 1851-1888." M.A., Brigham Young University, 1978.

Talbot, Wilburn Dunkley. *The Duties and Responsibilities of the Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Ph.D., Brigham Young University, 1978.

Wagner, Gordon Eric. *Consecration and Stewardship: A Socially Efficient System of Justice*. Ph.D., Cornell University, 1977.

Wetzel, Joy Lynn Wood. *The Patriotic Priesthood: Mormonism and the Progressive Paradigm*. Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 1977.

BIOGRAPHY

Barney, Ronald Owen. "The Life and Times of Lewis Barney." M.S., Utah State University, 1978.

Christensen, Michael Elvin. *The Making of a Leader: A Biography of Charles W. Nibley to 1890*. Ph.D., University of Utah, 1978.

Hefner, Loretta Lea. "The Apostasy of Amasa Mason Lyman." M.A., University of Utah, 1977.

Hutchins, Robert Duane. "Joseph Smith III: Moderate Mormon." M.A., Brigham Young University, 1978.

Leunes, Barbara Laverne Blythe. *The Conservation Philosophy of Stewart L. Udall, 1961-1968*. Ph.D., Texas A & M University, 1977.

Perkins, Keith W. *Andrew Jensen: Zealous Chronologist*. Ph.D., Brigham Young University, 1976.

COURTSHIP, MARRIAGE AND FAMILIES

- Hill, John Thomas, Jr. "Romanticism and Friendship Levels of Engaged BYU Couples: Related to Similarity, Perception and Understanding of Partners' Values." M.S., Brigham Young University, 1978.
- Hogenson, Marvyn William. "The Relationship of Mormon Parental Religiosity and Family Size on Children's Educational, Occupational and Income Success." M.S., Brigham Young University, 1977.
- Turnbow, Roland Clifford. "Impact of the Family Home Evening Program Upon the Lives of the Latter-day Saint Youth." M.S., Brigham Young University, 1977.

CULTURE, DRAMA, LITERATURE, MUSIC AND SPEECH

- Armstrong, Richard N. *An Ideas Centered Approach to a Critical Analysis of the Public Speaking of David O. McKay: Ninth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Ph.D., Bowling Green State University, 1978.
- Bennett, Debra Sue. "Dress of the Mormons Who Traveled Through Scotts Bluff, Nebraska Between 1840 and 1860." M.S., Iowa State University, 1976.
- Christiansen, Lyn May. "The Songs of Arthur Shepherd." M.M., University of Utah, 1978.
- Douglas, Colin B. "A Survey of Mormon Literary Criticism." M.A., Brigham Young University, 1978.
- Haun, Diane. *Three Plays: The Infidels in Spain, Spiraling, and Brigham's Daughters*. Ph.D., University of Utah, 1978.
- O'Connor, James Francis. "An Analysis of the Speaking Style of Heber C. Kimball." M.A., Brigham Young University, 1978.

EDUCATION

- Gibbs, Walter Sherman. *Course Completion by Students in LDS Institutes of Religion*. Ed.D., Brigham Young University, 1976.
- Orten, Frank Wesley. *Recording Classroom Attendance in LDS Seminaries: An Evaluation of a New Procedure as Perceived by Teachers and Administrators in Salt Lake Valley During the 1976-77 School Year*. Ph.D., Brigham Young University, 1978.
- Peck, Granger Cannon. "The Religiosity of Mormon Academicians." M.S., University of Utah, 1978.
- Riley, William L. *Feasibility of Four Models of LDS Religious Education: Nevada, 1976*. Ed.D., Brigham Young University, 1978.
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- Wilde, Barbara Alison. *The Graduate Education Process at Brigham Young University*. Ed.D., Brigham Young University, 1977.

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- Kharbas, Sitaram S. *Estimates by Some Selected Indirect Methods of Intercensal Net Migration for the States in Mountain Division: 1960-1970*. Ph.D., Utah State University, 1976.
- Unruh, John David, Jr. *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Transmississippi West, 1840-1860*. Ph.D., University of Kansas, 1975.

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

- Hsaiiao, Candace Shelia Gutzman. "Factors Influencing the Use of Health Services: By Four Wards in the Taipei Taiwan Stake Relief Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." M.S., Brigham Young University, 1977.

INDIANS

- Christy, Howard Allan. "Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah (1847-1952)." M.A., Brigham Young University, 1978.

LOCAL HISTORY

- Hansen, Ken Cregg. "'UP THE DITCH:' The History of Elsinore, Utah, 1874-1977." M.A., Utah State University, 1978.
- Parkin, Max H. *A History of the Latter-day Saints in Clay County, Missouri, From 1833-1837*. Ph.D., Brigham Young University, 1976.
- Sturgis, Cynthia Jane. "The Mormon Village in Transition: Richfield, Utah, as a Case Study 1910-1930." M.A., University of Utah, 1978.

MILITARY AFFAIRS

- Christensen, Rex LeRoy. "The Life and Contributions of Captain Dan Jones." M.A., Utah State University, 1978.
- Yurtinus, John Frank George. *A Ram in the Thicket: The Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War (Volumes I and II)*. Ph.D., Brigham Young University, 1975.

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- Coleman, Gary Jerome. *Member Missionary Involvement in the LDS Church*. Ed.D., Brigham Young University, 1978.
- Gray, Joseph Partick. *Ecclesiastical Conversion as a Social Process: A Case Study From the Philippines*. Ph.D., University of Colorado, 1976.
- Madsen, John Max. *Church Activity of LDS Returned Missionaries*. Ed.D., Brigham Young University, 1978.
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POLITICS

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POLYGAMY

- Foster, William Lawrence. *Between Two Worlds: The Origins of Shaker Celibacy, Onedia Community Complex Marriage, and Mormon Polygamy*. Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1976.

REORGANIZED LDS

- Serig, Joe Allen. *An Analysis of the Relationship Between Selected Variables and Continuing Education Activities of Full-time Professional Leaders in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Ph.D., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 1977.

SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY

- Craig, Clifford Bean. *Interpersonal Interaction in Urban Space: A Geographic Analysis Within the Mormon Culture Region*. Ph.D., Clark University, 1977.

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- Chappell, Aldus DeVon. *The Family Home Evening Program at the Utah State Prison: Its History and Relationship to Recidivism*. Ed.D., Brigham Young University, 1978.
- Matson, Sonja C. *Mental Health Needs and Services in the Aftermath of the Teton Dam Disaster: Implications for Social Work Education*. D.S.W., University of Utah, 1977.

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- Collette, D. Brent. "In Search of Zion: A Description of Early Mormon Millennial Utopianism as Revealed Through the Life of Edward Partridge." M.A., Brigham Young University, 1977.

Kern, Louis J. *Love, Labor, and Self-Control: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century American Utopian Communities*. Ph.D., Rutgers University, 1977.

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WOMEN

Humphrey, Patricia Ellen. "Discussions of Man and the Environment for LDS Women." M.S., Brigham Young University, 1978.

Out of the Books Which Shall Be Written. . .

GARY GILLUM

THE DISPENSATION OF THE FULNESS OF TIMES has brought a proliferation of books "written according to the word of God" such as Nephi and John the Revelator could not have begun to fathom. From the "Pauline" letters of Orson Pratt and the "Acts of the Apostles" of Joseph Smith and B. H. Roberts to the "Gospels" of James E. Talmage and Bruce R. McConkie and the "Testaments" of the prophets, seers and revelators of the Church, latter-day presses have produced thousands of church books. Plentiful presses, the relative ease of "getting published" and the increased literacy of the people contribute to this knowledge explosion, though few products could be called "canonical" scripture.

"Canonical" or not, church publications have had considerable influence on the progress of individual members of the Church. The list of best sellers bears eloquent witness to this. Indeed, this list could serve as the LDS "basic books" shelf to complement the four standard works. As the Church continues to grow, books now out of print will undoubtedly be reprinted (many reprints of older standards have already appeared), and many are still available in bookstores although officially out of print.

Many observations may be made by careful study of author and chronological lists. Book titles have shortened considerably since the early days, and only two books were published in Nauvoo during the early days of the Church, the

GARY P. GILLUM, a librarian at Brigham Young University, was the compiler of Dialogue's Ten Year Index.

remainder being printed at Eastern presses or in England. Other self-explanatory statistics are found on the following pages.

Chad Flake's newly published, scholarly bibliography (*A Mormon Bibliography 1830-1930*, University of Utah Press, 1978) covers more than this present "checklist" ever could. Bibliographies published in *Dialogue* and in *BYU Studies* include publications in the 1960s and 1970s. This checklist covers all books published by any general authority from 1837 to the October conference of 1978. The following considerations should be noted:

- All works included must have been published *during the general authority's lifetime* (implying his complete approval of the work).
- All works must exceed sixty pages or leaves in length.
- Theses and dissertations are included since they indicate a general authority's scholastic interests before his ecclesiastical calling.
- Multiple volumes are counted as one book unless they can stand alone, have variant titles, or do not share a common index and bibliography.
- Works not included: the four standard works; periodical articles (unless a compilation of one general authority); speeches, addresses, talks, sermons and discourses (unless compiled for one general authority); journals and diaries (unless published church wide); compilations by non-general authorities after the general authority's death; teacher's supplements to manuals; introductions to the works of another general authority; translations into foreign languages; manuscripts, typewritten or mimeographed copies; missionary tracts and pamphlets; scripture cards, filmstrips, tapes, etc.

I express my thanks to the BYU Library, Deseret Book, the BYU Bookstore, and the LDS Church Library, especially Mary Schnitker.

