



DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



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

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Announcing
a special issue on
**The Performing Arts
and Visual Arts
in Mormon Culture**

The issue will include articles and essays
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Art, Architecture, Dance, Design,
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Articles on art history, philosophy
and esthetics in Mormon culture
are welcomed. The issue will include
interviews, personal voices, poetry,
book reviews and representative examples
of the visual arts.

Those interested in contributing
to this special issue should direct inquiries to
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P.O. Box 1387, Arlington, Virginia 22210.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

the dialogue habit

I just got my issue of *Dialogue* (Vol. XIII, 2) and read it from cover to cover. Well, I didn't read *all* of the footnotes to Bergera, but other than that, I plowed right through. I can't resist my ingrained habit of critiquing the issue, so I'll give you some of my impressions and questions. If you don't feel like reading them, I won't be offended—just can't break an old habit!

I like the way you handled the cover—effective visually and I'm sure it was cheaper than a lot of possibilities. I've always liked that picture of Pratt, though. Original wild man/Santa Claus combination.

I do hope you can work out some system for Gene Sessions to keep on doing the Brief Notices. I missed them in this issue. Maybe some people thought he was too biting sometimes, but I enjoyed his irony. Someone ought to be pointing out attempts to Milk the Mormons—too many Mormons will buy anything if the sales pitch is slanted toward the Church. In this town it isn't books, but tacky ceramic plaques and dried foods.

I'm really looking forward to the next issue of *Dialogue*—it should have more things that I haven't read yet. Only the poems were new to me in this one. Maybe I'll like the fiction better. I've read that "Ford Mustang" now several times, and I still feel I've completely missed the point. I just can't grasp this "modern literature."

Benita Brown
(former *Dialogue* Managing Editor)
Richland, Washington

inoperative

The account of Orson Pratt's travail with (1) LDS theology and (2) Brigham Young was one of your best. (Volume XIII, 2.)

I couldn't help but be reminded of Galileo's problems with *his* ecclesiastical hierarchy, and that they were resolved in a similar way.

Of course the Church still holds to some of Br. Brigham's concepts, but the Adam-God theory is now, to quote a former presidential press secretary, "in-

operative." It seems that on this point, at least, Pratt was "right" and Young was "wrong." Either that, or truth is like Humpty Dumpty had it, whatever it was declared to be. A third possibility, less likely to my mind, is that the Lord himself has some difficulty with theological concepts as well and periodically redefines truth.

Whichever it is (or none of the above), it is difficult to hang in there with the LDS, where a sort of democratic centralism appears to be controlling.

Ted C. Slack
Miami, Florida

mighty singers in zion

Regarding the last sentence of my essay "Family Presentation" in the summer issue (Vol. XIII, 2): I did not *hear* my brothers singing in the back row of the chapel from my position on the stand; I could *see* them singing. If the error appears in the manuscript I sent you, I claim it as my own, but I don't think it does. And I did correct it in the galley proofs but to no avail. Perhaps the fates are trying to tell us something—that to some is given the gift of exceeding fine hearing? That the Tabernacle Choir is missing out on two dynamite tenors?

Dian Saderup
Salt Lake City, Utah

perdoneme

It was nice to see my review of Jim Welch's records in print; I hope this limited exposure will help church members become acquainted with Mr. Welch's work and talent. Several people have asked me about obtaining records; they should write directly to Prof. Welch, Dept. of Music, University of California at Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, CA 93106. Records cost \$7.95 each plus \$1.00 for handling.

One small correction: although I was once an organ major, I am now an Asst. Professor of Spanish—not a Professor of Music as stated in the review.

Nicolas Shumway
New Haven, Connecticut

addresses please

My wife and I were pleased to receive the spring issue on the international Church. We were particularly moved by the testimony and story of S. Paul Thiruthuvadoss whose plea for assistance could not go unnoticed. If available, could you send us Brother Thiruthuvadoss' address?

Grant M. Boswell
Arcadia, California

[Ed. Note: S. Paul Thiruthuvadoss can be reached c/o A.C.C. Cement Ltd., Madukkarai Cement Works, Madukkarai P.O. (641105), Coimbatore Dist., Tamil Nadu, India.]

dialogue grows up

I am writing in praise of LaMond Tullis' article in your International issue. ("The Church Moves Outside the United States," Vol. XIII, 1.) The article was clearly and forcefully written, and it said things that have needed saying for a long time. I will be looking forward to continuing works of comparable maturity in your journal.

Patty Hart Molen
Salt Lake City, Utah

emotional rip-off

I am a thirty-eight-year-old Mormon mother who was born and raised in Utah. Being raised female in Utah was very difficult for me because I could never understand why boys got to be Boy Scouts and play basketball when we girls always had to prepare for "getting married." I loved the Church deeply and never realized until my adult years what tragic narrowness my church imposed on my life.

I appreciate the spring issue of *Dialogue* (Vol. XIII, 1) speaking on the international church, but I am disappointed in not reading anything on the difficulties of the missionaries and the "system." I had a conflict being a lady missionary in England, from 1963 to 1965. Not with the people or the culture, but with the "system" and the competitiveness. No matter what exalted position they attributed to the lady mis-

sionaries, there was always an underground feeling that lady missionaries would lower your district's percentages, lower your district's image, lower whatever it was that the elders thought they had going for them.

I remember in my first district I went to we were told that the district was having a two-day fast and that we were going to break the fast together at a sunrise testimony meeting on diversion day. I had just experienced a first-time airplane flight and much exhaustion and fatigue from farewell to mission home to mission field, and my body was on jet lag. I was dehydrated and weak by the time we broke the fast; nevertheless, I managed to hold myself together until the district leader announced that the fast had been held on behalf of the new sisters coming into the district. (It became clear to me later that the elders were fearful of lady missionaries, and that is why they held the fast.) It was then that I began to convulse with dry heaves, and they all got scared that I would doom the district for sure. I experience delayed stress even now when I think back to this missionary experience and others. It is comparable to what veterans of Viet Nam say they experience.

Mary Jean Uebelgunne
Ogden, Utah

gallic gaffe

Today the mailman brought your journal (Vol. XIII, 1), and I immediately settled down for a non-stop reading adventure.

It was a wonderful, educational and enjoyable afternoon—and then—the icing on the cake—the next to last article was the scholarly review of Sidney Hyman's *Marriner Eccles: Private Entrepreneur and Public Servant*, by my second-grade student Bruce D. Blumell.

Even in the second grade in Magrath, Alberta, Canada, years ago, Bruce showed signs of being the exceptionally perceptive and knowledgeable man that he is now. Then when he married my cousin Jeannie Harris, I knew for sure how smart he is!

But this Canadian cannot let pass your printer's slip in spelling that beautiful, musical word "entrepreneur" as "entrepreneur." Please! S'il vous plaît!

Nadine Dow Forsyth
Arlington, Virginia

wanted: samaritans

While heartily agreeing with almost all of Hugh Nibley's views in "How Firm a Foundation" (*Dialogue*, Vol. XII, 4), I must take issue with his head-for-the-hills advice about our political processes. After pointing out that "the Lord has repeatedly commanded . . . his people to flee out of the world into the wilderness," Brother Nibley suggests that "there is only one way to avoid becoming involved in the neighborhood brawls, and that is to move out of the neighborhood."

Surely, though, it is significant that the Lord usually does not ask his children to stay in the wilderness any longer than is necessary to spiritually fortify themselves. It seems to me that our potential is now such that to move out of the neighborhood would come perilously close to that of a certain priest who "passed by on the other side" even though he was able to help, and that, instead, we should stay in the neighborhood to offer Christ-like, no-strings-attached assistance to the brawl victims. We might even try to convert the neighborhood! Those to whom such a goal sounds naive in light of latter-day prophecies should ponder Elder Neal Maxwell's observation that the Lord has "stood ready to roll back, wherever repentance was real (as in the case of the city of Nineveh), any prophetically projected dire consequences. Not only readily but gladly!" (*Deposition of a Disciple*, p. 43.)

To concede that the race we are running in mortality is now in its closing phase is *not* to concede that we should slacken the pace. On the contrary, as every celestial-minded sprinter should remember, the home stretch is the time to accelerate the pace—the pace in this instance being our fidelity to what the Lord has this very year reiterated through his Prophet: that we as Saints

should become *involved* in our respective nations' political processes, rather than set ourselves aside from, above, or "beyond" those processes. And if the options are morally unacceptable, let's create some new options! Our nations' political choices need not be limited to choices between evils—unless, of course, we perpetuate those limitations through our political inaction.

