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

CONTENTS

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

women's issues

Please do something on the naughty women's movement. We need more discussion of *issues* rather than warmed-over historical Ph.D. dissertations.

E. Michael Southwick
Bujumbura, Dept. of State

Note: *We are planning an anniversary issue of the "pink" women's issue in 1981. Meanwhile, see Dixie Snow Huefner (Volume XI, Number 1) and Susan Taylor Hansen (Volume XII, Number 2). We are also planning articles on the Sonia Johnson controversy.*

I would like to thank *Dialogue* for publishing Susan Taylor Hansen's well written discussion of the Equal Rights Amendment. The ERA is an issue which is in need of some honest, open discussion within the Church, and I appreciate your willingness to present in such a forthright manner, a viewpoint which has thus far been ignored by the Church media.

Nadine R. Hansen
Cupertino, California

Susan Taylor Hansen's attempt to help reduce "astonishing ignorance of the basic legal questions involved" in the ERA debate was most welcome, but I found that her essay also caused me to experience some degree of frustration. As a long time board member of my community's League of Women Voters, I have been exposed to many sensible reasons for supporting passage of an ERA. I have also studied (*pondered* might be a better word) statements from the First Presidency and the Relief Society General Board, and have found them to be limited in helping me evaluate this complex issue, at least on an intellectual level. Making a decision on a spiritual level may well be another matter entirely—perhaps spiritual confirmation of the Church's position is a challenge which must be taken seriously by all members. The many ambiguities one encounters when studying arguments from both sides may make such confirmation our only recourse, but I am nonetheless more comfortable when decisions confirmed spiritually are to some degree supported by the rational.

I have been looking for information that would paint a clearer picture. I would certainly enjoy being able to more sensibly articulate reasons to *not* support ERA passage, in the face of generally sensible pro-ERA argument. Thus I was tantalized by Ms. Hansen's statement that "certainly there are many worthy arguments against the ERA," and by her reference to "meaningful discussion of any underlying moral issues," My frustration stems from her decision to leave these areas dangling. I would be personally delighted to find a more complete discussion of such "worthy arguments," and would particularly enjoy an expanded treatment of the underlying moral issues which are apparently perceived by our church leaders.

Helen Holmes Duncan
Danbury, Connecticut

As I reviewed your recent *Dialogue* reviewing some historical facets of the Negro and the priesthood, I wanted to know if you have published or will publish any research on the issue of women receiving the priesthood within the Church. It is not clear to me whether the issue of women not holding the priesthood is a policy issue or a doctrinal issue. If it is doctrinal, I would be interested in finding out whether or not it is an irrevocable doctrine or whether the Church would consider giving women the priesthood.

Robert F. Bohn
Provo, Utah

I don't favor the ERA as presently constituted. Through the fourteenth and the recent interpretations of the fifth amendments we have enough constitutional guarantees to enforce equality if the will is there to do it. I feel bad that so much energy is being expended in counterproductive measures like the boycott of conventions in states that have not passed ERA—putting supporters and opponents alike in economic jeopardy. I fear that ERA supporters want to be

"dead right" and that passing ERA has become the all consuming ego-involved commitment. I think the commitment ought to be equality and justice.

Mary Jane Heatherington
Lawrence, Kansas

mcmurrin on snell

I have read with much interest and appreciation the excellent article on "The Snell Controversy" by Professor Sherlock (*Dialogue*, Vol. XII, No. 1). The problems generated by Snell's attempt to raise the level of biblical scholarship in the Church Education System deserve to be known by all who are interested in the intellectual life of the Church. Heber Snell was a biblical scholar of very high order and a person of authentic religious piety. Moreover, he was genuinely devoted to the Church. The memory of him as a great man and as a teacher and scholar should be kept alive.

I have only two problems with Professor Sherlock's article on Snell. First, he has written as if Snell were almost forgotten by the time he died in 1973. Actually, after his retirement Snell taught for a number of years in the Extension Division of the University of Utah under the auspices of the Department of Philosophy. His classes were held in Salt Lake City and in several other places. He had numerous students and was widely known and highly respected at the time of his death. Of course, when a man lives to the age of ninety, most of his old friends are already gone, but the memory of Snell and his work is very much alive today.

My second concern with the article is that information on the most interesting things relating to Snell's controversy was apparently not known to Mr. Sherlock. I refer, for instance, to a long session in the early fifties which Snell had with Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith relative to the book on the Old Testament. Apostle Harold B. Lee and I were present as witnesses and participated in the discussion. Mrs. Snell was also present. In some ways, this discussion was the climax of the Snell controversy, but other things of major importance came later.

My point in mentioning what I consider to be the incompleteness of Sherlock's article is simply that I hope that he may be interested in writing a sequel to it and that *Dialogue* may be interested in publishing a second article that would complete the picture.

Sterling M. McMurrin
Salt Lake City, Utah

Note: *Dialogue* is willing.

eureka!

A week ago, I happened across some bound volumes of past issues of your publication in the library at Kansas State University. Of all places in the Universe, I thought it curious to find such a publication here, where the Gentile/Mormon ratio is about 700 to 1. I just had to take a peek!

In twenty minutes of casual browsing through your efforts of the past ten years, I found answers and insights to issues that had quietly captured my thoughts in the five years since my conversion. Things I had never been able to discuss in a meaningful way with anyone. Until now. Your title, *Dialogue,* has a special meaning for me. Your journal is a way of seeing my own thoughts reflected and responded to. I'm sure you realize the importance of the service you provide. I'm grateful to have discovered it.

Please accept my check for the next four issues of your journal. I'm looking forward to receiving my first one, but the time will go quickly. After all, I've got ten years' worth of them to catch up on before then! Keep up the excellent work.

Russell William Hultgren
Manhattan, Kansas

orchids

I have in front of me a copy of the "white Dialogue." The cover reversal was classic. Dialogue has special meaning to me.

Nick Eastmond
Logan, Utah

Your life-line continues as the cream-on-the cake, the ribbon-on-the-hat, the elixir of mind progress.

Marc Sessions
Los Angeles, California

onions

After reading the two latest issues of *Dialogue,* it seems fairly apparent to me that there isn't a place in it for material which is a product of personal, individual thought, study and spiritual searching, which is intended to stand on its own merit, the burden of proof resting in the heart and mind of the reader.

Your format is limited pretty much to material which is well documented and cross-referenced, and which is written by qualified persons. This attitude patronizes intellectual snobbery, but it stifles free creative thought. People who really had new ideas were always rejected by their societies as heretics. In our society it is popular to wear the trappings of a thinker, but it is really not popular to think—and "God" is a particularly unpopular subject to think about.

It also seems that the purpose of *Dialogue* is to raise questions, but not to seek resolutions. I am convinced that there *are* answers to the big, basic questions of life, and that finding them is a step ahead of intellectualizing about them.

The incredible arrogance of the Mormon "intellectual" community continues to appall me! The pattern seems to be to take a controversial subject, flash out a number of statistics, references, assumptions and "facts," put together by *fallen* and imperfect men (and/or women), and then challenge *God* (or whoever they are worshipping in his stead) to fit *their* conclusions into *his* picture. It is almost as if their creed were "As man is, God may become—if he gets enough college degrees and does enough research."

Two examples: Duane E. Jeffery's article on "Intersexes in Humans," and S. Scott Zimmerman's book review on "Human Cloning." Jeffery poses questions about the sex of the spirit which inhabits a body of undetermined or mixed sex, as if God were on the spot to adapt his purposes to fit fallen mankind's jumbled up genetic mistakes. Zimmerman wonders how God will manage to find a spirit which will fit the marvel of a scientifically cloned human being. Has it not occurred to him that each one of us comes to earth with a spiritual entity which is not necessarily harmonious with our genetic entity? And that even if scientists could put together a human clone, its unique spirit would prevent it from being an authentic carbon copy? Men can't outwit God.

It is quite obvious that with all their learning, the authors have not understood very much about God—not even that *he* was not created in our carnal image, but that we once were created in his divine image. We have since fallen into mortality and are subject to forces—unlike God. Even with all the wisdom of men, we cannot overcome these forces. We need a savior! In trying to adjust their interpretations of the gospel plan to fit scientific research, the Mormon intellectuals seem to have missed the most pertinent fact—that God and his Son have figured out and accomplished the atoning sacrifice. The Almighty God is not bound by the limits of our puny experiments! He is GOD!! And we need him. If the scientists will not put God into their formulas, then please let them leave him out of their speculations.

Gay N. Blanchard
Salt Lake City, Utah

culture conclave

Brigham Young University's Departments of Anthropology and Archaeology, Art History, English, Geography, History, the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies and Department of Conferences and Workshops will hold a symposium, "A Mosaic of Mormon Culture," to commemorate the Sesquicentennial. The symposium will be held October 2 and 3, 1980 at BYU.

The symposium will deal with Mormon culture in its broadest aspects—the beliefs, social forms, and material traits of life and thought that are characteristic among members of the Church in any nation, which distinguish them from those who are not LDS.

For more information about the symposium, contact the Charles Redd Center at Brigham Young University.

Thomas Alexander
Provo, Utah

A Beginning

THIS ISSUE OF *Dialogue,* more than any other, is meant to open up dialogue on the subject of the international Church. It is also meant to celebrate the opening of the international Church in many of the countries of the world formerly closed to Mormons. President Kimball's charge to "make a beginning in every nation" is being realized. In preparing for it, we editors, staff and writers became more humble as time went on and as our own ignorance became more obvious. But it was an ignorance of excitement. We are thrilled at the messages from the many lands of the world, willing to listen to problems and to think about solutions. We are also aware of gaps in our coverage. Indeed, we don't feel that we have really "covered" anything. The words from Africa, from India, from behind the Iron Curtain are few. But our readers and writers tell us there will soon be more to write about. We stand in readiness.

—Editors

ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

Expanding LDS Church Abroad: Old Realities Compounded

GARTH N. JONES

I

"And she shall be an ensign unto the people, and there shall come unto her out of every nation under heaven" (D&C 64:42).

IN RECENT DECADES, the LDS Church has moved out of the security of the "everlasting mountains" to fulfill its prophetic dream of becoming a worldwide organization. Each year 225 thousand or more Saints are added to the fold. Over seventy percent are converts, recruited by a veritable army of full- and part-time missionaries. As of 1979, the Church numbered over 4.2 million. At a 6.4 percent annual growth rate, it will double every eleven years or so.[1]

New Mormon populations exist in Mexico, in Central and South America and in the Caribbean. Spanish could supplant English as the majority tongue if the high rate of new converts continues in these Latin lands. Numbers continue to grow in the older missionary areas of the South Seas—including New Zealand and Australia. Pacific Rim Asia is lined with small but flourishing communities of Saints—Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Indonesia. Much of the growth stems from the United States military presence where LDS servicemen and United States government officials take seriously the motto "every member a missionary." Before the tragic fall of South Vietnam, the Church was taking root in that exotic land, along with a polyglot of other Western and non-Western religions. Pockets of Mormons are scattered elsewhere throughout Asia's vast land masses—India, Iran, Lebanon. The message is being carried to black Africa, expanding beyond the white strongholds. Communist-controlled territories are being observed carefully for mission penetration. Missionary inroads have been made into such historic European Catholic nations as Spain, France and Italy.

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To many Mormons this presages a "universal church." The General Authorities so indicate, with recent doctrinal changes, new organizational forms and new stakes throughout expanding domains. The Church is in fact no longer a small, isolated body. It is strong in membership, resources, zeal and organization.

Where does this strong international impulse come from? We should ask the question against the first 120 years of history, until the year 1950 when the results of Deseret Zion were ever present. The inward-looking policy, so well espoused by J. Reuben Clark, Jr.—international lawyer, career diplomat and Church authority—had merit. In his forceful language he stressed the destiny of America:

> A destiny to conquer the world—not by force of arms, not by purchase and favor, for these conquests wash away, but by high purpose, by unselfish effort, by uplifting achievement, by a course of Christian living; a conquest that shall leave every nation free to move out to its own destiny; a conquest that shall bring, through the workings of our own example, the blessings of freedom and liberty to every people, without restraint or imposition or compulsion from us; a conquest that shall weld the whole truth together in one great brotherhood in a reign of peace to which we shall lead all others by the persuasion of our own righteous example.[2]

Clark's position, however, was antiquated. America, emerging victorious from World War II and stronger than ever was secure in her destiny and dedicated to the spreading of humanitarian virtues, waging worldwide campaigns against the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse—poverty, ignorance, war, disease. President Truman's Point 4 Program, initiated in 1949, captured the imagination of the American people, and many Mormon professionals were soon involved in this adventure.

Probably no single occurrence within the last thirty years has accounted more for the dissemination of the gospel on such a wide scale as American foreign aid programs, government and private. Conscientious and dedicated members took to this work with much the same zeal as in their earlier missions. In exotic and isolated villages, towns and cities, in nations never a significant part of America's past, they propagated the gospel. They were sowers, indiscriminantly throwing the seeds of truth to the winds. Most of these seeds fell on infertile soil, but a surprising number took root.

The Church abroad owes much to those sowers of the 1950s who used their Mormon heritage to build new Zions in disadvantaged regions. They were often criticized by their American superiors and associates for their missionary activities as well as for their peculiar lifestyle. Many of these individuals went the way of the Gentile; others saw their careers terminated because of their peculiar views. With typical Mormon tenacity, they continued their efforts and their works in many instances are now appreciated if not memorialized in dynamic Mormon communities abroad.[3] They, along with the institutional support of the Church, worked together in preparing the outlines of a new world organization—moving an old dream forward to a new semblance of reality.

II

"Woe be unto him that sayeth: We have received, and we need no more! . . . know ye not that I, the Lord your God, have created all men, and that I remember those who are upon the sea . . . and I bring my word unto. . . . all the nations of the earth? Know ye not that I remember one nation like another?" (2 Nephi 28:27; 29:7–8.)

The Church is embarking on a substantially different path than any in its past. Heretofore, the masses of the poor and the disadvantaged of the old worlds were drawn to the New Jerusalem in the American Zion. The vast underpopulated North American continent needed people. Land and cheap energy abounded. All that was required was a little ingenuity and a lot of hard work. The Lockean concept of enterprise and private property could prevail. Property was no more than the sweat of one's brow, since everything else was God-given, and once in the hands of the "maker," it was his. It is interesting to note that the Church's historical efforts to build a few Zions elsewhere were essentially in the same milieu: Surplus economies with ample opportunities for social advancement. In other words, Calvinistic principles, within the Church's interpretation and application, could be effectively put to work.

The spread of the gospel represented economic sense. The Saints who ventured to Southern California in large numbers in the 1930s and 1940s, along with their fellow converts, prospered, and tithing receipts dramatically increased. The same thing happened where other large Mormon populations outside of the traditional Rocky Mountain region emerged: Washington, D.C. and the surrounding North Atlantic area, Florida, the Pacific Northwest. Since World War II the Church's members have prospered economically, and in its ranks are now many wealthy individuals, a few even super-wealthy ones. The Church and its members have economic surplus. Together they have been economically blessed, largely by being situated in a rapidly growing, homogeneous economy—the United States, the great Zion. Where the Church has elected to expand abroad after World War II, much of its missionary activities have been in nations with astounding economic growth: Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong in the Far East; Brazil in South America; and South Africa in Africa. Whether by design or by accident, spreading the gospel represented "good business." Even Mexico, with its new-found oil and gas wealth, may become the best of all the business investments.

But something else is happening. Church growth among the "poorest of the poor" could demand major financial changes in the operations of the Church along with wholesale behavioral modifications of its members. If this trend continues, Church members will be called upon to make true sacrifices, to become truly Good Samaritans. And if they respond, they will become true Christians.[4]

In this new territory, one billion or more persons suffer poverty of the most abject kind, a quarter of the world's population. Perhaps a half million die of starvation each year. Poverty is rapidly increasing, both in absolute as

well as in relative terms. Yet world population continues growing rampart-like: 3.2 new human beings every second, 11 thousand every hour, 235 thousand every day and 85–90 million every year. Worldwide food supplies remain at hauntingly low levels—forty days or so. Two thirds of the population are beyond the reach of minimal health, nutrition, education and social services. Over seventy percent lack access to "pure" water. Tens of millions each year are struck down with such debilitating diseases as malaria, typhoid, hookworm, dysentery and cholera.

Four billion human beings with rising expectations exert tremendous pressures on the global biological systems, often exceeding nature's carrying capacity. While Malthus warned that population would tend to expand faster than food supplies, he failed to tell us that population growth can destroy productive capacity when it generates a demand for biological resources that exceeds regenerative capacity. In many places of the world tracts of valuable land for growing food are being destroyed by urban sprawl, soil erosion and desert encroachment. As life becomes too wretched to endure, millions of peasants abandon their farm plots and stream to the urban slums of already swollen cities, vainly seeking nonexistent jobs. Whether they are called *favelas, ranchos, busties, barriadas* or *bidonvilles,* there is a tragic sameness about all of those hovels where millions live and die: the fragile shacks made of cardboard or rusting corrugated sheet metal or wooden boxes, the famished children's distended bellies, the inescapable stench of human beings packed tightly together without access to water or toilets. Garbage disposal is nonexistent, and piles of rubbish are filled with rats and mice and covered with scavengers of all types—dogs, cats, birds and humans.

Poverty is widespread throughout the world, but in certain nations solutions defy human comprehension. Scholars of development now divide economic promise into five worlds. In the fifth world are found the "poorest of the poor." Here are perhaps 175 million inhabitants who are doomed to remain on permanent dole—Mali, Chad, Ethiopia, Somalia, Rwanda and Bangladesh. In the fourth world the economic promise is slightly better, but nearly one billion people, or one-fourth of the world's population, are struggling here for survival. Found in this category are the vast populations of the subcontinent—India, along with the island of Sri Lanka, and Pakistan, with 800 or more millions; parts of arid central Africa, with its expanding deserts; the island of Java, the size of Louisiana, with over 85 million; the small but densely populated islands of the Caribbean, with their boat people already clamoring for entrance into the United States, and pockets of abysmally poor people in Mexico, Central and South America, which have already supplied well over seven million illegal aliens to the United States.

The third world offers economic hope, with some 620 million. Most of these countries have exploitable and marketable resources such as the oil of Saudi Arabia, Iran, Venezuela, Nigeria. However, several of these nations have already paid the high political-social costs of change.

It is difficult to categorize Communist China, with its now one billion growing population. Is it third or fourth world? We do know that it is poor.

Let it not be forgotten that hard-core pockets of poverty are found in the first world, including the United States, in spite of its wealth, and in the second world, largely comprising the socialist nations struggling to redistribute their wealth.

It can thus be concluded that as the Church expands into the poor nations, it will rapidly weaken its present economic and organizational strength through the dilution of numerous converts from these "poorest of poor" who have growing lifestyle expectations but virtually no resources. Equally important will be a loss of traditional organizational strength, since the Church will no longer be an homogeneous institution with its Calvinistic values inherently accepted. Minds will be opened and truth accepted, but tremendous amounts of organizational time and energy must be expended to socialize these converts into a lifestyle uniquely Mormon. As Jan Shipps writes:

> Mormons are not simply members of an unusual ecclasiastical corporation. They are a neo-Judaic people so separate and distinct that new converts must undergo a process of assimilation roughly comparable to that which has taken place when immigrants adopt a new and dissimilar nationality.[5]

Unquestionably, this socialization process will prove to be a most difficult aspect of the Church as it moves increasingly into non-Western societies. It is not a question of socio-cultural accommodation—certainly this must take place—but one of actually "retooling" people into a new lifestyle.[6] The perplexing problem will be how peoples of non-Western tradition interpret and apply the principles of the gospel in their daily lives. The early history of the Church reveals that maintaining the purity of the gospel is an uneasy organizational activity. It could well be that large populations will take the gospel in the terms of "uncircumcised Mormons." Let's then hope that there will be some Pauls around to resolve this dilemma.[7]

If one thing typifies the world today, it is rising expectations and declining resources, which are the chief ingredients for revolution and wholesale social change. This can be both an advantage for spreading the gospel or a disadvantage for weakening the gospel. The fullest expression of this current situation is probably found in the thinking and writings of the "New International Economic Order." The "have not" nations are demanding that the "have" nations share, that they cut down their standard of living and give.[8] Why should six percent of the world's population consume well over thirty-five percent of the world's energy? For the American, the 1974 energy crisis represented the inconvenience of waiting at the gasoline pump. For the Indian peasant it represented loss of food and scarce supplies.[9]

A contemplative and sensitive mind must ponder how much longer the starving and the disadvantaged, living in a shrinking interdependent world, will tolerate the insolence of the United States whose people continue to pursue their materialistic appetites at rapacious rates when intense poverty prevails elsewhere.[10] The Church members residing in the United States and the other economically blessed Zions are just as guilty as their fellow Ameri-

cans, if not more so, because of their predilection for families beyond a reasonable replacement level. Simply stated, one American child consumes minimally thirty-two times as much as one subcontinent Indian child. Is this social justice in an increasingly interdependent and resource-short world?[11]

As the Church moves into regions abroad characterized by intense poverty, with non-Western (particularly non-North European) cultural patterns, it will have to reevaluate, if not rediscover, its basic body of ethics. It is suggested that this, in turn, will require the main body of the Church membership to change their behavior objectives—with soul-searching intensity. Members will be called upon, as never before in their past, to share and sacrifice material gains for spiritual rewards. This could include the reduction in absolute numbers of their own procreation and the adoption of those who are disadvantaged. This translates into the substitution of brown-eyed children for blue-eyed children. This could even go beyond the practice of adopting such disadvantaged children into the traditional family unit to the providing of material support for those persons never seen. A good example is the recent plea for money to cover the missionary costs of Mexican nationals. This could lead to the return of the nineteenth century practice of missionaries leaving their families and traveling without "purse or scrip."

Closely associated with the points already mentioned is the world-wide problem of civil liberties, an essential feature of Mormon doctrine and belief. The Constitution was divinely inspired, and men of great wisdom were ordained by God to establish the new republic. The first ten amendments to the Constitution are very much an ingrained part of Mormon life. But human rights, in spite of all the international effort over the last thirty years, are being violated and disregarded. How can the Church live abroad, let alone survive, in such areas?

The nineteenth century Mormons knew about institutionalized violence from their dreadful experience in Missouri and Illinois. Out of their own poverty they learned that "it is not given that one man should possess that which is above another, wherefore the world lieth in sin" (D&C 49:20). For unpopular political and religious views they were harassed, disfranchized, imprisoned and exiled. They finally found security in a desert no one else wanted. Today, however, Mormons tend to identify divine approbation not with persecution, but with prosperity. Other religious groups have carried the "cross" to the distant lands, suffering in many instances much like Christ. Some of these groups are now willing to become involved in social change, even liberation, and are willing to pay the supreme cost in Christ's name. For the Utah-based church this could readily translate into the exciting exportation of the American revolution;[12] but this could again lead to the historical implication of the experiences in Missouri and Illinois. And if not to these, then to other Saigons of April 1975 and to other boat peoples of 1978 and 1979.

Those with little charity for the millions being crushed by forces not of their own making should ponder the words of King Benjamin:

> And also ye yourselves will succor these that stand in need of your succor; yet will administer of your substance unto him that standeth in

> need; and ye will not suffer that the beggar putteth up his petition to you in vain, and turn him out to perish.
>
> Perhaps thou shalt say: The man has brought upon himself his misery: therefore I will stay my hand, and will not give unto him my food, nor impart to him of my substance that he may not suffer, for his punishments are just. But I say unto you, O man, whosoever doeth this, the same hath great cause to repent; and except he repenteth of that which he hath done, he perisheth forever, and hath no interest in the Kingdom of God.
>
> For behold, are we not all beggars? (Mosiah 4:16–19.)

III

"A wise Hebrew proverb says, 'The soul of man is the lamp of God.' Man is a weak and miserable animal until the light of God burns in his soul. But when that light burns (and it burns only in souls enlightened by religion) man becomes the most powerful being in the world. Nor can this be otherwise, for what then acts in him is no longer his strength, but the strength of God.

So this is what religion is, and in what its essence consists."

—Leo Tolstoy, February 1902

I now turn to the most painful part: The new ethics of directly intervening in the affairs of others abroad. Ethics deal with value and meaning, the principles governing the mode of life. The Church is now unreservedly exporting its institutions abroad. This statement cannot be lightly dismissed; too much is at stake. Large numbers are daily called to trek abroad. In their minds is the mission clear? Do they understand its portent?

In Gustave Thibon's intriguing novel, *You Shall Be Like Gods,* death is abolished, thanks to an operation which confers immortality. Each person is free to decide whether he or she wishes to live forever. After struggling emotionally, the heroine of the novel, a Christian, chooses to accept death in order to imitate Christ. She sacrifices prolongation of happy earthly existence in favor of the risky plunge into eternal life. She makes the astounding discovery that supreme meaning relates ultimately to gratuity—what is done, not because it needs to be done, but because it can be done.

What an interesting twist to the account found in the Book of Mormon, 3 Nephi 28. In the novel as well as in the account of the Three Nephites is found the supreme ethical issue of development. This is what the Church abroad is all about—how to achieve development results while fostering the power of the people to act with gratuity.[13] In other words, "How to do what needs to be done without rendering (people) impotent to do what they can do."[14]

This leads to another important consideration, human value. As Duncan Williams writes:

> If man is induced to regard himself as merely a trousered ape, or 'a walking bag of sea water' . . . or a complex but predictable collection of

> reactions to various stimuli. . . . , then he is simply an exceptionally extravagant, predatory, and messy mammal, and apart from a natural but sentimental loyalty to one's own species, his disappearance from the scene would ecologically be no disaster.[15]

I suggest that, with certain limitations, Mormon theology on the nature of man and his relationship to God can contribute much to the modernization of the human soul. The concept of free agency brings a touch of divinity along with that drive to be free so essential to human progress, to "becoming." In this perspective the belief in self-imposed destiny and individual responsibility is reaffirmed by Dostoyevsky:

> The Lord gave you your fair share of intelligence. Think it out yourself; as soon as you have the mental strength to ask the question: 'Am I responsible or not responsible for my acts?' It means for certain that you're responsible.[16]

Although Mormonism in theological content has much to offer abroad, to date the Church has followed the strategy of withdrawing as a constituent part within a larger ecumenical whole. This is a sensible course of action in a highly pluralistic society. Its integrity has been preserved but at some cost of diversity and variety and, some would say, human freedom or choice. Nevertheless, the Church survived and prospered. The question is now to be asked: Can it follow the same strategy in large aggressive cultures and still survive?

Expansion abroad will create a host of new organizational questions, and will bring into the forefront the preservation of the truth, or possibly better stated, prevention of the corruption of truth. Apostasy could occur in wholesale numbers as converts, not fully understanding the principles of the gospel, embark on their own individualistic religious ways.

Then, legitimately so, one needs to examine the social will of the late twentieth century Church. The words of Ephraim E. Ericksen should be pondered:

> What Mormonism needs today is the vitalization of its institutions, which need to be put to use rather than merely contemplated. . . . When Mormonism finds more glory in working out new social ideals than in contemplating past achievements or the beauty of its own theological system, it will begin to feel its old-time strength.[17]

Historically, and especially in the middle part of the nineteenth century, the Church was an "incredible engine" for social and economic change and development.[18] Tolstoy reportedly said to the American Ambassador to Russia, Andrew D. White, "The Mormons teach the people not only of heaven . . . but how to live so that their social and economic relations with each other are placed on a sound basis."[19]

Much of the social and economic innovation pioneered in the nineteenth century has been disregarded. The Church is very much a participant in the

American capitalistic system, but experience following World War II shows that this system has little relevancy for large numbers of the poor found in old societies and now in new nations.[20] It could well be that this system will soon have rapidly declining utility for the United States. Thus the Saints in the Great Zion should now be rediscovering their nineteenth century socio-economic idealism that led to such great organizational accomplishments and so much social promise.

One lesson emerges from the last thirty years of development efforts in abysmally poor societies, both abroad and at home: Neither infusion of capital nor imported expertise has improved their situations. The missing or weak ingredient in all instances, and this is well understood, is the social capacity to establish and maintain complex organization.[21] It was this quality which won the historical Church so much acclaim. Latter-day Saints take great pride in quoting one of America's early twentieth century economists, Professor Richard T. Ely, who wrote over three-quarters of a century ago:

> So far as I can judge from what I have seen, the organization of the Mormons is the most nearly perfect piece of social mechanism with which I have ever, in any way, come into contact, except the German army.[22]

The point to ponder is how much of this organizational strength can be exported. This is exactly what the societies in which the Church is now expanding require—superior social organization.

Since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, the principal dynamic shaping western society has been the growth ethic, and Mormons have unreservedly accepted growth as good. O'Dea writes that for a Mormon

> Life is more than a vacation, more than a calling; it is an opportunity for deification through conquest, which is to be won through rational mastery of the environment and obedience to the ordinances of the church.[23]

If material growth cannot continue, then a new ethic—an ethic of accommodation—must take its place. Manifested through the "accommodation" process will be the emergence of new values.

If Mormons can curtail their materialistic appetites (campers, boats, skis, summer homes, rifles, five-bedroom homes, three automobiles, two television sets, four radios), they have something to offer new societies in the process toward the ethic of accommodation. Mormons have traditionally emphasized intellectual, cultural and moral development, a form of growth that lasts not only for a lifetime but for eternity. A change in the nature of growth, or better still, a rediscovery of growth as espoused by Church leaders and found in Church doctrine (once incorporated into teacher development courses) could well be a blessing instead of disaster.

The basic choice will pit voluntary simplicity and enforced austerity against the now affluent lifestyle. The Church has a useful lesson for the

world in the form and the dynamics of voluntary organization—with its aspect of sacrificing for the future.

A return to voluntary simplicity in lifestyle will be required to counteract the effects of overconsumption and to cope with the organizational demands of a much larger population. A related lesson is clear: Large scale, centralized organizations are not capable of meeting basic human needs. Again the socio-cultural organization of Mormons has much to offer, or to quote a bumper sticker: "Live simply that others may simply live." Those advocating voluntary simplicity and urging a more simple lifestyle often achieve a personal maturity and sophistication that leads to an inner richness. The doctrine of the Church is clear on this point.

An associated social strand is the desire for greater self-reliance, a Mormon tradition, vegetable gardening, canning and storage of foods, physical fitness. Frugality, conservation and recycling of materials are part of the emerging new ethic. Rural Mormons have been notorious for their frugal nature; their homesteads are cluttered with old wood, poles, farm equipment, even junk—a useful habit for the future.

Beyond this basic but broad social transformation, it is necessary to return to some considerations about ecological limits. On the one side are the "catastrophists," such as Garrett Hardin, who claim that continued aid to the abysmally poor now in famine conditions would not only "bail out" those who had not protected their own resources (thus encouraging or rewarding irresponsibility) but also deplete potentially renewable resources for the rest of the world, thereby leading to world-wide starvation. Hardin's ethic likens the world to a lifeboat with room for only a few people. If too many climb on board, the boat will sink, and everyone will be lost. But if some lives are sacrificed, the passengers in the boat will be saved.[24] On the other side are those who contend that people are not the perpetrators but the victims of their plight. Anthropologists particularly note that many societal forms and traditions have been disrupted by purposeful outside interventions such as modern medicine and new technologies. If treated properly, and given considerable responsiblity, such societies will reach a population/resource equilibrium. Just leave them alone!