STATISTICS ON BOOKS BY GENERAL AUTHORITIES

Table 1. *Compilations, Non-Church and Totals*

	<i>Total</i>		<i>Compilations</i>		<i>Non-Church</i>	
19th century	54	14%	11	20%	4	7%
20th century	<u>326</u>	86%	<u>130</u>	40%	<u>36</u>	11%
Total	<u>380</u>		<u>141</u>	37%	<u>40</u>	10%

Presently in print: 97 or 20% of total

Table 2. *Offices of General Authorities When Books Were Published*

	Books	Selected percentages
Pre-general authority	97	26%
Interim period	1	
After excommunication	2	
After resignation	1	
Assistant to the Council of the Twelve	23	
Council of Seventy	81	21%
Presiding Bishopric	7	
Apostle	133	36%
President of the Council of the Twelve	6	
Counselor to the President of the Church	14	
President of the Church	15	
Total	<u>380</u>	

Table 3. *General Authorities having published 10 books or more*

	Books Published				Compilations
	Total	LDS Subjects	Non-Church	In-Print	
John A. Widtsoe	33	22	11	2	4
Mark E. Petersen	25	25	0	9	15
B. H. Roberts	23	23	0	2	1
Sterling W. Sill	23	22	1	8	21
Milton R. Hunter	18	14	4	0	3
Joseph Fielding Smith	16	16	0	4	6
Orson F. Whitney	15	13	2	0	6
Richard L. Evans	13 (17)*	13 (17)	0	1 (5)	12 (16)
Paul H. Dunn	13	11	2	10	4
James E. Talmage	11	8	3	4	3
Ezra Taft Benson	10	6	4	2	5

* Figures in parentheses enumerate all five volumes of *An Open Door Thoughts*.

Table 4. *Ten best sellers in the history of the Church (other than standard works)*

LeGrand Richards	<i>A Marvelous Work and a Wonder</i>
James E. Talmage	<i>Articles of Faith</i> <i>Jesus the Christ</i> <i>House of the Lord</i>
Joseph Fielding Smith	<i>Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith</i>
John A. Widtsoe, compiler	<i>Discourses of Brigham Young</i> <i>Gospel Doctrine</i> (Joseph F. Smith)
Bruce R. McConkie	<i>Mormon Doctrine</i>
Spencer W. Kimball	<i>Miracle of Forgiveness</i>
Boyd K. Packer	<i>Teach Ye Diligently</i>

Notes: The order after a *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder* is mere estimation. Joseph Fielding Smith's *Essentials in Church History* follows in 11th place, but is no longer in print. One other work, *Prayer*, a composite compilation of several general authorities, is currently a best seller.

Chronological Listing

- | | |
|---|--|
| | 1856 |
| | Pratt, Orson. <i>Tracts by Orson Pratt</i> |
| | 1857 |
| | Richards, F.D. <i>A Compendium of Faith and Doctrines</i> |
| | 1864 |
| | Cannon, George Q. <i>Writings From the "Western Standard"</i> |
| | 1866 |
| | Pratt, Orson. <i>New and Easy Method of Solution of the Cubic and</i> |
| | 1874 |
| | ———. <i>The Bible and Polygamy. Does the Bible Sanction</i> |
| | 1875 |
| | Smith, George A. <i>Correspondence of Palestine Tourists</i> |
| | 1879 |
| | Pratt, Orson. <i>Key to the Universe; or, A New Theory</i> |
| | 1881 |
| | Woodruff, Wilford. <i>Leaves From My Journal</i> |
| | 1882 |
| | Cannon, George Q. <i>My First Mission</i> |
| | Penrose, Charles W. <i>"Mormon" Doctrine, Plain and Simple</i> |
| | Taylor, John. <i>An Examination Into . . . Mediation and Atonement</i> |
| | 1883 |
| | Cannon, George Q. <i>The Life of Nephi</i> |
| | Reynolds, George. <i>The Myth of the "Manuscript Found," or</i> |
| | 1884 |
| | Cannon, Abraham H. <i>A Hand-Book of Reference to the History</i> |
| | Penrose, Charles W. <i>The Mountain Meadows Massacre</i> |
| | Pratt, Orson. <i>Evangelists Sande Grunsaetninger Fremstillet</i> |
| | 1886 |
| | Cannon, Abraham H. <i>Questions and Answers on the Book of Mormon</i> |
| | 1888 |
| | Cannon, George Q. <i>Life of Joseph Smith, the Prophet</i> |
| 1837 | |
| Pratt, Parley P. <i>A Voice of Warning</i> | |
| 1839 | |
| ———. <i>History of the Late Persecution</i> | |
| 1840 | |
| Kimball, Heber C. <i>Journal of Heber C. Kimball</i> | |
| Pratt, Parley P. <i>Late Persecution of the Church</i> | |
| ———. <i>The Millenium, and Other Poems</i> | |
| Rigdon, Sidney. <i>An Appeal to the American People</i> | |
| 1841 | |
| Page, John Edward. <i>A Collection of Sacred Hymns</i> | |
| 1842 | |
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- Popular History of Utah*. SLC: Deseret, 1916. 588p. illus.
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First Council of the Seventy, 1893-1941
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- Irrigation Investigations; Factors in Influencing Evaporation and Transpiration*. Logan: Agricultural Experiment Station, 1909. 64p. [Bulletin 105.]
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- The Principles of Irrigation Practice*. New York: Macmillan, 1914. xxvi, 496p. bibl.
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The Articles of Faith in Everyday Life. SLC: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Presiding Bishopric, 1951. 99p. [A course of study for Aaronic Priesthood adults.]
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- In a Sunlit Land; The Autobiography of John A. Widtsoe*. SLC: Deseret, 1952. xvi, 261p. illus.
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- In the Gospel Net: The Story of Anna Karine Gaarden Widtsoe*. Independence: Zion's, 1941. 118p.
- Joseph Smith, Prophet of God*. SLC: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1949. 1v. unpagged. [Addresses given on KSL January 2, 1949 to July 3, 1949.]
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- Man and the Dragon, and Other Essays*. SLC: Bookcraft, 1945. 263p. [84 essays from the "Millennial Star," January 1928 to October 1933.]
- Priesthood and Church Government in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. SLC: Deseret, 1939. 410p.
- Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. SLC: General Boards of the Mutual Improvement Associations, 1936. 283p. [Translated into German.]
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- Success on Irrigation Projects*. New York: J. Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1928. v, 153p.
- The Successful Missionary; Letters to Elders in the Field*. Liverpool: European Mission, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1932. 77p.
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- The Word of Wisdom, A Modern Interpretation*. SLC: Deseret, 1937. 263p. illus. [Written with his wife Leah D. Widtsoe. Translated into Czech, Danish, Dutch and French.]

Your Questions Answered, Joint M Men and Gleaner Program. SLC: General Boards of the Mutual Improvement Associations, 1943. 152p illus.

Woodruff, Wilford, 1807-1898

Apostle, 1839-1889; President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, 1880-1889; President of the Church, 1889-1898

Leaves from My Journal. . . Designed for the Instruction and Encouragement of Young Latter-day Saints. SLC: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881. iv, 96p.

X-Z

Young, Levi Edgar, 1874-1963

First Council of the Seventy, 1909-1963

The Founding of Utah. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1923. xv, 445p. illus.

A Study of the New Testament. SLC: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, First Council of the Seventy, 1937. 141p.

A Study of the Old Testament. SLC: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, First Council of the Seventy, 1933. 151p.

Young, Seymour Dilworth, 1897-

First Council of the Seventy, 1945-1976; First Quorum of the Seventy, 1976-1978; Emeritus Member of the First Quorum of the Seventy, 1978-

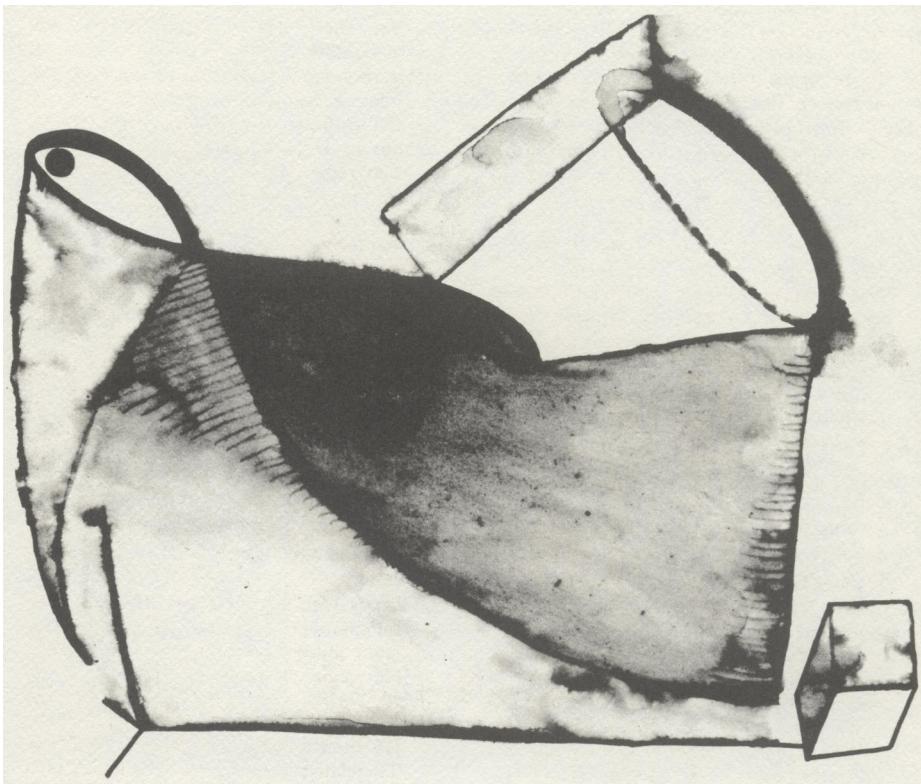
An Adventure in Faith. SLC: Bookcraft, 1956. 123p. [A novel concerning the Mormon Battalion; Youth Classic Series, v.1.]

Family Night Reader; A Young's People's Guide in Gospel Studies. SLC: Bookcraft, 1958. 206p.