One final point: many of the urgent political issues facing us are such that even the partial resolution of one or two of them would help save—in every sense of that word—thousands of lives. The concept of attaining spiritual excellence while ignoring opportunities for political service is a notion which may hold a certain appeal in the pristine halls of Academe, but is scant solace to a starving Bangladesh peasant who prays to his Creator that enough North Americans will so involve themselves politically as to generate that extra billion dollars of food aid which will save his country's children from physical starvation and spiritual embitterment. That same Creator must be saddened indeed by our widespread refusal to travel the divinely-urged path of political involvement and to thereby relieve the suffering of "the least of these my brethren."

Paul Willox
White Rock, British Columbia

warm fuzzies

I let my *Dialogue* subscription lapse because of a financial crisis, but now I want to catch up since I have a buck extra that I can squeeze loose.

I really appreciate your work and your magazine. It's nice to have a breath of uninhibited truth available to the searcher.

Clair Millet
Mesa, Arizona

At age 77, my greatest enjoyment is found in reading, and the material I find in *Dialogue* suits my needs best of all. I look forward to receiving my future issues.

Lloyd P. Winn
Murray, Utah

I have enjoyed *Dialogue* for free while near universities that subscribe to it on both coasts (on the west coast at the University of Washington in Seattle and at Columbia University and the New York Public Library on the east coast). At present, however, no school in this area has a subscription. This, combined with the fact that I finally have the necessary income to afford a yearly subscription, brings me to ask you to enroll me as a subscriber. I look forward to having permanent copies of my own of this tremendous journal.

Jerry R. Burgess
Pasco, Washington

I have consumed the recent issue of *Dialogue*. I was confused by the numbering, since the binding calls it Vol. XIII, 3, Spring 1980 and inside it is referred to as Vol. XIII, 1, Spring 1980. Despite this garbled state of affairs, I found the issue a refreshing way to take a picture of what is happening to our organization. We appreciate your efforts.

Tom Andersen
(former *Dialogue* Business Manager)
Los Angeles, California

Thank you for your note on the back of my ill-addressed envelope. Please make sure that my address is corrected in your new system and you will have my re-subscription. Assuming that Vol. XIII, 2, is on the way, and that I'll soon have three warm *Dialogues* to help me through the winter, I remain yours,

Galen Erickson
Minneapolis, Minnesota

the earth and man

Previous articles in *Dialogue* (Jeffrey, VIII, 3-4: 41-75, 1973; Sherlock, XIII, 3: 63-78, 1980) have discussed historical backgrounds of the speech titled "The Earth and Man," delivered August 9, 1931 by Apostle James E. Talmage and subsequently published by the Church press. We have recently begun analysis, however, of a set of documents which appears likely to add some additional dimensions to the story of the publication of the speech. We hope to be able to address the matter more fully in *Dialogue* in the not-too-distant future.

Jeffrey E. Keller
William Lee Stokes
Duane E. Jeffrey
Richard Sherlock

authors sought

For a "Critical Bibliography of Mormon Literature, 1830-1980" presently being prepared for publication, I would appreciate addresses of authors who would like to be included, and any bibliographical materials concerning dead or living authors that should be included but because of their unusual nature or published location might not have come to our attention.

Eugene England
Department of English
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah 84602

Editor's Note: The Book Review Section will be resumed, under the editorship of Gregory A. Prince, in the next issue. Gene Sessions will continue to write *Brief Notices*.

We're Embarrassed: In our last issue (Vol. 13, No. 3) Virginia Sorensen's mother—Helen ElDeva Blackett Eggertsen—was inadvertently given the name of Virginia's grandmother—Alice Geraldine Alexander Blackett.

THE YEAR OF THE SYMPOSIA

NINETEEN EIGHTY was not only the year of the Church Sesquicentennial, but it was also the Year of the Symposia. And a glorious collection of papers, discussions, music and sundry other treats it was! The Mormon History Association outdid itself in May (See *Dialogue*, XIII, 3); The Mormon Letters Association sponsored not one but two literary conclaves in Cambridge, Massachusetts and Weber State in Ogden; *Sunstone* held its second annual theological symposium in August. BYU hosted at least two outstanding conferences: The Mosaic of Mormon Culture in October and the Humanities Symposium on the Arts in November. There were other gatherings like the World Records Conference and various adjunct Mormon sessions connected with national and international professional organizations.

It has been said that Mormons would rather give a speech to be heard by twenty-five or fifty people than prepare an article to be read by thousands. The instant feedback from the audience is irresistible. But if these speeches and papers are not published somewhere soon, they will fade from memory. To keep this from happening, *Dialogue* has decided to print several of the more provocative papers presented at some of the above-named symposia. We have chosen to begin with Wayne Booth's witty presentation at the BYU Humanities Symposium, a speech which seems to have caught the imagination of his hearers at the same time that it challenged Mormons to excellence in the arts. A modern Mormon version of *The Screwtape Letters*, it is illustrated by Calvin Grondahl.

ARTICLES

ART AND THE CHURCH: OR “THE TRUTHS OF SMOOTHER”

WAYNE C. BOOTH

AS I TRIED TO figure out why on earth I was chosen for this talk, I could think mainly of reasons against it. First of all, I am a striking example of the failed artist. I remembered my first awareness, as a schoolboy in American Fork, that there was something called “art,” something different from everything else. That awareness came in the form of a report card grade. There it was, my first report card, and there was the new word that I could read for myself, being in the second grade: “Art,” with the only low grade on the sheet: D. My beloved Miss Walker had given me a D! I didn’t even know we *had* a subject “art,” but I quickly figured out that art must be what I had called Drawing, the one subject in Miss Walker’s class that I hated. I would sit there, in Drawing period, peeking over Virginia Shelley’s shoulder to see how she was doing *her* drawing, and then I would try to copy it. What I chiefly remember is that if you put a bow tie on a stick figure, people will know that you intend not a girl but a boy.

My contact with what we called art in those days, the graphic arts, went on being unpleasant for a long time, and I still can’t draw a figure with the bow tie on straight.

Through school and high school, I had some experience, much of it wonderful, some of it awful, with the *other* arts, like literature, and music. But nobody called them art. With what we called art I had nothing you could call experience at all. In those dark days it was possible, believe it or not, to go through the first eighteen years of life without ever having seen a really good painting or piece of sculpture—or even a good photograph of one—not even a *tableau vivant* of one. I don’t suppose that could possibly happen today.

WAYNE C. BOOTH is Professor of English at the University of Chicago. His books include *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, *Now Don’t Try to Reason with Me*, *A Rhetoric of Irony*, and *Modern Dogma and the Rhetoric of Asset*.

My experience with music was considerably better, as you would expect. Music was a part of our family life, a part of our church life, a part of the life of our town and county and state. It's true that standards of performance were immeasurably lower than they are around here today, although almost nobody ever said anything negative about anybody's effort, at least not in public. I very much doubt, for example, that there was any musical group at that time, anywhere in Utah, with standards of performance as high as have been reached by the octet we have just heard here. We had a lot of music, but as I remember my own fumbling rendition of "Hearts and Flowers" as a budding pianist filling sacrament meeting time, and my later clarinet solos, which I thought were very fine indeed, I realize that we didn't even suspect our need for critics who might raise our standards.

I do remember meeting one good critic, though. One day we in the Public Service Bureau here took a Sunday School program out to the State Mental patients. I played a clarinet solo, and as usually happened when I played a clarinet solo, somewhere along the way in my soulful rendition of "The Swan" I had a bit of trouble with a squeaky reed. I'll never forget the high dry cackle that came from a tough critic at the back of that little hall: "He's off!" That music critic, that critic of art, was right, and his voice has echoed in my soul almost as painfully over the years as that D I got in "Art."

With such low credentials my troubles in preparing for today were terrible. Not only did I feel unqualified in talking about any of the arts except literature, a little, and music, a little less; I felt ignorant about my assigned subject, the relation of the arts to the Church. I had of course read a lot of discussions about the arts in Mormon culture. I had seen the arts discussed by some as if they were the enemy of religion; by others as if they were more important than religion; by others still as if they were acceptable only when doing direct missionary work; and finally by some who clearly thought the arts a nuisance and treated them like orphans. But I could see no clear agreement among those who seemed to know most. They didn't agree either about the condition of the arts now in the Church, or about where they ought to be.