Regardless of which position is taken, the conscientious Mormon abroad must undergo considerable soul-searching, since both depart substantially from his established growth ethic. It will be a traumatic experience, but for many it will mean rediscovering basic principles of the gospel.

Of all the tensions mentioned, possibly the most difficult will be political. Pope Paul VI's notable encyclical *Populorum Progressio* wisely referred to "peoples" instead of nations and to "progress" instead of economic growth. It views development (becoming) in a wider and more valid perspective than has been customary.[25] There lies the promise as well as the dilemma. Religious spokesmen have in the recent past raised their official voices and attempted to speak with moral authority to the rich and the powerful in the hope of converting them to enhanced political altruism, justice and concern for social equity.[26]

Exhortation alone has proved inadequate. As accounts of the Book of Mormon well illustrate, some leaders and societies become so corrupt that there is no alternative but revolutionary violence to achieve religious and social justice.

> And now it came to pass that after Helaman and his brethren had appointed priests and teachers over the churches that there arose a dissension among them, and they would not give heed to the words of Helaman and his brethren.
>
> But they grew proud, being lifted up in their hearts, because of their exceeding great riches; therefore they grew rich in their own eyes, and would not give heed to their words, to walk uprightly before God. (Alma 45:23–24.)

The Mao Tse-Tungs, the Che Guevaras and the Khomeinis all find their counterparts in the Book of Mormon. While some may consider this disturbing, Mormonism can readily formulate an ethic for revolutionary violence applicable for all oppressed peoples wherever they may be found *(Populorum Progressio)*. In this sense Mormonism has some of the traditional advantages of the Islamic religion, only minimally restricted by the more traditional Christian ethics. There can be a justification for killing and for war, satanic and evil as these may be. But here is found the most haunting of all the dilemmas thus noted, and as so well spoken by Albert Camus: "Violence is at the same time unavoidable and unjustifiable."

As the Church pushes its way abroad, into more sick societies with sick leaders, will those involved be adequately conditioned and prepared to cope? It has been some time since the Church has lived and worked in evil environments, severely tested. Those who venture into those worlds will need to be religious men and women, for when they act they will need "the strength of God."

IV

"It is provided in the very essence of things that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary."

—Walt Whitman

As a sharp departure from its past, the Church has ventured into the international world. Since the earliest of its days, this "instruction" has been present. "Thence shall the gospel roll forth unto the ends of the earth . . . until it has filled the whole earth" (D&C 66:2). "His purposes fail not, neither are there any who can stay his hand" (D&C 76:3).

Yet for vast numbers, Zion is embodied in Charles W. Penrose's "O Ye Mountains High." The desire of the Jews to return to Jerusalem, after two thousand years of scattering, becomes completely understandable. It is so easy for people who enter into the convenant to experience diaspora. The portent of the emerging times, contrary to hymns extolling the gathering in the mountains high, was initiated seven decades ago (1910) when President Joseph F. Smith told the European converts: "At present we do not advise

you to emigrate." Zion's economy was not developing rapidly enough to absorb large numbers from abroad. The same situation now exists for the whole United States economy. New immigrants are neither welcomed nor needed. In fact they are advised not to emigrate.

Since President Smith's instruction, many Mormons have already experienced a diaspora—Saints have increasingly had to seek business and education opportunities elsewhere. Yet out of this experience many won rich rewards because the new havens offered ample opportunities to prosper. The gospel spread with spiritual and material success. Let it not be forgotten that much of the present economic strength of the Church is a consequence of venturesome Mormons who sought new territories and prospered. This acquired wealth and dispersion have not necessarily corrupted either individuals or the Church, but have provided means to carry out activities beyond the wildest expectations of the earlier time.

Nor has spreading the gospel to distant lands following World War II constituted an undue economic burden, since the church's missionary activities have benefited greatly from the United States' international humanitarian programs and national security efforts. Mormons employed in sizeable numbers in postwar overseas programs took the opportunity to propagate and diffuse the gospel. Those roaming bards did their work well as the Church is now widely known on a face-to-face basis.

Against these gains outside of traditional Zion, the Church is now embarking on a major "push" in cultures never a significant part of its history—mainly non-Western peoples who are abysmally poor. Paradoxically, the Church leaders chose to expand, as well as consolidate gains, at a time the United States is trying to constrain and restrict its wide and direct international involvement. Since the Vietnam debacle, the United States has reappraised its international "policy" capabilities—facing up to some stark realities of its power limitations.

This fact is significant. The Church, for the first time in its history, will find itself in territories beyond the comfortable confines of the "Great Zion" and dealing with peoples whose orientations to the United States are quite different—even hostile and embittered. Yes, this new set of international circumstances will unquestionably try the Church's leadership and organizational capacities beyond any encountered in the twentieth century, if not ever in its past. However, this new circumstance offers possibilities to build in a permanent way that did not exist before. Christianity spread in the nineteenth century mainly under the protection of European imperial governments. As a consequence in many nations, Christianity and Christians themselves are suspect! Many of these converts and their children have innocently suffered for their religious beliefs which in the eyes of their fellow nationals constitute a traitorous and insidious adoption of a foreign culture. They are openly assailed as puppets of "Christian imperialism." Once they embraced Christianity, they and their children were prohibited from participating in the important socio-economic-politico circles of their countries. They are "pariahs," untouchables of the worst kind.

In much of the emerging interdependent world, the Church to survive abroad must win its place solely on its own strengths. For its leaders and members, there will undoubtedly be lonely vigils. Even a conscientious Mormon working as a professional in a United Nations' agency will find it increasingly difficult to follow the admonition "every member a missionary." The days of the "Johnny Appleseeds" are numbered. Diffusion of the gospel by propagation and by contagion is limited; but possibly this approach is no longer needed.

Unlike just two short decades ago, the gospel is heard. In large and growing numbers, peoples from diverse cultures wish to receive the gospel blessings. "Mormonism, A Faith for All Cultures"[27] has been elevated by the Church leadership to a major organizational goal. Time and resources in substantial measure are being invested, but much more will be required to make the prophetic dream come true. The Church's recent successes have brought "forth something to make a greater struggle necessary." The expanding Church abroad will compound "old realities." Personal conduct of independence and self-reliance will be demanded by the Lord (D&C 29). Elder Bruce R. McConkie, at the April 1979 General Conference, reminded us: "We are here to work—to work long, hard arduous hours, to work until our backs ache and our tired muscles knot; to work all our days."[28] Should those that are already tired ask: Why? Rather we should heed Amulek's words: "If ye turn away the needy, and the naked, and visit not the sick and afflicted, and impart of your substance, if you have, to those who stand in need" (Alma 34:28).

For the first time in many years, those of the faith will be required to share and to sacrifice. A choice is available now as never before as to what matter of men and women "ought ye to be?".

NOTES

Thoughtful comments on earlier drafts by Marvin D. Loflin and Joseph S. Merrill are gratefully acknowledged.

[1]For a fuller treatment, see *Church News*, 5 January 1980, entire issue.

[2]Martin B. Hickman and Ray C. Hillam, "J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Political Isolationism Revisited," *Dialogue* 4 (Spring 1972):45. Emphasis added.

[3]Little history on this era appears in print. I think of the overseas activities of Utah State University in irrigation and agricultural development. Much of the growth in South America is traceable to this institution's years of involvement. The gospel in Indonesia is largely the consequence of fortunate circumstance put into place by three persons on United States government aid programs and their families, a story which has not yet been written. For one human interest account, see J. Donald Bowen, "The Church Abroad," *Dialogue* 5(Winter 1970):66–70.

[4]The Church's efforts in this direction have been minimal. The health missions began in 1971 and were replaced by the Welfare Services Missions in 1978. There are only about 400 such missionaries in the field compared to 26 thousand proselyting missionaries. See "Welfare Service Missions," *Sunstone* 3(July/August 1978):6. Brigham Young University initiated in 1973 an effort to improve living conditions in Mexico and Guatemala. Each year some forty students trained in nutrition, agriculture, home improvement and literacy work with families and small groups.

Attention should be called to Cordell Andersen's private Peace Corps effort which has apparently received Church endorsement. See Elizabeth Shaw, "Alone in a Valley," *Sunstone* 1:43–52.

[5]Jan Shipps, "The Mormons Looking Forward and Outward," *The Christian Century* 95 (16–23 August 1977): 764. For an excellent discussion, see Arturo De Hoyos and Genevieve De Hoyos, "The Universality of the Gospel," *Ensign* 1(August 1971):9–17.

[6]See, for illustration, Vera Micheles Dean, *The Nature of the Non-Western World* (New York: A Mentor Book, 1959), especially the last two chapters and James Clark Maloney, *Understanding the Japanese Mind* (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Luttle Co., 1960).

[7]Apparently this has happened. Congregations calling themselves Mormons were organized in both Ghana and Nigeria during the 1960s. For an account see David Long, "LDS Church Sees Growth in Black Africa," *Daily Universe,* Brigham Young University, 10 May 1979, p. 2.

[8]A large literature has suddenly emerged on the new economic order which rests much on the similar basis as the demands of the blacks and other minorities in the United States who feel that the living should now be economically rewarded the past socio-economic exploitation.

[9]See Denis Hyde, *Energy for Development: Third World Options,* Worldwatch Paper 15 (Washington, D.C.: Worldwatch Institute, 1977).

[10]The United States populace spends more for dog and cat food than for foreign aid. There are more horses in Colorado for recreation purposes than before the advent of the automobile.

[11]The interested reader may find useful the report of the Aspen Interreligious Consultations, *Global Justice and Development* (Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1974).

[12]In the early 1950s and 1960s, especially under the Kennedy administration, this was a cardinal feature of the United States foreign policy. See, for example, "'Exporting the American Revolution," *Saturday Review* 49 (7 October 1961): 52. This virtually ended with the fall of Saigon in April 1975.

[13]I am indebted to Dennis A. Goulet, "Ethical Issues in Development," *Review of Political Economy* 26 (September 1968): 115, for this penetrating idea.

[14]*Ibid.*

[15]Contained in Duncan Williams, *Trousered Apes: Sick Literature in a Sick Society* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1971), p. 159.

[16]Response of the Monk Tikhon to Stavrogin's confession contained in Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *The Possessed* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Garnett translation, 1961), p. 727.

[17]Found in Scott Kenney, "E. E. Ericksen, Loyal Heretic," *Sunstone* 3 (July/August 1978): 18.

[18]See Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958). In 1959, Muhammed Hatta, former Vice-President of Indonesia and a cofather of his country along with Sukarno, also an economist of international reputation, requested me to secure a copy of Arrington's book. He read it and reported that it contained valuable lessons for Indonesia.

[19]Quoted by Gustave O. Larsen, *Prelude to the Kingdom: Mormon Desert Conquest, A Chapter in American Cooperative Experience* (Francetown, N.H.: Marshall Jones Co., 1947) p. 309.

[20]Now it is nearly heresy to even suggest this in LDS circles. However, what I have in mind, which embraces unconsciously some of the nineteenth century Church idealism and practice, is contained in particularly the writings of E. F. Schumacher. See his *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975) and *Guide for the Perplexed* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977).

[21]Nothing so differentiates societies as the ability to maintain large scale organizations. For an excellent study which contrasts St. George, Utah, with a comparable Italian city, see Edward C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), especially the preface and introduction.

[22]Richard T. Ely, "Economic Aspects of Mormonism," *Harpers Magazine* 51 (April 1903): 668.

[23]Thomas O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957) p. 143.

[24]See particularly his *Exploring New Ethics for Survival: The Voyage of the Spaceship Beagle* (New York: The Viking Press, 1972) and *The Limits of Altruism: An Ecologist's View of Survival* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977). Specifically, three premises underlie the lifeboat ethic: *first*, that certain nations are beyond being saved; *second*, the resources of the entire world are not adequate and cannot be made adequate to meet the needs of all, and *third*, that the sacrificed nations will disappear and cease to be world problems.

[25]See Neil H. Jacoby, *The Progress of People*, A Center Occasional Paper (El Segundo, Calif.: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, The Fund for the Republic, 1969).

[26]See Dennis A. Goulet, *The Cruel Choice: A New Concept in the Theory of Development* (New York: Atheneum, 1973), pp. 292ff.

[27]Title of a book edited by F. LaMond Tullis (Brigham Young University Press, 1978).

[28]See his remarks on "Self-Reliance Stressed," *Church News*, 7 April 1979, p. 20.

Escape from Vietnam: An Interview with Nguyen Van The

Nguyen Van The, a native of Vietnam, was converted to Mormonism in 1966: "I had no previous religion, although as the son in a Buddhist family, I was expected to worship my ancestors." In 1968 he was drafted into the army, and in 1970, he married Lien My Le, a young woman he met at church and later baptized. In 1972 he was sent to Lackland Air Force Base to study teaching skills, arriving back in Vietnam just before the Paris Peace Talks, and just in time to be set apart as president of the Saigon branch. In a speech at Brigham Young University, in February 1980, he describes the state of the branch just before the fall of Saigon:

> *The Saigon branch was as active as usual—not only as active as usual but even more active than usual. The number of members was growing, thanks to the missionaries' great efforts, and many people were waiting to be baptized. We had printed tracts and other church reading material in Vietnamese, along with part of the hymn book. The Book of Mormon was ready to be printed in Vietnamese. Also, we had succeeded in getting the Saigon radio station to include our branch activities into their broadcasting program. Although they were not willing to broadcast any religious messages, they were interested in our Family Home Evening program. As a result, they broadcast our first Family Home Evening program at the end of March at the very time when they were cancelling many other regular programs in order to give more air time to news about the war situation, which was now growing critical.*

His moving account of what happened after this, his incarceration and subsequent escape is part of an interview conducted by the mission president who set him apart—William S. Bradshaw—and his wife, Marjorie Bradshaw. Former President Bradshaw is now Associate Professor of Zoology at BYU. Former President The is working in the Church Translation Service, also at BYU.

What were your biggest problems as branch president?

The biggest problem was that some of the members complained that the local leaders of the Church, like me, were the only ones with authority to do things for the Church. They wondered why other people weren't allowed to do things and why the Church didn't adopt Vietnamese customs. Some may have thought I was too young to be branch president. They said that they had been in the Church longer than I, and they were older, or that they were better than I and should have been put in ahead of me. The branch president was Vietnamese, but we had one American counselor, and the clerk was American too. Since we were not familiar with the church records, it was especially helpful to have Brothers Gentry and Eldridge as our branch clerks. Dr. Lester Bush, the First Counselor, helped us in many ways. As a doctor he could help the missionaries when they were sick or the members who were sick. From his other Church experiences he tried to help me as the branch president to lead the Church effectively.

The war started to intensify in 1974 and 1975, and Saigon was threatened. How did the members feel about that?

They felt very uncomfortable, and they were afraid that Saigon would collapse. But Saigon was different from other places or cities in South Vietnam. It was noisy and busy, and people were earning their income, so they just worked as usual. It was the capital: There was a sense that it couldn't succumb. If it did fall, we thought it would take months. For example, in Cambodia it took one or two months for Phnom Penh to fall. But Vietnam collapsed very suddenly.

When did the missionaries leave?

They left in April 1975 (April 3 and 4).

Did you think it was a good idea for them to go at the time?

I thought that it was right for them to leave, but many members felt the missionaries should have stayed to help the members. They felt that the missionaries and the Church had abandoned them. When the missionaries left, I knew that I was the only one in Vietnam who could help the members. A few days after that, on April 18, 1975, President (Jerry D.) Wheat and Elder (Richard T.) Bowman came back to Vietnam to get an official list of branch members from the American embassy, having had the names approved for evacuation.

President Wheat, Elder Bowman and I went to the Embassy. President Wheat had a letter of introduction from Ted Price, (Church member in the United States Immigration Office) in Hong Kong. We could get into the embassy with the letter because at this time thousands of people were rushing the embassy for papers.

Nguyen Van The

We went room by room, and nobody would say that the branch list was there. Everywhere we went the answer was the same. At last we met the Consul General and he told us that he didn't know anything about the list. President Wheat persisted because David Hoopes, the son-in-law of Elder Theodore Tuttle, was a special assistant to the President in Washington, D.C., where he had teletyped the branch list to the embassy in Saigon. President Wheat said to the Consul General, "If you say you know nothing of a list, please let me contact Mr. Hoopes at the White House." The Consul General said "No, we would be arrested if we called the White House."

President Wheat said that before coming to Saigon, Mr. Hoopes had told him that if there were a problem with the list to call him. So at last the Consul General was convinced, and President Wheat talked to Brother Hoopes at the White House, who also talked to the Consul General. I don't know what was said, but all I heard was, "Yes, sir, yes sir." When the Consul General hung up the telephone, he said that the list was in another office, and we should go there to check.

We found the room and talked to a man who was in charge of the evacuation program. He presented the list to us, and we corrected some of the names. The man told us the evacuation program had not been approved by the United States Congress, so we would have to wait for awhile. From then on, I would have to contact him by phone. He gave me his phone number, and I was supposed to call him twice a day.

President Wheat, Elder Bowman and I went back to the branch and called a special meeting.

We dared not tell the members that the Church had a list from which they would be evacuated. We just told them that in case of emergency, we would try to help them get out. Some of the members accused me of trying to hide the truth from them. They thought I was trying to abandon them and go out alone. None of the members had been evacuated then.

There were about 250 names on the list. The list was made by the mission, and when I saw the list at the embassy, I just made some corrections on the names. This was just a listing of the members, without relatives. When I later called some of the members to go, they said, "What about my family? I can't go without my family." So they blamed me.

Was there panic in the city?

Yes, there was panic. About four or five days before the fall of Saigon, the Communists shelled mortars into the airport, and many refugees from the surrounding provinces rushed into Saigon.

Luckily, President Wheat and Elder Bowman were able to leave after two days even though the airport was full and many people were trying to get out. Thousands of people were camped at the gates of the airport. People who didn't have a passport or an official paper from the embassy were not allowed in. After President Wheat and Elder Bowman left, I was to contact the embassy twice a day. I had been released from the army because of my health

and so was free to stay home all day and night and spend time at the Church. I contacted them twice a day, and every time I called, they said that the evacuation program hadn't been implemented yet. They started evacuating American citizens, their relatives, and other important people, but they kept telling me, "Not yet, not yet."

On April 22nd when I was at the branch office, a man introduced himself to me as Colonel Madison, and said he had just received a call from Mr. Hoopes at the White House. "Mr. Hoopes asked me to help you here. Please contact me twice a day at the Defense Attache Office at the airport." So from that time forth I did that.

On April 24th he asked me if I could act fast. I didn't understand what he meant. He said "I'll give you one hour to gather twenty people who can leave on the flight tonight. Major Cook will meet you inside the airport."

At the time, there was with me Brother Kiem, a colonel in the Republic of South Vietnam's armed forces. I told him, "Because you are with me and you have a car, hurry home and get your family and we will meet at the airport." His family consisted of only ten people, so there were places for ten others, or two more families.

I rushed to the branch building and asked my sister-in-law to inform two other families to be at the airport in one hour. Then I rushed back to the airport where thousands of people were blocked at the gates because they didn't have passports or authorization papers. Because I was in the army, they allowed me to enter, along with my member friend, a police major. We found Major Cook and Colonel Kiem's family (ten people). The other two families were blocked because they didn't have the papers to get in. We waited until the time had gone and Major Cook had to leave with ten people. Bro. Kiem could not go, of course because he was army personnel. We went back to the branch and met with the other two families who had not been able to enter the airport area.

Colonel Madison tried to help us by the "back door" so to speak, by reserving some spaces on the C-30 aircraft.

The next day, (the 25th), I called all the families and asked them to come to the chapel. I informed those who could to go inside the airport gates to wait, and those who could not to be ready if any opportunity happened to materialize. About sixty people (six or seven families), including my own, did go to the airport to live there with friends in the military compound.

On Sunday the 27th, we held sacrament meeting as usual in the morning. After the meeting, I met with all heads of families to explain the situation.

We had to decide who would go first. I didn't want to have to make that decision myself. It was decided that those who had been members of the Church the longest and those who held positions in the branch should go first. It was decided that my own family should go. This would relieve me of worry, and it would allow me to take responsibility for the other members. I also volunteered to be the last person to leave. This was approved and a priority list made up. It included the first and second counselors, branch clerks, older members and so on down to the last.

After the meeting, I went to the airport with those members who were able to pass through the gates and I left my family there. I used the military phone line at the airport to contact Colonel Madison. He explained to me that he had been the leader of a negotiation delegation team which had just returned from meeting with the North Vietnamese. He said that the Communists had promised that there would not be a bloodbath in Saigon. He tried to comfort me and tell me not to worry about anything. I explained my situation and reminded him that I had a lot of responsibility for the Church members. He suggested that my family should go first, and I said that had been the decision of the members too.

I hung up the phone, talked to the members and then went back to the branch to wait for a phone call from President Wheat. Just as I arrived at the chapel I received a call from the airport, informing me that my family had just left. After my conversation with Colonel Madison, he had immediately sent someone to pick them up. I didn't even have a chance to say goodbye to them. Even though they were not ready, a jeep came, picked them up, and took them on a plane. There were ten of them, including my wife's mother and her sisters. I was not sad because I thought that I would meet them in a few days. I went on living at the branch with several members who volunteered to stay with me.

The next day when I returned to the airport and contacted Colonel Madison, he said that he would give me ten seats that evening. I prepared the next family to go, but Colonel Madison called me later to say that the flight was already full. The members were sad at this news, of course. I went back to the branch to wait for calls from Hong Kong or from the United States embassy. That night the airport was shelled with mortars.

The next day the airport was blocked off, and I couldn't get in. There was no traffic in or out. (There were no casualties among the members. In fact, no one was killed during the seige or during the evacuation. We were blessed.) I went back to the home of one of the members, a lieutenant colonel, and called Colonel Madison on his military line.

As I was talking to him, the military helicopters flew back and forth over me. Colonel Madison said they had suspended the evacuation by C-30 aircraft and now were evacuating by helicopter, so he wouldn't be able to help us anymore. I said goodbye, went back to the branch office and tried to contact the United States embassy.

I knew that the South Vietnamese had ordered all American military personnel out of Vietnam in twenty-four hours, but I thought that this applied only to military not to embassy personnel. Because the branch office was in the area of police headquarters, it was blocked and we couldn't get out. When I came back to the branch building that night, I found myself stuck inside because of the twenty-four hour curfew. I just waited and tried all night to contact the embassy. The next morning, April 30th, Brother Loi picked me up in his jeep and took me to the embassy. On the way, I saw thousands of people mobbing and ransacking American buildings.

When we reached the embassy, I saw smoke. The fire department people were trying to extinguish the fire. A lot of people were removing things from the building. No one was there; all the American people had left. I felt like a person falling from a high place. I felt like crying. I went back to stay with several young men at the branch office, which by then was surrounded by police.

Could any American at the end have helped to get members out of Saigon?

Yes, anyone with authority could have done a lot.

How many of the members were officially evacuated?

Officially, those who got to Guam, about 100. These were those who got inside the airport and then got out by some way. Colonel Madison was able to help two families: my family and Col. Kiem's family. Col. Kiem got out later, making the arrangements by himself. The last groups were evacuated by helicopter. Bro. Thinh who now works for the State of Utah, was with one of the last groups. Of the approximately 100 members evacuated, some were evacuated officially and some got out by themselves. Of about 250 members, probably 150 remained. From 1975 until 1980, most of the members have escaped and very few of them are in Vietnam now.

Please tell us how you felt when all of this happened?

I felt very, very sad in my heart and hopeless. I thought, "Now the Americans are gone, no one can help us. The Communists will take over Saigon. The members cannot get out." A few hours after that the Communists came.

I want to describe the situation. I went back to the chapel where I met some young men who would stay with me there, including Brother Cao Minh and one brother named Nghia, a doctor. He suggested we go to the International Red Cross on his Honda. As we drove on a one-way street, we saw many people coming in the opposite direction, crying, "The Communists are coming, the Communists are coming!" And then we saw a huge tank, with a gun, coming very, very fast. I couldn't do anything. We fell off the bike and tried to hide in the ditch. The tank was very close to us. Then many other tanks came.

We had never seen such big Russian-57 tanks and guns. We had seen tanks in the war, but they had never been driven fast like that. It was terrible. The guns did not fire at all, but the people were very frightened and so tried to get into the ditch.

There were big guns in the streets. Policemen and others in the military had to give their guns to the Communists. Their guns were lying in the street and the children came and fired them into the sky. They even wounded people. The children were just trying out the guns like a toy. The Com-

munists did not try to kill anyone, but we were still very frightened and so decided to hide ourselves in the chapel. I had to pick up my wallet and the papers from my pocket from the street. We got on the Honda and went back to the branch.

The branch was located in the middle of houses occupied by Americans, and Vietnamese came to loot in the area. They even entered the grounds of the chapel, and Brother Cao Minh and I and the other young men who were there explained that this was not an American home—it was a church—so they left. From the other homes they took everything, including window glass. Most were not criminals; they were just taking the opportunity to get things. This happened the first few days until the Communist government gave the order that anyone found looting would be killed.

Did the people feel depression and sorrow because the South Vietnamese government had failed or did they blame the Americans?

I believe they blamed the Americans for abandoning them, but they also blamed Thieu and the government of South Vietnam for the corruption.

President The, we've come in your story to when the Communists took Saigon. Will you tell us your own personal history during this time?

After we went to see the International Red Cross, Brother Nghia and I went back to the branch and lived there for two days. There were about five young men with me in the building. We didn't dare go out. We could hear gunfire and were afraid of more fighting. Later, we found that the gun noise was caused by the children firing the guns in the street, and that there was a lot of looting of buildings. The Communists held a big meeting on May 1st. We didn't leave the branch. On May 2nd we left very early and went to the western area (Mekong Delta area) and tried to escape. It was very hard for us to travel because so many people were going back and forth on the road. There were very few buses running. We were trying to get into Thailand. We really didn't care which direction we went, just so we got to the sea. We were told that there were some foreign ships outside the sea territory, a possible way to escape, so we went to the Cape of Vietnam land, Camau. I stood right on the edge of the Cape of Camau and could see no bigger boats at all. There was no way to go further, so after ten days I returned to Camau. I was afraid I would not be allowed to go back to Saigon because the Communists were controlling everything and the people living in the town could not leave without permission. We were lucky, though, because we made contact with Brother Nghia and were able to live with him. Brother Nghia had a brother who was a Communist Captain.

When we went to the sea to look for a boat we found that there were several boats sunk in the sea. We talked to the chief of the town government and said, "If you let these boats sink down like this, it is wasteful. Why don't we try to get the boats out?" They liked the idea, so they allowed Brother Nghia's brother to help us. We got permission to go back to Saigon for tools to

get the boats out. I went first, then Brother Cao Minh and finally the five young men.

When I got back to Saigon, I found out that the Communist local authorities had come and announced that they wanted the building. We decided that we must turn over the building to the Communists. We had to decide what we should do with the property inside the church. One of the sisters said that she had access to the empty house of one of her relatives, and we could store the property there. It was very hard to hire a truck to transport it, though, so we decided to sell some of it to get some money to pay for moving expenses. We sold one piano for 100 thousand piasters and some of the desks for about 50,000. I gave some of the poor members some of the money so they could live temporarily. As we put the things in the sister's house, people stared at us. They suspected us.

We had two meetings at this house and we tried to have a sacrament meeting. The Communists looked at us, and wondered why we were holding a meeting. At that time, if more than three people met, we had to make a report. After that, we were afraid to meet.

I went back to my own home to live where I tried to help Brother Cao Minh stay out of military affairs. I wanted Brother Cao Minh to live at my house, so I said that he used to live in the building, and I asked permission for him to move to my house. When we got to my house, we reported to the local authorities and declared that he was a draft dodger. Actually he was a first lieutenant in the Air Force, but when the Communists took over the South, the draft dodgers were not punished like the others. Because they had reacted against the former government, that meant they were with the Communists.

Brother Cao Minh, Brother Nghia (the doctor) and I tried to gather information on how to escape. After we got the information, we were delayed until the Communists made the announcement that those who had served in the South Vietnamese armed forces had to report to be reeducated. Brother Cao Minh was afraid not to report, but I told him that my former testimony had said that he was a draft dodger and if he reported to the authorities, we would have a problem. I said, "Do not list any relatives, (although he had several sisters living in Saigon). Say you are the only son in the family and that you used to live at the church teaching missionary lessons." He obeyed my words and so was safe from having to report.

But Brother Nghia and I had to report, and the Communist government tricked us. In fact, they knew if they didn't trick us, we would not report. Officers in the army from second lieutenant to general and civil servants from director to president were not told to report in the first announcement, only soldiers and noncommissioned officers. There were millions in this group; the only way they could make people report was to say that those who reported would be reeducated on the spot and that this would take only three days. Those who reported would get a certificate showing that they had graduated from the reeducation course, and they could then rejoin their families.

They announced that those from second lieutenant to general and from director to the president had to report and bring a ten-day food supply. We

imagined that those who were assigned to bring a ten-day food supply would be reeducated in ten days. We knew we would be considered more sinful than the other soldiers, so we decided to stay home and try to escape. But we grew bored because we didn't know when we could possibly escape. We started thinking, "Why don't we report for ten days and then come home and wait for the opportunity to escape." So Brother Nghia and I went to report, and Brother Cao Minh stayed at home and looked for the opportunity. Before we went, we heard that there was an organization at Vung Tau that would help a person escape in fifteen days. We figured that we could report and spend our ten days and be back home in time.

We reported; ten days went by, and then a month, and then two months and still no mention of releasing us. I had reported to The Faculty of Letters School in Saigon. About two days later, they transferred me to Hoc Man, the camp that used to be called Ong Nam (Ong Nam meant lieutenant-colonel in the time of French domination.)

There were about 5,000 prisoners in this camp, a "regimental" camp. The divisions were company, regiment, division. In a regiment there are five battalions. One battalion was one camp, about 1000 people. In one camp of 1000 people, we were divided into smaller groups of fifteen people. We had to live, eat, and do everything else as one unit or group. A slogan said, "Work in group, eat in group." There were three groups in one company, forty-five people living in one barracks.

When we ate, we had to cook for ourselves in three companies. But since there were three companies to use the same kitchen, we had to take turns. We cooked the rice in one big pan. It is very hard to cook rice with a great big pan, so we ate uncooked or burned rice for awhile. They supplied us with a vegetable like spinach called, Rau Muong, which we had to boil with salt. I think you haven't seen salt like we had in Vietnam. They gave us a lump of salt with dirt mixed in. You couldn't see the salt because it looked black. Before we could use it, we had to dissolve the lump in water and then try to skim the dirt away. We cooked the vegetables with the salt water. Sometimes they gave us some fish or meat. When they gave us meat, it was terrible for us because we had to preserve the meat for two or three days and then divide it among 145 people. Each serving was about the size of two fingers. We just looked at the meat longingly but dared not eat all at once. One day they gave us one chicken for 145 people. We didn't know how to divide it equally so decided to grind it like powder and put it in the vegetables. At first we had enough rice to eat, for me anyway, but not for the taller and stronger ones. Later rice became short for people outside the camps, so it also became short for us. They gave us about two bowls of rice a day, including some rotten potatoes and flour. The rice was not good rice. It took us many hours to pick out the rocks and dirt.