* *The Long Road from Vermont to Nauvoo.* SLC: Bookcraft, 1967. 190p. illus. [Poems about Joseph Smith.]

* *More Precious Than Rubies; A Mormon Boy and his Priesthood.* SLC: Bookcraft, 1959. 110p.

Young Brigham Young. Illustrations by the Author. SLC: Bookcraft, 1962. 169p. illus. [Fiction.]



REVIEWS

State-of-the-Art Mormon History

The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints. By Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979, xiv, 404 pp., illus., maps, appendix, bibliographical essay, notes, index. \$15.00.

Reviewed by Richard D. Poll, professor of history at Western Illinois University.

For years Latter-day Saints yearned for a one-volume history of the Church which could be recommended to members and non-members alike as factually sound and not so fervently partisan as to "turn off" the critical reader. Now there are two such works. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard's *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976) has already passed the acid test: it has been praised and criticized by both LDS and Gentile reviewers. *The Mormon Experience* will almost certainly provoke similar responses. The virtues of both books commend them to every serious student of Mormonism and every library interested in history, religion or Americana.

Leonard Arrington, who needs no introduction to *Dialogue* readers, first agreed in 1967 to write what became *The Mormon Experience*. Not long afterward he was appointed Church Historian. The demands of that administrative calling—through which he has been responsible for a veritable revolution in Mormon historiography—required him to seek help with the Knopf project. Assistant Church Historian Davis Bitton, whose scholarly credentials are also impressive, is listed as joint author. It is apparent that the research assistants and

other Historical Department personnel named in the preface have also contributed to the marshaling of the material in the book.

The Mormon Experience is divided into three parts: "The Early Church," "The Kingdom in the West" and "The Modern Church." The sixteen chapters include standard historical narratives, interpretive historical essays, and sociological, theological and economic analyses. Their content reflects the "state of the art" in Mormon history and social studies as of early 1978, when the book went to press.

The four-chapter treatment of the background, appeal, and persecution of Joseph Smith and his followers is as sophisticated as has appeared from Mormon authors. Analogies to Luther and Swedenborg are used, and representations of sinless saints and diabolical villains are not. Among diverse explanations of difficult historical problems, it is not surprising that one compatible with the canons of "faithful history" is always included and often endorsed. For example: "If the latter version [of the first vision] was different, this was not a result of inventing an experience out of whole cloth, as an unscrupulous person might readily have done, but rather of reexamining an earlier experience and seeing it in a different light" (p. 8). So preoccupied are these chapters with interpretation that they provide less narrative history than some uninitiated readers may need.

Beginning with Carthage events the book moves into a more conventional historical mode, which is maintained through chapters on the exodus from Nauvoo, the colonization in the West, nineteenth century immi-

gration, relations with the Indians and the "Americanization" of Utah Territory. The salt-and-peppering of quotations from recently accessible journals and other documents adds flavor here, but no new ground is broken. Indeed, the traditional approach in "Mormons and Native Americans" probably needs revising in terms of what Howard Christy and Lawrence Coates have shown about the persistence of "good Indian-dead Indian" attitudes among Mormon leaders and followers. The account of Mormon involvement at Mountain Meadows is apologetic and leaves the impression that John D. Lee was the chief perpetrator.

"Marriage and Family Patterns," "The Nineteenth Century Ward," and "Mormon Sisterhood: Charting the Changes" are social history, replete with human foibles and frailties. Plural marriage receives more attention than in Allen-Leonard or earlier general histories; it is suggested that up to 5 percent of married Mormon men, 12 percent of married Mormon women and 10 percent of Mormon children were involved in "the principle" during the four decades of its active practice. This reviewer finds the women in "Mormon Sisterhood"—which carries its subject down to the present—more real than those in the earlier chapter on nineteenth century family life. This may be in part because his own wife is particularly intrigued by the conclusion of the "sisterhood" essay: "... their own past is complex enough and populated with enough strong, achieving female personalities that they are able to continue pushing on the boundaries, trying different options, and resisting an excessively narrow conception of their role".

Part Three begins with a chapter on the transition in church policies which followed the Woodruff Manifesto. The authors prefer "creative adjustment" to "surrender" as a label for the changes which brought the Church into the mainstream of Americanism while it maintained unique group characteristics and solidarity. The last three chapters are interpretive essays on twentieth century developments. "The Temporal Foundation" dispels some popular rumors about the wealth and economic power of the Church and informatively describes present ties with business and civic enterprises. "In the World—Institutional Re-

sponses" is a good survey of present structure and programs. The suggestion that as many as 50 percent of all church members may be inactive confirms what mobile life-long Mormons have suspected. Most disaffection is attributed to social rather than ideological disillusionment.

"Group Personality: The Unsponsored Sector" cites the accomplishments of individual Latter-day Saints in government and arts and letters and particularly in the sciences to confirm the quoted characterization from the *Boston Globe* (1967): "... once the outer layers are peeled away, both Mormons and artichokes are most likeable". This chapter, like several others in *The Mormon Experience*, invites comparison with Thomas F. O'Dea's *The Mormons* (1957). Such an exercise confirms the expected—that when a sympathetic and knowledgeable outsider and an informed and committed insider describe the same institution, the two pictures are not mirror images.

The book is attractively packaged, with a pictorial section and two helpful maps. The bibliographical essay is highly selective; it appropriately calls attention to the exhaustive bibliography in *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*. The notes are more extensive for some chapters than others; where informational tidbits are tucked among the source citations the fact that the notes section contains neither chapter titles nor page cross-references is mildly frustrating. The index is almost complete; neither Orderville nor Brigadier General William S. Harney is listed, and in the text the first Utah Expedition commander is rechristened Stephen Harney (p. 166).

The most disappointing feature of *The Mormon Experience* to this reviewer is the lack of cohesion. Each chapter is virtually an autonomous essay, and within some chapters the blocs of material are not well integrated. Stylistic differences, and differences in perspective are discernible. The fact that the same language from the Woodruff Manifesto appears on p. 183 and then again two pages later as an introductory quotation for the following chapter illustrates the apparent lack of a final editorial overview by either the authors or the publisher. Deseret means "honeybee" on p. 114; on p. 162 it means "beehive." Amy Brown Lyman's Hull House experience is reported

in two chapters. Post-Manifesto polygamy is discussed on p. 184 and then more adequately and with some duplication on pp. 245–6. There is anomaly in the fact that *Valley Tan* and the *Salt Lake Tribune* appear in Part Two while the *Deseret News* is not introduced until Part Three.

Both *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* and *The Mormon Experience* incorporate recent research. Both are products of the talented staff of the LDS Historical Department, whose mobilization of historical resources and productivity in publication recall the accomplishments of Hubert Howe Bancroft a century ago. Allen-Leonard is a narrative history of the Church, aimed primarily at the Mormon audience. Arrington-Bitton is an interpretive history aimed primarily at non-Mormons. The first work fulfills its objective. The second falls a little short of its mark, described on its striking dust jacket as becoming “the standard one volume history of the institution and its people.” It is an important work, and some of its chapters are outstanding. A second printing is already correcting discrepancies of the type noted above. (It is to be hoped

that the Allen-Leonard volume—already out of print—will be accorded a similar opportunity.

When O’Dea wrote about “sources of Strain and Conflict” in the 1950s, he quoted a “Salt Lake City Mormon intellectual” as saying, “Only the questioning intellectual is unhappy.” (*The Mormons*, p. 224) In dwelling at some length on the pre-World War I Chamberlin-Peterson controversy at B.Y.U., and then saying virtually nothing about subsequent intellectual tensions, *The Mormon Experience* may leave the impression that O’Dea’s observation is no longer germane. This reviewer is flattered that his *Dialogue*-launched symbolism about “Iron Rods” and “Liahonas” is used on the last two pages of the book to support the up-beat thesis that “The checks and balances inherent in the two traditions and types of membership give Mormonism both stability and progressivism”. A rather persuasive case can be made, however, that the institutional Church is today less tolerant of intellectual questioning than at any time in the past generation.

Out of the Slot

Patriarchs and Politics: The Plight of the Mormon Woman. By Marilyn Warenski. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978. 104 pp. \$10.95.

Reviewed by Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Ph.D. candidate at the University of New Hampshire and member of the board of Exponent II. She is preparing a book-length study on female roles in early New England.

Mormons who believe feminism is deeply subversive will find confirmation in Marilyn Warenski’s *Patriarchs and Politics*. Her argument can be simply stated: Feminism and patriarchal religion are incompatible. Mormonism is a patriarchal religion. Therefore, there can be no such thing as Mormon feminism. For two hundred pages she reinforces her point by referring to Latter-day Saint “feminists” in quotes.

Warenski opens with a description of two

mass meetings of Utah women. The first, held in 1870, has been called “the most remarkable women’s rights demonstration of the age.” The second, the International Women’s Year conclave of 1977, became “one of the greatest anti-feminist demonstrations of our time.” The author’s interpretation of these two events sets the theme for the rest of the book. In her view, the seeming contradiction between Mormon suffragists of the nineteenth century and Relief Society activists of today is explained by the one constant in the history of Latter-day Saint women—devotion to the brethren.

The Relief Society, Warenski concludes, has always been little more than a “Sisterhood of the Brotherhood.” Although it made notable contributions to the development of the early west, even then its activities reflected “a complex mix of female strength and resourcefulness with female

submissiveness in a male authoritarian culture." They acted as the brethren directed. In our century, the brethren have directed an increasingly narrow role. "If for some Mormon women the idea of Christianity is to bake a cake for a sister when she is down," she argues, "it is also to turn her back on the major social problems that plague the world."