I tried out several drafts of what I might say, and nothing worked. The more I wrote, the worse it looked. At one point I just about decided to phone and claim that I had contracted some fatal disease, like progressive cowardice, or galloping conflictivitis. By yesterday afternoon I was feeling desperate, believe me. I could see all you good people headed for this hour, eager to be edified, and the vessel from which you were to drink wisdom was dry as a gourd.

My sister Lucille, bless her, seeing my misery, finally suggested that I come over here to the library and browse around, in the hope of stumbling on something that would give me an idea. So I talked my way into the rare book and manuscript collection and began desperately leafing through whatever came to hand. Under a stack of diaries, I noticed a packet of letters on paper of a very strange color, a kind of dull dayglow red. I took off the elastic bands, opened one envelope, and began to read:

February, 1977

Dear Smoother,

On the whole I was pleased with your first report, though you did seem to take a long time to get around to it. As soon as you left for Utah, I began to worry for fear you had not really understood what you're supposed to do. But your report made us all feel pretty hopeful about your mission. Your report on your activities during annual conference was especially pleasant. It was good to hear that there had not been a single reference by anybody in the tabernacle to the importance of painting, or theatre, or literature, or sculpture, or even music. Nice going.

You musn't feel too bad about your failure to jam the broadcasts of that dangerous choir. Better luck next time. Meanwhile keep working on our desensitizing program: remember, it won't matter much whether the choir *broadcasts*, as long as you can keep people from paying full attention. Keep them talking loudly about it—and taking it for granted: that's as good for us as silencing it would be.

As ever,
The Chief

I was a bit puzzled by that letter, so I opened the next one:

August, 1977

Dear Smoother,

Yes, you're quite right. I *am* deeply disappointed in your performance during—well, really it's almost a year now since you spread your wings and left us. Ever since I assigned you to this crucial mission up there, things have seemed, if anything, to get worse. Your assignment was to reverse the revolting improvements in the arts we have been witnessing on every hand. You were to prepare the soil for our later missionaries, by combatting, in every possible way, the tendency of the arts to strengthen the souls of those who take them seriously. Your assignment was twofold: to stamp out every vestige of serious artistic effort by Mormons, *and* to make sure that nobody noticed what had happened. On the one hand, silence or drive out the genuine artists; on the other, make sure that everybody feels good about the substitute art that is left behind.

But from your last letter, it sounds as if you've actually made progress backwards. All you do is complain about how hard it is to deal with those people. And then you enclose the crowning proof of your incompetence, the reprint of the recent pronouncement by President

Spencer Kimball. Perhaps even your hazy mind can see that this one message, coming from the prophet, as he calls himself, could finish us off once and for all. How could you let that happen? You whine around about my not having warned you that the Mormon leaders would be strongly opposed to your mission. What did you expect, knucklehead? Of *course* they're opposed—for the same reasons *we* have for sending you there in the first place. You don't even seem to be aware of what a terrible blow to us the president's message is. I have enclosed the copy you sent me, circling those passages that seem to me most dangerous.

Please, please concentrate on these matters, Smoother, and get cracking. It's time for you to be about your stepfather's business, namely mine.

As ever, in spite of all,
The Chief

As you can imagine, things were feeling a bit eerie, sitting alone in that quiet room. Obviously I was onto something. I opened the enclosed xerox copy, which turned out to be indeed President Kimball's message of 1977, reprinted in *The Ensign* (July, 1977), the one calling for a glorious renaissance in the Mormon arts.

Old Nick had circled some passages in a bright red magic marker. I quote:

In our world, there have risen brilliant stars in drama, music, literature, sculpture, painting, science, and all the graces. For long years I have had a vision of members of the Church greatly increasing their already strong positions of excellence [in the arts] till the eyes of all the world will be upon us.

President John Taylor so prophesied. . . . For years I have been waiting for someone to do justice in recording in song [like Beethoven] and story and painting [like Raphael] and sculpture [like Michelangelo] to the story of the Restoration. . . . Our writers, our motion picture specialists, with the inspiration of heaven, should tomorrow be able to produce a masterpiece which would live forever [like Shakespeare's or Goethe's]. But the full story of Mormonism has never yet been written nor painted nor sculpted nor spoken. It remains for inspired hearts and talented fingers *yet* to reveal themselves.

The final circled passage read:

We must recognize that excellence and quality are a reflection of how we feel about ourselves and about life and about God. If we don't care much about these basic things, then such not caring carries over into the work we do, and our work becomes shabby and shoddy.

Real craftsmanship, regardless of the skill involved, reflects real caring, and real caring reflects our attitude about ourselves, about our fellow men, and about life.

Now then, Smoother, how can you sound so calm in the face of stuff like that coming a full year after your calling? I demand an explanation.

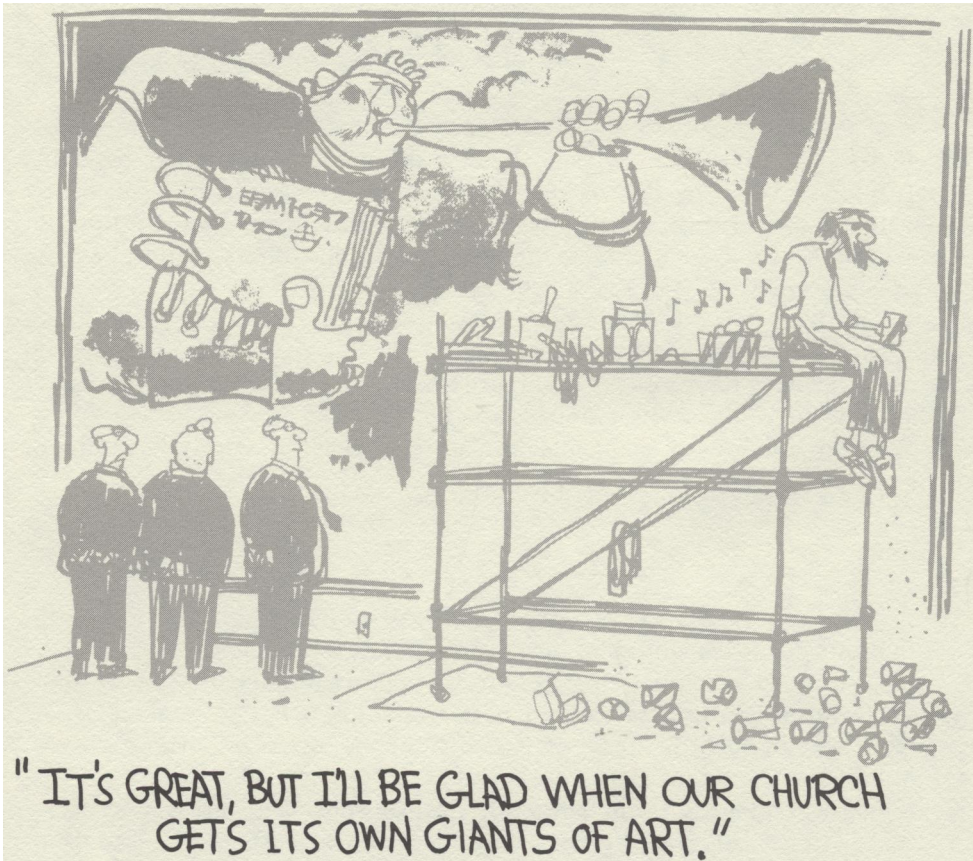
Yours in anger,
The Chief

The next letter in the stack was postmarked Provo, Utah, and it was very brief.

Dear Boss:

I'm sorry that you are so upset about my work. I'm doing the best I can in what turns out to be a very confusing situation. Anyway, I don't see why you think President Kimball's speech is such a terrible blow to us. Mormon church presidents have always talked that way. So what's new? I don't think people will pay much attention to one speech, no matter who gives it. Won't they just go on behaving about the same as before?

As ever, but puzzled,
Smoother



As I picked up the next letter, I felt a strong electric charge from it. There was no opening greeting, no "My Dear Smoother," and there was no date.