Since we had rotten rice and little meat, our health grew worse. Most of us suffered from paralysis or numbness and beriberi because of the lack of Vitamin B_1. We also had a lot of itching.

The most terrible thing about the camp was the toilet facilities. Our camp was a former military barracks. When the government collapsed, the people ransacked the building and took everything. There were about 1,000 men and two or three toilets. With overuse the toilets became clogged, and human waste ran all over the floors. I had to close my eyes and try to get out of the toilet as soon as possible. For the military latrine we dug a big hole for everyone to use. Because of the lack of equipment, we had to dig the hole by ourselves. The hole was an open one, and in the dry, sunny season it was fine and would last one or two months. But in the rainy season after a few days it would be full. It would also pile up with maggots. When we first came to the camp, we brought some toilet paper, but it was used in only a few days. We asked the Communist cadre to buy some for us. We would give them money and for the first while they would buy it for us. At first they said, "What is this?" They didn't know what toilet paper was and when we told them, they said, "Luxury. You are in the reeducation camp now and you still have the idea to use luxurious things. Your mind is still for the American, capitalist way, and you must stop." Soon they stopped buying toilet paper. They said, "When you go to the toilet now, you must take water in some kind of a container with you." We didn't have any container to use. Some of us had brought milk powder when we first came to the camp. The most common container was a milk powder can made from cardboard that would not rust and also had a lid to cover it. So we ate from that can, we drank from the same can, and also used the same can to carry water when we went to the toilet.

We had to dig a well to get water. Two or three people would dig a well and use it together. We washed clothes, bathed, drank, cooked, all from the same well. Imagine what it was like to have nothing to cover the well to protect the water!

In the camp the labor was very hard. Daily work included going to the forest to cut trees to build houses for us to live in and houses for the Communists cadres to live in. We had to plant vegetables or whatever else they asked us to plant for our food. The Communist cadres were from both North and South Vietnam. The South Vietnamese were kinder than the North Vietnamese, who were very strict.

Each day we had a period of working and a period of study. For example, we had two months of studying; then we'd stop studying for awhile and go to work. They started our reeducation by giving us political lessons. In one period they gave us from eight to ten lessons. It took us one week to discuss each lesson. We went to class and then came back to discuss the lessons. Usually we discussed the lessons for eight hours a day, during which each of us (about fifteen in a group) had to confess our sins aloud on every subject. They called it "our relationship to our sins." If one was in a combat unit and had had to fight against the Communists and kill people, one knew what to confess, but if you were not, it was very hard to know what to say. My last position was as an English teacher, so I didn't know how to confess my sins. All of us had to invent our crimes according to instructions. For example, a

doctor had to confess his crimes by saying that he had saved many people and because he had saved people for the former government, he had sinned.

Brother Nghia and I stayed in the same camp for about six months and then were transferred to different camps. They never let us stay in one camp for long in order to prevent us from organizing against them.

I had to confess that I had taught officials in the Armed Forces Language School, and when these officials understood English, they went to other countries and learned military techniques in English and then when they came back to Vietnam, they bombed and killed. Because our minds were under constant pressure to invent crimes, we really used our minds. When we confessed in general terms, our captors wouldn't accept our confessions. For example, if we said we were responsible for killing many people, they would say, "Name the number." If it was an aerial operation, they said "How can you know for sure?" Really, we did not know, but to satisfy them, we had to figure out how many were killed during an operation. They said that if you tell the truth, you can go home early. That meant that you confessed all the secret things of your heart. Then when we invented sins, we were classified as dangerous and sent to the North. The Communists did not kill us, but they tortured us in this way. There was no bloodbath. The only time they killed was if there was an incident against them. I think those above the rank of colonel were sent to the North and treated as prisoners of war.

The soldiers punished us every time they could. The Communist cadres were somewhat educated and because they were governed by high ranking officials, they tried to hide their hatred in their hearts, trying not to express it openly. But the young soldiers were angry. If by accident we laughed, they would say, "Why do you laugh at me?" And for any little reason they would punish us by making us stand at attention for many hours. There were two groups of Communists responsible for our control in the camp. The instructors who taught us in the daytime were on the instruction board for reeducation and they had a lot of power. Then there were the soldiers who guarded us in the camp. These guards said that we had to report to the other guard when we left the barracks, and say, "Mr. Guard, may we have permission to go to the toilet?" One night when we went out, the guard called us over and said, "How do you address us when you go to the toilet?" For many hours in the cold, he tried to teach us. We felt very tired and the next morning we had to go to work. We discussed it with others in the camp and decided we couldn't say Mr. Guard, so he couldn't blame us. We decided that we would just say, "We go to the toilet." The next night the other guard said, "Come here. To whom do you talk when you go to the toilet?" They were trying to set up another trap.

I was in the reeducation camp for twenty-seven months. Some of my close friends and I tried to escape many times but I can really say that I was blessed. I remained in the same area with the same regiment all the time. Many of my friends were transferred to completely different areas, from Long Khanh to Tay Ninh. Every five or six months they were changed to many different parts of the country.

To try to escape from Hoc Mon camp was not very difficult. To get into the camp or out of the camp, we had to take a bus. Sometimes we had to walk for a distance. The Communists' relatives who lived along the way tried to catch us. We didn't want to risk getting caught there, so we prepared another way. We stored some food to carry with us so if they transferred us we might escape on the way. We were transported from one camp to another by truck. When we got to the other place, we had to walk into the camp, so I thought maybe I could escape on the way. It was very dangerous to try escaping, and many of my friends were caught. About a month after we got to camp, two of my friends escaped, but when they got back to Saigon and had lived there two months, they were caught. The Communists punished them severely by putting them in an iron box, the kind used to hold munitions. They remained in that box in the sun by day and in the cold at night. They were given only a little food to eat and a little water to drink. They were kept there until a holy day came and a clemency policy allowed them to go back to the camp as usual. Others, however, had to wait many months. Months later, several tried to escape and were killed on the spot.

One of our duties was to act as judges of those who were caught. This meant that we had to condemn our own friends. We didn't want to condemn our friends, but if we didn't stand up and condemn them, we would be punished. We had to say that their action was very wrong. We had to sentence them to years in prison. If we tried to cut the sentence to two or three years in prison, they would accuse us: "You still can see only one side, so you must be reeducated some more."

After eighteen months in the camp, we were in bad condition. We didn't have much to eat and we were sick. They didn't have medicine for us. Even aspirin was scarce, and there were no antibiotics. When we got sick, they told us that we must try to overcome the sickness. When we got paralysis, they told us to try to walk—try to overcome, they said, try to overcome. I had flu and a sick stomach, but I didn't have skin problems like itching. I almost got beriberi, and I had a little paralysis. Most of us did get numbness or paralysis because we lacked Vitamin B_1, but I could still walk. Those who were serious couldn't walk; they would just lie down. We didn't have enough food. Our relatives outside the camp were finally allowed to send three kilograms of food and medicine for each prisoner.

After several months in camp with no talk of release, we were ordered to send letters to our relatives, but we didn't want to because we thought that meant we would be staying in the camp for a long time. "From now on," they said, "you have to write once a month to your family, and your family must write to you once a month too." They gave us only one sheet of paper. We had to make the letter as short as possible, and we had to write the letter according to instructions. We were not allowed to say that we were sick, only: "I am in the camp and am doing well. I am working well, eating well, and my health is good."

They did not immediately send our letters, however; they kept them in the office and released one letter every six months. But if we didn't write, we

were punished. Even though we knew the letters might not go to our families, we had to repeat the same words over and over.

It was prohibited that we talk to one another. Our captors always used the word "relationship," saying we could not relate to other people. We could not talk within the group. They did not have enough cadres to watch over us all the time, but there were some spies to report to them. It was very terrible when we could not talk because we all wanted to hear news. There were a lot of rumors in the camp, and we lived on the rumors. If we had had to face reality, we would have been hopeless, and we would have died. One night a friend whispered to me "Did you know that the Americans came to help us? The Americans asked the Australians to take care of us. They will put us in one big area, and those who want to go to the United States will have an opportunity to go and those who want to stay in the South can just stay."

Another rumor was about fighting outside. The National Restoration Forces were supposedly fighting against the Communists and killing many of them. Next month our case would be taken to the Paris Peace Talks, and we might have the opportunity to go home. We really knew this was impossible, but we prayed and hoped anyway. I think most of this "news" was actually spread by the Communists.

Tell us about your escape.

One of the members of the Church, a Sister Luong whose family was baptized by the missionaries, came to visit me soon after my release. She asked me if I was willing to risk my life in order to leave the country by means of a fishing boat. I told her, "Yes, in fact I am willing to make the attempt any way possible, even by walking." She said she would make arrangements to have me meet the boat owner and the others planning the escape. I told her I didn't have any money, and wondered if an arrangement could be made with the organizers of the plan to pay them after we got out of the country. She said she would try to work something out. Several days later, I met these people and talked with them. They knew a little bit about me, including my former position as branch president. It turned out that there were two men who owned the boat together, both wealthy. They had been planning an escape since the fall of Saigon but had not yet been able to make an attempt. They planned to include only their immediate family since they did not need the money, were interested only in their own survival and were afraid it would jeopardize their chances if outsiders were involved. The reason they were willing to include me was that they felt I could be trusted (I was a single man without a wife or children to take along). They also felt that after the escape, I could help them by asking the Church to sponsor us as refugees. Of course while they were in Saigon talking about this, we had no real idea what circumstances we would find outside the country. So I agreed that after we got out, I would try to help them get to the United States. (These people were Vietnamese, not ethnic Chinese).

Three days later, on October 6th, we escaped by boarding the boat in the middle of the day, about 2 P.M., on a river about thirty miles west of Saigon. I disguised myself as a mechanic in my military pants, like many laborers of the time, and a grimy shirt (which I've kept as a souvenir). I memorized addresses and other information and left all my other possessions behind.

We had made very careful plans. There were two boats involved, a small boat which took us to a larger boat waiting at a designated place. It took us about two hours to reach it. At the mouth of the river, on the sea, there was a guard post and watch tower. We had arranged for another boat coming from the opposite direction (from Vung Tau) to pass by the tower at a certain time. We wanted to see if the guards would stop the boat and search it or question the people. If not we would have a better chance of going through. This was timed very carefully. The larger boat was about twenty feet long and ten feet wide. We reached it at about 4 o'clock and hurried to jump aboard. There were twenty-four people in our group. We jumped from the smaller boat to the bigger boat and from there sailed out and passed the watchtower. We disguised ourselves as a fishing boat, with only three of us visible on the stern. The other boat was approaching from the opposite direction. If they could go through, it was possible that we could too. (We reasoned that they would not be too particular on that day.) The other boat was not stopped, so we sailed out and were not stopped either. We didn't know how many guards were in the watch tower, but because the mouth of the tower was pointed towards the sea, they usually watched carefully. We carried no weapons. If we had been stopped, we would simply have surrendered. We left about 4 P.M. and tried to steer our boat to Thailand.

Twenty-one of us rode in the bottom of the boat where the fish were kept. We were like sardines ourselves. The motion of the sea made us sick and we vomited. Because we were also suffocating, we had to come out at midnight. As we passed by Cosar Island, we met a patrol boat that chased us. It was very dark, and we could not see, but we didn't care. After about three hours we lost them. They could not shoot at us because they had to check to see if we were a legitimate fishing boat first. We were very lucky, but because of the chase, we had to change our course. It took us then about three days to get to the Strait of Malaysia where we landed on the east side. I was the only one in the group who didn't know how to swim, but I was the only one who could speak any English. Wearing my temple garments and my green pants and shirt, I held onto a big plastic container as I was pushed to the shore.

We climbed off our boat onto a little raft. It was close to a school. One of the students spoke English. I said, "Please inform the authorities that we are refugees. If they will let us land, I will ask my church to help us go to the United States." They told us to wait there while they informed the police. When the deputy chief of police arrived, I was happy to find that he spoke English. He took me in his beautiful car to the police station. (My clothes were so wet that I got the seat wet.) When we reported everything at the station, the officers told us that they could not let us in because they had a relation-

ship with Vietnam. If they admitted us, we would have problems with Vietnam which we didn't want. They said that they would give us food and supplies, and help us find another refugee camp. The police chief took me to his home where he and his wife fed me. He said, "Now please don't tell anyone I told you, but I will tell you how to get to another camp that will accept you." He said it would take about thirty-six hours.

We spent one night there in our boat in their port. The next morning, we were supplied with fuel, food, rice and cans of water, about three days supply. The police chief reviewed his instructions with me and sent a telegram to France for a relative of one of the people on the boat. He did not ask us to pay him.

It took us three more days to reach the other camp. On our way a patrol boat chased us, calling out to us to confuse our directions, but we just continued on our course. After about thirty-eight hours, we reached Mersing, West Malaysia, a small town about one hour from Pulautengah Refugee Camp in West Malaysia. We stayed the night there, then left for the island the next morning. I sent a telegram to Brother Kan Watanabe in Japan and a letter to Elder Richard T. Bowman in Kaysville, Utah. About a week later, I received a letter from Brother Watanabe saying that the Church would agree to sponsor my companions. I had fulfilled my promise! As it later turned out, only nine of them were sponsored by the Church because they had relatives who sponsored them. I was the first one to get my papers processed and to leave the camp where I had lived for three months.

Did you contact the Church in Singapore?

Someone in the Church contacted the Mission President in Singapore, President Soren F. Cox. The church's group leader in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, provided me with clothes and books. President Cox was anxious to see me reunited with my family, so when he was in Kuala Lumpur, he contacted the US embassy and offered to buy airplane tickets for me. But the embassy did not accept his offer. I also wrote to President David Chan of the Hong Kong Mission, and President Chan wrote to Elder Hinckley about me. Elder Hinckley then wrote back to President Chan and told him that the Church was helping to finalize my papers. When I left the camp I had to go to Kuala Lumpur for ten days for a medical examination and paper work; then I flew from Kuala Lumpur to Hong Kong where I stayed overnight. I called Jacob de Jager and he came and stayed in the hotel with me for three hours. He helped me call my wife and I talked to her for the first time in three years. The next morning I flew to Japan, where I called Brother Watanabe. He wasn't allowed in the room where I was and I wasn't allowed out, so we waved to each other across a barrier. From Japan I flew to Honolulu, where I lost my suitcase, and then continued on to Los Angeles. Western Airlines treated me very kindly, and arranged for me to call my wife. I found that because I arrived early and because Brother Hoopes had talked to them, I could take any flight I wanted. My wife said, "You must give us time so that many

friends can meet you." So I waited in Los Angeles and at last flew first class to Salt Lake City.

Are there some things you miss about your homeland?

Because my family is with me, I am not homesick. Sometimes my wife and I talk about what we had in Vietnam that we don't have here. In Vietnam we used to see Chinese movies twice a week; we could eat food on the streets, food that we don't have here. We miss the Saigon market places. Here the supermarkets and department stores have everything, but in Vietnam we have the fish mongers and the fruit stands. We miss the beach of Vung Tau and Da Lat in the Central Highlands. It is the most beautiful place in Vietnam. We also miss the night lights. You might call Saigon a city of the night. At night there were lights in the streets and people in the streets. When we go out at night here, the streets are deserted. We used to go dancing in the nightclubs. I used to play guitar at home, but I don't play well anymore. I am good at Chinese chess, and I do very well here because Chinese chess is harder than American chess.

If the situation changed and another government came, would you like to go back there to live again?

I would like to go back when there are no more Communists in Vietnam. If they set up a neutral government, I wouldn't want to go back there.

What is your impression of how Americans feel about the outcome of the war in Vietnam?

I haven't watched much TV, but I have talked with several Americans, and most of them say that they regret what the American government did to Vietnam. Not the American people, but the high officials in the government for some reason didn't want to win the war in Vietnam. Really, they could have won it very easily if they had wanted to. They wanted to prolong the war and then, in the end, when they couldn't help the situation, they lost Vietnam.

How do you feel when Americans just want to forget about the war with its painful memories?

I understand the feelings of the American people when they want to forget the past because there are many painful and sad memories for them. But it is regrettable to me if they forget about the Vietnamese people who are still suffering. The Vietnamese look for help from the United States to change their lives. I think if we forget them, it is the saddest thing.

Mormonism and Maoism: The Church and People's China

BILL HEATON

IN A RECENT ADDRESS to a Regional Representatives Seminar, President Kimball stated—

> We asked last conference for all members to pray with increased sincerity for peace in all nations and especially China, and that we might make entry with our missionaries. Since then many people have been to China and much interest has been shown. Let us ask our Heavenly Father to grant our petition and permit this great neighbor, China, to join the great family of nations now bowing to the Lord Jesus Christ.[1]

In another address, President Kimball spoke favorably of many Chinese government policies. These policies, which encourage sexual morality, hard work, honesty, self-discipline and attention to personal cleanliness and public health measures, receive frequent favorable comment by visitors to China.[2]

In the past, LDS missionary work among the Chinese has been limited to areas adjacent to China—Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore—and to other countries with Chinese communities. The opening of diplomatic relations between China and the United States and political changes within China since the death of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) seem to have given new impetus to the desire of Mormon leaders to expand missionary work among the Chinese and into China proper.

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At present, however, the Chinese government is not favorable toward religious proselytism. Just two weeks before President Kimball's address the authoritative *People's Daily,* in response to a question about religion, observed—

> All religions are hallucinatory and erroneous reflections among men which result from feelings of helplessness and fear in the face of natural and social forces. Processed and elaborated on by exploiting classes and religious professionals the negative role of religion has become more and more prominent, especially after mankind entered the class society. It causes the laboring people to abide by the will of heaven and endure all there is to endure in the face of the struggle against nature and class struggle. Marxism holds that religion is the opium paralyzing the people's will and the instrument of the exploiting classes for ruling the people. Therefore, Marxists consistently oppose any form of religion.[3]

By way of exposing the negative influence of religion on society, the Chinese media used the Jonestown massacre as a case study.[4] Similarly, an article in *Guangming Daily* on the historical approaches to truth contrasted the trial of Galileo before the Inquisition with the modern scientific method used in China today.[5] While the current attitude in China permits some toleration of religious belief as is guaranteed by the Chinese constitution (the constitution also guarantees the "right" to propagate atheism), religious belief and practice is strongly discouraged. Consequently, it appears that there is presently a wide gulf between the hopes of the Church to do missionary work in China and the attitude of the Chinese regime.

This article will consider the prospects for the spread of Mormonism in China and examine some of the problems involved with extending missionary work there. It is based upon my continuing study of China and on personal observations made during extensive travels with a delegation that visited China in April and May of 1979.

Missionary work among the Chinese people outside the People's Republic of China is flourishing. Stakes in Hong Kong and Taiwan have several thousand members, and in other parts of the world there are many other Chinese members. While there are some discordant elements between LDS doctrine and traditional Chinese beliefs and practices, the gospel obviously has appeal for many Chinese.[6]

Perhaps much of the reason for the gospel's appeal to Chinese and other Asians was suggested a few years ago by Paul Hyer.[7] He observed that revolution in Asia was tearing apart the fabric of traditional societies and suggested that Mormonism offered an alternative to "shallow materialism" or "totalitarian puritanism." Church programs could provide friendship and fellowship; the patriarchal order of the priesthood could provide a sense of continuity and stability; and LDS doctrines could feed the hunger for new values. It seems that Hyer's arguments, at least in the short view, have been borne out by events. If anything, Asia has become more revolutionary since he wrote; meanwhile the Church has grown rapidly.

Mormonism, however, like other forms of Christianity, has had little if any impact on the People's Republic. It would be easy to attribute this to the atheistic Communists in Beijing (Peking). But, in fact, the causes are more deeply rooted. This becomes more evident as we consider the limited, yet significant contact between Mormonism and the modern Chinese revolution.

The modern Chinese revolution had its beginnings about twelve years after the establishment of the Church and two years before the martyrdom of Joseph Smith. In 1842 the end of the Opium War ushered in China's "century of humiliation" at the hands of the West, during which the Western powers and Japan carved China into numerous spheres of influence; in these territories foreigners enjoyed substantial privilege. Meanwhile, as rapid population growth, famine and rebellion became constant features of this era, the last great Dynasty of China, The Quing (Ch'ing) or Manchu Dynasty, was collapsing from within.

The first LDS missionaries arrived in Hong Kong to begin missionary work in China in 1853; they lasted about four months—overcome by strange customs, language, food and climate. Efforts to attract Europeans were unsuccessful. China was being torn asunder by the Taiping Rebellion which lasted for more than a decade and in which millions perished. Thus, the beginnings ended in frustration and failure.

The next contact came in 1921, when China was again in a state of turmoil. The Ch'ing government which had collapsed in 1911, was replaced by the republic of Sun Yat-sen. However, there was no effective central government: China was torn among rival warlords all demanding unity with none willing to give up his own domain. China's ultimate humiliation had come during the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Since she had participated in the allied cause, China attended the conference expecting to be treated as a victorious member of the allied powers. However, the German concessions in Shantung were not returned to China but were given to Japan instead; this provoked rioting among young nationalistic students in China's major cities. The government did not sign the treaty; Japan continued its encroachments; the youths began the formation of new political organizations which would ultimately constitute the ruling authority in China.

When Elders David McKay and Hugh Cannon arrived in Beijing in 1921 to dedicate China to the preaching of the restored gospel, they observed the large numbers of Japanese soldiers along China's railways and the famine and unrest stalking the land. Cannon wrote—

> Poor old China, the victim of intrigues among nations who covet her coal and iron deposits, the victim of floods and droughts, of famine and pestilence, and worst of all, the victim of her own inefficiency and helplessness! Assuredly she needs someone to plead her cause before the throne of grace. China is living in the dead past of two thousand years and has hardly begun to realize it.
>
> And still her condition is not hopeless. She is as one passing through travail. A new nation, let us hope, is being born, a nation of great potential power, with leaders sufficiently wise to develop and properly

> exploit her natural resources. Among this people are hosts of splendid individuals, men and women of stable character, of refinement and intelligence.[8]

McKay, in his dedicatory prayer, asked that China's burdens be lifted, and that the government would become stable, "if not by the present government, then through the intervention of the allied powers of the civilized world." He prayed also that the bonds of superstition would be broken.[9]

It is somewhat ironic that intervention by the allied powers of the "civilized world" had compounded China's difficulties. Equally paradoxically, the government which finally brought a measure of stability to China, after decades of turmoil and strife, captured the Chinese revolution by playing upon antiforeign nationalism more effectively than did the other political parties.

The Chinese Communist Party was formed within six months of the dedicatory prayer. Initially, it was composed of a handful of intellectuals influenced by the Russian Revolution of 1917 (a major factor was that the new Marxist government of Russia had renounced its unequal treaties with China). The Communists entered a brief alliance with the Chinese Nationalist Party headed by Sun Yat-sen, who also received Soviet support and made plans for a new revolution. Although initially successful, the Communist-Nationalist alliance fell apart in 1927 during a campaign to unify China. An energetic military officer, Chiang K'ai-shek, then seized control of the Nationalist Party and the Communists were driven underground.

For decades the two parties fought against each other and sometimes alongside each other as they united in the War of Resistance against Japan from 1937 to 1945, until the Communists finally achieved victory in 1949. The Nationalists fled to Taiwan where they continued to claim legitimacy as the government of all China. Mao Zedong, announcing the establishment of the People's Republic of China, declared: "The Chinese People have now stood up!"

Only a few months before the Chinese Communists came to power, Elder Matthew Cowley and a few other missionaries visited Hong Kong to initiate missionary work, but they were forced to depart because of the continuing Chinese revolution and the outbreak of the Korean War. A permanent mission was not established until 1955. The Southern Far East Mission, as the Church grew, was subdivided into separate missions in Taiwan, Hong Kong, the Philippines and other countries of Southeast Asia. The growing strength of the Church has accompanied the growing stength and prestige of China.

Since coming to power in 1949, there can be no question that the Chinese Communists have made substantial achievements. The political situation has not always been stable, as attested by the land reform campaigns of 1950–53, the Great Leap Forward of 1958–60, the Cultural Revolution of 1966–71 and the struggle against the "gang of four" in 1976–77. Yet, China has been able to redistribute wealth, solve problems of disease, improve education, expand national defense and otherwise improve the lives of its citizens.[10]

The post-Mao leadership is particularly concerned with economic devel-

opment. Recent Communist Party and government meetings have called for "four modernizations"—the modernization of agriculture, industry, science and technology, and national defense by the year 2000. While some policies have encountered problems, the Chinese seem determined to achieve rapid modernization. It is this drive that has led some Church leaders to believe that China may soon be ready for missionary work. One General Authority told me that he was praying for the success of the current government's modernization program because he believed it would pave the way for preaching the gospel. Ten years ago it would probably have been unthinkable for a General Authority to acknowledge prayer for the success of a Communist government. Perhaps this is the beginning of the fulfillment of McKay's prayer nearly sixty years ago.

A major concern of McKay as expressed in his prayer and in subsequent writings was that "the bands of superstition be broken" in China, for this, he believed, was the greatest obstacle to missionary work. The traditional values and beliefs of the Chinese people were a principal target of the Chinese Communists who considered them an impediment to progress.

These traditional values did not distinguish clearly between religious beliefs and political, economic and social relationships. The beliefs of the traditional, elite, educated class were based on Confucianism which is more a social doctrine than an actual religion. The beliefs of the common people were a variety of watered-down Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, ancestor worship, local customs and a host of other traditions. These beliefs linked rulers and ruled and justified the existence of the social order. Thus, when the Chinese Communists embarked on their effort to revolutionize society, they also sought to transform the traditional beliefs and values of the people.

Through political indoctrination, a pervasive aspect of Chinese life, the Chinese Communists hope to break down previous traditions and values and replace them with those conducive to the goals of the party. The new Chinese value system is officially identified as "Marxism, Leninism and the Thought of Chairman Mao Zedong." Maoism is the civil religion of China.[11] Maoist ideology consists of two levels. At one level it is a fairly complex philosophical doctrine concerning social development which must be studied and mastered by those who wish to achieve party membership and thereby "get ahead" in the system. At another level it is a series of pithy slogans and homilies designed to motivate people to work harder and sacrifice more for the common good.[12]

Essentiallly, Maoism accepts the materialist formulation of historical development, but lends a subjective quality. Probably because China was an agrarian society not meeting Marx's qualifications for proletarian revolution, Mao argued that it was possible to create a socialist consciousness even though all material conditions might not be present. Thus, China could become a socialist nation if the Chinese people could become "new socialist men and women" through education and experience; then the people could transform the material base of society. Changing people's thinking is a fundamental tenet of Maoism.

Unlike Confucianism, which emphasized harmony, Maoism holds that the essence of social life is struggle. People must struggle against nature, against other people (class struggle), and against their own limitations. Maoism strongly advocates individual will and promotes sacrifice, hard work, dedication, zeal and patience. People who exemplify these values are constantly hailed in Chinese propaganda and are made the objects of emulation campaigns. Maoism also stresses self-reliance. All social and production units in China—families, production teams, communes, schools, factories—should become as self-sufficient as possible. China as a nation should rely as much as possible on its own efforts to restore greatness and to achieve comprehensive modernization.

All elements and nuances of Maoism cannot be delved into here. It is sufficient to say that Maoism constitutes a fundamental challenge to the traditional system of values and beliefs of Chinese society, inasmuch as there has been a tremendous effort to inculcate the values of Maoism in the masses of Chinese people. Perhaps the Cultural Revolution of 1966–69 epitomizes the best and worst of Maoism. Mao launched the Cultural Revolution against tendencies which he perceived were creating a new class of bureaucrats in China, were promoting inequality between urban and rural areas, and were turning China away from a correct path of social development. Millions of youths, captured by Mao's charisma, became involved in the political process and tried to emulate his "revolutionary" experience. There were efforts to make the political process more open, the education system more fair, and the society more egalitarian. Instead, what resulted was an outpouring of violent excess which only ended when the military seized control.

The fundamental problem of Maoism has been its inherent contradictions. For example, Mao argued that political leaders should listen to the people and should integrate with them. "Our God," said Mao, "is the masses of Chinese people." Yet Maoism legitimized a massive, bureaucratic, authoritarian party in the name of mobilizing the masses to achieve socialism.[13] It is not surprising that Mao's successors are trying to reinterpret his teachings and his policies. Mao remains a hero, and his ideas are treated as sacred writ. Yet everywhere in China there is evidence of change. Will and self-reliance are now interpreted to mean that individual effort will result in more status and better pay. Capitalistic incentives are condoned, even encouraged, in economic management.

During our visit to China there was ample evidence of discontent with the past. Many of the people we spoke with expressed the opinion that China was set back ten years by the Cultural Revolution. The visits of protesters to Beijing and the public airing of grievances of dissidents indicate that all is not well.[14] Maoism has been partly successful in accomplishing the goal sought by McKay, the breaking down of the traditional Chinese value system. The many movements and campaigns conducted by the Communists, together with attempts at social restructuring, have undermined many traditional beliefs. A lasting impression during my discussions with a variety of people, from top government leaders to ordinary people met while jogging along

country roads in early morning, was that the Chinese people have a strong sense that what they do makes a difference; that they have something to contribute to society. This is in sharp contrast to the sense of fatalism which characterized traditional Chinese beliefs.

Nevertheless, the comments, demonstrations and wallposters suggest a deep malaise; the new socialist consciousness so eagerly sought by Maoism has not been achieved. Since the destruction of traditional values has not been accompanied by gratifying replacements for those values, the present leadership hopes that the answer is a new materialism founded on economic modernization. There is little interest in finding it in religion, and particularly in Christianity.

As I have already noted, religion is officially discouraged in China. Official hostility toward religion, and Christianity in particular, stems not only from ideology, but from the somewhat mixed record of Christian churches in China in the past. The Chinese Communists identified them as an instrument of foreign imperialism. Christian missionaries had done much for China: They built schools, hospitals and churches. Yet they also took advantage of the special privileges granted foreigners under the unequal treaties. Some missionaries demanded the same courtesies from the Chinese people as did higher ranking Chinese officials.[15] Hosea Stout, one of the 1853 LDS missionaries, observed that Christian missionaries in China were "of the upper circles, luxuriating upon the cent society at home and the miseries of the people in that region."

Religious groups, and Christians in particular, were early targets of the regime. Church property was confiscated, and only a few leaders willing to cooperate with the Communist authorities were allowed to operate, mainly as token symbols that the regime officially practiced religious toleration. Many missionaries were imprisoned or expelled. Subsequently, there have been ups and downs in the relationship between the government and the churches. During the Cultural Revolution the remaining churches were closed and religious leaders disappeared. More recently, some religious leaders have reemerged. The government recently sponsored a conference on religion in Shanghai and sent delegates to a world religious conference held in the United States, but religious activities are still tightly controlled by the authorities. Much of the publicity accorded religions and their activities is propaganda designed to create a favorable international image.[16]

The practice of religion is usually associated with minority groups who comprise about six percent of China's total population. The Tibetans and Mongols are Buddhist, the *Hui* are Moslem, and many of the tribal minorities in Southwest China practice animistic religions. Before 1949 there were three million Catholics and about 800 thousand Protestants in China. There are now estimated to be about 500 thousand to one million Christians altogether, but no one knows for sure. During our visit I repeatedly inquired about the existence of religious groups, the study of religion or philosophy, or the attitude of people toward religion. I also carried a copy of the Book of Mormon and mentioned it to some of our hosts. There were no takers among the

Chinese; the subject of religion seemed embarrassing to our hosts, and they usually avoided discussions of it.