A few women resent this, but there is little they can do. In the only state in the union "where canning fruit can be directly related to eternal salvation," it is not easy for a talented housewife to find time for more significant endeavors. In this Skinner type utopia, "there are some unyielding members who keep popping out." (Warenski obviously considers herself one of these.) Others come crawling out, but "an unknown number feel locked in and remain constantly squirming at the bottom of their slots, and because women's slots are smaller and more confining than men's slots, some of them are stuffed in so they can't move. Squashed under the pressure of oughts and shoulds, of obey and conform, they find themselves truly in a bind."

As described by Warenski, "the plight of the Mormon woman" is primarily the plight of an insecure minority who want to see traditional roles expand but are afraid to attack the real source of their problems—the male priesthood. The faithful Mormon who believes herself a feminist has only two choices—to pray for a revelation or to foment a revolution. Warenski sees little hope for either. An organization run by aging businessmen has little capacity for change, and "ironically women who care enough about the Church to want to reform it would have too much to lose in the endeavor." Referring to "the continued exclusion of black males from the priesthood," she predicts hard times ahead for liberals.

Readers of *Dialogue* and *Exponent II* will recognize both the historical ironies and the anguish described in Warenski's book. But they will be disappointed if they expect to find in it a "searching examination of the Mormon culture." *Patriarchs and Politics* is a forceful polemic, but it is not the weighty work of scholarship its publishers promise. The much touted interviews with contemporary Mormon women are vaguely cited as "Marilyn L. Warenski's Oral History Project, transcribed by the Utah Historical

Society." But nowhere is the reader told how many women were interviewed, let alone how they were chosen or what format was used. The nineteenth-century material is based almost entirely on a handful of secondary accounts. Her selection and use of these sources is superficial. She quotes Jean Bickmore White's article on Utah's first female legislators, for example, but ignores her later work on the suffrage movement, perhaps because it undercuts her own argument that Utah's suffragists were mere "pawns" in the hands of the priesthood.

Far more serious is her misuse of Michael Quinn's dissertation. On page 146, in her discussion of nineteenth-century polygamy, she writes:

The emphasis was on procreation, because the Latter-day Saints intended to build a mighty nation on earth and in the eternal world. According to Dennis Michael Quinn's study entitled *The Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932: An American Elite*, "religion was the pretext, power was the motive."

What Quinn actually said was that when the *federal government* attacked the Mormon church through legislation, "polygamy was the pretext, but power was the motive." Superficial reading and sloppy notetaking, rather than blatant distortion, were perhaps the problems here. But the result is no less shoddy.

Warenski's two major sources for an understanding of Mormon doctrine are Sterling McMurrin and Rodney Turner. The scriptures elude her, which is regrettable because they might have saved her the embarrassment of chapter nine, "Unmarried In A Married Church," which laments the exclusion of single women from the celestial kingdom, as if *men* weren't the chief target of Doctrine & Covenants 131.

For Warenski, politics is a matter of counting heads. Since there are no females among the apostles, women are mere pawns. Equally simplistic is her understanding of historical change, which is brought about in her mind only by mass meetings or fiat. This is why she finds the daily struggles of the Saints so puzzling, and the writings of Mormon "feminists" so bland. Warenski is no more tuned to subtlety than Phyllis Schlafly, and no more interested in scholarly inquiry. Like the strident Latter-

day Saints who group "ERA, abortion and homosexuality" in one catalog of sins, she knows what she knows. The Mormon women who became defensive in her interviews may have been imposing self-censorship. On the other hand, they may simply have been wary of popping out of one slot only to be crammed into another.

Patriarchs and Politics is a shallow book, but it raises important questions. We have given too little attention to the gender distribution of authority in the kingdom. But a rigorous analysis of the problem must include not just the priesthood councils, which exclude females, but all those other organizations and committees, at all levels, which include them. What happens when authority is shared, as presumably it is in the Mutual? What is the relationship between the auxiliaries and the priesthood—not just on an organizational chart but in reality? How do women function on ward councils? On the general correlation committee? What is the impact of their virtual isolation from the Mormon "civil service," including the church building department, the social services department and the seminaries and institutes? In the realm of publications, are the needs of women better

served by integration (*The Ensign*) or by independence (*The Relief Society Magazine*)? In missionary work, can the Church continue to "lengthen its stride" while ignoring the services of young women? Mormon theories of family life stress both specialization of function and shared decision-making. How are these sometimes conflicting modes reflected in the church structure? Can they continue to coexist?

A serious analysis of the "plight" of Mormon women must look at their options, not only in relation to men in the Church but in relation to both men and women outside. *Specifically* where are the gaps? Are they shrinking or expanding? What are their sources? But above all, it must listen to the women themselves, not only to those who feel squashed, but to those who find their lives enriched, uplifted and sustained by the programs and teachings of the church. How do they differ from their disaffected sisters? What problems and conflicts do they share?

It is easy to dismiss a flashy book written by a lapsed believer, especially when it couples self-justification with a good dose of the truth. Faithful Mormons should not reject *Patriarchs and Politics* without feeling some responsibility to provide better answers of their own.

Out of Another Best Book

The Joy of Reading—An LDS Family Anthology. Edited by Robert K. Thomas, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1978. xii + 181 pp., biblio. \$4.95.

Reviewed by Gordon Allred, professor of English at Weber State College.

Latter-day Saints are fond of quoting a scripture from the *Doctrine and Covenants* that reads, "Seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom"—an injunction repeated with minor variation at least four times. All too often, however, as with certain other scriptural imperatives, many of us find the recitation easier than the application. To quote the redoubtable Pioneer-Prophet Brigham Young on the matter of counsel in a somewhat different context, "Yes, you

were a great deal more willing to take it than to obey it."

We neglect reading for various reasons. In part from what may be a rather narrow interpretation of the phrase "best books"—those best books, in short, being limited primarily to the standard works and certain writings of the General Authorities. They derive, as well, from an understandable and in some ways healthy suspicion regarding the focus of much contemporary literature (amoral, hedonistic, ultimately despairing). And frankly many active Church members simply do not have the time to read much of what they might like to read.

In the face of these obstacles, *The Joy of Reading—An LDS Family Anthology*, compiled and edited by Robert K. Thomas, may strike that forlorn note of the voice crying

in the wilderness—eminently deserving, depressingly unappreciated. On the *other* hand (intonations from *Fiddler's Tevya*), the one thing we may be assured of is change, and changes are occurring in Zion that may at least justify a guarded optimism on the part of Dr. Thomas and Bookcraft Publishers. To put it simply, the LDS establishment is at long last seeing the beginning of a cultural renaissance, a sudden burgeoning of indigenous literature, art and music that has required a century and a half to germinate and send forth roots. One may reasonably hope, then, that the LDS aesthetic culture will henceforth flourish continuously and, like its faith, "spring forth into a tree having everlasting life."

An achievement of such magnitude, however, cannot long endure in isolation. Just as the sapling must ultimately draw sustenance from many parts of the earth, the tree of a new and thriving art must ultimately draw upon the world of which it too is a part. The nonreading Mormon by very definition will see little application here initially, but awakening to the artistic and literary offerings of his own culture, he may gradually acquire a broader perspective. The creative Mormon writer will have worked from that perspective all along.

This returns us to *The Joy of Reading*, an appropriate title to an appropriate anthology—one which, without sacrificing quality, will offer even the most cloistered and censorious little cause for complaint. Enclosed within its pages are two poems, two essays, and nine stories, "none beneath the attention of adults or beyond the interest of children" to quote our editor. Among its offerings are Saki's "The Lumber Room" and Saroyan's "The Fifty Yard Dash," both delightfully humorous; Kipling's "Mowgli's Brothers," a highlight in narrative entertainment; Eileen Kump's "Sayso or Sense," a sensitive Mormon story of frustration and reconciliation; Chesterton's "A Piece of Chalk," a pleasantly philosophical essay; Benet's "Freedom's a Hard-Bought Thing," a suspenseful and inspiring tale from days of slavery; and Conrad's "Lagoon," an exquisitely poetic account of romance and tragedy.

One may feel that the editor has relied so heavily on the "straight" traditional in his apparent effort to captivate the uninitiated that he misses a good opportunity by failing

to include some quality contemporary offerings, fantasy and science fiction in particular. (Tolkein? Bradbury? Asimov?) The genre has not only acquired literary legitimacy over the years but it now ranks tops in reader popularity as well. Perhaps, also, the *Joy* collection might be balanced a bit more in favor of Mormon authors, affording its audience ready identification and more involvement.

Such observations are admittedly subjective, and not intended to detract from the merit of the selections nor the credentials of the editor. Robert K. Thomas is eminently qualified as literary mentor to fellow Mormons. Professor of English and current Academic Vice President of Brigham Young University, Dr. Thomas is co-editor with Bruce Clark of the five-volume series *Out of the Best Books*, a former cultural refinement course for the Relief Society.

These qualifications are apparent in the editor's commentaries on *The Joy of Reading* selections, each one effectively designed to stimulate family discussion. Consider the following observation on "The Lumber Room":

For those who believe that this life is part of an eternal plan in which every member of the human family is a child of God, this story touches chords that need to be heard beneath its surface entertainment. For instance, if parents are arbitrary and expedient in dealing with their children, they really encourage a distrust of both their good sense and good faith. If the necessity for some regulations cannot be fully explained to small children, parents need to guard against abusing their roles as family law-givers by neglecting—or refusing—to justify rules to those who are old enough to understand. If parents' replies to "Why?" are always "Because I told you to" or even the softer, "Because Daddy or Mother thinks it best, dear," it is difficult for children to develop the discrimination they will need when parents are no longer an automatic hedge against bad judgment.

Professor Thomas writes with insight and precision, words calculated to express rather than impress. His appraisal of "A Piece of Chalk" is apt:

The good essay does not stop thought

by delivering an easy answer; it stimulates reflection, evaluation and—more often than not—a wry awareness that the simplest concept, if considered deeply, illuminates everything else we

know.