Now see here, Smoother, how stupid can you get? You say you hope people will just ignore President Kimball, as they have ignored messages like that before. What I have to say to you, *Dummkopf*, is that we can't *count* on that. Don't you see that this is the strongest statement ever made by a Mormon leader about the kinship of art and worship? He sees *no inherent conflict between the arts and the aims of the Mormon Church!*

Don't you see, idiot, that any such view strikes at the very roots of our program. He speaks as if a member of the Church who is a fine artist is actually serving the Church by *being* a fine artist. He talks as if doing great art was itself a religious duty. He almost seems to be saying that to work at becoming a fine artist is a kind of worship. Once people take seriously his suggestion that there is a close tie between the virtue of fine craftsmanship and the virtue of religious devotion, our goose is cooked.

Maybe you'd better come on down home here. I kid you not when I say that in your next letter I expect to hear of some *results*.

Yours, till I hear from you,
The Chief

Well, by now it was clear to me that I was saved from disaster here this morning. All I had to do was read to you from this fantastic result of my investigative reporting, and the hour would pass without your finding out how little I knew. So I spent a few hours copying the letters, without asking anyone's permission (I'm just a little ashamed of this).

I can't read you the whole pile today, but of course I'll be getting them published as soon as possible—perhaps in *The Ensign*, perhaps in a private printing. I sort of have an idea that there's money in this collection. Perhaps I could put them out on three dollar cassettes—

Anyway, for now let me just go on reading a selection, without comment.

Smoother!

Your reports get worse and worse. Why you should have thought that our purposes would be best served by attacking all art is beyond me. Your task is to push the *right* kind, but you can't decide what kind *that* is until you understand your assignment better. Our general job from the beginning has been to deaden spiritual experience by homogenizing it and smoothing out souls. Your special assignment is to use art and attitudes towards it to destroy souls. The last way to do that is to get rid of all art, including the bad art that is our best tool.

The big thing is to keep every member busy busy busy with the most deadening kinds of activity, including a bland enjoyment of the safe kinds of art. In general those will be the works that never deal with us or any of our deeds. You must work up a quiet censorship program attacking all art that tries to portray evil and the dangers of its triumph in the world.

To help you in this purification campaign, we are shipping you today 100,000 copies of our new revised edition of the Standard Works—I hope you'll like the way the project has turned out. We went through every page of all the scriptures and cut out every example in which a religious hero did anything evil—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph—we've whitewashed all the good guys to perfection. The original shows *all* of them subject to evil and making serious mistakes. We cleaned that stuff up good, so now there's no more lust, no more murder, no more deceptive trickery, no more envy or hypocrisy or greed, except of course in the comfortably bad guys like Pharoah or Herod or Judas or Laban.

One big advantage of these new standard works is that the entire edition is very small. By the time we got all the evil cleaned out, we'd wiped out about three fourths of all the scriptures, and we figure you can easily talk people into choosing this cheap and cheerful edition rather than those heavy volumes they've been lugging around: complicated, confusing, and most important, dangerous to our program because they *portray it in action*.

Your next step is to convince them that *all* stories should be cleaned up as nicely as we've cleaned up the scriptures—free of reference to our very existence, except as easily identified and easily defeated villains.

Must I do all your thinking for you?

The Chief

Dear Boss,

With all respect, Boss, you don't *know* these people. It's true, as you say, that if we call the new edition a Standard Work a lot of people won't notice any changes. But there's sure to be a few Hugh Nibleys nibbling around and paying attention, and then they'll alert everybody, and we'll be right back where we started. So what am I gonna do?

Puzzled

My Dear Fumbling Smoother,

Have you totally forgotten about the huge supply of those Invisibility Facilitators we provided you with? You've probably not even looked into that carton. The instructions in it are clear. You just slip

one of those little computerized gadgets into the pocket of anybody who seems to have his eyes open, and his natural tendency to close them again will take over.

For 150 years we've had a lot of trouble because no matter how subtly we worked, some Mormons kept noticing what the words on the pages actually say. Though most of them have been pretty good at ignoring whatever they didn't want to see, too many of them just plain *paid attention*. Now our little computerized zapper does the trick.

Get busy on planting one of those on every Mormon who shows the slightest sign of beginning to look and think. And move fast, because we're working rapidly on our new editions of other church works. Your first shipment will be of four million reprints of cards with the revised Articles of Faith—you know, with little changes like "We believe in being subject to kings, rulers, magistrates, etc. And in obeying etc." . . . And then we just add, "And in accepting without question our leaders' judgments about art." Or: "If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, *and safe*, we seek after these things." Or: "We believe that he will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the kingdom of God, which has nothing to do with beauty."

Then we're making up little handouts and bumper stickers, with sayings like "The Glory of God is a carefully limited intelligence." "Man cannot be saved in total ignorance, but the more of it the better."

After that we'll be issuing revisions of all the presidents' collected discourses, slightly altering them wherever they give us trouble about art. The way people speed-read these days, and with the aid of the Invisibilitator, we can't fail.

I'll have to skip some details here that many of you know about if you've read the various collected Discourses. The Chief ran through each president, cutting everything he had to say in favor of music, art, architecture, beautifying cities, good books, gaining knowledge, and developing independent judgment. For example, the Chief says:

Where President Joseph F. Smith said, "Read good books. . . . Seek out of the best books knowledge and understanding. . . . Read anything that is good that will elevate the mind. . . ." *we* have it say, "Buy the best books and, without actually reading them, extract some good quotations for your Sacrament Meeting talks." Where President Brigham Young says, "Build beautiful cities in which may be found magnificent edifices . . . [and] handsome streets . . . to make our mountain home a paradise and our hearts wells of gratitude to the God of Joseph, enjoying it all with thankful hearts . . . ," just change it a little, a *very* little, to "Build big commercial centers in which may be

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found the most economical and profitable buildings, to make our mountain home luxurious even if ugly, so that our hearts will be filled with gratitude for our deep freezes and our microwave ovens and two cars and four TV sets per family." When President David O. McKay says, "Music is truly the universal language, and when it is excellently expressed, how deeply it moves our souls," just change it slightly to "Computer language is the truly universal language, and when it is excellently programmed, how easy it makes things for our minds."

And where the Doctrine and Covenants reads, "Seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom: seek learning, even by study and also by faith," we just print a slight change, "Seek ye out of the Reader's Digest of books, words of conventional wisdom: seek established learning, even by rote study and also by unthinking faith."

And finally, we'll not stop with modern texts. We're altering a few Biblical expressions, too. For example, when the Bible says "Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you. For so did their fathers to the false prophets," we change it slightly to "*Blessed* are you, when all men shall speak well of you. For so did their fathers to the false prophets."

I don't want to hear from you again until you can say that Utah is blanketed with those Revised Standard Works, those cards—and those Invisibilitators—I mean Blinders.

The Chief

Smoother:

I grow a bit weary. Your latest campaign to convince people that the best art is too difficult to bother about is entirely misguided. You haven't understood that most Mormons are not afraid of difficulty and of hard work, and if they once discover that something is *truly* virtuous, lovely, and of good report, even though difficult, they'll dig in and try to obtain that difficult blessing. That's why they're so hard to work with—you've got to outsmart them, and the only way to do that is to keep them busy with and satisfied by trivia.

Let me try once again to explain why you have special problems with this bunch. It's all in their unfortunate traditions.

I have to cut here two pages of the Chief's little history of the Church, showing why it produced a people too many of whom are still trying to gain experience for themselves instead of depending on other people's.

He goes on:

With a people like *that* it's no good stressing that true art is just too much trouble: *that* crowd *lives* on trouble. Instead get them to seek out what is easy, kind of nice, and of good report on the best seller lists, then convince them that there's something wicked about trying to discriminate the best from the next best.

Try to memorize, if you can, the first principles of our gospel.

Major premise: Strong individual souls growing independently through exercising free agency are the *enemy's* bag.

Minor premise. Genuine artistic experience transforms *crowds* into *individual souls*, growing in independence and the capability of real loving community, rather than remaining dependent and fearfully clinging to each other.

Conclusion: Therefore, this is our work and our glory, to smooth out all individual feeling and judgment, so that people blur into crowds so homogenized they can't tell each other apart. Try to *think* about what this means.

The Chief

P.S. Here's another slogan to make into bumper stickers and T-shirts. "If God had really loved good art, he'd have hired Michelangelo to illustrate the Doctrine and Covenants."

The Chief

P.P.S. How *could* you allow the publication of that speech by the BYU president, the one where he said BYU gets only a B+ not an A? Your job is to teach everybody that *every* Church program, including what is done in the arts, is already an A+. When people start assigning B+ to Church achievements, first thing we know they'll be saying that the art works done in the name of the Church are only B+ and then where will we be?