I asked my hosts whether or not there were any Christian churches open in China and was told that they were not aware of any (though it has been reported that churches are operating in some cities). I asked if there were any centers for the study of religion or the history of religion and was told that they were not aware of any (although the article on Galileo's trial cited previously demonstrated a good knowledge of the scriptures and medieval Christianity). They pleaded ignorance of the existence of churches, centers of religious study, or similar subjects, even though the Chinese press has favorably reported on these topics.

During our visit to Nanjing (Nanking) University, famous as one of the great missionary-founded institutions of China, I asked whether there were any remnants of the Christianity once found there. The response was that there were none. This is surprising since only a few months later it was announced that a research institute on religion was established at Nanjing University and that its work was to revise the Chinese edition of the Bible, and select and edit Western religious episodes and Christian literature. During our visit we were informed that even the Philosophy Department emphasized the study of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong thought.

Toward the end of our visit we were taken to an Islamic Mosque in Guangzhou (Canton). According to the caretaker, a congregation of about 4,000 worshiped at the mosque, including Chinese and foreigners. In a gracious effort to be friendly to his American guests he said to us: "I understand that you also have Islam in America. I have heard of your Islamic leader Muhammed Ali!"

The previous paragraphs show that there are both positive and negative trends concerning the advancement of missionary work in China. I have noted the historical and ideological objections to religion on the part of the ruling authorities. But we are also witnessing an erosion of Maoist ideology and an increased searching for new values. The Chinese Communists hope to fill the void with new emphasis on materialism; their appeal hinges on the success of their modernization program. Assuming that the best prospect for missionary work exists when the society's values are under stress and question, the success of China's modernization thus holds both promises and pitfalls. As far as missionary work is concerned, the new materialism of China's current leadership is no less objectionable than the Maoist doctrines which preceded it. A more encouraging trend is that the Church, as demonstrated by President Kimball's recent sermons, is taking far greater notice of China. Moreover, as he has stated on several occasions, it is his belief that when the Church is prepared to do the work, the way will be opened.

Thus, the burden is on the Church to prepare to do missionary work rather than on the Chinese to prepare to receive missionaries. Some modest but significant steps have already been taken. Church materials are to be published in simplified characters (and the Church might well consider employing the *pin yin* Romanization now officially adopted in China for use in

missionary language instruction), and Mandarin classes are being taught for the Cantonese speakers of Hong Kong. Brigham Young University has received official delegations from China and is seeking to promote student exchange with the People's Republic. LDS businessmen, officials and tourists from various countries are going to China in increasing numbers. BYU had one entertainment group visit China, and presumably there will be more opportunities of this kind.

Beyond these efforts some other possibilities exist. For example, China's major economic problem is feeding a huge and growing population. In the opinion of most experts, Chinese agriculture has barely kept pace with population growth. The regime has declared agricultural production to be the most important of China's "four modernizations." Furthermore, the government has introduced strict population control measures, such as reducing rations for families with more than two children, to go along with less coercive and more widely used practices such as late marriage and other forms of birth control.[17] Studies of Chinese society indicate that there is still considerable pressure in rural China to have larger families as a form of economic security (and there is still a preference for male heirs). In some respects the redistribution of wealth and the organization of the rural work force has exacerbated rather than curbed this tendency.[18] Consequently, an improvement in agricultural production might also mean an accompanying decline in population growth.

The Church ought to encourage a program of "agricultural missionaries" who speak Chinese and can assist rural areas in improving production. Economic improvement would help to alter the precarious balance between food and population, and could also lead to a relaxation of some of the draconian methods of population control now pushed by the government in the countryside. Though this would result in a form of birth control, which the Church has traditionally opposed, any perceived liabilities could well be offset by the avoidance of famine, malnutrition, even starvation and a decrease of authoritarianism in rural China. Moreover, whatever benefits accrued to the modernization program by this assistance would be offset by the example of service and sacrifice by the missionaries, even though they probably would not be able to proselyte directly.[19] Similar contributions could be made by health and other kinds of missionaries.

The most fruitful areas of missionary contact are likely to be between Chinese members and their relatives, friends and associates in China. China badly needs the skills and talents of more educated and better qualified Chinese people from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and other countries. Taiwan is a special case because of the ongoing civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists that has built up an intense hatred over many years. Since normalizing relations with the United States the Chinese Communists have made numerous overtures to Taiwan, and even have gone so far as to promise that when reunification takes place, Taiwan can keep its own governmental system, military and police forces and capitalist economic systems. The government in Taipei, not without some justification, has re-

jected these initiatives. It would seem that the Church is best served by improved contacts between Taiwan and the mainland, though the Church must try as much as possible to remain aloof from the intense political question. Improved relations between the two governments would permit a greater number of Church members in Taiwan to have closer ties with people in China.

The political, economic and social forces at work in China will have great bearing on the ability of the Church to conduct missionary work. The Church has already shown some ability to adjust and operate in diverse societies, including Communist governments as in Poland and Yugoslavia.[20] Nevertheless, for reasons explained earlier there will be special challenges in China. Presumably the time will come when the Church, and all of its programs, will be able to function successfully in China. In preparation for that time the Church must mobilize its resources and be prepared to move creatively and flexibly. The "agricultural missionary" concept mentioned above would be such an innovative approach.

Another flexible and creative approach is demonstrated by President Kimball's sermons and comments. By identifying and focusing upon praiseworthy characteristics of Chinese society, he encourages Mormons of all nationalities to develop a positive sense of community with the Chinese. Many elements of the Chinese civil religion such as the Maoist emphasis on sacrifice, patience and self-reliance seem to be compatible with LDS teachings. On a more grand scale, Latter-day Saints can empathize with China's historical experience of rejection and humiliation and the determination of the Chinese people to achieve greatness.[21] Without forgetting obvious differences between Mormon theology and China's civil religion, Church members can promote and develop the common areas of history and doctrine. As more and more LDS "missionaries" have contact with the Chinese people, they can, if properly prepared, seize on these common bonds to share the gospel.

Given the hostility of Chinese ideology and policy to organized religion, and Christianity in particular, there is not likely to be a rapid boom in LDS proselyting in China in the immediate future. However, the changes occurring in China's civil religion may well cause an increasing number of Chinese people to reexamine their faith. If the Church and its members can find ways to reach these people, many of them will discover the gospel and see that it meets their spiritual needs. As this happens, the prayer of President McKay and the expectation of President Kimball will achieve gradual, but ever-increasing fulfillment.

NOTES

[1]Remark before the Regional Representative Seminar, 30 March 1979; excerpts published in *Ensign* 9 (May 1979): 105.

[2]Spencer Kimball, "The Uttermost Parts of the Earth," *Ensign* 9 (July 1979): 7.

[3]*Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily), 15 March 1979.

[4]*Renmin Ribao*, 2 December 1978.

[5]Yen Jiaqi, "Religion, Rationality and Practice—Visiting Three Law Courts on the Question of Truth in Different Eras," *Guangming Ribao* (Guangming Daily), 14 September 1978, translated in United States Joint Publication Research Service #72219, 13 November 1978.

[6]For a delightful contrast of Chinese culture and some aspects of Mormonism, see Robert J. Morris, "Middle Buddha," *Dialogue* IV (Spring 1969): 41–50.

[7]Paul Hyer, "Revolution and Mormonism in Asia," *Dialogue* VII (Spring 1972): 88–93.

[8]Excerpts from Cannon's diary are included in Spencer J. Palmer, *The Church Encounters Asia* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1970), p. 38.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 36.

[10]Just how much has been accomplished by the Chinese Communists is a matter of intense debate among scholars. For a useful recent discussion, see Nick Eberstadt, "Has China Failed?" (two parts), *New York Review of Books* (Part 1: 3 April 1979), pp. 33–40; (Part 2: 19 April 1979), pp. 41–45.

[11]"Civil Religion" was a concept applied by French philosophers to Confucianism because it contained a system of morals and ethics without reference to a divine supreme being. Robert Bellah has defined it as a "set of beliefs, symbols, and ritual experiences that members of a society share and participate in that help to establish their identity as a group." For the application of this concept in China, see John B. Starr, *Ideology and Culture* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), pp. 32–34.

[12]The best work on the content of Maoist ideology is John Bryan Starr, *Continuing the Revolution: The Political Thought of Mao* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979).

[13]A very negative view of political authoritarianism in China may be found in Simon Leys, *Chinese Shadows* (New York: Penguin Books, 1978).

[14]For example see the conversations reported by David Finkelstein, "A Reporter at Large," *New Yorker* (September 10, 1979), pp. 127–50.

[15]For a recent view of missionary involvement in China from the Chinese Communist perspective see Wang Xi, "A Brief Talk on Several Quations Regarding the History of Sino-U.S. Relations," *Shijie Lishi* [World History], June 1979, pp. 12–19; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: People's Republic of China*, 26 June 1979, p. B5.

[16]A recent example of the practice of religion in China is Wei Xiutang, "In a Catholic Church in Beijing," *China Reconstructs* (January 1980), pp. 48–50. For a statement of policy on religion see Xiao Wen, "Policy on Religion," *Beijing Review* (21 December 1979), pp. 14–16, 22. Xiao argues that the policy of the state has always been to tolerate religion. However, during the Cultural Revolution Lin Biao and the "gang of four" tried to abolish religious freedom. Thus, the current effort to reestablish churches and other places of worship and to rehabilitate religious personages are a "reimplementation" of policy that existed prior to the Cultural Revolution.

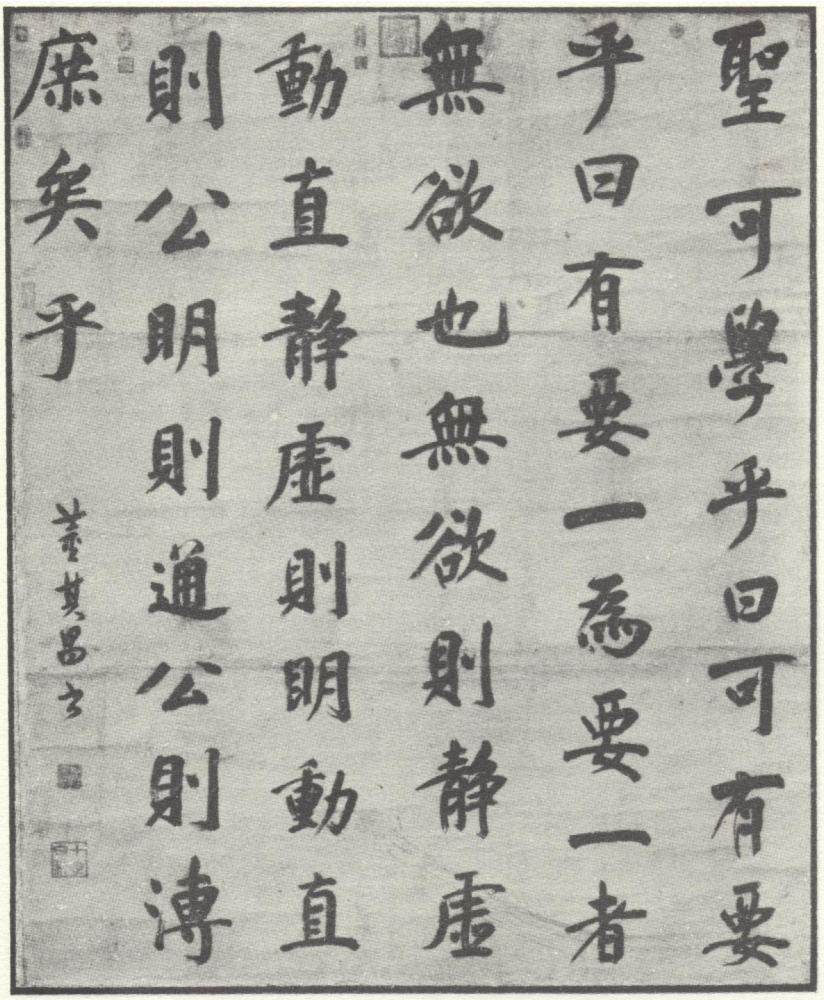
[17]On China's recent population control policies see the special feature section in *Beijing Review*, 22:46 (16 November 1979), pp. 17–27. The lead article "Controlling Population Growth in a Planned Way" is authored by China's ranking female member of the Communist Party, Chen Muhua.

[18]William L. Parrish and Martin K. Whyte, *Village and Family in Contemporary China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), *passim*.

[19]This is somewhat analagous to the experience of Ammon who began his missionary service by offering himself as a servant to the king of the Lamanites. Alma 17:35.

[20]A variety of essays on the ability of the church to function in diverse cultural situations is found in LaMond Tullis, ed. *Mormonism: A Faith for all Cultures* (Provo, Brigham Young University Press, 1978). While China is not discussed directly in this work, many of the insights are relevant.

[21]One author has compared the Long March of the Chinese Communists to the Western trek of the Mormon pioneers. See George S. Tate, "Halldor Laxness, the Mormons and the Promised Land," *Dialogue* XI (Summer 1978): 25–37, *passim*.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董其昌書

tung Ch'i-ch'ang (Ming Dynasty)

The Expansion of Mormonism in the South Pacific

R. LANIER BRITSCH

SINCE THE FIRST encounter between Latter-day Saint missionaries and the peoples of Polynesia 136 years ago, there have been inevitable changes in both the methods of missionary work and the adaptation of the island members to the Church. Problems of cross-cultural encounter are not peculiar to any particular religious group or to any geographical region. They are a natural result of the clash between various traditions. It is natural for people to love their own country and customs. Patterns and traditions bring order and sense to life. Alien beliefs and products threaten old ways and often demand accommodation. At times the new ways are more attractive than the old. This has been true in the Pacific.

The various island groups have presented different linguistic and societal challenges to the Church. It is possible, however, because of basic similarities, to consider the entire area as a whole. Among the matters that can be considered here, I have chosen to focus on two parts of the interaction with the Pacific peoples: the theory and method of missionary work; and the Church as an agent of culture change and adaptation.

MISSIONARY WORK

Students of mission history have devoted considerable time and innumerable printed words to the analysis of mission theology and mission theory.

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Since the thirteenth century, devout missionaries and their sponsoring denominations and agencies have grappled with the problem of how best to carry the Christian message to the heathen, the unbelieving, the unchurched, the unreached peoples of the world. Considering the current advanced state of the social sciences, contemporary missiologists look at the problem of church growth through sophisticated eyes. They are concerned with problems of culture, context, linguistics, indigenization, cultural imperialism, history of religions and a variety of other challenges.

Current theories of missionary work are almost too numerous for one to generalize meaningfully about the state of the field, but a few ideas are accepted by most Protestant and Roman Catholic workers. William Carey (1761–1834), sometimes called "the father of modern missions," summarized mission purpose and theory in a five-pronged program extraordinarily modern in outlook. The elements were these: "(1) the widespread preaching of the Gospel by every possible method; (2) the support of the preaching by the distribution of the Bible in the languages of the country; (3) the establishment of a Church, at the earliest possible moment; (4) a profound study of the background and thought of the non-Christian peoples; (5) the training at the earliest possible moment of an indigenous ministry."[1] In 1854, only twenty years after Carey's death, Henry Venn, Secretary of the (Anglican) Church Missionary Society in London, set forth what has come to be called the "three-self" theory of church propagation. The goal was to make mission churches "self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating." The mission itself, said Venn, was to die a natural death. The main criticisms of his plan relate to the sharp separation he proposed between the church and the mission.[2]

Around the turn of the century, Anglican Bishop A. R. Tucker came close to the mark when he "envisaged a church in which African and foreigner would work together in true brotherhood, and on a basis of genuine equality."[3] But as Bishop Stephen Neill declared, "for the most part missionaries of almost all churches were blind to this kind of possibility." The ongoing issues of mission methodology as well as of mission history still relate to the problems with which Carey, Venn and Tucker struggled. It is somewhat comforting that even though their ideals have not been achieved in all instances, their visions of missionary work are now accepted by most missionaries and mission agencies.

Since the 1930s, when Hendrik Kraemer and William E. Hocking debated the virtues of old-style evangelization (the direct witness of the saving grace of Jesus Christ) versus the more contemporary approach (called "equal dialogue"), elaborations on mission theories have become ever more numerous. I will not further muddy the waters.

I believe it can be a useful exercise to consider the expansion of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the South Pacific (and in Hawaii *in the* North Pacific) by using Carey's, Venn's and Tucker's theories as an ideal scale. It is useful to ask, how did the Latter-day Saints' missions measure against the most advanced ideas of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?[4]

Mormon missionary work began in the Pacific Islands in April 1844, when Addison Pratt, Benjamin F. Grouard and Noah Rogers landed at Tubuai, south of Tahiti.[5] They had been sent from Nauvoo by Joseph Smith, Jr., president of the then thirteen-year-old Church. Total Church membership was hardly more than thirty thousand,[6] and problems at home were serious. Two months after missionary work began in what is now called French Polynesia, Joseph Smith was murdered. Addison Pratt and his companions, however, did not learn of that or of the persecutions at home for two more years. They were almost beyond the bounds of communication with the outside world and dependent on themselves, the local people and the mercies of the Lord. In those days the Church was financially incapable of sustaining the lay missionaries even if its leaders had desired to forego their policy of sending missionaries out without "purse or scrip."

Between 1844 and 1852, when the mission was closed because of pressure from the newly established French government, Pratt, Grouard and others who joined them in 1850 managed to establish a number of small units or groups on Tubuai, Tahiti and many islands in the Tuamotu Archipelago. Well over two thousand Polynesians became baptized Latter-day Saints. Pratt and company accomplished this almost without prior knowledge of the area, the language or the people. I say "almost" because Pratt and Grouard had both spent time in Hawaii long before their mission calls. Pratt knew some Hawaiian but was far from being an expert in its use.

The later group of missionaries to French Polynesia, those who arrived in 1850, were somewhat better prepared because Elder Pratt had taught some of them to speak Tahitian in Salt Lake City during the winter of 1849. But the mission produced no printed literature, and it used only the London Missionary Society version of the Bible. Their limitations notwithstanding, they established a church that remained active in secret for forty years while foreign missionaries were absent from the country. Even though the covert nature of the Church helped it to survive, the early missionaries had ordained members to the priesthood and trained them in simple matters of Church administration, leaving them somewhat prepared to continue the affairs of the Church.

In 1892, Mormon missionaries once again found their way to French Polynesia. This time they were sent from Samoa, where the Church had been established for four years. The second mission has remained to the present and now has more than five thousand members. Over the years, missionaries there have used many different methods to propagate the faith. Most common have been door-to-door tracting and distribution of printed literature. But since 1955, the missionaries, and the Church in French Polynesia, have made long strides toward more sophisticated methodology. Missionaries have used new lesson plans for teaching investigators and modern media presentations to help accomplish their goals. Tahitian and French language materials are used widely. There are modern chapels throughout the land, some built by "labor missionaries" who contributed two years as carpenters, masons or electricians. In 1964, the Church opened the LDS Primary School in Papeete. Older students have been sent to Tonga to attend the Church-

supported Liahona High School. and more recently, the Church has established the Home Study Seminary program, a secondary-level system of religious education. The mission and the Church have also used public radio and a small newspaper to inform potential Latter-day Saints as well as members about church matters and teachings. The foregoing is but a partial list of methods used by the missionaries to spread the restored gospel in French Polynesia and, I should add, throughout the Pacific. I believe William Carey would agree that the Mormons were quite advanced in their use of "every possible method" during the nineteenth century and have been very up-to-date since 1950.

Carey advocated distributing the Bible in the languages of the people. Mormon missionaries used the Bible in their teaching of course, but they were far more concerned with the problem of translating and printing Latter-day Saint scriptures in Tahitian and other island languages. Addison Pratt and his co-workers were too busy trying to build and then preserve the mission to expend much time working on translations. Soon after the mission was reopened in 1892, however, elders went to work on a Tahitian translation of the Book of Mormon, published in 1904. Before that it was printed in Hawaiian (1855), Maori (1899) and Samoan (1903), and since then, versions have been published in Tongan (1946) and Rarotongan (1965). Polynesian language versions of the Doctrine and Covenants and Pearl of Great Price were produced in each language after the Book of Mormon was in print.

William Carey suggested that missionaries should establish a church as soon as possible and train an indigenous ministry to direct the affairs of the church. As I have already noted, the missionaries to French Polynesia (and everywhere else they served) ordained local men to the priesthood and placed them in charge of groups and branches. More recently, since stakes have been organized in Tahiti and almost all other parts of the Pacific, local men have been placed in charge of all ecclesiastical affiars in their areas. Stake presidents are responsible only to Regional Representatives and area executive officers who are General Authorities of the Church.

It would be pleasant if I could report that the foreign missionaries always treated local priesthood leaders as complete equals. Unfortunately there was, until after World War II, a good deal of paternalism. A much smaller number of Polynesian men were ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood than were actually needed to operate the Church. Too many missionaries barely out of their teens directed the work of island men who were many years their senior in both age and administrative and ministerial experience. In the past thirty or so years, proportionately larger numbers of Polynesians have been placed in responsible leadership positions, not only in the ecclesiastical part of the Church, but also in temporal areas, such as in Church schools, seminaries and institutes, in the Church building area, welfare services and the Translation and Distribution Department. Although the missionaries started in the nineteenth century by creating local churches and staffing them with almost untrained local priesthood leaders, in recent years the Church has gone far beyond what Carey probably imagined.

It is appropriate here to consider a related matter, the mission-church

issue. In the Protestant churches, there has been an ongoing debate on the appropriate relationship of the mission-created church to the mother church or the church which sent the missionaries. Should the mission church drop its ties to the mother church as soon as possible? Is there any reason for the two churches to continue their relationship once the mission church is mature enough to handle its own government, financial support and propagation of the faith? (We are speaking here of groups of church units, not of totally independent groups in one chapel.)

Because there have sometimes been significant theological and cultural differences between the national churches and the sending churches, and because there are few theological reasons for new churches to hold onto their relationships with the old, many mission churches have broken away from mother churches and established new national or regional ones. Venn's ideal of making mission churches "self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating" has been achieved in many parts of the Protestant world.

Does this ideal apply to the Latter-day Saints' missions? Yes and no. The theology of the Latter-day Saints is based on the belief that the Church was founded by a prophet who represents Jesus Christ on the earth. Since the organization of the Church, his successors have been sustained in Polynesia as prophets, seers and revelators. The members of the Church in the missions do not desire to cut the umbilical cord to Salt Lake City. Rather, they hope for the day when they can become a stake and therefore an ecclesiastical organization identical to those in Salt Lake City and elsewhere. The ties with the mother church thus become stronger rather than weaker.

On the other hand, local branches and districts have great autonomy. They are self-governing in that they select and call virtually all local officers and teachers (and have done so since early times). They are self-supporting in that each member pays tithes, budget and fast offerings in the same proportion as members at the center of the Church. Because of the smaller economic base in the islands, however, Church headquarters finances a larger share of construction costs and maintenance of physical facilities than elsewhere.

The Saints in the outer areas, such as Polynesia, have always recognized the necessity of teaching the restored gospel within their own lands. It is true, however, that until recently the major burden of missionary work has been carried by the Saints in the United States.

Carey suggested that missionaries should pursue "a profound study of the background and thought of the non-Christian peoples." This idea had only partial application for the Mormons in the Pacific. By the time Mormon missionaries arrived in the various island groups, the local peoples were at least nominally Christian. It is true that when Pratt and his companions arrived in French Polynesia, there were still living many warriors who had tasted human flesh. Although the social systems of the various Polynesian peoples were often complex, the fact remains that there was little need for a "profound study of the thought" of the Polynesian peoples. On the other hand, there was great need for careful observation of the customs, traditions and mores of the people.

It can be accurately said that few missionaries have lived closer to the

people they have served than the Mormons. Whether in the back tracks of New Zealand among the Maoris, in the tiny atolls of the Tuamotus in French Polynesia, Tonga or Micronesia, or on the volcanic mountains of Samoa, Hawaii, Fiji, New Caledonia or other parts of Melanesia, the Mormon missionaries have lived with the people, learned their languages, eaten their foods, slept in their homes, blessed their babies, buried their dead, listened to their complaints, savored their tales, copied their mannerisms and sung their music. Perhaps living the lives of Polynesians was the most effective method the Caucasian missionaries could employ in order to learn the "background and thought" of the peoples. More recently the foreign missionaries have lived closer to the standards of the developed nations, but they still spend countless hours in the homes of the common people and participate in almost all aspects of their lives.

Few Mormon missionaries to Polynesia and the Pacific have made more than a superficial study of the background of the people *before* they have entered their mission fields. In early times, in fact, they went to the Pacific without much knowledge of what they would encounter. During the past decade or so, however, missionaries to non-English areas have gone such places with eight weeks of language and cultural training; but Carey would probably be less than satisfied with the formal training in Polynesian cultural matters that Mormon missionaries receive before they begin their missions.

Theoretical and methodological strengths and weaknesses aside, the Latter-day Saints have succeeded in planting their form of Christianity in all parts of Polynesia and in an increasing number of countries elsewhere in the Pacific. In sum, the Mormons have come close to meeting the ideal conceptions of missionary work as conceived by Carey, Venn and Tucker.

THE CHURCH AS AN AGENT OF CULTURE CHANGE AND ADAPTATION

But what of the recent past and the difficulties and successes that relate to the contemporary era? What kinds of adjustments, if any, has the Church made to fit in well with the realities of present-day island life? How much impact has modernization had on the local peoples? Mormon intellectuals frequently ask how peoples "out there" are adjusting to programs that reflect a "Wasatch Front mentality." In the Pacific the answer is "quite well." Latter-day Saints in Polynesia are generally as eager to be modern, particularly in Church programs, as are members of the Church anywhere. In fact, they may be more willing to change than are some Saints in parts of the world where members are more ethnocentric and aware of their own cultural accomplishments.

Ever since the early explorers discovered the islands of the Pacific (a feat the Polynesians had accomplished much earlier), the island peoples have sought to emulate the example of the modernized world. This has been especially true of technological advancements. But Polynesia has few natural resources, and the people have been able to make only a limited accommodation with the modern world. Ever-improving transportation and communica-

tions have encouraged change, but isolation and depressed economies have held the island peoples back. Throughout Tonga, Samoa, French Polynesia and the smaller islands, life is almost always lived on a near-povery level.

But there is a distinction between technological modernity and modernity in the Church. The truth is that the island peoples generally use modern Church programs well, adjust to the spirit in which they are given and quietly set aside that which does not work in their situations.

Some parts of modernity have tremendous appeal to the island Saints, for example, modern chapels and schools. Since World War II, the Church has constructed hundreds of small churches in the islands. Generally each of these buildings contains a chapel, a small cultural hall, classrooms, offices and a kitchen. When the ward or branch needs more classrooms, the members frequently build a *fale,* native-style house, somewhere on the grounds. Probably one-fourth of the Church units in the Pacific area are housed today in fales, but during the past year many of the fale chapels have been replaced by small prefabricated buildings that have been shipped in from New Zealand. Most chapels, both brick and prefabricated, are small because they serve fairly small wards and branches. Because most islanders do not have access to automobiles or public transportation, and because most wards and branches are made up of the people from one village area, chapels are generally constructed within convenient walking distance from the most distant members served. Dual and triple chapels are a rarity. By building small chapels the Church has adapted to the local situation.

The Church has operated schools in the Pacific since 1850. Most of them have been conducted by missionaries, but in the late 1950s the teaching responsibility was shifted first to professional teachers from America, New Zealand, Australia and France, and more recently to professional teachers native to the various island groups. Because education is expensive, the Church has tried to avoid involvement in all areas where the local governments provide adequate schooling. But in Samoa, Tonga, French Polynesia, Fiji and even in New Zealand there has been a pressing need for elementary and secondary schools. At the end of 1978, 5055 students were enrolled in LDS schools throughout the Pacific. When post-secondary and seminary and institute students are added, the number swells to 18,291.

Most of the problems the Church schools have faced have come from attempts by American administrators to impose their system on schools that are in the Euro-British sphere of influence. As British educational traditions have been followed, the graduates of LDS schools have found greater success in the job market.

Island Saints take well to modern buildings and education, but what about basic priesthood responsibilities, such as home teaching, welfare, genealogy and temple work and missionary work? Perhaps because of their close family ties and the near-clan tradition (it is called by different names in different areas), priesthood quorums of Samoa, Tonga, French Polynesia and Fiji have greater meaning and act as a more cohesive force in the lives of island members than among other groups elsewhere. Quorum officers assume a stronger

role in leading their members than is usually true in Utah and the supposedly more developed parts of the Church. Some island leaders do not take well to committee work or to reports or goal setting. (Why set goals, they ask, when 100 percent is the only acceptable goal?) But they like to visit the members, which makes home teaching easier to accomplish, and they prefer taking care of each others' needs to talking about them in meetings. Welfare projects in the islands are usually different from those in the United States. Instead of establishing welfare projects, local Church officials set aside tracts of land to be used by needy families. In emergencies the bishop and Relief Society president see to it that needs for food and other necessities are met. Extended families also usually feel a greater responsibility for their own than is often true in the United States.

Since the 1920s the priesthood men of Tonga have carried the major burden of missionary work in their country. Local missionary work has accelerated so rapidly since the mid-1960s that it is now necessary to send many missionaries out of Tonga simply because there are too many of them for such a small country. The same can be said for Samoa.

The parts of Polynesia where the Church has not done as well in taking care of priesthood responsibilities are those where the *haole* (Hawaiian for white foreigner) and *pakeha* (Maori for white foreigner) have had the greatest cultural influence, especially Hawaii and New Zealand. In both of these areas the natural cultural tendency to care for the whole group has been diminished somewhat by the force of individualism. The Church works best in areas where the Polynesians are still in command of their lives. In Hawaii and New Zealand the Polynesians have had to compete according to different cultural rules, and they have not done as well either inside or outside the Church.

In Hawaii the racial Hawaiians now number fewer than fifteen percent of the population. Within the Church, what was at one time a "Hawaiian church" has now become the domain of Caucasians, Japanese, Filipinos, Chinese, Tongans, Samoans and others. Hawaiian culture is only a memory. In New Zealand the relationship of the Church with the Maori people has been somewhat more successful. One reason is that the Maoris have not been so severely reduced as a race. Before World War II, the LDS Church in New Zealand was a "Maori church." The pakeha did not join the Church in significant numbers because the Maoris and the missionaries did not usually go to any pains to attract them. Chapels were humble, and the cultural division between the two races did not make joining a Maori church attractive.

But since World War II, the Church's image has changed. The mission presidents have insisted that the missionaries work with the pakehas. Modern chapels, the Church College of New Zealand (CCNZ), and the temple have also helped to enchance the attractiveness of the faith. As the number of pakeha in the Church has grown, the ratio of Maori to pakeha has reversed. This has caused a leadership shift from Maori to pakeha. One writer has interpreted this shift as an abandonment of the Maoris by the Church.[7] But a more accurate assessment would have noted that the temple, CCNZ, and the move to build modern churches all began before the pakeha part of the Church began to grow. The pakeha members have helped the Church to

adapt to the American system of committees, reports and goal setting, but the Maori part of the Church still provides the element of family-like concern that is found in other parts of the Pacific. The Maori, however, have had to adapt more to pakeha ways than vice-versa.