If gut reaction (*faith* may be a more accurate term) is worth anything, *Joy* will see more editions than one—enough to justify additional volumes.

Sacred Architecture

The Early Temples of the Mormons: The Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West. By Laurel B. Andrew. Albany: State University of New York, 1978, 218 pp. \$15.00.

Reviewed by Peter L. Goss, associate professor of architecture at the University of Utah.

Most writing about the Church's sacred architecture of the nineteenth century (mainly theses and dissertations) has been restricted to the study of a single temple and tends to be historical rather than critical. Laurel Andrew's work, which grew from her PhD dissertation at the University of Michigan, attempts to integrate an architectural analysis of all the temples with the whole social and cultural history of the Mormons. Although noted architectural historians have always included Mormon temples in their studies, they have usually left important questions unanswered. What is the meaning of the temple in Mormon life? What is its relationship to Mormon theology? Ms. Andrew, in attempting to answer these questions, concludes that the last century actually produced an identifiable Mormon style in monumental architecture. This book makes a real contribution to the recent surge of interest in nineteenth century American buildings.

The first three chapters concern Mormonism, the role of the temple in Mormon theology, and the origins of the temples at Kirtland and Independence. The rest of the text covers the designs and historical backgrounds of the Nauvoo temple through the temple at Manti, including development of a Mormon architectural symbolism, the influence of Masonry, the changing ritual within the Church and the role of Brigham Young as designer. It ends with an architec-

tural analysis of the various temples.

Ms. Andrew describes the origins of temple architecture despite the paucity of primary sources. Determining the actual roles of such "architects" as William Weeks, Truman Angell, Senior and Junior and William Folsom was difficult, but she has admirably unraveled their relationships to the various temples and church leaders. Even though most of the Utah temples have undergone substantial interior renovation since the last century, she has managed to reconstruct and analyze a great many facts about the exteriors and interiors of the temples. She displays her strong familiarity with American architecture and its antecedents in her discussions of the Kirtland and Independence temples. She sustains this in discussing the Salt Lake City temple with its Masonic imagery and its fortress-like castellated style of the early gothic revival. She makes a strong argument that this style, occasionally found in the secular architecture of America, is derived from Masonic temples of the eastern United States. Its appearance in the Salt Lake City temple established the basis for further adaptation in the other Utah temples. She believes that what has occurred in these four temples is the emergence of a Mormon style, but whether or not four closely related temples can constitute an architectural style is open to debate.

In her architectural analysis, however, she could have used more of the extant plans and drawings to visually reinforce her statements so that the reader can judge certain points. In her discussion of the Independence temple, she provides only the facade design without additional plans and elevations. She should have provided these if they are not available from another printed source.

The author also omitted recently published works relevant to her study. Since

1973, when she completed her dissertation, a number of articles and some theses have dealt with Mormon and Utah architecture. These include articles in *Dialogue*, *Sunstone* and particularly in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* issue "Towards an Architectural Tradition" (43:3 Summer 1975). The latter publication would have been helpful in the author's comments on William Folsom's designs for the Manti temple which have recently been examined by Paul Anderson.

Ms. Andrew's writing style vacillates between an academic and a popular approach.

In some cases arguments are well documented while others are too abbreviated. Her bibliography is helpful, but the lack of an introduction and an index is unfortunate. Photographs and drawings are not properly scaled to the book's format, and some are of poor quality.

Despite this, Ms. Andrew's study is a much needed interpretation of sacred buildings, a basis for further critical studies on the Church and its architecture and a welcome addition to the growing research on Mormon and Utah architectural history.

World-Wide

The Expanding Church. By Spencer J. Palmer. Salt Lake City: Deseret Books, 1978. 232 pp., \$6.95.

Reviewed by Noel B. Reynolds in the *Department of Government of the Brigham Young University.*

On first impression, Spencer Palmer's new book may not appear promising. One wonders silently how even a man of Palmer's talents could make a coherent whole from twenty-three such diverse chapters. Not only is there a wide variety of modes of presentation, theme and genre, but there are at least eight identifiable authors. If this is an experiment in writing, however, it is a successful one. Palmer's book joins the recent biography of President Kimball as an account that is able to deal realistically with serious problems facing the Church and its individual members without wearing the dark glasses of cynicism. Rather, he finds beauty and genuine inspiration in life as it is actually lived. Any serious reader will find this powerful, believable and valuable.

Palmer's book accomplishes many things. Of considerable interest and value is his compilation of the history of the international expansion of the Church and the statistics documenting these developments. Also of great value is his sensitive correlation of prophetic statements on the international responsibility of the Church. The central point of the book is a fireside talk in which Elder Bruce R. McConkie, with char-

acteristic clarity and vision, develops these themes. The book also offers well-informed assessments of the practical difficulties facing the Church in its world-wide mission. Essays by David M. Kennedy and Soren F. Cox detail this challenge from their respective perspectives as ambassador for the Church at large and as first mission president in a strange, new culture. Insightful comments placed throughout the book by the author himself add to this dimension. Finally, and the high point of the book, is the collection of carefully assembled autobiographical accounts of the initial experiences of three convert families and their subsequent growth in the Church over two or more generations. The convincing reality, the contagious humility and the pervasive spirituality of these accounts raise the reader to insight and spiritual empathy.

We live in a day when the inability of our youth and many adults to distinguish between genuine spiritual experience and concocted sentimentality has created a rich market for those who can grind out tear-jerking stories. In the three family stories he presents Palmer has provided us with a unique counter to these. My favorite is the autobiographical account of Pablo Choc, a poor Guatemalan Indian whose sole livelihood since his earliest memory was the produce of the small plot of land and the animals his family was able to maintain. As Brother Choc recounts his earliest political and social experiences and his subsequent exposure to the gospel, we read of a simple

man who speaks the truth about universal human experiences. No attempt is made to shape his experience or the Church to fit idealized preconceptions. Rather, we see an honest man who, like Joseph Smith, was satisfied from his own investigation that the competing religions of his day did not seem to have the truth. As he struggled with the routine challenges of life he kept an eye out for answers to his questions about higher matters. There is a world of difference in the level of sophistication of the world in which Pablo Choc was living when the missionaries found him and the world in which most missionary contacts live. But there is a similarity in feelings, the insights and the spiritual witness that he recounts when he observed the missionaries conducting a funeral for the mother of his Mormon friend, and then later as they came to his own humble home. As he tells of his conversion and his gradual affiliation with the Church, every honest reader will see his own experiences, his own life, his own temptations and his own victories. This story poses a challenge to wealthy and sophisticated

American and European members of the Church: For if one's heart is proud, and one despises the poor, here is a man he cannot despise. This uneducated Guatemalan Indian is our brother. He is an elder and a president of a branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He has dedicated nineteen years of his life to the building up of the kingdom in his village. His oldest son, Daniel, was able to become a missionary with the support of \$100 a year which Pablo and others provided and his life was taken in an accident while he was helping members of the Church restore an earthquake-damaged home.

Palmer artfully joins diverse elements into an effective and coherent work. Although he does not raise the obvious questions that each reader must raise for himself, he seems to be saying that the membership of the Church around the world must ultimately embrace all their brothers and sisters in the equality of the Saints. Palmer's book carries many valuable messages, but this is one of the chief among them.

The Last Anecdotes

Deity and Death. Edited by Spencer J. Palmer. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978, 156 pp. \$5.95.

Reviewed by Peter Y. Windt, associate professor of philosophy at the University of Utah.

This book includes seven essays, divided into two groups. The first three essays, collected under the heading, "Death and Dying," deal with a variety of practices, attitudes and beliefs on the significance of death and appropriate ways of dealing with death. The last four essays, under the heading "Deity and the Divine", include a comparative study of ascension motifs, a comparison of the roles of reverence for life in Eastern and Western religions and studies on the origins and character of some major aspects of religious thought in Japan and China. While the range of topics discussed is very extensive, the combination is not

implausible. We might expect discussion of the institutions for dealing with death in a given society to reveal some important characteristics of predominant religious attitudes and beliefs in that society. And we might expect an investigation of religious attitudes and beliefs to explain some aspects of institutions dealing with death. All the essays are short, congenial and easily read. They tend to be anecdotal, with a potpourri of facts, conjectures and suggestions. The reader can come away with interesting tidbits such as he might gain from an evening's casual conversation with the authors. Such a conversation is not without its rewards, and if the collection is approached in anticipation of such rewards, it will be worth reading.

On the other hand, those who are seriously attempting to come to grips with the issues upon which these essays touch are likely to be disappointed. The information and suggestions could be made more sig-

nificant to the serious reader by bearing on the individual or social needs which various practices or attitudes seem to serve: whether those needs are basic to human nature or are products of particular social structures. They might bear on whether or not institutions, attitudes and beliefs are designed intentionally to serve certain needs, or whether they simply have sprung from past successes. Questions could be raised about the effectiveness of various institutions in dealing with these needs. Other questions could be raised about the internal consistency of beliefs, attitudes and practices. One could explore philosophical or theological arguments for or against the coherence, ap-

propriateness or moral correctness of the attitudes and institutions considered.

Each of these issues calls for its own methodological approach, employing the arguments and evidence appropriate to it. But these issues are not distinguished clearly in these essays, nor are they supported by evidence or argument. In fact, the essays are so anecdotal that they even fail to provide guidelines for informed speculation.

Although these essays were not intended to be technical papers, the scholars who wrote them could have outlined some of the ways in which their information could contribute to a better grasp of basic issues. It is regrettable that they did not do so.

Panorama of the First Century

A Mormon Bibliography, 1830-1930: Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals, and Broad-sides Relating to the First Century of Mormonism. Edited by Chad Flake with Introduction by Dale L. Morgan; University of Utah Press, xxxii, 828 [84] pp., illus., index. \$75.

Reviewed by Donald R. Moorman, professor of history at Weber State College.