Crossly,
The Chief

Dear Boss—

You keep complaining, but if you look at the figures, I must be doing something right. You remember we worked out that measurement scale, the Beauty Index Tabulation, or BIT, based on the number of hours individual Mormons spend either creating something beautiful or trying to recreate and understand and enjoy what others have created? Well, during my time in office I can boast that the average number of BIT's—the hours with beauty per Mormon per week, has gone steadily down. What's more, I've got proof that the Beauty/Crud ratio and the Active/Passive ratio have also gone steadily down.

You remember we decided that our prime testing time for BIT's would be Monday evening when the threat to our program was highest? Well, we found just this last Monday evening that more families than ever before chose to do their home evening by sneaking in TV or going together to the most relaxing movie they could find. But what I'm really proud about is that we found an increase of those who were

passively reading aloud from the Manual, which fortunately ignores serious art, and then asking each other those easy dull questions. Well, Boss, our poll last Monday showed fewer than ever working on anything likely to produce a memorable family experience.

I have to admit, though, that there are a few holdouts. I'm sorry to say that one Provo family last Monday actually put together a crazy combo of piano, guitar, violin and drum, and composed a hymn of their own instead of singing the one suggested. But I've got their bishop working on them.

Anyway, I hope you see how discouraging it is for you to keep on nagging at me, when I am getting mostly good results.

Smoother

P.S. I've been assuming that my best program with Mormon liberals is just to attack *them* directly, right? They all say they want more art, and they all seem to be against censorship, and they all seem to want art that deals directly with us and our works. So since they're always attacking our program, I just attack them head on. Right?

Dear Smoother,

Wrong! Wrong again! *Stupidly* wrong. You forget our guiding principles: First, people, *all* people, are partly on our side and respond best when not directly attacked. Second, we always have worked best, from Eve on, by boring from within. Now if *God* is smart enough to see behind labels like "liberal" and "conservative," and if he can thus get inside every soul, where the action is, you've got to learn to do the same. A so-called liberal is just as useful to us as a so-called conservative. They just require different tactics. When you find somebody who calls herself a liberal, flatter her for her courage and intelligence. Make her think that she becomes a heroine just by calling herself a liberal. Convince her that just to use words like liberal or unorthodox proves that you're thinking for yourself.

Remember: it is especially easy to get a liberal to pray "I thank thee Lord that I am not as other women," and once anybody does that, she's ours.

Third, never forget that when liberals begin to get excited about art works, and to realize that they can't count on their bishop to be exactly an infallible guide through the realms of beauty, they are likely to fall in love with the very *idea* of art and to begin talking as if *all* art is divine and all attacks on it come from the devil. Encourage them in that belief. Get them to say, as some of them will be glad to, that no art, however shoddy morally or technically, ever hurt anybody's soul, and that all questions about the morality of art are asked only by squares.

Here is a slogan you might put on every liberal's desk: "If you don't understand it, it's gotta be good." The point here, as with the conservatives, is to blind the liberals with sloganized thinking.

Fourth and last: play upon the liberal's belief that sin doesn't exist, and encourage his natural desire to blame all the world's ills on conservatives. Get him to spend his energy complaining behind closed doors instead of speaking out in meeting where ideas can be tested. And finally, convince him that he's only really thinking if his thinking is negative.

Well, as you can see, I could write an entire tract on the subject of how to seduce liberals. But if you'll just wake up and think a bit, you can work it out.

The Chief

25 March 1980

Goldang it, Smoother, you haven't the brains God gave Baal!

I am really almost running out of patience with you. You are always doing things backwards. In your last letter you boast about your campaign to discredit the Osmonds, because everybody says they are the best missionaries the Church has.

You seem to have forgotten our basic principles. Our program is not to attack any and all artistic life. In fact our program is not primarily concerned with art at all. What we are out to do, I must repeat, is to prevent spiritual awareness, the depth of spiritual experience, and the genuine growth in individual souls that comes through loving exchange of experience in a community of such souls.

Have you forgotten our slogan, inscribed over the very door you must pass through each time you return from Earth? "Homogenize, tranquilize, desensitize!" Can't you see that the very qualities that make the Osmonds so agreeable and pleasant make them our best allies?

Let me just quote from the *BYU Today* of this month:

As far as 46,000 people are concerned, the event of the year, notwithstanding the LDS Church Sesquicentennial . . . just happened in January at the BYU Marriott Center. The Osmonds performed live in concert. [They] did more than merely shatter glass or bend iron. They won an audience by igniting their afterburners, melting their artistic mettle, and pouring out their golden talents into eager ingots. No one was ingrate. Indeed, the Acts of the Osmonds [note, Smoother, please note the Biblical language here: the *Acts of the Osmonds!*] in spite of some bare backs, split skirts, long hair and rock beats, were well received. University officials talk now of canonizing them in some way. . . . "Our ultimate aim" Donny said, "is to make people happy with our music."

Just ask yourself what it means to us to have 46,000 people completely relaxed and smoothed for three hours, with no possibility of their falling into active worship, or serious thought, or deep emotion. Can't you see that the more there are whose afterburners are ignited in that pleasant, comfy, reassuring way on a Saturday night, the fewer will ask for anything more on Sunday morning or on Monday evening?

Wake up, man. Get out there and start developing more professional groups like that. Wherever you find people singing together for pleasure, not profit, playing music together, telling stories to each other, writing quietly in a study, praying with genuine feeling of gratitude for the beauties of this world, *put on an Osmond record*.

While you're at it, develop cozy versions of all the other arts, as our man Radamanthus has managed to do in the Soviet Union. Why not organize a "Utah Academy of the Comfortable Arts"?

Meanwhile, don't forget that even the symphony, even the best university theatre can serve our purposes if you'll just get *audiences* to sit piously and passively on their . . . cultural pride.

Get with it man!

Chief

Dear Smoother:

Your last still shows you floundering. Maybe it would help clear things up if you went to take a good look at what your predecessor, Slobber, achieved in the art of the Church's various visiting centers.

First he got everybody together to agree to a pitch aimed at visitors who knew nothing and cared less about art. Then he got them to hire some *non*-Mormon artists to do much of the work. Slobber knew that there were an increasing number of fine Mormon artists who would have been spiritually challenged with a commission like that, and that to see what happened would drive a wedge between some of them and the Church.

I recommend that you go sit in the Salt Lake Center for an hour each day for a week, followed by an hour outside looking at the Temple and the Tabernacle and across the street at that dangerously imaginative landscaping behind Hotel Utah. Then *think* about the differences, and you just might see the light.

Impatiently,

The Chief

P.S. You haven't commented on my suggestion that you set up a media office to help the Church distribute those commercial cassettes that turn Church history into sleeping pills. I especially recommend a program to encourage the growing practice by Sunday School teachers of using slide lectures instead of talking and living with the class. I

have taken a count of dead souls during some of those canned lectures, and believe me, the count was *good*.

Dear Smoother:

At last you seem to be catching on. I was delighted to learn from your report that your campaign has succeeded with the Church Architect's Office, and that they have decided to continue their policy of making every ward chapel look just like any other ward chapel. There's nothing that works so well to keep people from paying any attention to the quality of what they make and build than building everything on exactly the same plan. So long as we can keep every element of artistic originality or interest out of the ward buildings, we can hope that every member every Sunday will have at least three hours of absolute aesthetic quietude, with nothing visible that could possibly stimulate religious gratitude or joy.

There is of course the added benefit that any young Mormon with architectural genius is likely to be discouraged from taking up architecture as her career.

Your big task here is to make everyone feel that to put too much energy and thought into how a building looks is to forget its spiritual purpose—and besides, it wastes money. So keep your eye on that office. Be sure to let me know at the first sign that they might change their minds and hire an architect to design each new chapel.

In haste,
The Chief

Dear Boss,

I'm sorry to complain again, but it's a lot tougher than you think. You didn't even mention that this crowd has built big universities full of art and literature departments, with professors *paid* out of church funds to teach people to love art. They got a lot of troops up here, Boss, *paid* troops, working with missionary zeal to carry out that terrible program of President Kimball's.

So what I mainly need help on is this: in that university you didn't even mention, Brigham Young, do you know what they've got? They've got a general program for beautifying individual minds and hearts. And now they're gonna have a big symposium, one that threatens my whole mission!