Over the years the Church in New Zealand has gradually eliminated many Maori traditions. One that ended in the late 1950s was the *Hui Tau* or large tent meeting. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, it played the role of general conference for all New Zealand Saints. As the Church began to grow rapidly after 1950 and the costs and logistics of such an affair became enormous, it became difficult to care for all members who wanted to attend. But it was the creation of the Auckland Stake in 1958 and the division of the mission that brought the Hui Taus to a close. Stake and district conferences have tried unsuccessfully to fill the gap. Only the Area Conferences of the Church have come close to replacing the excitement of the old days. But the Church is now too big for the communal feeling of the Hui Tau to be restored. The Church has done its share to destroy *Maoritanga,* Maori culture, part of which was at odds with the principles of the gospel. Institutional changes both in and out of the Church have occurred in all parts of the world and all societies have been affected, America included. Cultural changes have been all-pervasive. But it is well to remember that the Polynesians too believe that the programs and principles that come from Church headquarters are inspired. They want to adapt whenever and wherever it is necessary to conform to the purposes of an expanding Church.

The Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii has attracted much attention both inside and outside of the Church because it is a living ethnological museum. It is an indication that the Church has a concern for the ways of local peoples. Many students at the Brigham Young University—Hawaii Campus learn much about the languages and ways of their ancestors (including their own parents in many cases) through courses there and through affiliation with the Cultural Center. But those people who remain in Tonga, Samoa, Fiji, French Polynesia and in other island groups do not need to be taught the ways of the past; it is still close to them. Their homes are fales, many of the people still make tapa cloth from mulberry bark, they still cook in *imus* or *umus,* underground ovens, they still fish, they still work the land and glean coconuts and sweet potatoes. There is no need for another Polynesian Cultural Center in other parts of the islands. The people live much as their ancestors did.

All things considered, the members in the islands have made a healthy accommodation with the present order of the Church. They may be doing better in adapting to the central principles than their American brothers and sisters.

NOTES

[1]Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1964), p. 263.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 260.

[3]*Ibid.*

[4]For a discussion of LDS mission methodology see R. Lanier Britsch, "Mormon Missions: An Introduction to the Latter-day Saints Missionary System," *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* 3 (January 1979): 22–27.

[5]Information for this essay has been taken from my forthcoming book, *A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, expected 1981).

[6]Deseret News, *1979 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City), p. 222.

[7]Ian R. Barker, "The Connexion: The Mormon Church and the Maori People," (M.A. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1967), passim.

The Church Moves Outside the United States: Some Observations From Latin America

LaMond Tullis

Mormons of the present generation, with their legacy of tenacity and perseverance as both a guide and a challenge, are attempting to offer "every nation, kindred, tongue, and people" an opportunity to hear the gospel of Jesus Christ. The scale of this endeavor is new to us, for never before has the Church attempted to take the gospel message across so many boundaries of ancestral customs, languages, nationalities and races. The magnitude of such an attempt—and the drama that it represents—have presented new problems. For one, the diversity of membership we are experiencing in the Church is both blessing and challenging the collective spirit of Mormonism. Change is upon us. We must try to understand it and deal with it in both spirit and mind.

Certainly Latin America deserves our attention. There are now 600 thousand members in eighteen of the twenty-three independent Latin American republics and Puerto Rico. Currently the region is experiencing the highest rate of membership growth in the Church. In 1975 Mexico alone accounted for over twenty-two percent of the baptisms in the Church. That was with 21 thousand converts. In 1976 Mexico had 40 thousand converts. Other Latin American countries, a little less dramatic, are not far behind. In Latin America

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indigenous roots have now taken hold—some of them deeply—and Mormonism more and more is becoming recognized as a national asset.

In 1960 all Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking members of the Church in Latin America accounted for only one and one half percent of the total membership. Yet that total had risen to seven percent by 1971, over nine percent by 1975 and over twelve percent by early 1979. In 1990 one out of every five members of the Mormon faith may speak Spanish or Portuguese as his or her mother tongue. Inasmuch as the Church's membership is growing rapidly among many language groups throughout much of the world, this progressive Latin American gain is quite remarkable, exceeding by far the best projections of only a few years ago. (See Figure 1)

This increase is striking, but more so is the story of the actual propagation of the faith. Herein lies the drama of men's and women's hearts and minds as they struggle with commitment and change, triumph and misfortune. Let us start at the beginning. In 1851, only four years after the arrival of the Saints in the Great Salt Lake Valley, Parley P. Pratt, his wife Phoebe Soper and Rufus Allen set sail for Chile to open the South American mission of the Church. Pratt had long dreamed of such an undertaking and had invested prodigious energies in it. But the first missionary effort in Chile lasted only a few months. A quarter of a century passed before Mormons once again seriously thought about preaching the gospel in Spanish, and nearly three-quarters of a century passed before the Church reopened a mission in the southern half of the Western Hemisphere (in 1925 in Buenos Aires, Argentina).

Preparations for cautious exploratory thrusts into Mexico, however, were begun in 1874, with more extensive activities underway by 1879. While five converts were baptized in Hermosillo, Sonora in 1878, it was in Mexico City and environs that the first branches of the Church were organized. Missionary work continued in central Mexico up through 1889.

In the period between 1885–1900, Mormonism went to Mexico literally *en masse*. Then hundreds of North American Mormons settled in Mexico's northern states of Chihuahua and Sonora after yet another mass exodus in pursuit of the religious freedom they thought the American Constitution should provide but obviously was not guaranteeing them. Fleeing United States marshals over their marriage customs, they hoped for a more tolerant political spirit in a Mexican homeland. They found it. Their settlements grew and flourished.

These English-speaking Mormon colonists in northern Mexico ultimately provided the Church with the expertise it needed to cross the Spanish language barrier. Having resettled in order to practice their faith in safety and peace, they also found it both convenient and necessary to learn Spanish in order to conduct business and relate generally to the Mexican political and economic environment. Some of the colonists thus learned Spanish; many of their children learned it very well.

In 1901 the colonists again began to send out missionaries to the Mexican nationals in whose country they lived. Indeed, in the early years the colonists and their children provided nearly all the leadership and missionary service

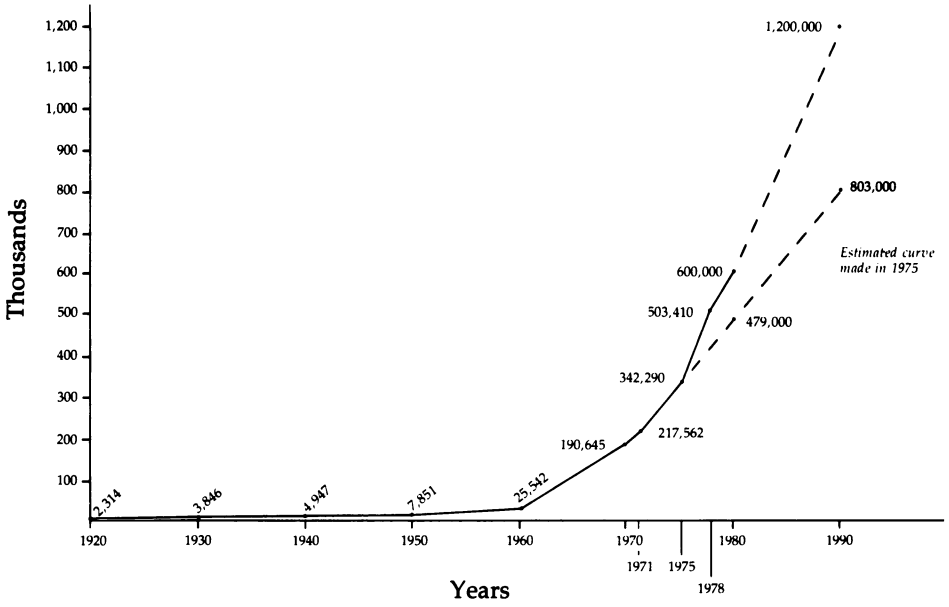

Figure 1. Membership growth of the Mormon Church in Latin America, 1920–80, showing also estimated membership curves made in 1975 as compared to updated curves made in 1979.

for the Church's operations in Mexico. So it was also in South America after the mission was reopened there in 1925. Rey L. Pratt, a grandson of Parley P. Pratt, and himself a colonies Mormon, was the first Spanish-speaking missionary to return to the South American continent that his grandfather had abandoned three-quarters of a century before. Like Rey Pratt, a long succession of mission presidents and missionaries who have served in Mexico and in Central and South America learned their Spanish in the schools, playgrounds and orchards of the Mormon colonies in Chihuahua and Sonora, Mexico. The colonies thus proved to be the wedge for the permanent establishment of the gospel in Mexico and, for that matter, in all of Latin America.

When Rey L. Pratt took leave as president of the Mexican mission to help Apostle Melvin J. Ballard reopen the South American mission in 1925, he went not to Chile, where his grandfather had landed seventy-three years before, but to Argentina. Ironically, it was thought that Pratt's eloquent Spanish-language skills were required more for dealing with government politicians and bureaucrats in Argentina than for preaching the gospel. The actual missionary work was to be pursued not among the Spanish-speaking residents, but among the hordes of German-speaking immigrants. For this purpose German-speaking Elder Rulon S. Wells was included in the missionary party.

With only marginal success among the German immigrants, however, the missionaries soon embraced wholeheartedly other nationalities in Argentina—Italians, Spaniards and, of course, the old Argentinian stock itself.

Thus the national population, as well as many immigrant nationalities, have contributed strong and faithful members to the Church.

Within ten years after the Ballard-Pratt-Wells party had landed in Argentina, the gospel had taken root in Brazil. As in Argentina, it had gone first to the Germans, then to many other immigrant nationalities and old-line population stocks. The harvest has been particularly striking in Portuguese-speaking Brazil.

Latin Americans in Mexico, Central America and South America have embraced the gospel. So have Latin Americans who live in the United States of America. In the United States live some twelve million people whose ancestral customs, mother tongue and race are partly rooted in the soil that was once Mexico's and in the heartbeat of Latin American lands. Mexican Americans, Chicanos, Hispanos—the names vary; yet whatever they choose to call themselves, they are part of the fourth largest Latin American community in the world, preceded only by the countries of Brazil, Argentina and Mexico. They have produced generations of Mormons whose strength and fidelity are seen in the records and whose sons and daughters are now represented throughout much of the Church.

Whether in Mexico, Central America, South America, or the United States, the accomplishments of the Latin American Saints have been significant. But they have not been achieved without problems, misunderstandings, or heartaches. Indeed, now we see that the Church's contemporary growth increasingly obliges us to take note of the paradoxical sentiments of hope and despair, motivation and frustration, and love and distrust that accompany the expansion of the gospel message today. That is part of the challenge our people face as we approach the twenty-first century.

If we can talk about our church from the vantage of both faith and enlightened observation, we may do so as if by telescope. From the large end we see the grand sweep of events that transforms nations and peoples, knowing in advance that the outcome—the triumph of the Kingdom—is never in doubt. But we can also turn the telescope around and see smaller parts of the Mormon reality, thereby holding them up for closer inspection. The events of this hour, this day, set the scene for magnification—the happiness, the heartache, the dilemma. Only a moment's time at the small end of the telescope impresses us that each person's crucial role in the chain that links individual lives and feelings with the destiny of the gospel obliges us to bring all our faculties of mind and spirit to bear on the events of the latter days.

In the macro view we find agreement and harmony in Mormonism today: The gospel will prevail—the Lord's plan will not be thwarted; the earth will ultimately be renewed to receive its paradisiacal glory. Yet from the other end of the telescope—from the micro view where a close focus may be had on the sentiments and values of individuals and groups—differences of opinion exist about the *meaning* of what is seen, or even about *what* is seen. Consider two issues from the small end of the telescope as they relate to Mormons in Latin America: nationalism, and authority and leadership. (I might have selected others: schools and education, applying the saving principles and

ordinances to Latin American cultures, literature of the Church in translation, impact of secular laws, missionary activities, evidences of divine intervention, institutionalization of the Church and the growth of stakes, bureaucracy, the building program, temporal and ecclesiastical mobility, gaps between old and new members, cultural activities, status and social class among Mormons, political interface of Church and state, apostate groups, the fall-out phenomenon, and so forth.)

NATIONALISM AND THE CHURCH

Recently, as I visited with a stake president in Mexico City, the subject of Arnold Friberg's paintings of Book of Mormon characters came up. (Reproductions of the paintings are bound in some editions of the Book of Mormon.) Growing agitated he said, "These paintings are not paintings we can show to an educated Mexican. They're well done, but they show such an enormous ignorance of culture that they are offensive." He even referred to them as "imperialism" in art.

His response to this offense was to advise Mexican Latter-day Saint youth to create their own gospel culture, to bring the gospel into every aspect of their lives—music, art, drama, thought, writing. There must be Mexican Saints who write plays and stories with the gospel at their hearts. There must be actors, singers and dancers among the Mexican Saints. Being Mormon makes them different from other Mexicans, he tells them, but being Mexican makes them different from Saints in other lands. They have something unique and valuable to create and share with all Saints and with all Mexicans. With specific reference to the Friberg paintings, he is having Mormon students of art look at Book of Mormon motifs and learn how to be culturally faithful as well as artistically proficient. I have seen some of the paintings. The personages do not look like the Anglo-Americans in Friberg's work. They are decidedly Mexican.

Several years ago, the speaker at one of Brigham Young University's all-stake firesides declared that "the flag of the United States is the flag of God." One can speculate about the assumptions underlying that statement: America is a land of freedom—the only country in the world that would have permitted the gospel to be restored. Through the vitality of America's economic system (capable of generating an economic surplus), the expansion of the gospel was made possible. At the same time the Church's heartland was generally protected from political raids and the corrupting influence of state bureaucrats.

For two weeks after that speech, however, there came through my office a veritable parade of outraged Latin American students. The statement about the flag, whispered far and wide, has now become a subject of conversation across the entire face of Latin America wherever Mormons live. So what is the problem? About the "flag of the United States being the flag of God," said a stake president in Latin America, "that was so until about 1865–70. But with President Monroe came the spirit of something else, certainly not that of God. Nationalism was converted to paternalism, conquest and imperialism."

Though his facts are somewhat incorrect, his sentiments are nevertheless widespread among Latin American Mormons. They remember that in their school days their own nationalistic sentiments were stimulated by the selection of history their teachers gave them. They remember James Monroe and the Monroe Doctrine, all right, but only in light of the early twentieth century "Roosevelt Corollary" to the Doctrine. While Monroe had hoped to keep European interests from further intervening in the Western Hemisphere when he announced his Doctrine in 1823, Theodore Roosevelt later asserted that the Doctrine required the United States to prevent intervention by doing the intervening itself. Under his "big stick" policy, the United States sent armed forces into the Dominican Republic (in 1905), into Nicaragua (in 1912) and into Haiti (in 1915). The United States, directly or indirectly, served notice on every other Latin American country that the same could happen to it. So institutionalized became the intervention that American businessmen could hardly hide their disappointment when Woodrow Wilson refused to invoke Roosevelt's corollary during the Mexican civil war of 1910–17. They were outraged when Franklin D. Roosevelt refused to respond with force to the nationalization of the United States oil industry in Mexico in the 1930s. Those were exceptions, for by its traditional interventionist philosophy United States warplanes bombed Guatemala City in 1954; a United States equipped and trained invasion force tried to take Cuba in 1961; 22 thousand marines occupied the Dominican Republic in 1965; and the United States has sent military aid to every two-bit dictator who ever surfaced in Latin America—Trujillo, Batista, Somoza, Stroessner, *et al.*—all in the name of hemispheric security. In practice, this simply meant giving a few of the elite the means to continue to suppress the civilian population in their respective countries. Virtually the same intervention process subsequently transpired in favor of the military guardians who followed the old style dictators. The Carter administration has attempted to change some of these practices; to some extent it has been successful.

Certainly one sign of a bad policy is its failure. American intervention in Latin America to prevent change in the power structure of a country or to prevent the intervention of anyone else who might desire to change that power structure has failed, not because of the grand evil conspiracy—although there are enough of them around these days—but because we could not supply enough guns or buy enough loyalty from enough people to keep an increasingly mobilized population forever suppressed.

Thus in the minds of many Latin Americans—many Mormons included—the Monroe Doctrine's "big stick" has been followed by exploitive American business, by the Pentagon and by the CIA, all of which have combined to corrupt national self-determination and economic development in their respective homelands. We can therefore understand a Latin American Mormon leader's statement that "if someone came to my country saying that 'the flag of the United States is the flag of God,' well, that would be a virtual scandal here. It would be another indicator of U.S. imperialism, but of a religious nature." And as another added, "To speak of the Monroe Doctrine

[as it has been carried out in practice] as God's plan for the Americas is not only to court divisions within the Church, but to endanger the lives of missionaries and members in virtually every country."

Perhaps the magnitude of unawareness may be shown by a press release for Latin American newspapers from the office of a Utah Mormon scheduled to visit Latin America on behalf of the Church. One entry in his long list of impressive credentials included former work with the CIA. "The CIA and the Mormon Battalion will never get you anywhere in Latin America," an influential Latin American member said. "If it is true that as you write the Church history of this region, there are some things better left unsaid: You might start by never suggesting that any influential American member of the Church would ever admit to CIA ties or applaud the Mormon Battalion. The Mormon Battalion offends all of Latin America. Fortunately," he concluded, "the Battalion had no battles. Had it done so, the Church would never have been allowed to enter Mexico."

Nationalism—loyalty and devotion to a nation, especially in the sense of a national consciousness exalting one's own nation above all others and promoting its culture and interests above all others—may be one man's beauty but another's juggernaut. The historical facts of one become the historical lies of another. We select the history we wish to believe; we accept what we desire to know.

For a religion whose boundaries are coterminus with a nation state, all is well. For Mormonism, however, the "flag of God," the proper expression of art and culture, and a broadened sense of both our destiny and the microcosmic experiences that make it up will receive diverse expressions in the "multiple Zions," to use President Harold B. Lee's oft-cited phrase. Jingoism seems troubling wherever it is practiced in the Kingdom. Forsaking one's sins, political and otherwise, will require making a distinction between the gospel of Jesus Christ and the ideology of nationalism.

A sense of proportion amidst the rapidly escalating events of our time may have been captured by another Latin American Mormon. "The United States," he said, "should be applauded for its good organization, good methods, advanced and impressive technology and quality control of production of commercial goods that assure great satisfaction and worth to humanity. Beyond that, however, the United States should not be particularly applauded." We notice a salient omission in his statement. This Latin American Mormon has nothing to say about North American concepts of freedom and constitutionalism. Perhaps we can understand why by recognizing that the United States has done precious little to foster freedom or constitutionalism in his own homeland but actually has done much to prevent their development. This brother's sense of balance is captured poignantly when he says, "Errors of the government of the United States are not errors of the Church."

Generally speaking, therefore, the Saints in Latin America separate the Church from nationalism and their sentiments about the United States. They believe the Church to be an international church with a birthright and a

homeright as much in their own countries as anywhere else in the world, including the United States. The United States blessed the world with freedom for the restoration of the gospel but, aside from that, Latin Americans do not see the Church as being tied politically to the United States. Latin Americans in general and thousands of Latin American Mormons tend to love North Americans as individuals. But if nationalistic or jungoistic expressions from the "colossus of the north" surface among them, then America takes bottom position on a ranking of any number of nations, with the possible exception of Spain. Especially if you live in Mexico.

AUTHORITY AND LEADERSHIP AND THE CHURCH

On the office door of one of my history colleagues is posted the following phrase: "The Past is Prologue—Study History." I have always objected to the determinism implied in that statement. I have also marvelled that studying history seems somehow not to affect the future much. We have a hard time putting into practice any of the wisdom of the past. Each generation so thoroughly enjoys its own foibles that it is reluctant to put them into broad, historical context.

Not surprisingly, therefore, the authority and leadership practices among some Mormons in Latin America where the faith is young, strikingly parallel some of those in the early Church in Kirtland and Nauvoo. Now as then, the institutionalization of leadership well endowed with theory and praxis in stewardship and consent, patience and long suffering, love unfeigned and authority righteously exercised takes generations to produce.

Leadership and followership in the Lord's Kingdom are inexorably intertwined. When they work well together, it is not only because righteousness prevails, but because the norms of understanding and expectations about leadership and followership are widely shared and accepted. This understanding produces the coding system for communicating authority and eliciting the proper response from followers. That is the ideal, for even Mormons of the fifth and sixth generations have not "got it all together," although they have made giant strides since Nauvoo and Kirtland when internal bickering and quarreling, attacks and counterattacks created so much havoc.

Of the approximately 600 thousand Church members in Latin America, over 400 thousand date their baptisms to less than ten years ago; nearly half less than five years ago. There are only a handful of second generation Mormons. Third and fourth generation Mormons are a novelty, usually pointing to their ancestral homes in one of the small villages around Mexico City from where some members date their church lines back to the 1880s. Few priesthood holders have long experience. The first High Priests—precious few of them—for the first stake for Latin Americans (Mexico City) emerged as recently as 1961. Now there are over a hundred stakes in Latin America with hundreds of affiliated wards and branches, schools and seminaries. While

growth in leadership capabilities has been remarkable, leadership needs continue to border on desperation. Thus we read of 25-year-old stake presidents, 21-year-old bishops and counsellors and bishops appointed to office only three months after their baptisms. (Perhaps that is one reason the active youth in Latin America seem to take the Church so much more seriously than do their active North American counterparts: Weighty responsibilities are placed upon them at a tender age.)

Without models of Church leadership over several generations, Latin Americans frequently start their leadership experience from scratch. While it is remarkable to see how fast they mature and how many of them truly exceed the norm of leadership in the United States, it is to be expected that the style of many would be heavily contaminated by their secular culture. Much of this will work itself out in time. (Vigorous attempts are being made to accelerate the timetable through leadership training seminars. The recent upsurge in local missionaries who return home after their missions to bless the local wards and stakes is also beginning to have a positive impact—more so than in the United States).

Yet the exercise of authority in Latin America as it is traditionally done, and the exercise of priesthood authority as it should be done, are sometimes light years apart. Sometimes the fallout is of crisis proportions; sometimes the resulting frustrations are enough to sadden the heart of the most cynical among us.

Authority: the power to determine, adjudicate, or otherwise settle issues, or to have commanding influence over others, has traditionally meant in Latin America the right to control, command and determine the fate of other people. These rights traditionally were not so much attached to laws or general principles as they were to the *person* of the authority. Hence the phrase so often used in Latin America—"personal authority," or *personalismo.*

Much of the traditional culture of authority is found in contemporary Latin America. In the family and between the sexes, for example, the father or other male dominates—a pattern popularly called *machismo,* a condition of extraordinary male self-esteem and self-assertion. Among employees, personal authority has been and frequently still is paternalistic, authoritarian and, at times, despotic. Among politicians and government bureaucrats, be they elected, appointed or civil servants, the exercise of personal authority is often excessively self-serving and arbitrary. As such, effective relationships are established by citizens who can most effectively and efficiently massage the personal needs and egos of the individuals in authority. Sometimes this is done with money (bribes), sometimes it is done with all the brow-scraping deference and pageantry of a medieval world with its lords and serfs.

Large-scale organization associated with economic development has been responsible for much change in Latin America, but nostalgia for and much of the practice of the past somehow live on. In unguarded moments that nostalgia can and does find expression in the authority relations between a few stake presidents and bishops and their flocks. Consider the following:

Several years ago when President Kimball told Church leaders everywhere that they were too lenient in dealing with transgressors, a few Latin American stake presidents considered this as authority to disfellowship and excommunicate members for almost anything. In these circumstances, even minor disagreements with the stake president about administrative procedures became sufficient grounds for a trial!

One young man, called to a Church court, was disfellowshipped because his bishop reported that he disagreed with the way the sacrament was being passed; another returned missionary was disfellowshipped when his stake president heard he had criticized his (the stake president's) conference speech. Another young man was called to court, told there was nothing "against" him but then was disfellowshipped because he was not humble enough towards his bishop. He appealed. His case went to the high council for a review. Ten high council members voted to reverse the case as did one counselor in the stake presidency. The stake president nevertheless upheld the disfellowshipment, for he had earlier agreed with the bishop to do so—as a *personal* favor. (One high council member left the Church over this issue.)

One stake president disfellowshipped a member because he would not eat meat. Another set up a plan to excommunicate or disfellowship members who took drugs, controlled or uncontrolled. An elder was excommunicated for failing to sustain a newly appointed bishop when his name was presented in sacrament meeting.

Cultural inclinations, reinforced with a private interpretation of President Kimball's counsel, have led to some ecclesiastical and leadership atrocities in Latin America. Happily they are not widespread, but where they exist there are, and have been, other implications of a less spectacular but nevertheless troubling nature. One is the retarding of needed leadership development in some stakes. As it is the most prepared and qualified people who tend to speak up against abuses of the kind described above, they find their own membership status placed in question. They are either cowed or driven underground. The Church is therefore not able to enjoy the benefit of its most able people because they are afraid to become involved. Such behavior turns counselors and advisors into "yes men" who refuse to voice a disagreement with their leader even in private council.

Another implication arises in the handling of individual cases of transgression, or "reported transgression." When a leader excessively contaminated with traditional authority culture—becoming what Latin Americans call a "religious *cacique*" (chief)—is personally offended by the sin, he not only comes down hard, but he uses the occasion to express his own "personal righteousness." As repentance is not encouraged by conditions that enhance resentment, people leave the Church and return to their sins, transgressions or disagreements. More than identifying and helping people with their problems, the religious *cacique* desires to find a scapegoat and make an example for others. This has the same function as "public hangings." Although this does sometimes elicit the desired behavior, it does not encourage respect for authority.

In most of the Latin American Church, there are stake presidents and bishops who are just as long-suffering and considerate of members as one finds anywhere, leaders who seek the will of the Lord in the exercise of their ecclesiastical and pastoral duties. They inevitably are in conflict with the religious *cacique,* however, and always will be. Alarmingly, there appears to be no way to work the problems out until the *cacique* is released from his position. While there are many casualties along the way, outside observers seem not to get the message. It is highly unlikely that a stake president's decisions will be countermanded. If his optimum leadership model is General Patton, as I heard one say, we get a feeling for the struggle yet ahead.

Aside from the general background on the expansion of the Church in Latin America, I have looked at two aspects of the reality of the Mormon experience there that are on the minds of all informed people. I have chided Anglo Americans on the issue of nationalism, and I have chided the Latin Americans on traditional leadership culture. As we look at nationalism, and leadership and authority from the large end of the telescope, we Mormons know that in the end the offenses will cease, that all of us will more closely approximate the Lord's culture rather than our own, and that time-bound concepts of authority, and politics and society will give way to a greater search for, and a more ample willingness to live the Lord's plan for his people. It is that hope that unites Latin American and North American members of the Church in an enterprise that will roll forth to consume the whole earth.

But looking from the small end of the telescope, we have long known that the impact of events on the lives of individuals can be exacerbated or mitigated by individual actions and decisions. We *can* learn from our experience. The past does not have to be prologue.

In the grand scheme what will *our individual* lot be? Although the future will not be painless, we Mormons may rise, more experienced and less parochial, to the challenges of the twenty-first century. We may yet live to see the "fellow-citizens with the saints" fulfill their prophetic destiny. Should that be our happy lot, we are certain to rejoice with the heavens in having learned at long last to comprehend the will of the Lord for his people, to comprehend reality and one another and to understand what may be if we can learn how to help make the prophetic utterances of the centuries come to pass in our own lifetime.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Russian Writers Look at Mormon Manners, 1857–72

LELAND FETZER

THE EARLY YEARS of the reign of Alexander II were among the most stirring in Russian history. After the repressive tenure of his father, Alexander brought hopes for innovation and projects for reform which the great majority of the informed and educated Russians felt were long overdue. This impulse to change that flourished early in Alexander's reign led to three reforms whose effects were palpable for the fifty or so years still left to the Romanovs: The complete remodeling of Russia's infamous judicial system, the beginnings of government decentralization known as the *Zemstvo* and, most important of all, the abolition of serfdom in 1861.

These great reforms had their counterpart in Russian cultural life. It is probably no accident that the reign of Alexander II was the golden age of the Russian novel, and that it saw a flowering of Russian music and a new élan in painting. A quickening was in the air, a widened curiosity, an urge to creativity, an openness and an eagerness, a seeking and restlessness that touched nearly every aspect of Russian social, artistic and intellectual life.

Among the new interests of the age was a curiosity about social and philosophical trends outside Russia, a curiosity that Nicholas had discouraged. For this reason, among others, the period saw a swelling interest in American society, literature, government and religions. Curiosity about reli-

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gious developments in the United States was especially pronounced because many Russians believed that the absence of a state church, the lack of religious instruction in public schools and the extraordinary diversity of the American people encouraged vigorous experimentation which might be instructive for countries like Russia where religious conformity was the rule. As a Russian author said in 1861:

> This Republic may serve us as a kind of gigantic laboratory where any kind of religious, social, and political theories may have their origins. There at one and the same time one may find total freedom together with the cruelest slavery, mortification of the flesh with its glorification, celibacy with polygamy, and communism with vassalage. It is a gigantic school where all the theories of the Old World founded upon the principle of authority or freedom may be tested to serve as instruction for the entire world. A theory, having barely seen the light of day, immediately puts down its roots in the virgin soil so exceptionally hospitable to all ideas and new immigrants.[1]

Russian writers took a lively interest in Mormonism, as is apparent in this writer's reference to polygamy. The reasons for that interest are obvious enough: Mormonism, like the Shakers and the Oneida Community—two other sects of great interest to nineteenth century Russians—was distinctively American and seemingly unencumbered with European antecedents; it had a colorful history with peregrinations and controversies culminating in the tragic death of its founder; the exodus and its mission of creating a civilized community in an uninhabited desert provoked compassion; and lastly, the emergence of polygamy intrigued the Russians as much as their American counterparts outside of Utah. Doctrinal matters or theological concerns did not interest the Russian writers. They were stirred by Mormonism because it had emerged as a social movement, a new society struggling to survive within a state often inimical to it with great advantages in population and power.

This interest in Mormonism was evidenced by a rash of articles which appeared in the reform years 1855–72 in the most important Russian journals, particularly those evincing a "Westernizing" tendency. They vary considerably in length and value; some are derivative, based on travel accounts written by French or English travelers, while at least one of them—that written by Petr Lavrov—is striking in its prescience and analytic power. To survey these articles is to gain an insight into the contribution the Mormon experiment made upon Russian intellectuals during this period. It also shows how the relatively bright image of Mormonism faded as it became increasingly identified with polygamy for which the Russian thinkers, dedicated as they were to the emancipation of women, could find little sympathy.