Confirmed scholars are a tenacious lot, and when a combination of learned men pool their genius great things occur. Such is this magnum opus. The product of over a quarter century of labored research, this bibliography is the finest thing since Hubert H. Bancroft completed the first great study of Utah's history in the closing years of the nineteenth century.

A brief review cannot do justice to the scholarship, wealth of materials, or the variety of literature found in this massive study, but those who pursue specific research related to Mormon matters will find the bibliography an index to this western religious culture. "Anyone who leafs through this volume," Dale Morgan writes in his introduction, "even in idle curiosity, is going to acquire a new and panoramic view of, a fresh insight into, Mormonism as a phenomenon in American and world history. The titles and authorship of the various

books speak eloquently not only of Mormonism, but also of the general culture exemplified by Mormonism as a religion, society and personal experience."

The work is restricted to books, periodicals, Mormon or predominantly Mormon newspapers, pamphlets, and broadsides pertaining to the first century of Mormonism. But it was not the intention of its editors to provide a complete union catalog of Mormonism; rather, they included numerous listings of adequate locations when items could be found.

This long awaited volume was conceived in 1949 by the masterful student of the Mormons, Dale L. Morgan, a native of Utah, who was awarded a Guggenheim fellowship to study early Mormon history. Morgan was a many faceted scholar who found new interest in the settlement of the West, particularly in the fur trade of the Rocky Mountains. The quality of these works led the academic world to look forward with great anticipation to the continuation of his Mormon bibliography, as well as to his exciting projected study of related church histories; however, Morgan lost interest in the work and allowed the bibliography to be resumed by John James, then librarian at the Utah Historical Society. Over the years other names were given custodial care until Chad Flake finally completed the massive project.

After maddening delays, Chad brought

the work to its final form, again drawing on the mind of Dale Morgan for needed criticism. Sadly, Dale Morgan never lived to see it in print; he died suddenly on March 30, 1971. But even in death his influence remains, seldom faulted, always admonishing historians on the use of discriminating evaluation of evidence. While Morgan believed that the final product would be a success, his enthusiasm was dampened by the fear that too much would be claimed for the bibliography. "From here on it is going to be a basic tool, but other tools must join it in the chest before Mormon scholarship can be considered adequately equipped for its job. We badly need a bibliography of articles pertaining to Mormonism published in general American periodicals from early times." Thousands of volumes of county histories are also in need of careful evaluation, Morgan would plead. In addition newspapers from 1820 must be examined and Mormon materials extracted.

This suggestive introduction raises many interesting questions and merits careful study and reflection. Although Morgan's observations are of the highest caliber, he failed to note important research being carried out by Davis Bitton and others who have tried to answer his plea for excellence in historiographical research. Bitton's *Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* was published in 1977 and favorably reviewed by this writer in *Dialogue* (Summer, 1978).

A man of quiet ways and gentle persua-

sion, Chad Flake worked from his position as special collections librarian at Brigham Young University to amass 12,000 entries from church, private and university libraries around the nation. Financial assistance, long needed by the study, finally came from the University of Utah Research Council. Guided by a sound historical approach, he pursued his destiny with the zeal and determination of a true believer. Although this massive work of painful erudition bears the trademark of the scholars mentioned, as well as Everett Cooley, Lyman Tyler and Norma Mikkelsen, director of the University of Utah Press, central credit must be given to Chad Flake. The extraordinary synthesis of so much widely dispersed information would have discouraged scholars of lesser determination. The editor has employed rigorous standards of accuracy, both in content and execution. Proofreading is uniformly careful, though human error could not be totally avoided in the finished product. The work is well organized and clearly written; its quality augers well for successive publications.

While readers and historians together might be stunned by the high cost of this quality work, its sound scholarship, rich contents, skillful exposition, informative reading and first class contribution to Mormon history will more than balance its cost. I congratulate Chad Flake and his associates for this lasting gift to future generations of readers.

Natural Theology

Science and Religion in America, 1800-1860. By Herbert Hovenkamp. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978. xii + 273 pp. \$16.00

Reviewed by Erich Robert Paul, assistant professor of the history of science at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

The birth of modern science in the seventeenth century fostered an intellectual climate which favored the growth of Natural Theology. Conditions were such during this period that scientific and religious views

complemented and supported mutual intellectual concerns. Indeed, as the noted Newtonian scholar Richard S. Westfall has argued, these developments have made it increasingly apparent that the relation of science to religion in the seventeenth century is the central question in the history of modern Western thought. As a study in rational religion, Natural Theology asserted that the Christian God created a universe in which laws, design, purpose and harmony were paramount, and that the scientist, being a Christian, could find justification for his religious convictions in his scientific

studies. The basic premise of Natural Theology holds that nature contains clear, compelling evidence of God's existence and perfection. In defending Christianity through the tenets of Natural Theology, Christian scientists (or "virtuosi," as they were called) prepared the ground for the deists of the Enlightenment. In time a radically different world-view emerged from their writings: the mechanical universe governed by immutable natural laws, the transcendent God removed and separated from his creation, the moral law which took the place of spiritual worship, the rational man able to discover the true religion without the aid of special revelation. Remove only the reverence for Christianity that the virtuosi maintained and deism, the religion of reason, steps full grown from their writings.

Fundamental to an understanding of the relation of science to religion was a problem first articulated fully in the works of these seventeenth-century virtuosi and transmitted to later generations. By supporting certain religious claims through means of scientific verification, they grounded essential aspects of their religious understanding on contemporary scientific views. Later generations inevitably saw these as being inadequate and misinformed, particularly as scientific understanding changed with new discoveries and the introduction of new explanatory theories. And by implication, religious convictions so grounded lost not only their rational underpinnings, but also their credibility, generally resulting in the retrenchment of prevailing religious dogma.

The study of Natural Theology, including these less obvious implications for organized religion, was transmitted to the emerging American intellectual community through the very fabric of modern science itself developed by the virtuosi and eighteenth-century philosophers. *Science and Religion in America* considers these problems and focuses on those individuals, regardless of religious denomination, who responded to important scientific issues of the day. Therefore, as the author notes, his book is more properly "organized as a history of science and not as a history of religion." Its contents will be of interest to historians of American religion who understand that the world view of the natural philosopher before Darwin was generally compatible with the Christian (Protestant) world, and that it

was not seen generally as an alternative, competitive enterprise to matters religious. In the first half of his book, Hovenkamp discusses the relationship of various philosophical and methodological views espoused chiefly by theologians and philosophers to the evolving character of American religion. In particular he considers Scottish Common-Sense Realism, Kantianism, German Idealism, and biblical criticism. Central to his discussion is the view that American religion before about mid-century was actively engaged in Natural Theology, and that therefore it sought to verify certain fundamental religious tenets within a scientific framework. As with many Christian clergy interested in science and Natural Theology, American scientists interpreted many of their religious convictions with a decidedly scientific slant. The problem central to these developments, as Hovenkamp argues, is that as long as Christianity "clung to religious tenets based on [scientific] verifiability it was doomed. Science would inevitably destroy the historical bases for those beliefs, and [Christians] . . . would have nothing left to defend." This is the key question which the author identifies as basic among Christians, both theologians and scientists, in the relationship of science to religion in nineteenth-century America.

This claim is examined in detail in the last half of his book where the author considers in successive chapters the "exciting scientific issues of the day": geology (including the age and the method of creation of the earth), biblical chronology, physical anthropology and the origin of man, comparative philology, and pre-Darwinian evolution. He shows that these various natural and social sciences exacerbated tensions between organized religion and Natural Theology to the point that by the second half of the nineteenth century, most theologians and scientists avoided attempts to verify biblical claims scientifically.

Hovenkamp's thesis is neither original nor startling. C.C. Gillispie, in his excellent *Genesis and Geology*, has examined the parallel case among the British of the impact of scientific discoveries upon religious beliefs in the half-century before Darwin. Both authors provide impressive evidence of the fundamental importance which geology came to play in concerns central to Natural Theology during this period. Indeed, as

Hovenkamp shows, the first natural science to threaten American Protestantism was geology. Historians of science will recognize, however, that Hovenkamp's understanding of the French paleontologist Georges Cuvier, who was central to the developments in geology and paleontology at this time, is misinformed. Through various treatises, Cuvier had a significant impact on geology, both American and European. Cuvier espoused a "cyclical" theory of geological revolutions, often called "catastrophism," whereas uniformitarian views became increasingly influential only after his death in 1832. He rarely used the word "catastrophism" to describe his non-uniformitist views, however, because its overtones of disaster were largely extraneous to his conceptions of regular and natural processes. Even more, he avoided the term "creationism" for its biblical implications and because it suggested a world-view which he absolutely rejected. Differences in the meanings of the words "cyclical," "revolution," "catastrophism" and "creationism" were altogether ignored, however, in the English edition of his seminal *Essay on the Theory of the Earth* (1812) translated by the Scottish geologist Robert Jameson in 1813. Jameson explicitly interpreted Cuvier's "revolutions" in terms of his own creationist views. And since most English-speaking scientists learned of Cuvier's theory of revolutions through Jameson's editions, it is hardly surprising that Cuvier was assumed to be supporting arguments in favor of the truths of religion based upon the findings of science. Hovenkamp consistently interprets Cuvierian science according to Jameson *vis-a-vis* Cuvier himself. Since American geology was based less directly on Cuvierian paleontology and geology than on Jameson's creationist geology, however, the impact of Hovenkamp's misunderstanding is somewhat mitigated.