But I got a plan, Boss, one that maybe shows I'm catching on. What I think we have to do, in the face of this symposium, is organize a bigger campaign than anything we've yet done. If we're gonna have an effective anti-personal-engagement-with-art campaign, I gotta have some reinforcements. If you could send up Slider, in hypocrisy, Smudger, in blurring, Stunter, who's so good in Pharisaism, and

Shrinker, as general manager, I think we could really put on a Counter Symposium in the Anti-Humanities that would by the end of that week in November leave not just the BYU campus but the whole state of Utah in a lovely condition of dehumanized sleepiness. How about it, Boss?

Smoother

Well, the next envelope seemed to be the last, and it was the fattest of the lot. Unfortunately because of the time I'll have to cut a good deal of it:

Bless you, Smoother,

Great stuff at last! The anti-criticism symposium is a marvelous idea. I like your idea so much that I will meet your request: Slider, Smudger, Shrinker, and Stunter are on their way. Also Smiley and Sneaker.

I *liked* those new slogans of yours: "A critical thought will come to nought"; "The devil thinks for himself"; "I don't know much about Art, but I know what the Church likes"; "The devil is a great artist with words, and look where it got *him*"; "If it was good enough for me last year, it's good enough for me this year." But yours *are* a bit long and cumbersome. You might try shorter ones like: "The mind is a bind," and "To think is to shrink."

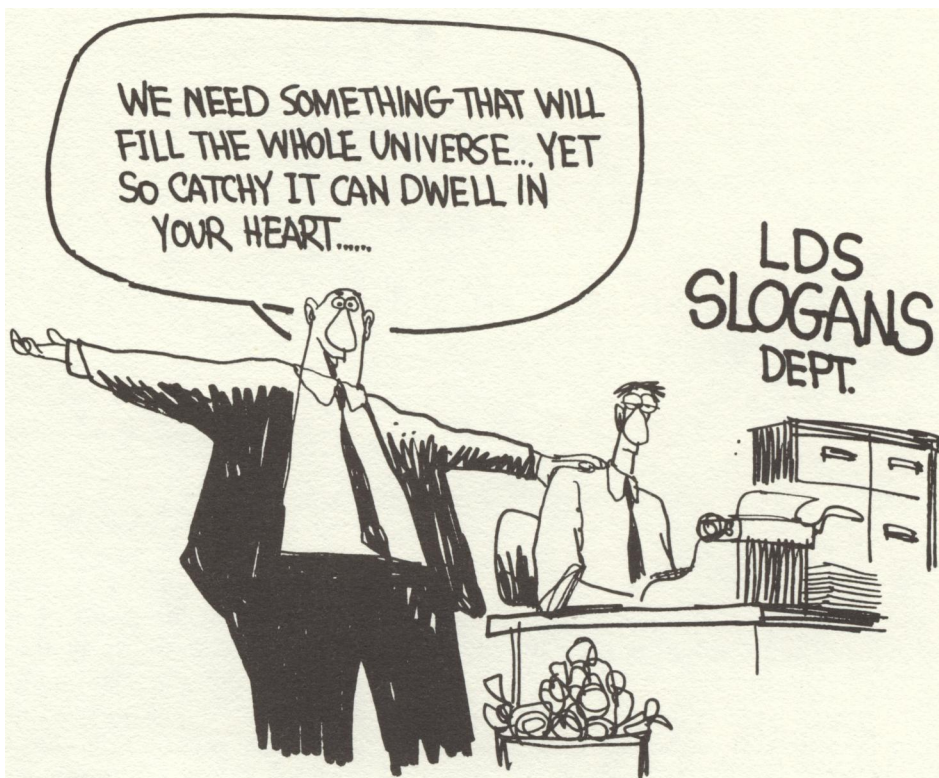
Here are some other ideas. Try to make sure that everyone is too busy *talking* about art to find time to *make* any of it or *enjoy* any of it. Fill every hour of each day of the symposium with lectures and discussion groups. I hear there is a dangerous plan to present an actual play in the evening: *Stop that plan at all costs!* The evening should have *more lectures*. Get them to cut that woodwind octet—they're just too good. Remember, fill up every possible minute with long speeches so people don't have a chance to challenge each other. If you can't cancel that play, schedule a talk at the same time.

Finally, convince them all that to hold a conference on the humanities is as good as, maybe even better than, getting people active in creating some works of art.

Well, you can see that I too am growing excited about this coming symposium. It offers us the best chance we've had to make a real difference. Since BYU is the center of Mormon artistic creation and criticism, if we can dominate the humanities at BYU we can dominate the whole Mormon world, and hence, at the rate those detestable people are growing, soon the whole world will be ours.

In fact, I think *I'll* just come up myself for those three days . . .

Well, the letters ended there. I looked at my watch and saw that I just barely had enough time to walk over here and start talking.



I do feel uncomfortable about just reading you those letters, without preparing a talk of my own. It's sort of cheating. But if the Chief is right, any talk I might have given wouldn't have done much good anyway, not with all of *them* here in the audience with their Invisibility Facilitators.

Of course if I'd made the lucky find of the letters before last night, I might have warned everybody, or prepared a talk fighting back against them. As it is I'll just have to leave it up to you to determine whether they'll succeed in ruining this symposium. The trouble is that although the letters give a pretty clear picture of what *their* program is, they leave it up to us to decide what ours will be.

Whatever it is, if we're to fight back effectively it's obvious that we're going to need the help of someone on our side more powerful than the Chief of *their* side. I therefore conclude with a prayer that we'll work even harder than we have ever done before to discern our past mistakes, and to discover the Lord's will in the arts, thus to cultivate our souls in a loving but critically alert community.

THE PASSAGE OF MORMON PRIMITIVISM

PETER CRAWLEY

SOME OF MORMONISM'S most important ideas appear to lie at the point of a paradox. The president of the Church, for example, is considered to be the divinely appointed mouthpiece of God, a prophet who receives revelation for the Church; yet Mormonism falls short of a doctrine of infallibility with respect to this office. Today, in spite of the fact that it is a revealed religion, Mormonism is all but creedless. While many Latter-day Saints seem to view their theology as comprehensive and definitive, in fact it is neither; both in scope and definition there are many unanswered questions and areas of ambiguity. Certainly a considerable degree of standardization has come to Mormon theology; but the theology remains largely "unofficial." Few doctrinal issues have been addressed in formal pronouncements from the highest church leaders. It is mainly by "unofficial" means—Sunday school lessons, seminary and BYU religion classes, sacrament meeting talks, and books by church authorities and others who ultimately speak only for themselves—that the theology is described, interpreted and taught to a new generation. Among active Latter-day Saints there is a wide diversity of belief on some very fundamental issues. (A number of times I have asked groups of colleagues whether they believe God continues to grow in knowledge or God knows everything and no longer progresses in this respect; invariably opinion has divided about evenly on this question.)

Mark Leone has recently suggested that this unofficial and idiosyncratic theology is one of Mormonism's greatest strengths.¹ Ongoing revelation and the possibility of change, a tenet of the Church since its beginning, is only served by a theology that is not rigidly formalized and delimited. Witness, for example, the extension of the priesthood to blacks which occurred without trauma despite earlier statements by some church authorities that this

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could not come to pass until after the Second Advent. Such a theology accommodates the personal flexibility people need to live in a rapidly changing society while providing an anchor at a time when values are in a state of flux. Because there is no creed merely to memorize, an informal theology must be subjected to study to be understood, study that builds conviction—in Mormon terms a “testimony”—in the believer. The absence of a formal creed means that each generation must produce a new set of gospel expositors to restate and reinterpret Mormonism, a process which, in Leone’s words, keeps “a vital faith vital.”²

It seems clear that this idiosyncratic, informal quality of the theology of the Mormons, this delicate equilibrium between the authoritative and the personal, the canonical and the inspirational, derives from the Church’s earliest years. Mormonism’s first decade saw a fundamental transition, a passage from a loosely organized, anti-creedal, familial group of “seekers” to a Church defined by unique doctrines, led by a prophet. This passage brought a set of the earliest attitudes to the point of equilibrium that has maintained to the present day. Here history is particularly useful, for the features of this equilibrium as well as its importance in the modern Church are illuminated by an examination of the passage that brought it into being.