The first of these surveys, an anonymous article entitled "The History, Daily Life, and Morals of the Mormons," appeared in *The Fatherland Notes*[2] in 1857 shortly after the death of Nicholas I. This journal, founded in 1839, was the most respected moderate Russian periodical of the 1850s and 1860s. Ultimately shut down by the government in a period of reaction in 1884, it had as its editorial policy the transformation of the autocratic Russian state system

into something approaching a Western parliamentary model. It included articles intended to inform its readership of subjects concerning Western Europe and America; therefore, the article on Mormonism was concordant with its avowed editorial tendency.

To the author the rise of Mormonism and its subsequent history in the United States posed serious questions about the American social system and its government. To him Mormonism demonstrated the painful gap between the theory of religious toleration expressed in the Constitution and the actual workings of prejudice in America. This contradiction he expressed succinctly:

> The history of the Mormons is interesting in and of itself, and at the same time it is instructive for us—although in a negative sense—concerning social life in the United States. It shows how far reality is from the principles announced in the Constitution; it shows us the extent to which partisan politics may be destructive if they are not based upon principles, but rather to the advantages of the parties, or rather, the parties' leaders, and if any means are considered acceptable to achieve a goal.[3]

Clearly sympathetic with Mormon society as the victim of majority outrage, he notes that members of the sect had been compelled in desperation to flee to the wilderness. He observes that the Mormons had succeeded in estranging public opinion in both the North and the South: The tendency toward theocracy in Mormon society offended Northern democrats while, at the same time, the suspicion that the Mormons seemed to represent a weighty body of abolitionists made them anathema to slave holders.

His generally sympathetic attitude is also apparent in an ironic statement about the controversial question of Eastern judges in Utah:

> And so it happens that Federal judges sent to the territory of the Mormons remain barely for two or three months and return to their point of origin avowing that no non-Mormon could live in Great Salt Lake City, but nonetheless they do not meet with any substantive obstacles while they are there.[4]

The next question recurs in the work of virtually all Russian commentators in this period: Given the presence of persecution, how can one explain the dramatic rise in Mormon membership and the fidelity of its adherents to their oppressed faith? Our anonymous author rejects the theory that the promise of multiple wives could serve as a lascivious inducement to conversion. He supposes that Mormonism had its most spectacular successes before 1852 while polygamy was still a hermetic doctrine. No, the success of Mormonism must reside in the very fact of persecution which generates sympathy and compassion, in the compelling appeal of its eclectic doctrines and in the failure of the older Protestant churches to meet the spiritual needs of those who abandoned their traditional beliefs for the new faith.

Writing as the citizen of a country which had enjoyed a long and vigorous intercourse with the Turks and the peoples of Central Asia, he explores the question of Mormonism's similarity to Islam; this concern appears in nearly

every Russian writing on Mormon society. The two traits he, and others, saw as common to the two faiths were sensuality—as expressed in polygamy—and theocracy, the blurring of the lines between state and religion, as, for example, in Brigham Young's role as both spiritual and temporal leader of Mormonism. The sensual element in Mormon polygamy was as yet little understood, although already it was arousing some of the wilder surmises among non-Mormon commentators, the Russians among them. The theocratic tendency in the faith was to persist and was to occasion a heated controversy in the years to come. Although the writer noted these rather striking similarities between the two faiths, he observed an important difference: The Moslem use of the sword as a means of conversion was absent in Mormonism. True, he does state that all young Mormon men are trained in arms and every man from twenty to eighty years of age must possess a weapon, but the Mormons had not yet resorted to the use of arms to any extent. The suspicion that Mormonism might indeed become militant if suitable conditions were to exist is mentioned by nearly all Russian writers.

The second survey of Mormonism's place in America appeared in 1861 in the journal *Time*, an ephemeral periodical published by Fedor and Mikhail Dostoevskii.[5] Although the article is not signed, it has been ascribed to the pen of Artur Benni, a Polish Protestant journalist who played a brief but colorful role in the intensely partisan political controversies of the 1860s.[6] Although his father was Polish and Benni himself was born in Poland, he had lived and worked in England, the homeland of his mother. He had come to Russia in 1861 where he supported himself by writing for Russian journals, sometimes on the West. Originally inclined towards the left, after his arrival in Russia he became disillusioned with the fierce infighting among radicals and swung to the right. He was therefore able to find a market for his writings among conservative journals like *Time*. During his painful Siberian exile, Fedor Dostoevskii had acquired conservative political and social views reflected in the journal he and his brother established. It supported Russian imperialism and the claims of the Russian Orthodox Church, and perhaps as could be expected, Benni chose to emphasize several negative aspects of the new American religious movement.

Two of these were the assumed threat of Mormon military power and polygamy, which had been indelibly imprinted on the Russian mind as the hallmark of Mormonism.[7] The article was written, we are informed, in 1861 after Fort Sumter had been fired on but before open hostilities between the Union and the Confederate States. Benni asks, what course will be taken by the Mormon colony? Will it enter the war or remain an indifferent observer? He assumes that the Mormon settlement had the power to make this decision and that it had sufficient military resources to enforce its stand. Like the author of the earlier article in *The Fatherland Notes*, Benni appears to overestimate greatly Mormon military capabilities. He even describes the young Mormon settlements as fortresses, the outlying villages such as San Bernardino or Carson Valley as military outposts and the Western Indians as trusted and faithful Mormon scouts. He claims that local tribes can muster 30

thousand armed braves to support the Mormon armies. With this vision of the Mormon colony as a fortress besieged, hostilities are not merely a possibility but a probability in the years to come.

Benni is alarmed at the military threat presented by Mormon settlements; he is repelled by the institution of polygamy. The author of *The Fatherland Notes* article had dutifully noted the place of polygamy in determining the peculiar contours of Mormon society and its part in arousing the antagonism of non-Mormon society but had devoted little effort to its description and dissection. Benni, however, devotes four pages to a highly colored account of its evil influence, summarizing thusly:

> Among a society [America] in which woman is more honored and free than in any other country in the world, the Mormons have declared for polygamy and the enslavement of women, the inevitable consequence of polygamy.[8]

As with other early writers on Mormonism, he is baffled by the willingness of Mormon women to enter polygamous marriages voluntarily, given what appears to be their slavish status in the institution; he concludes that the men of the faith have been very successful in propagandizing its advantages, whatever they may be. In addition to what appears to him to be the degradation of women as the indisputable consequence of polygamy he lists its other baleful effects on Mormon society as a reduced birthrate resulting from the premature marriage of Mormon women, high child mortality and the birth of more girls than boys, also a phenomenon in Turkey.

It is true that to counterbalance the negative Mormon traits of bellicosity and adherence to polygamy, he does see positive values in the Mormon accomplishment, particularly in creating a thriving community in an uninhabited wasteland.[9]

> In spite of the aversion occasioned by the doctrines and manners of the Mormons, it is indisputable that they have rendered a valuable service to mankind and civilization by settling in these inhospitable regions. This barren plain which separates the slopes of the Pacific from the slopes of the Atlantic appeared to be useless for cultivation.
>
> But in the center of this silent desert the Mormons laid the foundation of their holy city, which, it appears, must in a short time become a warehouse midway between New York and San Francisco, between Western Europe and Eastern Asia. How grateful must be those who are concerned with the cause of immigration to those fanatics who wished to flee civilization but in spite of that have become its most fervent advocates![10]

The most perceptive study of Mormonism appearing early in the reign of Alexander II was published in 1868 as part of a four-part survey of North American religions.[11] The author, though his name does not appear on the title page, is Petr Lavrov, the father of Russian populism.[12] This long and discursive article, redoubtable in its erudition and breadth of view, was written under improbable circumstances: At the time of its composition, Lavrov

was in exile in the Vologda region north of Moscow from which he was to flee abroad in 1870, the same year his most influential book, *The Historical Letters*, appeared. A confirmed Westernizer, comfortable in the three major Western European languages, Lavrov was most at home with such questions as European philosophy, political thought and institutions. Of this type was the article on North American religions.

Although it purports to be a general survey of all the religions in America, Lavrov elects to focus his attention on three distinctively American faiths. The Shakers, who he concedes will never acquire great social significance because of their small numbers; Spiritualists who suffer from the lack of a hierarchy and formal organization; and Mormons, whose growth, he finds to be impressive and characteristic of its time and place.

Conceding that Mormonism has achieved notoriety in some scholarly circles, he cites as examples of such low estimation a volume by Robert Baird, *State and Prospects of Religion in America* (London: 1855) and the article "Nord-Amerika" in the German reference work *Realenzyklopaedie fuer Protestantische Theologie and Kirche* (Hamburg, 1854–68). With commendable scholarly discrimination, he turns to the eyewitness account of an informed English writer, William Hepworth Dixon, one of the more reliable and restrained authorities on the Utah settlements, who had visited Great Salt Lake City at considerable expense and hardship.[13]

As expected, Lavrov devotes little attention to theological questions or the history of the sect; his concern, and this is true of all the Russian critics, is with the structure, morals and character of Mormon society. For particular attention, he singles out two prominent traits of Mormonism: the manifest tendency toward theocracy with the subsequent subordination of the individual seemingly so atypical in American society, and the remarkable industry of Mormon society. To the latter he attributes its astonishing accomplishments in settling a new land. He relegates the putative Mormon bellicosity and the institution of polygamy to positions of secondary rank.

These two traits—theocracy and love of labor—he attempts to explain by a unifying theory: Mankind has always sought pleasure (in the most general sense), but the masses have known it as only an idle dream; the right to pleasure is granted to a select few. In the modern world, however, thanks to a rising standard of living and the mixture of classes attributable to revolution, the masses have become aware that such a possibility now exists. Furthermore, liberal institutions have opened many doors for those who wish to rise to a higher station with greater satisfactions. This is especially true in America. However, the fall of the ancient barriers between the majority of the deprived population and the privileged elect has created intense competition for entry into precincts of pleasure. It is becoming ever more obvious that the great masses of the population must remain essentially isolated from those who have achieved success and its rewards. The masses who cannot escape their fate must wait for a small gifted minority to present an institution for organizing cooperative action to meet their goals. These institutions will be granted to the underlings by ambitious leaders prepared to use the majority

for their own purposes. These demagogues or prophets lead revolutions or new religions. Such has it always been and such will it always be, in Lavrov's opinion. The result is that liberal institutions coexist with depotism because men, given the chance, will at any price follow leaders who promise them earthly happiness. Hence, in America, one finds both the most liberal institutions and institutions in which the majority willingly submits to the authority of the few.

Now the great masses engaged in endless labor do not seek boundless leisure as a goal; with them labor has become a deeply engrained habit. They desire only the fruits of their labor and to be assured that their labor is respected and honored. Such as has been precisely the development in Utah where labor is deified. Lavrov quotes Orson Hyde, "A lazy, inactive man cannot be a Christian and cannot be saved,"[14] as indicative of the Mormon veneration of work.

Such reasoning, whatever its merits, is characteristic of Lavrov's rationalistic analyses. Unlike the emotional and clearly prejudiced authorities he quotes early in his survey, or even the relatively objective Dixon, Lavrov strives to interpret the Mormon phenomenon in sociological terms as the working out of institutional tensions and dynamisms. The origins of this dispassionate attitude probably lie in Lavrov's wide acquaintance with European scholarship of his day, particularly French sociologists and utopian thinkers.

Polygamy does interest Lavrov, and he devotes considerable attention to it. "The Woman Question" preoccupied Russian journalism during the yeasty reform decade of the 1860s because it had come to be recognized that Russian women suffered under a wearisome burden of social inequality, economic deprivation and legal injustice. Lavrov's generation was characterized by an acute sensitivity for social victims whether as an economic class, like the peasantry or a sexual class. It is within this context—a heightened awareness of the unhappy condition of modern women—that he makes his statements on Mormon polygamy. He accepts the view that it was introduced by Brigham Young in order to accelerate the birth rate and thereby increase the economic and military strength of the isolated Mormon colony. Yet Lavrov will not accept this justification because it requires one half of the population to become instruments of reproduction thereby depriving women of their social role, lowering themselves in their own eyes and the eyes of men. At a time when the entire thinking world sought a rational solution of the Woman Question, it would retard that solution for centuries. As to its psychological origins, he can only abandon his scholarly stance, raise his hands in bewilderment, and say: "It can be explained only by a pathological urge toward the fantastic and the unheard of, which has so long persisted in mankind and has given birth to the strangest phenomena."[15] He is convinced that polygamy is the most harmful aspect of Mormon life, that children born to polygamous marriages are enervated, and that its baleful effects on the wives are unparalleled. He predicts, finally, that "if the Mormons do not in timely fashion abandon polygamy and adopt equality of the sexes, one may predict that

polygamy will destroy them:"[16] a premonition of the crisis that Mormonism would soon face. Rather facilely he surmises that with increased enlightenment Mormon women might cease listening to the males of the community and refuse to enter into plural marriages. However, he is aware that the discarding of polygamy will not be a simple task, for "history has shown all too often that temporary dogmas so shape a sect that they merge with it even when these dogmas have lost any vital meaning."[17]

In spite of his concern for the harmful effects of polygamy as he saw them, and its potential insidious role in the future of Mormonism, Lavrov also grasped the essential feature of Mormon religious polity: The leader of the Church could at any time abolish polygamy in accordance with the principle of continuing revelation. This was also true of other doctrines which Lavrov saw in a negative light:

> We consider that the doctrines of polygamy, spiritual wives, marriage by proxy, and baptism [for the dead] are not an essential part of Mormonism, and it is very possible that if the sect persists, then the new prophets, when warfare is no longer a probability, will abolish polygamy as more harmful than useful, and will choose to de-emphasize the mystic celestial relationships which sooner or later must evoke profound scepticism.[18]

To this list of transient articles of faith he later adds the prohibition against blacks as full participants in the Church.[19]

Lavrov's cool analysis of the characteristics of the Mormon community has no previous counterpart in Russian journalism. Nor was Lavrov's relative objectivity present in a long review article written by S. S. Shashkov, "The Mormon Kingdom," which appeared in *The Cause* in 1871,[20] a few years later.

Shashkov chose to review one of the many scurrilous works on Mormonism that appeared after the transcontinental railroad through Utah was built. Written by Nelson Winch Green, its title page was cited by Shashkov as *Mormonism its rise, progress and present condition. Embracina* [*sic*] *the narrative of mrs.* [*sic*] *Mary Ettie V. Smith, of her residence and experience of fifteen years with the mormons* [*sic*]*; with other startling facts and statements, being a full disclosure of the rites, ceremonies and mysteries of polygamy.*

Shashkov noted that the Russian reading public had come to rely on Dixon's *New America*[21] as its primary source on Mormonism, which, in his words, only describes the externals of Mormon life, since the author came to Great Salt Lake City as a stranger and based his narrative on limited interviews and observations. Had Dixon the privilege of living within the Mormon community, Shashkov continues, and thus be privy to its unspeakable excesses and crimes his account would have been vastly more unfavorable; he would have known that Mormonism presents as formidable a military threat as had the Southern Confederacy and that an armed confrontation with the United States government is inevitable.

This testimony of the excesses of Mormonism was provided by Mary Ettie V. Smith, who claimed to be party to many of its secrets described to Nelson, the book's ostensible author. She informs the reader that the major source of

income for the Mormon church is derived from counterfeiting and theft, that the Church maintains authority over its members and punishes its enemies through secret Danite bands, that Brigham Young has amassed 25 million dollars deposited in an English bank, that he has personally ordered the murder of a number of his gentile opponents and that the ceremonies practiced in the temple are too terrible to describe.

Since these aspects of Mormonism render it completely unacceptable to the United States, the inevitable outcome must be either armed conflict or another flight to a remote region, in South America, Shashkov predicts.[22] What else can be expected of a faith "which sanctifies pillage, murder, theft, and polygamy?"[23]

The same apocalyptic note is sounded in a brief anonymous article in another major journal of the day, *The Russian Messenger,* in 1872. Entitled "The Mormon Leader in Court,"[24] it describes the recent arrest and prosecution of Brigham Young, the outcome of which was still uncertain. The author concludes that in any case:

> it is clear that the golden age of the Mormons has passed. Their territory is surrounded on all sides by civilized colonies and part of it has already been claimed by the states of Nevada and Colorado, so that in all probability, the last trace of the Mormons and their immoral customs will disappear under the weight of general contempt.[25]

Whatever the validity of this author's statement; there is no doubt that the golden age of the Russian interest in the Mormon experiment had slipped into the past. Curiosity about the Mormon community that welled up in the age of reform early in the 1860s had subsided, along with sympathy for a people victimized by mobocracy in spite of constitutional guarantees of religious freedom. Interest in Mormonism as social experimentation and as a remarkable colony was gone.

The causes for this loss of interest are not far to find: Waning enthusiasm for unorthodox social movements so prominent in the reforming 1860s, an increasingly unfavorable press in the United States because of exaggerated fears of Mormon military might and the increasingly important role polygamy had come to play in the image of Mormonism, along with a lively concern for the status of women and therefore the position of polygamist wives. Finally, honest and objective curiosity about the Mormon community in Russia, particularly as can be seen in Lavrov's work, was overwhelmed by a flood of unprincipled and intemperate literature, which appeared in Western European languages and in Russian, purporting to expose the criminal inner workings of the faith.[26] That wave of invective and innuendo was enough to drown curiosity, however well meant. By 1872 the Russian interest in Mormon colonization and Mormon social experimentation, born early in the reign of Alexander II, had clearly expired.[27]

NOTES

[1]Artur Benni, "Mormonism i Soedinennye Shtaty," [Mormonism and the U.S.] *Vremia,* 10 (1861): p. 329. All translations in this text are my own.

[2]"Istoriia, byt, i nravy Mormonov," *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 11: 1–10; 12: 101–18.

[3]*Ibid.*, II: 4. [4]*Ibid.*, p. 2

[5]Artur Benni. "Mormonism i Soedinennye Shtaty," ["Mormonism and the U.S."] *Vremia* 10 (1861): 321–55. Fedor Dostoevskii himself referred briefly to Mormonism after a visit to Western Europe. In *Winter Notes on Summer Impressions*, he suggests that Mormonism is a last resort for the unhappy masses driven to desperation by the unholy spirit of the giant city of London. That he was skeptical about the ultimate value of such conversions is clear from the perjorative term he uses: "Mormonovshchina." (*Sobranie Sochinenii*, (Leningrad, 1973), 5: 70). Another brief reference appears in a review written by one of the controversial critics of the day, Nikolai Chernyshevskii, in a review of Henry Charles Carey's, *Letters to the President, on the Foreign and Domestic Policy of the Union* . . . (Philadelphia: 1958). Carey had listed slavery and polygamy among the outstanding evils of American life, but Chernyshevskii contends that the American populace is to be condemned for allowing its dislike of Mormonism to lead it to bloody excesses. Chernyshevskii's review appeared originally in *Sovremennik*, No. 1, 1861. See his *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii*, (St. Petersburg: 1906) 8: 32.

[6]Benni, an obscure figure, would have been even more obscure if he not been befriended by the Russian writer, N. S. Leskov. After Benni's premature death in Italy in 1867, Leskov wrote an adulatory, informative and polemical essay dedicated to Benni's memory entitled "an Enigmatic Man," ("Zagadochnyj chelovek" *Sobranie Sochinenii* (Moscow: 1957) 3: 276–381.) attributing the Mormonism article to Benni, and claiming to have helped Benni with his inadequate Russian. He also states that Benni wrote the very brief article (signed only "B") which was published in *Russian Speech* in 1861, "A Few Words About the Mormons," ("Neskol'ko slov o Mormonakh," *Russkaia Rech*, 61: 241–43), which I have been unable to obtain. Solomon Rejser's work in Russian about Benni clarified many facts. (*Artur Benni*, Moscow, 1933.) In English the best source on Benni is Hugh McLean, "Leskov and his Enigmatic Man," *Harvard Slavic Studies*, 4 (1957): 203–24.

[7]Further evidence is found in the title of an article appearing in Alexander Herzen's London journal, *Kolokol* (May 15, 1861), "Mormonism in the Chernigov Province," which describes a bigamist landlord shielded from prosecution by local officials. A. I. Herzen, *Sobranie Sochinenii*, (Moscow: 1958) 15: 253.

[8]Benni, "Mormonism," p. 337

[9]His source on the blossoming Mormon colonies is Jules Remy, *Voyage au pays des Mormons*, (Paris: 1860), while the author of *The Fatherland Notes* article used J. W. Gunnison's *The Mormons* (Philadelphia: 1852).

[10]Bennie, "Mormonism," p. 327–28

[11]P. Lavrov. "Severo-Amerikanskoe Sektatorstvo," *Otechestvennye zapiski* (1868) 4: 403–470; 6: 273–336; 7: 269–318; 8: 324–354., The passages dealing with Mormonism are 7: 269–300 and 8: 325–48.

[12]Lavrov is identified as the author in S. S. Borshchevskii's *"Otechestvennye zapiski,"* (Moscow: 1966), p. 8–10. Two popular sources are available on Lavrov in English; however, neither of them discusses his article on American religions. They are Philip Pomper, *Peter Lavrov and the Russian Revolutionary Movement* (Chicago: 1972) and Peter Lavrov *Historical Letters* (Berkeley: 1967).

[13]Dixon was a prominent traveler, writer on social issues, and later, British magistrate. See the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: 1917–), 5: 1033–34. Lavrov punctiliously notes that he had read Dixon in English, but he could have read a Russian translation of Dixon's work which appeared the same year in St. Petersburg. A second translation, testifies to Russian interest in the subject, appeared in 1869. A lengthy anonymous review of Dixon's book appeared under the "Neizvedannye mesta i novye liudi v Amerike," ("New places and new people in America") in *Otechestvennye zapiski* (May 1867), 83–116.

[14]Lavrov, "Sektatorstvo," 7: 285–68. (Original source not given).

[15]*Ibid.*, p. 297 [16]*Ibid.*, p. 339

[17]*Ibid.*, p. 338 [18]*Ibid.*, p. 299

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 300

[20]S. S. Shashkov, "Tsarstvo Mormonov," *Delo*, 12 (December 1871): 97–118. Serafim Serafimovich Shashkov (1841–82) was a journalist and ethnographer of Siberian customs who had many points in common with Lavrov. A son of a priest—the classic origin of middle class intellectuals in nineteenth century Russia—he fell afoul of the Tsarist government for his efforts in the cause of Siberian separatism and so was exiled to Northern Russia (1868 to 1873). This article, like Lavrov's, was written in exile. See *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'* (St Petersburg: 1896–1918), 22: 609–11.

[21]That is, the two Russian translations of 1868 and 1869.

[22]Gene A. Sessions and Stephen W. Stathis examine the theory that the fear of a Mormon invasion of Alaska might have in part induced the Russians to sell that territory to the United States. ("The Mormon Invasion of Russian America: Dynamics of a Potent Myth." *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Winter 1977, 22–35). It is true that Russian writers consistently overestimate Mormon military power and their close relations with Indian tribes. To the Russian government a Mormon invasion of Alaska might have appeared as an authentic possibility, as remote as it now appears.

[23]Shashkov, "Tsarstvo Mormonov," p. 118

[24]"Glava Mormonov pred sudom," *Russkii vestnik*, 97 (February 1872): 795–96.

[25]*Ibid.*, p. 796

[26]For example, John H. Beadle's *Life in Utah;* or *The Mysteries and crimes of Mormonism, Being an expose of the secret rites and ceremonies of the Latter-day Saints* (Philadelphia: 1870) was translated into Russian in St. Petersburg in 1872.

[27]Twenty years later, the great Russian poet-philosopher, Vladimir Solov'ev, contributed an article on "Mormonism" to the standard Russian 19th century encyclopedia. He based the article on conventional German secondary sources and evinced not a shred of sympathy for the Mormon experiment. "Mormonstvo, Mormony," *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'*, 19 (St. Petersburg, 1896): 863–67.

How International Is the Church in Japan?

JIRO NUMANO

ROBERT MULLEN WRITES in *The Mormons* that "temples are, in a way, measurements of the acceleration"[1] of the rapid expansion of the LDS Church. The Church will have a temple in Tokyo in 1980. Does the construction of the Tokyo Temple really signify the establishment of the Church in Japan?

I would like to examine the current condition of the Church in Japan to see how "international" it really is. An important indicator is the perception of Japanese members: Do they feel that they are part of an American church? Or do they feel that they have been able to "digest" the gospel? I have been contemplating this subject for years. Before I wrote this article, I sent a questionnaire to all the stake presidents in Japan and to some prominent nonmembers for their response to how international the Mormon Church actually is.

The Church is international, but only in an elementary sense in the eyes of Japanese both in and out of the Church. The Church is still regarded as an American church here. Mormonism does not yet have roots fastened deep in the social soil of Japan and has not become an international church in the full sense.

We have often read such headlines and titles of articles as "expanding church" and "international church" in the past several years. The translator

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of Mullen's *The Mormons* put the titles of part 3 and chapter 32 into "Mormonism Which Spreads into All the World" and "Transforming into a World-wide Church" from their original "The Twentieth Century" and "Salt Lake City in the Jet Age" respectively. In fact Robert Mullen sympathetically examines the existence of the Church in the world's great metropolises[2] and says "few realize the extent of their [the Mormons'] worldwide thrust."[3]

Yes, in the sense of thrusting outward, the Mormon Church is now international. Mormons are found far and wide, not confined to Utah or the United States. Professor Masashi Takahashi,[4] a prominent Old Testament scholar, responded "yes" to my question on whether the Mormon Church was an international church. He answered positively on the grounds of the Church's international proselytizing work and its many recognized achievements. A councilman of Nishinomiya City also answered "yes," giving his view that when a church has doctrines which persuade people throughout the world to believe they would be saved thereby, then that church is a universal organization. Both reasons for calling our Church an international one are pertinent and are essential elements of any international religion.

However, both opinions could be only an effort to view the Church from an American (and not a Japanese) perspective or just a lenient appraisal. I suspect that the idea that the Mormon Church is an international church is founded mainly on the fact that membership is found widely in various nations outside the United States. It is something like a Japanese considering judo an international sport because it is now popular outside Japan.

Another reason advanced as to why the Church should be considered an international church has to do with staffing. Local members fill the leadership positions such as stake presidency, ward bishopric, branch presidency; daily Church meetings are conducted by local Japanese members, leaving American missionaries solely to proselyting. During the administration of Mission President Paul C. Andrus, branch presidencies and district leadership positions in the Tokyo and Osaka areas were filled by Japanese members. This epoch-making change took place in December 1957.[5] Since then, almost all of the units of the Church have been operated by local Japanese members, except for a few small rural branches where missionaries still fill those positions.

Nevertheless, the predominant view of the current stake presidents of Japan is that the Church is an American church, not an international church.[6] What are the reasons for this response?

My analysis of why the LDS Church is regarded as an American church is based on answers from stake presidents and other persons and on my own personal observation. The following points can be made:

1. *The number of members in Japan is too small.* Although the number is not the most important factor nor a qualification required for an international religion, yet the number of Mormons in Japan, 36,084 as of 1 March 1979,[7] is far too small compared to the population of other local religions and also to the vast population of the whole nation, more than one hundred million.

2. *Most of the missionaries in Japan are American youths.* Among the 1,359

missionaries working in Japan as of April 1979, only 214 are local Japanese members.[8] This number is still far too small to change the impression that the Mormon Church is an American church.

3. *There are many transliterated loan words in Church terminology.* It may be sometimes inevitable to see a few transliterated terms in an organization whose headquarters is located in America, but the number is quite sufficient to deem us an American church. To name a few, "S.A.P." for Single Adult Program,"referral," "re-referral," "Special Interest," and "session (of endowment)" are recent examples of transliterated words which could well be translated into appropriate Japanese equivalents.[9] This, of course, is dependent on the attitude and policy of the Japanese members.

4. *Apparent traits of the American way of thinking and way of living* are seen throughout the manuals and textbooks, the programs of meetings and events and the manner of operating of the Church units.[10] More flexible application of manuals and instructions and more careful, generous adaptation to the Japanese culture might avoid giving unnecessary offense to local members and investigators.

5. *The tendency is toward pro-Americanism on the part of Japanese Church leaders.* A column in a newspaper dealt with the problem of "the tragedy of an English-speaking nation." It called such misestimation of situations by the United States (e.g., the Iranian crisis) in spite of her spendthrift intelligence activities "the tragedy of an English-speaking nation." The column continues

> There are quite a few people who speak English in any country. Therefore the American government and the CIA are apt to rely on and contact only so-called "English speakers." However, those who are able to handle English have usually acquired a Western mode of thought and do not always represent the main stream of their native country.[11]

We hope this is not the case with the Kingdom of God. The tendency is not very serious, but a Japanese mission president expressed his concern on this point. I have often wondered how sincerely, earnestly and frankly stake presidents, regional representatives and mission presidents have been reporting on the current conditions, problems and the plea of spiritual hunger and struggles on the part of the members of the Japanese unit, however serious and unpleasant they may be. Or are they resorting only to the achievements and the better phases of their activities? Are their attitudes comparable to those members of Parliament who earnestly represent their local citizens' welfare? Considering the organization of the Church, it is quite natural that the main flow of information and instruction is from the center to the circumference. But should not a sound organization grasp the current condition and the plea of members on the bottom layer?

6. *Japan has not yet produced enough excellent leadership, nor has she come to the stage of sending her leadership to the highest decision-making council of the Church.*[12] This may sound too arrogant and premature, but having multinational members in the highest decision-making positions is essential if an organization is

to be called an international one. In the Roman Catholic Church, the College of Cardinals who have the right to elect a new Pope, are composed of various nationalities. Recently the archbishop of Nagasaki was nominated as a new cardinal, the third cardinal from Japan.

7. *The character of the Japanese members is passive in communication with the hierarchy of the Church.* There are very few Japanese members, if any, who, after a stake conference, will come up to the pulpit and converse with the main speaker and express their responses, especially when the speaker is a visiting authority from America. In the United States, interested individuals will often come to the front to visit with the speaker. It is not that the Japanese members don't respond to the moving sermons and strong callings for repentance, faith and actions; it simply has not been our practice. It definitely requires courage for the average Japanese member to converse with a visiting authority of the Church, person to person. There is an insurmountable language barrier which keeps lay members from conversing with Church authorities. People revere, understand and respect the leaders who come from the headquarters of the Church. But might there not be a seed of widening distance in this almost silent reverence without actual communication?

We notice from the articles and sermons of the authorities that they have direct contact with the members of the Church either through interviews or correspondence, though we are encouraged to follow the principle that members should go to their bishops and stake presidents rather than to general authorities for counsel. More direct contact between Japanese members and the visiting authorities might facilitate a greater spirit of unity and thereby result in the Church's becoming more genuinely international.

The Church in Japan has to rise above the present situation of being such a small minority as to command little notice by the general public and must start reflecting Mormonism's dynamic power in Japanese society. I list some specific ways in which the Church in Japan might grow to be regarded as an organization deeply rooted here and hence an international church.

1. *Increase the membership and the number of missionaries sent from local units.* A substantial membership is essential for mass recognition. Elder Bruce R. McConkie, in a stake conference on 5 August 1978 in Osaka, told the members that the most needed thing in that stake was to have more members. He also said that the American missionaries currently laboring in Japan were substitutes, that it was expected that the Church in Japan would provide missionaries for Japan as well as for other Asian countries in the future. There must be more Japanese missionaries, for those we see in town, on the train and on their bicycles are almost invariably Americans.