Aside from numerous historical and religious events considered in *Science and Religion in America* which invite thoughtful comparison with developments of the Restoration, there is much within the Mormon world-view itself which should compel students of Mormon history and theology to examine its contents. For many Mormons in the latter quarter of the twentieth century, as for Protestants during the first half of the nineteenth, issues involving the age and creation of the earth, biblical and new world

chronology, the origin of man and evolutionary hypotheses remain central concerns which demand attention. For instance, in recent times the highly polemicized conflict regarding the historicity of the *Book of Mormon* has led to serious attempts to establish a literal archeological meaning to its content. As an example of Natural Theology, *Dialogue* readers are probably aware of the potential pitfalls of such endeavors (see, for instance, volume VIII(2), pp. 40-55 and more recently volume XI(3), pp. 92-94). Hovenkamp has shown that historically the scientific verification of religious and theological assertions grounded on current theories and trends in science will almost inevitably lead to bitter results. This is particularly unfortunate if, in the process of supporting theological convictions using techniques and the body of knowledge available from science, strictly theological claims were to become less credible by association with potentially outdated scientific concepts and ideas.

There are numerous Mormon theological assertions, however, which have suggested a context of (scientific) verifiability implicit within Mormon dogma. Few contemporary Christian religions have so adamantly asserted the unity of faith and reason. Such claims as "all blessings are predicated on laws properly understood" and "spirit is merely a more refined form of matter" suggest that Mormonism embraces a full-fledged philosophical realism. Moreover, it has been construed often from statements such as "the glory of God is intelligence" and "knowledge and intelligence gained in this life will be to one's advantage in the next" that perhaps God's "science" is only more "refined" or "advanced" than ours. How are these various concerns to be understood? Are they to be taken literally, and if so will Mormons be compelled to repeat the mistakes of their Christian brethren chronicled in the long and torturous history of Natural Theology? Should we rather understand such assertions metaphorically, and interpret our scriptural revelations as a process of historical conditioning? Perhaps resolution and unity can be achieved by attention to techniques of linguistic analysis. Words like "spirit," "light," "truth," "intelligence" and "law" may otherwise invite confusion, particularly if one views religion in the context of Natural Theology.

Despite provocative parallels which can be drawn between nineteenth-century Protestantism and twentieth-century Mormonism with regard to theological issues and contemporary scientific views, Hovenkamp has written a serious historical essay on the

development of Natural Theology in pre-Darwinian America. As such *Science and Religion in America* will provide a refreshing glance at events rarely considered though significant which helped shape the Christian world-view.

Brief Notices

by Gene A. Sessions

Finding Aids to the Microfilmed Manuscript Collection of the Genealogical Society of Utah. Edited by Roger M. Haigh. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978.

Containing the largest collection of filmed manuscripts in the world (over a million 100-foot rolls), the library of the Church's Genealogical Department has long intrigued scholars, and particularly historians, as a potential gold mine of international research materials. Now, with the opening publications in this series of aids, researchers can begin in earnest to probe its depth and to extract some of the wealth Mormon genealogical labors have assembled in such remarkable abundance. The process of producing these aids began in 1976 when a group of distinguished scholars came to Salt Lake City under the sponsorship of the University of Utah's history department to evaluate the potential of the collection and to facilitate its use. One of the results of this endeavor was the Center for Historical Population Studies under the direction of Dean L. May. The first three publications in the aids series have now appeared under the auspices of the Center: *Preliminary Survey of the Mexican Collection* (216 pp., \$12.00); *Preliminary Survey of the German Collection* (ca.400 pp., \$15.00); *Descriptive Inventory of the English Collection* (ca.250 pp., \$12.00). In addition to preliminary surveys of large national collections and descriptive inventories of collections less than 50% complete, the Press plans to publish detailed bibliographic guides of complete collections. Currently being prepared are three more publications with additional ones scheduled for the next three years. With

these exciting developments, Church headquarters will surely become an essential center for historical research, unparalleled in its breadth and usefulness as "a resource for systematic . . . investigations in such areas as demography, family structure and planning, marriage practices, land use and wealth structure and accumulation." And the purposes of Mormonism continue to expand.

Through Temple Doors. By John K. Edmunds. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishers, 1978. Viii+139 pp., index. \$4.95.

Those scholars visiting the City of the Saints to use the facilities of the Genealogical Department undoubtedly recognize that some strange and mystical energy has compelled the Mormons, astonishingly enough, "to gather records on everyone who has ever lived." They also make the connection all of this has to the phenomenon of Mormon temple work. A sound explanation, however, of the intricacies of LDS doctrine concerning the salvation of the dead will not come forth as readily as it should. Such books as *Through Temple Doors* continue to aim themselves at the faithful, repeating the same faith-promoting stories and discussions of what it means "to go through the temple." But while doing little to help the outsider understand these truly peculiar aspects of Mormonism, works such as this one by a former president of the Salt Lake Temple do provide the believer (and the beleaguered ecclesiastical leader) with some valuable information concerning the history of temples generally, the plan of salvation and the various temple rites. Capably written and well-documented, *Through Temple Doors* should probably grace the desk of

every Mormon leader. For a competent treatise on the subject for outsiders we still wait.

Western Carpetbagger: The Extraordinary Memoirs of "Senator" Thomas Fitch edited by Eric N. Moody. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1978, 284 pp., index. \$5.25.

In the crowd of legendary scoundrels in the Old West, one of the most obscure and yet the most curious was Tom Fitch. Armed with a healthy dose of charisma (mixed with unmitigated gall), he traveled the Great Basin getting everything he could in any way he could. At various times a lawyer, politician, actor, journalist and broker, he thrived on what P.T. Barnum would later define as the sucker-a-minute syndrome. Among his contacts were Brigham Young and other illustrious Mormons of the time, including Daniel H. Wells who employed Fitch's "legal" services in his and Young's behalf during the so-called Judicial Crusade of 1870-72. Fitch also played a prominent role in Utah territorial politics for a brief period in the early seventies before moving on to fry fatter fish. But this book, drawn from Fitch's papers, is valuable not only because of its unique glimpses of Mormonism during the crucial period of the 1870s, but also because of its irreverent yet sensitive look at the characters and atmospheres pervading the entire West when it was certainly wild, and in Fitch's case, very woolly.

The Outlaw Trail by Robert Redford, photography by Jonathan Blair. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Publishers, 1976, 219 pp., index, illus., maps. \$25.00.

Published more than two years ago, this beautiful coffee-table book has done so well that its publisher has issued a large second printing (and raised the price). The best thing about it is the magnificent photography depicting the outlaw trail country, a vast expanse of the central Rockies where legendary outlaws roamed across the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Blair, a noted photoessayist under contract with the National Geographic Society, allows little of the flavor of the region to escape his lens. His work, interspersed with well-selected historical photographs, maps and illustrations, provides a magnificent panorama of the Old West, past and present, seldom equalled in publishing history. In fact, it is such a beautiful volume that one does not

notice Robert Redford's face on every other page, nor does one mind Redford's bland text.

A Gathered Church: The Literature of the English Dissenting Interest, 1700-1930. By Donald Davie. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978. 138 pp., index. \$9.95.

It is comforting to know that even such paragons of publishing purity as Oxford University Press occasionally contribute pieces of obscurity to tantalize and then to disappoint the scholarly community. This one, which contains a collection of Davie's lectures on the philosophies of such dissenting religionists as the Wesleyans, Baptists, Calvinists, and Presbyterians, is so pedantic and dull that even someone versed in the subject finds it soporific. Critic Scott Loughton, for example, writes that "Davie seems to have given these lectures from himself to himself for clarification of ideas that he admits are of concern only to him." Who says that only Mormon scholars get bogged down in the minutia of their narrow little sphere?

The City of the Angels and the City of the Saints; or, A Trip to Los Angeles and San Bernardino in 1856. By Edward O.C. Ord. Edited by Neal Harlow. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1978. Xx+56 pp. \$7.50.

Edward Otho Cresap Ord, whose name alone demanded some fame, traveled to California with a small contingent of troops in 1856 and wrote of his experiences in this recently discovered manuscript. Known most widely in the West for having lent his last name to the infamous fort in California, Ord also distinguished himself as a Union general during the Civil War. With the publication of this account, containing also parts of his diary and official report, Ord has now become the name of an important historical source on the early history of Mormons (and other Americans) in Southern California. Colorful and rich in description, the manuscript deserved publication and will become a valuable source for future discussions of this part of Mormon and Western history.

Religion in the City of Angels: American Protestant Culture and Urbanization, Los Angeles, 1850-1930. By Gregory H. Singleton. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1979. 265 pp. \$27.95.

Another intriguing journey into the fascinating place that is quickly becoming America's primal city, this work uses both demographic and traditional sources to explore the relationship between religion and urbanization as they have effected vast social change in Los Angeles. Singleton maintains that Protestant organizations employed sophisticated methods to "Americanize" the former Catholic city and that these techniques were themselves partly responsible for the evolution of a "secular" City of Angels. While Singleton's main point is that this then reflected the "development of the American society as a whole," students of Mormonism will find his work (and the methods that built it) suggestive of forces that may have helped to "secularize" the City of Saints during the same period.

Krinkle Nose: A Prayer of Thanks. By Dean Turner. Old Greenwich, Connecticut: Devin-Adair Company, 1979. 92 pp., illus. \$4.95.

Speaking of Protestants, here is a book by a Colorado minister that deserves attention not only for its powerful ode to fatherly love but because it is being distributed in the West by the "Western States Book Warehouse" at BYU. Indeed, it could have come from the mind of a Mormon, and perhaps should have. Except for its continuous flow of evangelical Christian lingo, it brings lumps to throats as it calls for more devotion to the little ones that come from the heart of Jesus. Written in the form of a prayer, it is an account of Turner's son, named Taos (after the city) but called affectionately Krinkle Nose. Anyone who loves kids, and thinks that indeed of such is the kingdom of God, will love this well-conceived book on the dynamics of cherishing a little child.

From Hopalong to Hud: Thoughts on Western Fiction. By C.L. Sonnichsen. College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1978. 190 pp. \$9.95.

Virginia Sorensen. By L.L. Lee and Sylvia B. Lee. Boise: Boise State University Press, 1978. 50 pp. \$2.00.