An examination of this fundamental passage begins with the so-called *primitive gospel* movement, an important aspect of the religious milieu in which Mormonism was born. Emerging in New England, the South, and the West between 1790 and 1830, the adherents of this diverse movement responded independently yet with some similarity to the revivalism and sectarian conflict that characterized evangelical Protestantism. A few of those who led some branch of the movement—e.g., Charles G. Finney and Alexander Campbell—were formally trained for the ministry; many others were not. These leaders shared a biblicist point of view; they tended to reject the pessimistic predestination of Calvinism and anticipated mass conversions to Christianity as the harbinger of an imminent Second Advent; and they taught that the established churches were corrupt, having departed from the ancient, primitive Christian faith. Two other important attitudes tended to be shared throughout the movement. Primitive gospelers were *egalitarian* in the sense that they were highly critical of a hierarchal clergy; they held that religion should be more personal, more independent of organized institutions. In addition, they were *anti-creedal*: deploring the disunity and conflict among the established churches resulting from widely differing interpretations of the Bible, they attacked this problem, not by imposing an authoritarian statement of doctrine, but by eschewing any dogma beyond the most fundamental principles enunciated in the scriptures.³

Primitive gospel tendencies are clearly discernible in the family of Joseph Smith and in the families of his grandparents.⁴ Equally important are the primitive gospel attitudes possessed by those who surrounded Joseph Smith during the months preceding the formal organization of the Church, Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, especially David Whitmer, his brothers John, Peter, Jacob and Christian, and his brother-in-law Hiram Page.⁵ Marvin Hill has pointed out that Joseph Smith’s 1820 vision embodied a number of primitive

gospel concerns, and that the Book of Mormon itself is a clear advocate of a primitive gospel faith.⁶ A primitive gospel orientation is apparent in the autobiography of Joseph Smith's mother who portrays the efforts in publishing the Book of Mormon and organizing the Church as very much a family affair.⁷ David Whitmer's account of these events—written, it must be acknowledged, fifty years after the fact—describes a loosely organized, anti-creedal group of "seekers" in which Joseph Smith was distinguished *only* by his "call" to translate the gold plates. Whitmer, who of all the earliest Mormons most clearly reflected a primitivistic point of view, believed that during the eight months preceding its formal organization on April 6, 1830, the Church was as organized as it needed to be, that in this embryonic state it was closer to the primitive ideal than at any other time in its history.⁸

Although Mormonism was strikingly primitivistic during its earliest months, it differed from other primitive gospel movements in a number of ways, e.g., in its rejection of the infallibility of the Bible and in its possession of the Book of Mormon, a new volume of scripture. But more fundamentally it differed from them in that in the midst of this egalitarian, anti-creedal group stood a man who spoke with God. Other primitive gospelers—Elias Smith, for example—had initiating visions. Joseph Smith, on the other hand, continued to receive revelations. Inevitably as new converts sought the revealed will of God through him, his stature in the developing church would grow to a point of overwhelming preeminence and his revelations would take on the weight of scripture and become part of an expanding body of dogma. Indeed this extraordinary position of Joseph Smith was explicitly acknowledged the day the Church was formally organized in a revelation which designated him a "seer, a translator, a prophet, an apostle of Jesus Christ" (BofC xxii, D&C 21).⁹ Thus embryonic Mormonism embodied intrinsic tensions which over the next eight years would grow to the point of rupture.

This egalitarian view of the Church and the tensions it produced are illustrated by two events which occurred soon after the Church was organized. In July 1830 Oliver Cowdery wrote to Joseph Smith in Harmony, Pennsylvania, that the important revelation known as "The Articles and Covenants of the Church of Christ" (BofC xxiv, D&C 20) contained an erroneous phrase—part of what is now verse 37, "and truly manifest by their works that they have received of the Spirit of Christ unto a remission of their sins." And he commanded Smith "in the name of God to erase those words, that no priestcraft be amongst us." The year before Cowdery had been the subject of a revelation which seems to be an early version of "The Articles and Covenants." Entitled "A Commandment from God Unto Oliver How He Should Build Up His Church & the Method Thereof" and known only in a manuscript copy in Cowdery's handwriting, this earlier revelation includes most of verse 37 but not the phrase Cowdery considered in error. Likely some of his anxiety resulted from what he perceived to be an unauthorized addition to a revelation directed to him. In any event, a few days after receiving Cowdery's letter, Joseph Smith visited him at the Whitmer home in Fayette, New York, and after a lengthy discussion, convinced him and the Whitmers

that the phrase was indeed proper.¹⁰

During the last week in August Joseph Smith moved with his family to Fayette and there discovered that Hiram Page, supported by Cowdery and the Whitmers, had been receiving revelations directed at the body of the Church—a situation hardly surprising in an egalitarian congregation in which all were expected to enjoy the benefits of divine inspiration. In response, however, Joseph Smith received a revelation (BofC xxx, D&C 28) which declared that “no one shall be appointed to receive commandments and revelations in this Church excepting my servant Joseph Smith, Jr.” At a conference of the Church on September 26th, Page’s revelations and the ensuing revelation to Joseph Smith were discussed; and in a dramatic step away from an egalitarian conception of the Church, Page renounced his revelations and the conference agreed to support Smith.¹¹ The same issue arose again in February, 1831, when a woman by the name of Hubble began receiving revelations to the confusion of some of the church members.¹² This occasioned a revelation to Joseph Smith (BofC xlv, D&C 43) which underscored that of the preceding September:

And this ye shall know assuredly, that there is none other appointed unto you to receive commandments and revelations until he [Joseph Smith] be taken, if he abide in me. But verily, verily I say unto you, that none else shall be appointed unto this gift except it be through him, for if it be taken from him he shall not have power, except to appoint another in his stead.

As late as April, 1833, Joseph Smith wrote to a church member in Missouri that “it is contrary to the economy of God for any member of the Church, or any one, to receive instructions for those in authority, higher than themselves; . . . if any person have a vision . . . it must be for his own benefit and instruction.”¹³

In the summer of 1830 Joseph Smith commenced a systematic revision of the Bible, an undertaking that would stretch over the next three years. Soon after he began, he was joined by Sidney Rigdon, a prominent Ohio preacher who converted to Mormonism in November, 1830, and immediately became Joseph Smith’s scribe. Many of the revelations received by Smith touch upon this activity (e.g., D&C 25, 35, 37, 42, 45, 47, 73, 76, 77, 90, 91, 93, 124). And it is clear that during this period the distinctive aspects of Mormon theology began to develop—the most obvious example, the dramatic vision of the hereafter (D&C 76) shared by Smith and Rigdon in February 1831 while they were revising the Gospel of John. But the anti-creedalism of the early Church insured that, apart from the February, 1831, vision which was printed in the Mormon newspaper *The Evening and the Morning Star* in July, 1832, little of this growing theology would be openly discussed during the decade of the 1830s.

Another strain appeared in June, 1831, when the office of high priest was introduced into the Church. Up to this point, every worthy man in the Church was a member of a lay priesthood, holding the office of elder. Now certain members were singled out for higher office, a move toward a hierar-

chal priesthood that in later years, at least, was severely condemned.¹⁴ These stresses erupted into an open, unresolved dispute with the attempt to print the revelations to Joseph Smith in book form.

Three months after the Church was organized, Joseph Smith and John Whitmer began to arrange and copy the revelations that Smith had received up to that time. During this early period, manuscript copies of certain of these revelations circulated among a few. In June, 1831, an important new convert, William W. Phelps, a New York newspaperman, arrived in Kirtland, Ohio, where Joseph Smith and the bulk of the Mormons had recently located. A month later Phelps was designated the church printer; and at a conference in Kirtland in September, he was directed to purchase a press and type and proceed to Independence, Jackson County, Missouri—newly appointed as a gathering place for the Latter-day Saints—there to publish a newspaper in support of the Church.¹⁵

With the prospects of a Mormon press came the possibility of printing Joseph Smith's revelations and making them more widely available to the church membership. At the first of a series of conferences in Hiram, Ohio, in November, 1831, it was agreed to print these revelations—more than sixty at this point—in book form under the title "Book of Commandments" in an edition of 10,000. Cowdery was delegated to carry the manuscript revelations to Independence, Missouri, for publication.¹⁶ Putting the revelations in print would give them a new weight, a greater authority. And David Whitmer, the persistent anti-creedalist, and a few others objected. The revelations "are not law," he declared. "They were given mostly to individuals . . . for their individual instruction, and the church had no need of them. . . . It was not the will of the Lord that the revelations should be published."¹⁷ On the concluding day of the conference Joseph Smith received a revelation (D&C 70) calling him, Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, W. W. Phelps and Sidney Rigdon—a group known subsequently as the Literary Firm—to assume the responsibility for publishing the revelations. Five months later the Literary Firm met in Independence, reduced the edition of the Book of Commandments to 3,000, and appointed Phelps, Cowdery, and John Whitmer to actually supervise publication.