2. *The members of the Church must play more active roles in society, holding important posts in the community.* Some members hold important posts in society already, but they are the exception in Japan. Members are aware of this problem and are currently striving to obtain greater social prominence. Many of us feel ourselves pioneers of the Church in Japan in this respect. Many of the stake presidents and members who responded to my questionnaire listed this and the previous matter as the most important problems facing us.

3. *Live and apply the gospel independently and bear fruits.* Japanese members are required to grasp the spirit and the core of the restored gospel and digest it and then to have the ability to live it according to their Japanese circumstances in terms of their culture, history and environment. They must make practical application of gospel principles to their physical and psychological conditions. We need to be able to live the gospel without being led by the hand or having to mimic our American models. There is some concern about the tendencies of Japanese members to put more emphasis on outward form rather than inward transformation. This tendency induces empty feelings and sometimes fears rather than peace and joy among the members.

If we could solve this problem, we would be able to work out the questions of the many transliterated Church terms, the American mode of thought, and the direct importation of the way of life from the United States, all of which is American provincialism. Then we would have the ability to write our own manuals, textbooks and articles for Church magazines in Japanese. Some have even expressed their desire to see more personal publication on Church-related subjects by the Japanese members themselves.

4. *Further develop those traditional Japanese traits which coincide with the principles of the gospel.* We recognize some noble cultural traits within us which we have inherited from our ancestors and which coincide with the principles of the gospel. To name a few, we can list such virtues as modesty, respect for the aged, reverence, hospitality to travelers and preference to the spiritual over the material. If we had those and other traits before we accepted the gospel, we should be able to develop them after joining the Church. We, the Japanese members, are constitutionally different and unique as the Saints of all nations are. If all Saints develop these traditional favorable traits of our respective nations, as we repent and accept the whole system of the gospel, we would be maintaining our identities; Mormonism will also be better regarded as a deeply-rooted religion.

5. *Increase the international sense of Japanese members.* This idea may sound contradictory to the above, but it could be done without sacrificing the traditional Japanese traits, for members are now "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." (Ephesians 2:19) While maintaining cultural identity and developing the traditional noble values, we should be better citizens of God's kingdom by being more internationally minded, widening our sights and deepening our insight.

To reach this goal, Japanese members must face and accept the challenge of President Lee when he encouraged European Saints to learn English in Munich in 1973. He said, "How helpful it would be if every one now speaking your own native tongue would learn to speak English. Then you would be able to talk with us more clearly and we could understand you better than we have done."[13]

As fellow-citizens with the Saints, members of the Church in Japan have to rid themselves of a traditional Japanese aloofness and racial prejudice, both of which have been nurtured unconsciously by the insularism and homogeneity of our people. As we become more international by overcoming

the above two problems and also by learning English, we will be better equipped to know and understand the gospel and also to communicate with the Church leadership.

Just as we hope that the Church will become an international church in Japan in the near future so do we hope the Japanese members will become more internationally minded.

The foregoing presentation is not meant to be a collection of complaints. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has truths which could be shared by every nation and hence is an international church. However, until Japanese members attain both physical and spiritual independence, the Church in Japan will be regarded as an American church and not an organization deeply rooted in Japan.

We need more members, we need to demonstrate more achievements in the civic, business, educational and political worlds as well as in the religious world. At the same time, we need to develop an international consciousness, be more independent and play more active roles in furthering the cause of the Kingdom of God in serving in the local units or in providing feedback to the headquarters rather than always being a quiet and passive recipient.

Stakes are the strength of Zion. They are the footstools upon which Zion can stand rather than units which consume the strength of the Church. It will not be until the eight stakes of Japan stand firm that Mormonism in Japan will be regarded as firmly rooted and thus international.

NOTES

[1]Robert Mullen, *The Mormons* (London: W. H. Allen, 1967), p. 199.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 5. [3]*Ibid.*, p. 4.

[4]Emeritus professor of Doshisha University.

[5]News column of the *Seito-no-Michi*, the Japanese Church magazine, Vol. 2 (January 1958): 18–19.

[6]Seven out of eight stake presidents responded to the questionnaire and five answered to that effect.

[7]The data was given by the Information Center of the Asian Office of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Tokyo. There are currently eight stakes and the same number of missions in Japan and the membership is rated as sixth among Protestant denominations according to the 1979 edition of *The Japan Christian Year Book* whereas it was eighteenth in 1963 according to the 1972 edition of the same book.

Statistics of the Christian denominations in Japan (1978) *based on* The Japan Christian Year Book *(Tokyo: Christian Newspaper Ltd., 1979)*

United Church of Christ in Japan	188,409
The Spirit of Jesus	95,195
Japan Episcopal	55,122
Primitive Gospel	50,000
Jehovah's Witnesses	45,000
LDS	35,000
Baptist	32,286
Lutheran	26,164
All Other	167,328

Roman Catholic	381,504
Japan Charistos Orthodox Church	24,573
Protestant Churches	694,504
Catholic Churches	406,077
Total	1,100,581

[8]The figures were obtained from the secretary to Elder Yoshihiko, a member of the First Quorum of the Seventy at the Asian Office of the Church in Tokyo.

[9]Reference to the same subject by President Seiji Katanuma of Japan Sapporo Stake is quoted in Lavina Fielding, "The Expanding Church," *Ensign* Vol. 6 (December 1976): 12.

[10]Public Relations of Japan Central Region, "Report of a Survey of the Life of Members," December 1978. This survey, conducted in two stakes and a mission in the Osaka area of Japan in November 1977 with 626 responses, reveals that 23% of the members are aware of the difference of the society of the Church and the Japanese society and 17% of the members admit that they feel pressure of Americanism in the Church programs.

[11]*Asahi Newspaper* (evening edition), 25 January 1979.

[12]No Japanese members can have forgotten the prophecy by President Hugh B. Brown as he addressed a congregation in Osaka on 20 April 1967 to the effect that there would someday be a Japanese member in the Council of the Twelve. "President Hugh B. Brown—from a Special Conference at Abeno Branch on April 20," *Seito-no-Michi,* Vol. 11 (May 1967): 6.

[13]Doyle L. Green, "Munich Conference Report," *Ensign* Vol. 3 (November 1973): 82.

Three Cathedrals in Spain

KATHRYN R. ASHWORTH

Toledo

Come, sir, won't you walk with me among
The columns growing upward into vaults
That hide the night until the day has gone?

Watch with me the black flames who gather
To await the march; they speak among themselves
With ringed eyes but have nothing to say to me.

We approach the sacristy. (May I wear
My shoes? The stone's so cold.) Open wide
The heavy gates of the room where Peter weeps.

Now, my dear Greek, answer me this: For whom
Did you weep that you could paint how it would be
To sleep, to say, "I know not the man"?

No, no answer now. Quickly, then,
The outer doors before three weights descend
Upon us: columns, vaults, and hidden night.

KATHRYN R. ASHWORTH, *a well known poet, has published previously in* BYU Studies *and the* Ensign.

Barcelona

Round and pointed spaces
Hold the piped tunes
That follow one another
Then fold back upon themselves.

Outside, the sea rains upon the streets,
Which return the water to the sea.

At home, the tops of the mountains
Will have become red again
While these contrapuntal lines
Rub like cats against
The round and pointed spaces.

León

Strong ribs cross the vault
to meet behind the pillar
in the center place.

Two arches
which form lower borders of the vault
issue from the pillar
like equal stalks of water curving from twin pipes,
or wings poised above the body for straight flight.

If I could sit here long enough
to silence all the inner voices,
holding this scene in precise,
pillar-centered perspective,
do you suppose chorales of truth and wisdom
would issue with the water and the wings
to flood and fly over me?

As it is, small syllables and brief tones
appear like white wings
flashing through darker winds.

PERSONAL VOICES

First Indian Convert's Testimony

S. PAUL THIRUTHUVADOSS

MY FATHER WAS A HINDU. He was converted to Christianity by Brethren Missionaries from England about 100 years ago, and he suffered persecutions from his Hindu parents, relatives and villagers for his having accepted Jesus Christ as his Way. Through him, after about thirty years, all his sisters and brothers and other relatives found Christianity. So I am a born Christian.

I was educated in the Church Missionary Society primary schools and college. This Church Missionary Society was sponsored and managed by missionaries from England and so it was an Episcopal church. Even while I was a student, I was somewhat religious minded and used to meet missionaries and ask questions on Bible stories and doctrines. I tried to find the truth of the gospel, but they were not able to give me any satisfying answers to quench my thirst for truth.

I finished my collegiate education and joined several government departments to work. During these years I joined the Lutheran Church, the Strict Baptist Mission Church, the Methodist Mission Church, the London Mission Church and even the Pentacostal Church. In all these I could not find the real truth of the life of Jesus Christ exhibited by the members of these churches.

S. PAUL THIRUTHUVADOSS, *the first twentieth-century Indian convert to Mormonism, operates a private adoption agency in Madukkarai, India. This essay was written in response to an inquiry from* Dialogue's *editors for more information on the Church in India. British spellings have been retained throughout.*

The ministers in these churches relied upon monthly salary, allowances, travelling bills, pocket expenses and monthly subscriptions from church members, and I found ministers drinking, smoking, even playing cards and patronizing entertainment clubs. Yet they appeared at pulpits with robes and preached the word of God to convert others. Their lives were only ordinary ones—nothing different from the normal members. They took up the ministership only as a job because they could not get any other job.

At this stage in April 1954, I was on the verge of leaving Christianity once and for all to become a Hindu. At this time, I went to a book shop to buy a secondhand English literature book. When I opened it at the shop itself, I found a small English tract. I casually went through its contents. I read it two or three times and found it to be a revelation to me, the thing for which I had been searching over twenty-five years. A portion of it was the testimony of Prophet Smith. At the bottom of the tract, I saw the address of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints with its headquarters in Salt Lake City, Utah. The same day I wrote to Salt Lake City and asked for more information and details on the doctrines and teachings of the Mormon Church. Within a fortnight I received copies of the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, the Pearl of Great Price, and tracts on the Word of Wisdom and baptism. One Brother, LaMar Williams in the Missionary Department, was very helpful to me then. I was asked to contact the Hong Kong mission president, Brother Grant Heaton. In all earnestness and determination I read the Book of Mormon and the other materials. Brother Williams and President Heaton kindly answered my doubts and questions by post. In the next three years, I read the Book of Mormon five times. At the end of the third year, I was convinced that the Mormon Church as revealed to the venerable prophet Joseph Smith is the true restored church on this earth in these latter-days. I then asked the authorities in Salt Lake City to baptise me and take me into the fold of the Church. They asked me to wait for some more time, however. In the meantime, I began to teach people in and around the place where I was living. On Sundays or when convenient, I conducted Sunday school and taught them about the Mormon gospel and Joseph Smith's testimony.

On 7 February 1962, Apostle Richard L. Evans, with his wife, visited India on a Rotary program and took the opportunity to visit with me. He questioned me and met my friends to whom I had taught the Mormon gospel. He was convinced that Mormonism would find a place in this part of India, and so he prayed for me, my friends and for India.

Two years later, President J. A. Queally, who was then the mission president in Hong Kong, visited with me for three days and investigated the possibility of opening the Mormon Church here. He was convinced that I had accepted the Mormon gospel. But he asked me to wait for some more time. In July 1964 he brought Apostle and Sister Hinckley to our place and all of them again made enquiries and conducted investigations with a view to open the Mormon Church here. They came again in December 1964, and after a thorough investigation, Apostle Hinckley dedicated India to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. On 7 February 1965, exactly three years after

Apostle Richard L. Evans trod on Indian soil, I was baptised by President Queally as the first convert to the Church out of 550 mission people in India. After me, both my father, aged about ninety-six and my wife were baptised by the President. On that day, I was also ordained as a Priest under the Aaronic Priesthood. President Queally left two young missionaries with us on a tourist visa, and they stayed with us for six months. During this period, they taught me and guided me to be in charge of the newly-born LDS Church in this part of the Indian Union. They visited hundreds of people and taught them the Mormon doctrines. Several of them were convinced but did not openly accept the Church because there would not be foreign missionaries resident in the place to be in charge of the Church. The two missionaries left us on 3 August 1965. On 23 October 1965, my father died as a saved man (probably God kept him to such a ripe old age only for his baptism in the Restored Church).

Until 1967 no foreign missionaries came to us and I was left alone to do missionary work. During this period of two years, I preached the gospel in the neighboring villages whenever I could find time. I was employed as an accountant in a cement manufacturing company, and so I could do church work only in the evenings and on Sundays. But I could not baptise anyone as I had not the sanction from the higher authorities of the Church. No foreign missionaries and no foreign funds are allowed into the Indian Union for preaching and propagating Christianity in any form. In 1967, President Carlos G. Smith, who was then in charge of the Singapore mission, visited with us, and the first batch of twenty-four members were baptised by me, under his authority. From then on, the strength of the Church in this part of the country slowly rose. After Smith, President M. F. Shurtleff and then President Soren F. Cox presided over the mission and visited with us two or three times a year. Whenever they came, there were baptisms and additions to the Church.

I have translated twelve of the English tracts into the Tamil language, including the Testimony of Joseph Smith, the Word of Wisdom, and tracts about baptism, tithing, after baptism and the Book of Mormon. I have also translated some important chapters of the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants and ten Mormon hymns into the Tamil language. The Articles of Faith have also been translated. At every Sunday School meeting, the children recite the Articles of Faith from memory and sing them as a hymn. Once a month we stand in road junctions in the town and distribute tracts. We get response from people. They ask questions and we answer them.

As of this date, we have 225 baptised members, five elders holding the Melchizedek Priesthood, and thirteen Aaronic Priesthood holders. We now have four groups in different places, three chapel buildings. All our services—Sunday School and sacrament meetings—are conducted in Tamil.

The members are labourers working in farms and gardens. They are good witnesses to the Church, and almost all of them left drinking alcohol and using tobacco after joining the Church. They work hard and earn their livelihood in an honest way. They are very staunch in their faith, and there has been no falling away all these years. Most of the members are not rich, but

they are certainly not "rice Christians." If they do not have work, and if they do not have money, they prefer starving than stretching their hands to others. President M. F. Shurtleff helped ten families purchase some cows with a donation he got from his friends in America. Dr. Soren F. Cox helped them with Rs. 400.00 (equivalent to $50) which he got as a donation through Dr. Spencer J. Palmer of Brigham Young University. Thus, American friends help us in our financial needs at times.

Even so, the children in these villages need clothes and books to study in the schools here. There are six promising girls and boys who are in the high school and they need financial help to continue their studies. If it is possible, please send us some old clothes and find some sponsors who would be able to help these children continue their studies in the high schools and colleges. They will be good leaders in the Church.

I am sixty-one years old and now am retired from the cement company. I am devoting my full time to church work and am also running an orphanage. I take children both male and female below seven years of age and send them to foreign countries for permanent adoption after obtaining the Indian government's permission, passports and visas. During the past seven years, I have sent two hundred sixty-eight such children to Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Finland, Switzerland, West Germany, Italy, Canada and the United States. I have given nearly fifty children to Mormon families in Salt Lake City and also in Washington state. Usually my wife and I take these children to all these countries and place them with the adoptive parents.

I need your prayers, and I thank you very much for your divine interest and love in us.

I write this in the holy name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ with my personal testimony that Jesus lives, that the Prophet Joseph Smith saw the Father and Son and was the true prophet of God in these latter days. I also testify that President Spencer W. Kimball is the living prophet, that the Book of Mormon is the revelation given to the Prophet Joseph Smith, and that the missionaries all over the world working for the growth of the Church are the messengers of God.

The Church in Egypt

J. DONALD BOWEN

MY FAMILY AND I recently spent three years in Cairo where we were much involved in cooperative education programs with Egyptian counterparts. We became aware of how serious the official attitude toward an outside religion was when a young Egyptian student returned to Egypt as a Mormon convert after studying in the United States. He had embraced the Church and had asked for baptism shortly before returning to his family in Cairo. Even though he had left explicit instructions on how his baptismal certificate should be sent to Egypt, a careless clerk sent it through international mail where it was intercepted by postal authorities in Cairo and turned over to the internal security people. The young man was then picked up and subjected to hours-long interrogations over a period of three days. He was forced to reveal the names of all the Mormons in Egypt along with their reasons for being there. He was finally released with a strict warning that he would be in serious trouble if he were to spend any time with Mormons in Egypt. He dared not ignore these instructions because he knew this would only aggravate his status as a "renegade." (His situation was complicated by the fact that before his travel abroad, he had been involved in a student protest against the government and was therefore identified as an agitator in police records.)

It is natural for Mormons to think in terms of potential missionary activity in any part of the world. With the black revelation granting the priesthood to all worthy male members, interest in missionary work surely will be increased

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as traditional boundaries and distinctions are erased. As a result of missionary work, it is likely that there will be more and more emphasis on the Church as an international institution.

One of the areas where church activities can expect to find opposition is the Islamic world. The Muslims are, in general, a devout people, active in proselyting in non-Muslim parts of the world but quite unwilling to permit reciprocity. Thus an article praising progress in carrying the message of Islam to the Western World will appear in the English-language press in Cairo, but an article on overt missionary work by "foreign agents" will probably not be allowed.

The Egyptian constitution in a vague way guarantees freedom of religion, but this is largely an empty gesture, since proselyting activities (other than efforts to strengthen Islam) are forbidden. The WAQFS (Egyptian Government Ministry for Islamic Religious Affairs) has very strict control over the religious lives of Egyptian Muslins, and it would not willingly tolerate foreigners entering the country to place temptations before the faithful. This is especially true when Egyptian governments feel weak or vulnerable and therefore in need of a broader base of support. At such times there is a tendency to acquiesce to the desire of the "Islamic Establishment" (in particular the Ministry of WAQFS and El Azhar University) to coax the Egyptian government away from secular legal codes toward a genuine "Islamic State" based on the Koran and other sources of Islamic law. (A recent ban on alcohol shows Sadat's regime's indulgence of the Islamic Establishment as he perceives his need for political support from other Islamic nations.)

Overt proselyting would not now be tolerated for a variety of political, historical and cultural reasons. Strong pressures are placed on Egyptian Christians to convert to Islam: a special tax on non-Muslims, unfavorable inheritance laws when mixed marriages are involved, rights of child custody, etc. This, of course, leads to "paper conversions" of convenience, along with much hypocrisy and resentment. Perhaps it is a cleansing process, by which the lukewarm Christians drift to Islam without any real commitment. Until there is a basic change in government policy, and perhaps in the psychological makeup of the man on the street, any proselyting in Egypt must be strictly informal and must not attract attention.

Most Egyptians old enough to remember the colonial rule imposed by the British (1882–1952) have not forgotten the aggressive efforts by Christian missionaries during that time. Egyptian nationalists, with their demands for full independence, frequently attacked Protestant churches and mission schools as well as the British Embassy. Egyptian Muslims (and many Egyptian Christians) still resent proselyting by foreign Christians, regarding it as kind of "cultural imperialism." These feelings, associated as they are with highly emotional attitudes, persist even though the objectionable activities are largely a thing of the past.

Shortly after the incident involving the Egyptian convert mentioned above, two of my Mormon colleagues and I, all members of the academic staff of the American University in Cairo, were called into the dean of faculty's office. The Egyptian security police had paid a visit to the dean to find out

what these possibly subversive faculty members were doing, specifically asking if we were involved in proselyting. The dean had assured them that we were not (and later received our unequivocal statement that this was correct). The dean told us that the Egyptian government had been known to expel foreigners from the country without notice if it felt that Egyptian hospitality was being abused. In other words, we were warned that the government would tolerate no religious activity that extended visibly beyond the confines of our small expatriate group. One of the Mormon professors was particularly concerned, since he had no institutional base in the United States where he could go if deported from Egypt. The other two could return to our home universities, though we might lose part of a year's salary. Of course, if *any* of us were deported, our professional lives and projects in Egypt would automatically be aborted, a result we understandably wanted to avoid.

Some time earlier, an American LDS family moved to Egypt with plans to establish a business. They came on their own initiative, having no official appointment as representatives of the Church, but they acted on the church-wide assumption that every member is a missionary. They therefore came prepared to teach the gospel, including in their personal effects materials to assist in describing the Church: movies, film strips, books, pamphlets, etc. This family sought out opportunities for religious discussion among the Egyptian people they dealt with socially or in business. They quickly made friends among the local people and invited them to meetings where they could "learn more about the Mormons." It didn't take the Egyptian government long to become aware of these activities. Undercover agents attended their meetings and reported back to the security police. The husband was summoned and informed that proselyting among the Muslim population of Egypt would not be tolerated. He asked if there was any objection to his "talking about his religion" if he restricted his contacts to the Christian segment of the population. He was assured that no one would object if he limited his activities to the Christians, but the government official who gave this assurance orally was unwilling to provide it in written form. This permission was later rescinded.

Theoretically the Christian community in Egypt can provide converts to Mormonism more easily than the Islamic community can, since Egyptian Christians are numerous, and they perhaps have less to learn than Muslims. Estimates on the size of Egypt's Christian community vary, running from about five to fifteen or even twenty per cent of the population, depending on who is counting and what purposes are served. Whatever its number, the Christian minority in Egypt feels persecuted—not without some justification. From discussions with them I have heard claims that no non-Muslim church building can be erected in the vicinity of a mosque. Since there are a thousand mosques in Cairo alone, one can appreciate what a restriction this is. On the other hand, it seems relatively easy to get a building permit for a new mosque in the area of a church.

The result is a certain resentment and a "siege mentality." A fifteen-story government building was alleged to have been designed and built so a

cathedral could not be seen from the most important public square in downtown Cairo. Nasser, before his demise, planned a new Nile bridge, located so that another large and impressive cathedral would have to be razed. (Sadat has modified the plan so that the building will remain, but the bridge approach road splits so that one elevated lane of traffic clings to and decorates each side of the church. The result is grotesque—it looks a little like a nutcracker poised to crush the cathedral.)

The two populations, Muslim and Christian, are not always on the best of terms. The Muslims might not object to missionary work among the Christians if they felt it would contribute to the problems of this vexatious minority. Apparently they were considered, by at least one government official, as fair game for foreign missionaries. There is, however, no easily available way to prove Islamic support for outside Christian proselyting efforts. In fact both Christians and Muslims have traditionally opposed foreign missionaries. Perhaps the Muslims want to preserve the Copts as their own exclusive targets for proselyting.

Somehow the Christian religious authorities found out that members of the Egyptian Orthodox (Coptic) Church were being courted by foreigners in Egypt. We presume that the Coptic authorities complained to the government and that their complaint provoked the stricter policy, forbidding proselyting among *any* Egyptians. We do know that the Egyptian government temporarily refused to renew the proselyting family's residence visas and almost deported them.

In a few cases an American or British Mormon girl has married an Egyptian boy, usually while he was abroad studying. With one exception these members had a very infrequent record of participation in the activities of our branch. It is simply taken for granted that the children of an Islamic husband, especially boys, would be raised as Muslims. If the husband dies or divorces his wife (not difficult in Muslim countries), the mother loses custody of her children, who are taken by the disaffected husband or by his surviving relatives.

The conversion of one Egyptian Christian, a respected professional, is especially interesting. While driving through the outskirts of Washington, D.C. on a business trip to the United States, he was deeply moved by the sight of the Washington Temple. He went to the temple and, on being informed that it was not open to visitors, requested information about the Church, soon asked to be taught the gospel, and within a week he was baptized. He returned to Cairo, and, perhaps because of his social stature or because he had been Christian, he was not treated like our Muslin student friend, although in both cases the conversion and baptism had taken place outside Egypt. Perhaps his conversion had not reached the attention of the right authorities, or perhaps they were winking at the indiscretion of an elderly public figure. Later he was asked to come in to supply information, but he refused, telling the authorities that they could come to his house if they wanted to talk to him.

Incidents like this suggest that the field is "white all ready to harvest," but

for the present it is unlikely that anyone will be allowed to thrust in a sickle. One can appreciate the difficulty of reaching other countries in the Islamic world with the message of the gospel when it is recalled that Egypt, next to Lebanon, is perhaps the most liberal member state of the Islamic world (and Lebanon seems determined to give up any claim to that title). It would be vastly more difficult to promote the work in countries like Saudi Arabia, Iraq or Libya, where there is virtually no distinction between religion and state.

The Book of Mormon has recently been translated into Arabic. When, where and how it can be used are difficult questions. Perhaps one day we'll be pleasantly surprised in the Middle East as we have been in Italy, Spain and Portugal. In the interest of our worldwide orientation to Church membership we hope it will be sooner rather than later. In the meantime a small group of expatriate Mormons will continue to meet in one of their homes, maintaining a modest program of Church activities.

The Church and la Politica Italiano

J. MICHAEL CLEVERLY

WE WERE SEATED in the chapel of the building serving both as mission headquarters and home of the West Milan (Italy) Branch. Our young gospel doctrine teacher was presenting a lesson on the role of government according to Alma 50–60. Nearing the end of the lesson, she came to a quotation from one of the Brethren: "I even believe that our elected national leaders are honest men and base their decisions upon what they believe to be for the good of the people as they see it." She stopped, struggled to hold a straight face, but did not succeed. Her apologies for laughing were not heard, for everyone else was equally stricken.

The class's reaction did not surprise me much, for once as elders' quorum instructor in the same branch I had tried to teach a lesson on the political responsibility of church members. The lesson moved sluggishly. Even though my Italian was passable, we seemed to be speaking different languages. I was addressing the question from the perspective of an American accustomed to generally well functioning political institutions and to a relatively narrow spectrum of political views. I knew that the political scene in Italy was vastly different from that of the United States, but what I did not realize until then was that being politically active, and assuming a measure of responsibility for one's political system meant something totally different to them that it did to me.

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Afterwards an energic young member of little more than a year asked me if we could talk. He began, "Don't get me wrong, I want to do what is right. We just talked about how members should be politically aware and active. But what is the best way to do that in Italy? I have difficulty supporting either major party. The Christian Democrats, I consider corrupt so I am forced to vote Communist. What's the alternative?"

His position was no different from a minority but nonetheless large number of the branch members and was the same as that of a large share of the Italian electorate who vote Communist but consider themselves middle class bourgeoisie, not red flag carrying leftists. He was in effect saying that he was not sure if he had a choice which was totally consistent with Church teachings as he understood them.

The roots of this political non-choice go back to the fall of Mussolini's Fascist regime before the advancing Allied armies toward the end of World War II. The Italian Communist Party (PCI), its ranks swelling with militant former resistance fighters, made an unsuccessful move to fill up the postwar vacuum. Instead, the Christian Democratic Party took control. When the left factionalized a few years later (into the Communist, Socialist and Social Democratic parties), there remained no single party which could even come close to beating the Christian Democrats at the polls. Christian Democrat governments followed one after another for the following thirty years. Never in opposition and plagued with continued charges of corruption and frequent scandals, the party gradually lost credibility. The problem was that for most people there was no acceptable alternative. Only the Communists were powerful enough even to challenge Christian Democrat rule.

Sensing the opportunity, the Communists began a facelift in the 1970s. Throwing off their work duds and donning white shirts and ties, they were no longer the party of the oppressed working masses, but rather the party of reform, of good government—of everybody. Party secretary Enrico Berlinguer, a Sardinean nobleman, provided the party with a strong middle class image. Only the name remained the same. At least that was what the party wanted the middle class to believe. And many did believe it.

Communist support grew until after the parlimentary elections of 1976. By that time the Italian political scene was thoroughly polarized, with the Christian Democrats on one side and the Communists on the other.

And so the dilemma for Italian Mormons. Another young member told me, "I cannot vote for the Christian Democrats because I consider that a vote for corruption. I don't yet trust the Communists. So I vote for the Socialists. But they are so small that it is like throwing my vote away."

For many members, however, disillusionment with the status quo was sufficient encouragement to vote Communist. There seemed to be no ideological commitment. I never met a Mormon card-carrying member of the PCI (Communist Party). And no one even admitted leftist sympathies. (This contrasts with Finland where over several years I have met a number of members who have expressed strong leftist ideas, but none who ever admitted voting for the Communists.)

One member told me that in the United States he would have been a

Democrat, and in Germany, a good Social Democrat. But in Italy he was a Communist. He was not equating the three. He was saying that Communism to many Italian Mormons was not an international movement or philosophy. The PCI was an Italian institution. It was the party of dissent, the only alternative.

"But how can you be so sure? Since there is no real precedent, aren't you taking a gigantic gamble?" was my usual rejoinder. It usually succeeded in producing a worried wrinkle, too, for most members did worry about this. The consequences of gambling and losing were well understood.

To someone who had heard Ezra Taft Benson's rousing condemnations of Communism and its supporters as I had, it seemed strange that Italian Mormons could vote a red ticket without fear of provoking some Church reaction. Most Italian Mormons, however, had not heard the firey sermons on the subject.

Responding to my curiosity on this, a mission president told me of his having been instructed by a member of the Twelve to avoid completely statements or comments against Communism. Although he did not elaborate, the implication was clear. In an Italy where the Communists were strong and not many steps away from sharing at least some power in government, the Church felt it had more to lose by openly opposing the Communists than it had to gain by maintaining what some leaders probably considered doctrinal purity. Being the politically conservative institution it is in Utah would only have further identified it as American—a profile greatly resented by many non-American members. It would have created strong (and perhaps even violent) enemies among nonmember Italians.

On one occasion I saw what happened when the urge to take sides overcame the Church's resolve to remain neutral. Just before President Kimball's visit to Italy in the summer of 1977, all members of Italy's parliament (including the neofascists) except PCI deputies reportedly were sent written invitations to attend his Rome address. The uproar in the press (which before then had only rarely acknowledged the Church's existence) was almost exceeded by that heard in priesthood meeting: "Why," demanded one elders' quorum president, "don't we have mission leaders who understand our politics?" Another told me of how hard pressed he was to explain the Church's move to his work colleagues when he could not understand it himself. A few thought I, as an American, could explain the Church's position. The couple of times I tried taught me it was better to be quiet and to listen.

For the most part the Church, too, has decided to be quiet even though members in Italy are not always sure how much it listens. But the silence, although not altogether disagreeable to a former Utah Mormon, is a loud one. It emphasizes the importance of expediency.

It also may reveal something about the struggle to keep up with the internationalization of the Church that must be taking place on a high level. Given the Church's clear desire to move into countries where political forms are sharply different from our own, this internationalization is bound to make political "no comment" an even stronger part of the Church position than it is now.

AMONG THE MORMONS

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STEPHEN W. STATHIS

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REVIEWS

Other Voices, Other Mansions

Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures. Edited by F. LaMond Tullis. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978, xxvi, 365 pp., $8.95.

Reviewed by CANDADAI SESHACHARI, *professor of English, Weber State College.*

A future B. H. Roberts writing the history of the Church of our times will point out that the decision to carry the Mormon gospel and culture beyond the traditional confines of language, boundaries and race had altered the essential character of the Church in unimagined ways. He would equate the decision to expand "the work of the Lord over the earth" as being of equal significance in scope and direction to that of Brigham Young's inspired decision to secure the holy kingdom in the fastness of the Rockies. He would argue that the decision to universalize the Church set in motion forces and events that went counter to Church policies that were tested, tried and forged during the first century and a half of its existence. He would ascribe the transformation of the Church from a unilingual, unicultural, ethnocentric, American-centered church to a pluralistic, more secularized, and an "un-American" church to this single decision to internationalize the Church. He would argue that, in a sense, the Church had reversed the direction of the vital forces that had nourished and sustained it. He would say that if the all-encompassing activities of the Church including, for example, its missionary work and its sanctification of the U.S. Constitution were centripetal in nature, were a process of fusion, of gathering the brethren into the bosom of Zion, of encouraging an exodus not merely from the heartlands of the United States, but also of converts from outside the continent, then the impulse to expand the Church was a diametrically opposite process.