Barbara and Jerry Bernstein, *Dialogue* readers and *aficionados* of Western literature, have called our attention to two items that deserve notice in this section, the first a somewhat comprehensive survey of West-

ern fiction, and the second one of a number in an impressive series of booklets discussing the works and impact of more than thirty (to date) of the most prominent Western writers.

Sonnichsen's book, writes Jerry, "runs the gamut of the genre—Wyatt Earp to Tombstone, Apache to Mexican, Hopalong to Hud, sharecropper to cowpoke, rapine to torture, stereotype to reality." He classifies the eleven essays contained therein as "pithy and provocative" and as "the most up-to-date annotated bibliography of Western literature extant." A major disappointment for Bernstein, however, is common to most students of Mormonism who usually notice that even such authors as Sonnichsen almost always leave hanging the impact of Mormons on recent Western fiction.

Number 31 in the Boise State University Western Writers Series, the pamphlet on Sorensen exemplifies the quality and contribution of all thirty-five completed volumes edited by Wayne Chatterton and James H. Maguire. Ranging from examinations of such "traditionally-studied" figures as Vardis Fisher, Wallace Stegner and Zane Grey to more regionally specialized authors such as Jack Schaefer, Mary Hallock Foote and Ruth Suckow, the series provides selected bibliographies and thorough critical essays on each writer. In preparation are works on Robert Cantwell, Jack Kerouac and others, as well as on Scandinavian immigrant literature. A hefty list of forthcoming titles includes several dozen Western writers of varying stature from Theodore Roosevelt and Will Rogers to Tillie Olsen and Ina Coolbrith. As for the issue on Virginia Sorensen, Barbara Bernstein finds its discussions of Sorensen's works filled with "clarity and enthusiasm" while outlining carefully her sense of place, community and history "as defining her special vision," which of course played its unique role in the place of Mormons in Western history and literature. Bernstein was particularly impressed with the cover design by Army Skov, "showing the Manti Temple surrounded by its tall iron fence, perfectly expressing the dominance of religion in Sorensen's books, and the power of religion to fence people in and out."

Jayhawk. By Dorothy M. Keddington, Salt Lake City: Olympus, 1978. Viii+244pp. \$6.95.

Here is a novel that will never make it into such a bibliography as the Boise State series, unless it is one mentioning works with a Western or Mormon connection one should not bother to read. Critic LaVon B. Carroll classes *Jayhawk* "into a category of light domestic romance, a perennial favorite with adolescents of all ages in search of the ephemereal dream that in a world of sex and violence all can be overcome by love, pretty clothes and nature in its springtime innocence." Having something to do with a young girl from Michigan who comes to Wyoming and falls in love with a noble savage in the form of a half-breed named Jay Bradford, the book is "poorly crafted." But this is the least of its sins, according to Carroll:

Keddington tells her story almost completely through the clumsy device of long, overwritten and self-indulgent dialogue. There are some passages of fair description of the Wyoming landscape but little freshness of language. In the main the style is that of the stories in ladies' magazines of the thirties and forties in which an adorably sweet young woman is seen changing her clothes, fixing her hair, preparing food, setting tables and blithely conquering all through her tender and passionate love. At times she is daring enough to let her night-gown slip off her shoulders!

The plethora of domestic detail is supposed to mitigate the nasty details of a bitter family feud and racial hatred, I suppose, but I think it dishonest to claim that this makes for "wholesomeness." It takes more than the absence of "explicit sex scenes and open violence" to make an honest or decent work of art.

Diaries and Personal Journals: Why and How. By William G. Hartley. Salt Lake City: Primer Publications, 1978. 28 pp. \$1.95.

Following Hartley's idea booklets on personal histories and oral histories (the latter co-authored with Gary Shumway), this pamphlet contains literally everything one needs to know to get started in the craft of keeping a journal, which skill then increases in its own unique way as it progresses and grows to be part of the diarist's soul. Devoted to brevity as well as thoroughness, Hartley describes the entire process from mechanics and suggested topics to such aspects of the task as "problems and dangers" and what to do with the completed product.

Although Wilford Woodruff did not have, and perhaps did not need, the suggestions of Bill Hartley, the rest of us might benefit greatly from a reading of this booklet.

The Bureaucratic Experience. By Ralph P. Hummel. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977. Xiii+222 pp., biblio., index. \$4.95 (paper).

A note from Sociologist Kay Gillespie who, after finishing Hummel's classic on the sorrows of bureaucracy, made the following observations:

Along with the change in relations within organizations such as the Church due to bureaucracy has come a change in the roles within such organizations. Hummel divides these into "managers," "functionaries" and "clients." Managers are those in the upper hierarchy who control the organization. Functionaries are those who work within the organization on lower levels, and clients are those who are served by the organization.

Within Mormonism and "mormocracy," there has arisen the personality of the "mormocrat." This occurs most frequently on the functionary level among those who are striving to become managers. The mormocrat spends less time trying to understand the gospel and more time trying to understand the structure of the organization and how to use it step-ladder fashion. Once the mormocrat has used the structure and his knowledge of it to attain the level of manager, he is quick to assume that this position is a reward for spirituality and personal worthiness.

This change from "community" to "bureaucracy" within Mormonism has developed an attitude of cynicism among modern Mormons. Without specifically identifying it as such, members of the Church no longer strive to develop attributes of spirituality, honesty and humility. Instead, they devote their time to obtaining the outward manifestations of such attributes. Spirituality becomes a deep voice, an emotional presentation or a deliberate demeanor. Honesty becomes telling people what they want to hear, and humility becomes self-debasement in the face of accomplishments. Young people are taught the "as if" principle so that acting spiritual replaces being spiritual, and honest criticism is replaced by an attitude of love that precludes any form of negativism—even in the face of blatant error.

Could Hummel be describing a church of *Ladder-day Saints*?

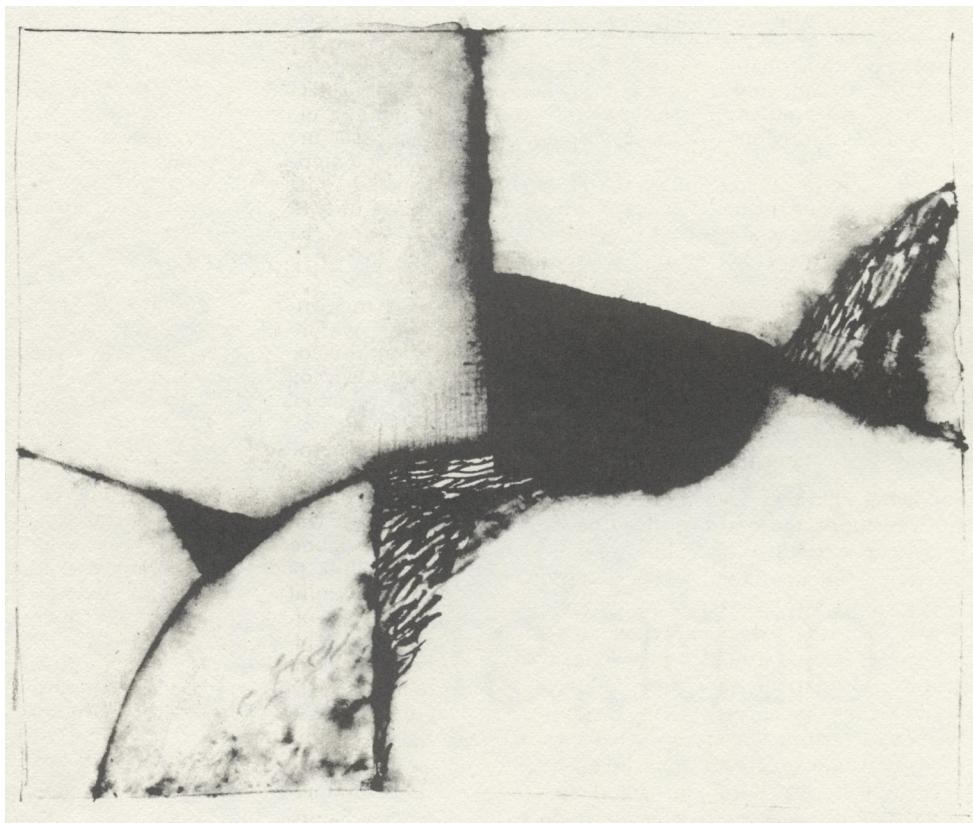
Christ and the Inner Life. By Truman G. Madsen. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishers, 1978. 62 pp. \$3.95.

At first glance, this little volume seems to be of the same class as the last two—BYU prof, Mormon market, old stuff—but the contents are of a much higher worth. Madsen's appeal here for an LDS commitment to Christ fills a void too often present in the Mormon makeup. His demand is for the Mormon to become a Christian in the true sense of the word, to reach a point of real relationship to matters spiritual. In a Mormon world so full of crassness and concern for the outward signs, *Christ and the Inner Life* represents a refreshing call for a return to the first principle, faith in Jesus Christ. Whether the student of Mormonism is a partaker of such faith or not, and despite Madsen's habitual clichés, a reading of this book is a lilting experience reminiscent of

the report of Joseph and Sidney when they saw Him.

Petroglyphs and Pictographs of Utah, Volume One: The East and Northeast. By Kenneth B. Castleton. Salt Lake City: Utah Museum of Natural History, 1978. Xxii+216 pp., illus., maps, index. \$15.00.

Castleton is a physician who spent his retirement years photographing and cataloguing Utah's primitive rock art. The result of his fascination with this beautiful and endangered vision of America's ancients is this handsome volume that details Indian art sites in the Uintah Basin and the areas around Price, Moab and Capitol Reef. Hopefully, Castleton's work will not hasten the destruction of remaining sites by making them known to those with such intentions, but will instead increase awareness of the fragile beauty of Utah's Indian rock art and hence increase chances for its continued preservation.



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