Even though the future historian would have an advantage over us, the perceptive among us cannot be blind to the changes that are already working their way into traditional Mormon thought and action, causing unease and concern among a segment of the brethren. Nowhere are these sentiments better discussed than in *Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures*. The work, which is a record of a significant symposium held in April 1976 on the subject of "transnational and transcultural problems" of Mormon expansion, distinctly captures the polarized points of view between those who are in tune with the new and emerging order and those who would rather see the status quo maintained. Even though the volume includes some excellent and perceptive articles and several excellent introductory essays to the different sections by F. LaMond Tullis, its significance lies elsewhere.

For the first time Mormon scholars and intellectuals are openly undertaking a dialogue on "the relation of secular culture to the gospel of Jesus Christ and the expanding Church." It was heartwarming, says Tullis, "to hear of the growth of the Church, to see the quality of leadership exemplified in the participants, to listen to them speak of the bonds that unite us in the spirit of the gospel, to note their affirmation of the spiritual substance of those bonds." Many also spoke of alien rituals, symbols, languages, economic and political systems, racial prejudices, and national pride as inhibiting factors that stood in the way of the expansion of the Church. Some were obviously uncomfortable with the openness of the exchange of views. Indeed, a questioner did point out that "he had the feeling that these meetings could not have been held ten years ago." Likewise, LaMond Tullis reports he was asked why "some really tough questions were not addressed, why more was not said, why it was not said more vigorously." In keeping with the thrust of this review essay, these questions need to be raised to further

continue the dialogue in order to seek a greater understanding of the problems that will arise as Mormonism spreads to new lands.

The questions are many but all of them result essentially from this new centrifugal thrust to convert the world to Mormon faith. One of the major concerns of the Church before long is going to be with sheer numbers. Within the next half century, for instance, the Spanish-speaking people will form the largest single segment of the Church membership and Spanish, not English, will become the first language of the Church. As Tullis points out that, whereas in 1960 the Spanish-Portuguese speaking members accounted for only one and a half percent of the total Church membership, by 1990 they will grow to "nearly 17% or one of every six members" would be Spanish-speaking. Though such large scale conversion is the very essence of the Church's raison d'être, the dynamics of numbers will exert their own sway on the traditional leadership and government of the Church.

The earlier infusions of members—say, up to the end of the Vietnam War—were needed to achieve "critical mass." Certain homogenizing factors kept increasing membership in conformity with the Wasatch Front traditions and norms. The converts came freely, leaving behind a country and heritage, to create for themselves a new life in a land of their choosing. By choosing to become Mormons they were also becoming Americans, and like other emigrants they Anglicized their last names, gave up their native tongues, adapted themselves to a new landscape. When they became Mormons they became part of the great American dream. A belief in the land and faith in its manifest destiny were underlying concomitants to their newly acquired religion. Similarly when they gained a new religion they also gained a new country. The Church was an American church, and they had no trouble believing that the Constitution was divinely inspired. They believed as they were told: that the Lord "had estabished the constitution of this land by the hands of wise men whom [He] had raised up to this very purpose." Today, in contrast, the Church encourages new members to stay in their homelands. The American dream is shattered and it is hard to tell a Peruvian, an Indonesian, or Japanese that the United States Constitution, not theirs, is divinely inspired. Salt Lake City, like Rome, like the Mecca, like Banaras, should be a sacred place as well as a symbol, the holy of holies, but the Church by expanding worldwide in theory and practice, is demanding extra-territorial allegiance to the United States. Could, for instance, American missionaries go to the Philippines and ask its citizens to subscribe to the belief in the United States Constitution as divinely ordained? Or, worse still, could a Mexican missionary in Sweden ask the Swedes to enshrine a respect for the United States Constitution in their hearts? It is certain that the Church by going international will increasingly have to cut itself from its American nationalistic moorings. Even as Noel Reynolds approvingly quotes: "How much of what has through the years evolved as 'LDS doctrine' is merely the expression of the collective neurosis of that culture to which the gospel was restored?" The doctrinal implications underlying the problem are obvious.

Expansion will also bring the Church face to face with a horde of problems. LaMond Tullis discusses a number of these in his fine introduction to the section on "Church Development Issues Among Latin Americans." One of the most crucial, of course, is the problem of how to translate and communicate in languages other than in English, one of the most alive and fluid of languages. Could we ask the ever increasing non-English speaking members to learn English, as they were indeed exhorted to do at the conference in Munich in 1973? They were told that they should "learn English so that the General Authorities would not

have to try to communicate with them in multitudinous languages." To press the point further, there are other cultures where the mode of communication is differently structured. Seiji Katanuma informs that the Japanese have a "culture of sight," in which it is easier to communicate through visual aids than by way of the printed word. He insists that visual materials should accompany printed communication if the Japanese are to become enlightened. As if these obstacles to better communication were not enough, he flatly asserts: "It is true that some concepts in Mormon doctrine are so unfamiliar to the Japanese people that they are difficult to fit into the Japanese way of thinking and understanding." Rhee Ho Nam, in contrast, avers that it is almost impossible to keep the Korean brethren from incorporating time-honored customs of ancestral worship into their professions of Mormon faith. Perhaps, as Noel Reynolds argues, these problems "might gradually fade away" as Mormonism begins to take root in other cultures and begins to "subvert" them. He states: "All worldly cultures are false gospels in the sense that they perpetuate beliefs and behaviors incompatible with the truths of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Conversely, the gospel will therefore be subversive in the context of any worldly culture." Though Reynolds' argument may be a legitimate one for a true believer to espouse, its logic is hard to sustain.

The arguments adduced so far in no way erect an insurmountable barrier to communication; they only affirm the problem of carrying a gospel across transnational and transcultural lines. All the same, the gospel should be preached despite the fact that the world cannot be blue-printed into Zion. The Mormon gospel should be taught, the message carried, and converts made. The new members should be asked to affirm as well as deny; they should be asked to affirm the doctrines even as they are required to abjure their erstwhile "false" beliefs that undercut their new faith.

It was easy for the earlier Mormon emigrant who came in search of the American dream to affirm the "official Church posture that emphasizes patriotism to America and respect for its officials, its political and economic system, its foreign policies, and the freedoms of conscience and liberty of choice that, for Americans, have historically accompanied them." False gods they might be expected to give up, but it is a human impossibility to relaunder oneself to fit the cultural specifications as laid down by doctrinaire Mormons. Increasingly it will be hard, in the words of Tullis, to convince converts that "middle class American culture, politics, economics, and language are the Lord's ideal way." Increasingly, too, the Church will be forced to preach the restored gospel without working middle class American values into it.

The Mormon Church will be able to succeed on the world stage only if it embraces pluralism and adopts the model of the Roman Catholic Church, says Sterling McMurrin in a recent article in *Sunstone*. He is however certain "that the Mormon leadership would not intentionally move in a direction that would encourage or allow the measure of diversity which not only exists in Catholic worship but which the Catholic Church apparently finds acceptable." In essence, McMurrin is right in what he advocates; where he is wrong is in his assumption that the Mormon Church has an option in the matter. The model on which the Catholic Church is organized was not drawn in the papal offices; the model instead is the evolutionary creation of the Church's historic growth as it spread to other lands. The Catholic Church, almost inexorably, was molded by the dynamics of assimilating diverse people into its fold. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints will evolve on the lines of the Roman Catholic Church and will become pluralistic because it is in the very nature of the centrifugal forces on whose wheels the Church expansion program is now rolling.

Mormon Country

The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation, and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West. By Richard V. Francaviglia. New York: AMS Press Inc., 1978. xviii + 177 pp., illus., biblio., index, $13.25

Reviewed by LOWELL C. BENNION, *professor of Geography at Humboldt State University, Arcata, California.*

Those interested in the Mormon landscape should scan or, to use the author's favorite verb, *note* this study. Whether they decide to scan it by quick inspection or careful examination will depend on how closely they have looked at Mormon villages and their environs. Casual viewers will find this survey an informative introduction to the features that have differentiated Utah townscapes and landscapes from the rest of the Intermountain West. Even though close observers will find it quite superficial, they will probably applaud its holistic approach.

Whether scanners of either type decide to buy the book may also depend on their willingness to pay a 1980 price for a volume of 1970 vintage. Neither author nor publisher acknowledges the fact that, except for the index, *The Mormon Landscape* is simply a reprint of a University of Oregon Ph.D. thesis in geography. The most obvious sign of its origins lies in the bibliography that cites no sources after 1969. The book does read better and faster than any dissertations, partly because it features one page of maps or photographs for every two of text. That ratio, though, leaves less than 100 pages for elaboration of the "existence, creation, and perception" of the Mormon imprint upon the land, not nearly enough space for such a broad scope.

If only the publisher had allowed the author to expand the thesis and enlarge, rather than reduce, its graphics, it would rate a more positive review. Suggestive of its potential is Francaviglia's fine essay on "The Passing Mormon Village" in *Landscape* (Spring 1978) which summarizes the book, updates it somewhat, and assesses Utahns' attitudes toward preservation of the cultural landscape. Since our landscapes do indeed "display us as cultures," what we need is a greatly expanded version of *The Mormon Landscape* or, even better, a series of studies by a variety of interpreters. (For a general guide, see the collection of essays edited by D. W. Meinig, *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes,* Oxford University Press, 1979.) In reviewing the major themes of Francaviglia's work, I shall identify several directions that a revised edition or a new set of monographs might take.

The Mormon Landscape seeks to answer five questions set forth in the introduction, each of which becomes the focus for an entire chapter:

> 1) Is there really a distinctive landscape associated with rural-village Mormon settlement? If so, what is it? 2) How do these elements vary in space and time? 3) What were the primary factors in creating such a landscape? 4) How have writers and artists attempted to render the visual composition that is the landscape? and 5) Are the Mormons themselves aware of any difference between Mormon and non-Mormon landscapes?

The first chapter, as expected, concludes that a distinctive rural-village landscape does characterize Mormondom. The author identifies as its most striking features: a gridiron town (never termed a "village" by Mormons themselves) centered on a church and surrounded by open fields and sage- or cedar-covered mountains; large square blocks separated by wide ditch- and three-lined streets; widely spaced brick or stone homes of Nauvoo style separated by gardens and unpainted barns, fences,

and granaries. These elements he effectively combines into a generalized "Canaanville" situated in a typical Wasatch valley. However, his small-scale diagrams and photographs, which favor the *town*scape over the *land*scape, fail to convey the visual impact of the scenes he describes nearly as well as Gary B. Peterson's slide-sound "Impressions of Mormon Country" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1974) or the photographic essays that have appeared too infrequently in *Dialogue* and even the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. In addition to larger and better photographs, one would welcome large-scale maps and aerial photos of actual villages and valleys. Such graphics would help resolve the much-debated question, how similar to or different from LDS settlements are Gentile places?

For a sample of forty-two agrarian towns scattered across the Intermountain West (varying in population size from 300 to 2000), Francaviglia mapped about twenty features of "The Mormon Landscape Through Space and Time" (Chapter 2). The religious architecture and farm-like look of the towns proved uniquely Mormon, but only in predominantly LDS places did he find five or more of his elements. Thus the combination of traits rather than single characteristics have set Mormon Country, especially the most rural and isolated areas, apart from adjoining regions. Not surprisingly, Francaviglia found that Mormons themselves readily recognized their own townscapes when shown photographs of Gentile and LDS places.

In treating the Mormon landscape through time, the author tries to date and locate the origins of its different features. He decides from limited evidence that most of them, at least as ideas, were brought by the Saints from their homelands or else adopted soon after their arrival in the West. Lacking, however, is any sense of the changes that occurred in the nineteenth century Utah landscape when homesteading and dry farming were introduced. Charles Peterson has described this "Imprint of Agricultural Systems on the Utah Landscape" (in *The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West*, BYU Press, 1978), but no one has demonstrated its development in graphic fashion. A comparison of Mormon settlement patterns by means of maps and photos at key times would show us when various elements appeared in (or disappeared from) the scene. Certainly the regional rural landscapes of Utah in the 1970s differ markedly from those of the 1920s which in turn looked quite unlike those of the 1870s. Perhaps the only way Utahns can preserve their changing landscapes is to reconstruct them in the form of graphic books for their coffee-free tables. (Charles van Ravenswaag's *The Arts and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri*, University of Missouri Press, 1977, provides a model study of a vanishing culture in the Midwest that students of Mormon Country ought to examine.)

Chapter 4 comes closer to a bonafide treatment of the Mormon landscape through time by surveying the attempts of various writers and artists to capture the visual essence of the LDS environment. However, he treats them much too briefly and primarily to identify the obvious elements of Utah's landscape that caught their eye. Francaviglia also overlooks some keen observers (e.g., Phil Robinson) and, ironically, ignores the photographic medium that he himself uses most—e.g., *The Utah Photographs of George Edward Anderson* (University of Nebraska Press, 1979), Charles Savage, and others. The sketchy nature of this chapter makes one all the more eager to see the work of Tom Burnside on the history of Mormon art and artists.

In trying to interpret the Mormon landscape (Chapter 3), Francaviglia quite rightly turns to the motives and methods of the founding fathers. He suggests that church leaders not only dictated the location of settlements but also strongly influenced their architecture and overall visual appearance. He argues that Mormon isolation and internal mobility also contributed to the evolution of uniform patterns across Utah, and that the Saints' frugality added a ramshackle look to their

towns. Valid as these views may be, the Saints were very dependent on imports from the start (even on salt) and became increasingly tied to other Americans, both regionally and nationally.

To determine how this growing interaction helped shape the landscape, we must delve more deeply into all of the archival materials available and develop geo*graphic* landscape histories for each major region of Mormon Country. Ideally, we should examine the whole spectrum of Mormon-Gentile settlement, from the individual homestead to the largest city of Zion. (For a splendid new study of Mormon town founding, see John W. Reps, *Cities of the American West*, Princeton University Press, Chapters IX and X, 1979.) Only then can anyone, building on Francaviglia's pioneering effort, produce a definitive "Making of the Changing Mormon Landscape."

A Mormon and a Prophet

Marriner S. Eccles: Private Enterpreneur and Public Servant. By Sidney Hyman. Stanford, California: Stanford University Graduate School of Business, 1976. xviii + 456 pp. Appendixes, footnotes, index. $15.00.

Reviewed by BRUCE D. BLUMELL, *formerly Research Associate in the Church Historical Department, and now a law student at the University of Calgary.*

"Marriner Eccles *was* American economic history," says G. L. Bach in the foreword to this enlightening biography. Eccles' life was an "extraordinary encapsulation in one man of the explosive changes" in business and government from the 1920s generally to the 1950s, and although he was often thought of as a maverick, even a traitor to his class during the Depression particularly, he emerges as a hero here.

By 1931 Eccles began to recognize that some things were fundamentally wrong with the national economy. He did not accept the theory that if the Depression was allowed to run its course, conditions would automatically be created which would lead to recovery. He began to question the economic orthodoxy of the time that a balanced federal budget must precede a new economic upsurge. He soon came to conclusions, which he refined over the next several years, that we generally associate with John Maynard Keynes, who published his famous economic treatise in 1936.

Eccles believed consumption was the fundamental problem of his day: "The end of production is consumption and not money, and whenever our capital accumulations reach a point where our production is beyond the ability of our great mass to consume goods, not because of lack of desire, but because of lack of purchasing power, we have a depression." Eccles argued that business would not invest and spend until a proven market became available for its goods. To accomplish such, he explained, the consumer must be given buying power via increased federal spending for public works and social services. Only the federal government held the power to regulate credit and money. Only the federal government was capable of assuming the great debt necessary for a manipulation of the economic system. Eccles further contended that massive federal deficit spending would greatly increase the national income through increased employment and an expansion in the volume of business to the point that the federal budget would come into balance through a natural growth in tax revenues. The national debt being relative to the national income, a sizeable debt would appear minor compared to the much greater national income. Finally, with a booming

economy government's taxing power and control of the money supply could check inflation. The consequent government surpluses could be applied to debts from the Depression.

Eccles vigorously spoke his mind. During February 1933, in hearings before the Senate Finance Committee, he had the opportunity to present his theories plus a specific program for immediate government action. Only one committee member voiced agreement. Two years later, however, *Fortune* magazine published a long article on Eccles outlining some of the ideas and proposals he had voiced at those hearings. The author then added: "Anyone who will translate the latter suggestions into their present [New Deal] alphabetical symbols and compare the earlier general statements of economics with the economics of the present administration will be forced to conclude that M. S. Eccles, of Ogden, Utah, was not only a Mormon, but a prophet."

Hyman is clearly an admirer of Eccles and writes the story as such. As is often the case with biography, the hero comes across as unusually intelligent, noble and altruistic. His adversiaries tend to be portrayed as self-serving and ignorant. While Marriner Eccles was an extremely important figure who deserves the recognition of this positive biography, a clearer understanding of his struggles might have emerged with a deeper penetration into his opponents' viewpoints. Although Hyman exhibits a clear understanding of the various strains of economic throught during Eccles' public service, he does not appear to have carefully researched the careers of other actors in this political drama. The paucity of footnotes (only 3 pages for a 440-page book) tends to confirm this. The sources to which he refers, other than Eccles' materials, are rather lean.

That Marriner Eccles developed a complete theory of compensatory economics before Keynes is historically significant. In Washington he strongly advocated adoption of his theory before and during the New Deal and eventually saw it become the explanation for New Deal deficit spending. But how did an uneducated western businessman arrive at such conclusions? Hyman's account of this crucial question is less than satisfying.

Although Eccles read very little, in 1931 he carefully studied the writings of William Trufant Foster on the Depression. Foster was moving in the direction of a theory of compensatory economics. Several other economists and journalists were also heading in this direction in opposition to economic orthodoxy. Such may have influenced Eccles' thinking, but to what extent is not clear. It would seem, however, that Eccles drew upon some of these writings to support his own views on economic policy. Hyman argues that Eccles' "analysis of the Great Depression and his recommendations for recovery would eventually surpass Foster's in concreteness, trenchancy, and fundamental challenge to the reasoning of major leaders of business opinion." Yet Hyman's comparison is limited. The question of how Eccles developed his new economic theories is a crucial one. Hyman might have outlined Foster's contributions more extensively and been more specific in pointing out how Eccles' theories went beyond Foster's.

According to Hyman, Eccles essentially came to his new (and at the time unorthodox) conclusions about the economy through a process of self cross-examination. By this method he was able to reject the presupposed body of beliefs to arrive at a new perspective. "Marriner's eventual break with economic orthodoxy," explains Hyman, "was prefigured in his long contest with the Utah hierarchs of his father's generation regarding the management of private enterprises." In this analysis Hyman does not go beyond the answer he and Eccles presented in Eccles' memoirs, *Beckoning Frontiers*, published in 1951. Basil Rauch, one of the earliest historians of the New Deal, wrote that this memoir did "little to help us understand how Saul became Paul. We are asked to believe that a forty-year-old banker was converted to compensatory economic theory by naked-eye observation and experience without benefit of Keynes." One could add that there were other intelligent bankers who had the ability to reason and ask soul-searching questions. What then was there about Eccles which enabled him to arrive at his unique answers?

Hyman might have found more complete answers on the sources of Eccles' economic thought if he had made a greater attempt to understand the social milieu in which Marriner Eccles was raised and worked. While Hyman notes Eccles' business upbringing, he underplays Eccles' Mormon background and the economic ideas he may have gained in that setting. His father, David Eccles, was fairly devoted to Mormonism. Marriner grew up in the faith and served a mission for the Church. Since he later fell into inactivity, he may easily have overlooked the consequence of his Mormon upbringing and heritage. Hyman seems to read Marriner's later sentiments back into his earlier years and consequently misses the significance these early years may have had.

Dean May, writing in the 1976 issue of the *Journal of Mormon History* (published after Hyman's book), suggested that the combination of Eccles' unusually broad business position in the West coupled with a Mormon heritage that had emphasized the positive role of central economic direction may well have contributed to the development of his distinctive economic thought in the early Great Depression years.

The book contains a number of small errors. To list just a few, the Mormons first reached Utah in 1847, not 1848 (p. 17). The first Mormon petition to Congress for statehood was in 1849, not 1862 (p. 30). The population of this country was near 32 million during the early 1860s, not 20 million (p. 13). Hyman claims the WPA "functioned during periods when tens of millions were unemployed" (p. 165); however, during the depths of the Depression in 1932–33, two to three years before the commencement of the WPA, the highest estimate of unemployment was just under 18 million. The WPA employed up to three-and-a-quarter million, not the maximum three million as Hyman stated (p. 165).

A more serious example of rather shoddy scholarship in the book appears in chapter 19. In 1966 while at Harvard University, Dean May wrote a paper on the Banking Act of 1935, and later gave a copy to Marriner Eccles. Chapter 19 discusses the fight for the Banking Act and appears to draw quite heavily from May's paper. It contains sizeable verbatim passages from that paper without quotation marks or footnotes.

Nevertheless, the book is enjoyable reading. There are even elements of suspense, particularly as Hyman details the struggle over significant public issues. It is written in a clear and at times colorful prose. Occasionally the accounts of the economic intricacies of banking and bonds, become tedious, but many of the expositions and summaries of economic thought are very cogent. Most *Dialogue* readers would find this biography, in spite of its problems, both interesting and enlightening.

Brief Notices

GENE A. SESSIONS

Among the most astounding successes in the book game today, the famed Harlequin Romances developed from speculative beginnings in Canada some years ago into a best-selling series on the international market. With their gummy plots and teary-eyed characters, they satisfy vicariously the romantic longings of mil-

lions of readers, not only in North America but across the globe where they come forth in several languages. Inevitably, some enterprising Mormon author would discover the Harlequin formula and begin cranking out romances that would appeal especially to Latter-day Saints. Shirley Sealy first sampled the field in 1977 with a syrupy number entitled *Beyond This Moment* (Orem, Utah: Seventies Mission Bookstore, 1977, ca.200 pp. $5.95) in which a young LDS woman leaves Zion for the wicked East where her faith undergoes severe tests as she falls in love with a dashing non-Mormon. Young women and adolescents of all ages across Mormondom flocked to bookstores to buy it and then mooned over its contents to such an astounding degree that a sequel soon appeared, *Only With Love* (Orem, Utah: Seventies Mission Bookstore, 1978, 223 pp. $5.95). Never willing to lose an opportunity to tap into the lucrative Mormon book market, Deseret Book realized what it was missing and arranged with Sealy to print her third throbber called *Forever After* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1979, 137 pp. $5.95). Like its predecessors, *Forever After* combines elements of starry love and deep tragedy to entrance the reader. Unlike the first two Sealy romances, the third professes to be a true story (based upon the lives of the author's son and daughter-in-law). Whatever one makes in a critical sense of these sugared accounts of love and life, it is difficult to argue with success. Readers love them, and the silliness and insipidity that mark their every page seem to augment rather than to discourage their success as literature. In the meantime, the search for *the* great Mormon novel goes on, hopefully not derailed but merely sidetracked by such meaningless fluff as the Sealy romances.

While the LDS belief in eternal love provides powerful impetus to the creation of romantic novels of the Sealy genre, Mormon history, with all of its richness and mystery, has long inspired novelists of both LDS and non-LDS persuasions and biases. From Fisher's *Children of God* (1939) to Warren's *Destiny's Children* (1979), the Mormon experience has attracted novelists who seek in it the key to a fictional masterpiece. Other writers, however, use it only as a frame upon which to hang still more faith-promoting stories for the LDS book market. Such a trip into Mormonism's imagined past where every incident proves the gospel true is Dean Hughes, *Under the Same Stars* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1979, viii+143 pp. $5.95). An English teacher at Central Missouri State University, Dean Hughes hopes to retell through his novel the trials of the Colesville Saints who braved the Missouri frontier in order to establish a beachhead for the Mormon invasion of Jackson Country. The central character of the Hughes book is a youngster named Joseph Williams who wades through all the persecution and hardship of Missouri in order to realize that his religion is Christ's own. While some of the characterizations are quite effective and the story somewhat interesting, the book as a whole flops because of the author's shallow understanding of the Missouri period in Church history. Reasons for the persecutions, for example, never reach an understandable stage, except for the common Sunday School version about how the Saints worked harder and lived cleaner than the Missourians who then hated them. Nevertheless, the scenery comes through very richly, and much of the flavor of the times emerges to tickle the palate, although Hughes seems interested in appealing only to the simple tastes of children.

Turning from the dubious qualities of current Mormon fiction, we once again observe the old saw about truth often being more interesting than fiction. And in the case of Herbert B. Maw's autobiography, *Adventures with Life: A Stimulating Narrative of an Amazing Life* (Salt Lake City: By the Author, 1978, xii+268 pp., illus. $8.00), the cliché proves itself again. Maw's life has been not only amazing but has touched upon so many elements of twentieth-century Utah history as to make it an essential part of the story itself. A professor at the University of Utah and a lawyer, Maw entered politics in 1929 with an election to the state senate where he later served as president. A

dedicated liberal, he nevertheless remained faithful to Mormonism during a period in which the Church moved steadily in its sympathies toward the conservative ideals of the Republican party under the tutelage of President J. Reuben Clark. Maw defeated Henry D. Moyle for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1940 and went on to serve two terms as governor. Still frequenting a small law office in Salt Lake City, the former governor remains active in Utah life, now mostly as an observer, and a very sage one at that. *Adventures with Life* is a delight, as is Maw himself. Anyone who wants to know Utah, and particularly its politics, had better get to know Herb Maw, or at least his autobiography. Both are superb.

A book devoted to understanding the adventures of death rather than life has come forth bearing the interesting title of—you guessed it—*Understanding Death* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1979, 215 pp. $6.95). Its compiler, Brent Barlow, is a family counselor and scholar of family life at Brigham Young University who writes a regular column in the *Deseret News*. Barlow sees little use in developing a philosophy of life without preparing for the eventuality of death. In that he is certainly correct. Pulling together what he sees as the most pertinent writings and sermons in Mormon literature on the subject, he offers a neatly proscribed outline of LDS philosophy and doctrine. Barlow's compilation is undoubtedly the most complete anthology of the Mormon concept of death available. The book would make a great gift for those uncomfortable post-funeral parties Mormons so love to attend—you know, where everyone tells the widow how the guy looked like he was asleep. Instead of telling her that, you can hand her this book and see if she can smile a thank you.

For those Saints who would rather not think of death, or anything else for that matter, we offer our current winner of the Milk the Mormons Award. By Janice Madsen Weinheimer and called *Families Are Forever . . . If I Can Just Get Through Today!* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1979, 138 pp. $6.95), this quarter's holder of the coveted Elsie tells the reader all about families and how to make them squeaky clean. Such books as this one are a constant source of amazement, for the appetite of Mormons for this ilk (or should we say milk) is seemingly inexhaustible. Weinheimer seems convinced that modern family life is not difficult at all, as long as some simple rules prevail, such as holding family council and teaching gospel principles on a regular basis. The skim of what makes such a book worthy of our esteemed award sticks on two sides of the milk pail: First, since when is any of what Weinheimer says new? Why endure the green rehash? Second, we wait in vain for some sweet Mormon mother to tell us about the forces that threaten to make the nuclear family a thing of the past, such as accelerating time, with all of its centrifugal forces, and divorce, and the empty nest, and economic stresses, and mothers' lives languishing in boredom. We could go on and on, just as these books go on and on.

Where there is a definite lack of need in the case of Weinheimer's book there is a great abundance of need in the field of women in the West. Popular volumes such as Dee Brown's *The Gentle Tamers* (1958) and Nancy Wilson Ross's *Westward the Women* (1944) served to enlighten the general reading public about the role of women in the great American adventure of subduing the wilderness, but with the publication of Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West 1840 to 1880* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1979, xvi+204 pp., biblio., index, $5.95), scholars now have a reliable survey of the subject from which to venture further. Although not an historian by training, Jeffrey nevertheless contemplates effectively the wide spectrum of activities the frontier thrust upon its women, either out of necessity or by choice of the women themselves. Constantly aware of the powerful social forces westering unleashed, she describes the opportunities and the burdens women assumed, and in so doing the freedoms and oppressions they collected. Her work on Mormon

women offers no surprises and nothing new while giving them just about the right amount of credit and coverage. Jeffrey does suffer from a mild case of tunnel vision. She fails somewhat at putting the "herstory" of the West into its proper perspective given the whole, but such a problem usually cures itself once the neglect of ages receives redress. In the meantime, we look for much such good stuff with which to fill the gaps of history.

For those students of the West who are more interested in historic sites than history per se, *Discovering Mormon Trails* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1979, 47 pp., index, maps, $4.95) offers a sort of Fodor's Guide to the history of Mormon migrations. Using a set of excellent maps prepared by Diane Clements, Stanley B. Kimball leads a tour across the nation that describes in detail what to expect when traveling to the sites of LDS history. The Clements maps show clearly the relationship between current roads, towns and trails and the old paths along which the wagons and handcarts rolled as Mormonism moved inexorably west. Anyone who has tried to follow even a portion of the Mormon Trail will appreciate doubly this valuable contribution to our understanding of the wheres in LDS history. Just reading the text and examining the maps brings every bladder-busting, kidney-jarring mile closer to the now, and hence closer to the Mormon sense of heritage where it belongs.

Among the many excellent works in western history that have appeared in recent months, at least three deserve the attention of students of Mormonism, two because they are reprints (available in paperback) of near classics in the field, and the other because it possesses so much flavor of the intermountain region as it developed during the Civil War period when the Mormons had contracted to guard the mail routes to the east. Entitled *Tending the Talking Wire: A Buck Soldier's View of Indian Country 1863–1866* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1979, xv+353 pp., maps, illus., biblio., index, $15.00), the new book seeks to present a readable series of letters written by an Ohioan named Hervey Johnson who found himself assigned to a cavalry regiment guarding the telegraph lines across the Great Plains. William E. Unrau, an historian teaching at Wichita State University, does a superb job of editing and annotating Johnson's correspondence so that the reader never becomes bogged down (as is so often the case in such works) in trying to move from one disconnected document to the next. Johnson's insights are intriguing and his descriptions colorful. He displays common biases in his commentary on such strange denizens of the West as dirty Indians and crazy Mormons, but he clearly illustrates the mood and the atmosphere that permeated this fascinating place in an even more fascinating time. The reprints need no new praise or criticism: W. Turrentine Jackson, *Wagon Roads West: A Study of Federal Road Surveys and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846–1869* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979, xix+376 pp., maps, biblio., index, $19.95 cloth, $6.50 paper) was first published as number nine in the Yale Western Americana Series in 1964; William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West 1803–1863* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979, xx+434 pp., maps, appendices, biblio., illus., index, $23.50 cloth, $7.95 paper) came forth originally in 1959 from Yale University Press.


GRAZIANI

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