Not until December, 1832, was the Book of Commandments in press. By July 20, 1833, five thirty-two page signatures had been struck off, leaving one, possibly two signatures, yet to be printed. That afternoon a large body of Missourians swarmed into the printing office, threw the press and type out of an upper story window and then pulled down the building. Sheets of the incomplete Book of Commandments were salvaged from the rubble of the printing office and as they blew about the streets of Independence and subsequently assembled into books.¹⁸ Those revelations appearing in the Book of Commandments reflect the primitivistic nature of early Mormonism: two-thirds of the sixty-five "chapters" are personal communications; none, with the possible exception of ch. xvi, breaks new theological ground.¹⁹

The destruction of the Mormon press in Independence was the prelude to a series of violent confrontations that ended with the expulsion of the Mor-

mons from Jackson County in November, 1833. Six months later, armed with a promise of assistance from the governor of Missouri, Joseph Smith led a military expedition out of Kirtland aimed at recovering the Mormon holdings in Jackson. Only after they arrived in Missouri in June did the Mormons learn that the governor had withdrawn his support; and with little hope of returning the Latter-day Saints to their Jackson properties without the aid of Missouri militia, Joseph Smith disbanded his troops.²⁰

Zion's Camp, as this expedition was called, marked a major step in the growth of Joseph Smith's temporal power—a process that paralleled and catalyzed the movement of Mormonism away from its primitivistic beginnings. Failure of the Camp precipitated some dissension but its fraternal aspects insured that Joseph Smith would suffer little loss of stature from the experience. After disbanding Zion's Camp, Joseph Smith met with the leaders of the Church in Missouri; and consistent with ch. xlv of the Book of Commandments quoted above, he ordained David Whitmer his successor.²¹ However one understands this ordination it does demonstrate the influence Whitmer still exerted on the young Church. A similar elevation of Oliver Cowdery would occur in December.

A second attempt to print the revelations was launched in September, 1834, at a meeting of church authorities in Kirtland. Here it was agreed to publish a new edition at the press Oliver Cowdery had been operating in Kirtland since the preceding December. Again this was to be an undertaking of the Literary Firm. By the summer of 1835 the book was being set in type; and in mid-September the first copies were delivered by the Cleveland binder.²²

This second edition, bearing a new title *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Latter Day Saints*, prints nearly twice as many revelations as the *Book of Commandments*. A number of the reprinted revelations contain substantial changes: Section 2 (now D&C 20; BofC xxiv), for example, includes additions concerning the offices of high priest and President of the High Priesthood, and Section 13 (now D&C 42; BofC xlv) is modified to reflect adjustments in the implementation of the Law of Consecration. A few of the revelations new to this edition contain sweeping theological statements, e.g., Sections 91 and 7 (now D&C 76, 88) which deal with the nature of the hereafter and the events surrounding the Second Advent. The first third of the *Doctrine and Covenants* is comprised of seven "Lectures on Faith." Written by Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon and delivered before a school of the elders in Kirtland during the winter of 1834–5, these lectures treat such basic theological questions as the necessity and effect of faith, man's relationship to God and the nature of salvation. The most distinctive idea, that God and Jesus Christ are distinct beings, appears in the fifth lecture.

Again David Whitmer protested. The *Doctrine and Covenants*, he declared, is "a creed of religious faith," in primitive gospel terms a clear denunciation.²³ Indeed these objections were strong enough to elicit a response in the *Doctrine and Covenants'* preface—a response that captures in two sen-

tences the passage from the anti-creedalism of the primitive gospelers to the position to which Joseph Smith and his later converts had moved:

There may be an aversion in the minds of some against receiving anything purporting to be articles of religious faith, in consequence of there being so many now extant; but if men believe a system, and profess that it was given by inspiration, certainly, the more intelligibly they can present it, the better. It does not make a principle untrue to *print* it, neither does it make it true not to print it.

Other changes were occurring in Kirtland as well, all tending to concentrate Joseph Smith's authority and spread it to every aspect of life. In 1835 the Mormons began publishing a partisan newspaper, the *Northern Times*, and dabbling in Democratic politics. In November of that year Joseph Smith performed the first marriage under religious rather than civil authority. By 1837 Mormon polygamy had moved beyond theory.²⁴ It was economics, however, that brought these tensions to a head.

In November, 1836, the Mormons drew up articles of agreement for a bank in Kirtland. When a charter was denied by the state legislature, an unchartered, note-issuing, joint stock company was founded in place of the bank; and in January it opened its doors for business and began circulating paper currency. Joseph Smith was the Cashier, the principal officer; Sidney Rigdon was the President. By mid-1837 the Kirtland "bank" had collapsed—the result of inadequate capitalization, loss of confidence stemming from the lack of a corporate charter and the panic of 1837. Dissension in the Mormon community was rife.²⁵

At the center, of course, was Joseph Smith whose public statement that those who helped meet the obligations of the Church "should be rich," and private comment that he had received "the word of the Lord" upon the subject of the Kirtland bank, were taken as prophetic declarations that the bank would prosper.²⁶ When it failed, the anxiety which had been growing in the old guard over the increasingly authoritarian position of Joseph Smith and the drift of the Church away from its original primitive form deepened to disillusionment. Warren Cowdery, Oliver's brother, forthrightly expressed this in an editorial in the July, 1837, issue of the church newspaper *Messenger and Advocate*:

If we give all our privileges to one man, we virtually give him our money and our liberties, and make him a monarch, absolute and despotic, and ourselves abject slaves or fawning sycophants. If we grant privileges and monopolies to a few, they always continue to undermine the fundamental principles of freedom, and, sooner or later, convert the purest and most liberal form of Government into the rankiest aristocracy Whenever a people have unlimited confidence in a civil or ecclesiastical ruler or rulers, who are but men like themselves, and begin to think they can do no wrong, they increase their tyranny and oppression and establish a principle that man, poor frail lump of mortality like themselves, is infallible. Who does not see a principle of popery and religious tyranny involved in such an order of things? Who is worthy the name of a freeman, who thus tamely sur-

renders the rights, the privileges, and immunities of an independent citizen?

One of those touched by the Kirtland dissension was Parley Pratt, a convert of 1830, one of the Church's Twelve Apostles, and the father of Mormon pamphleteering. Pleading Joseph Smith's forgiveness for his momentary contentiousness, Parley fled to New York City in July, 1837, to preach the gospel and renew himself. Few New York doors opened to him; so as any literary man would instinctively do, he retired to his room and wrote. In two months he produced the most important of all non-canonical Mormon books, the *Voice of Warning*.²⁷

It was not the first Mormon tract; a year before Orson Hyde had published his broadside *Prophetic Warning* in Toronto which warned of the judgements to accompany the Second Advent without specifically mentioning the Latter-day Saints. But it was the first systematic statement and defense of the fundamentals of Mormonism. More than this it erected a standard for all future Mormon pamphleteers, setting down a formula for describing the tenets of Mormonism as well as biblical proof-texts, arguments, examples and expressions that would be used by others for another century. And it demonstrated the power of the press in spreading the Mormon message; although sales were slow at first, within two years the first edition of 3,000 was out of print and Parley was preparing a second edition. It was, finally, a signal that the primitivistic chapter of Mormon history was about to close.

On January 12, 1838, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon rode away from the disintegrating Mormon community in Kirtland and headed for the new colony that was forming in Caldwell County, Missouri. In Missouri Oliver Cowdery, David and John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps were in open rebellion, incensed by what they believed to be an effort on the part of some of the church leaders to "unite ecclesiastical and civil authority, and force men under the pretense of incurring the displeasure of heaven to use their earthly substance contrary to their own interest and privilege."²⁸ Their dissidence drew intemperate responses from Joseph Smith's galvanized supporters, that the church authorities should be upheld "right or wrong," that "no one should speak against what they said."²⁹ On March 10, four days before Joseph Smith reached the Mormon settlement, Phelps and John Whitmer were excommunicated from the Church. A month later Cowdery and David Whitmer were excommunicated—victims of an evolution they could not accommodate. Adding fuel to this conflagration, Phelps and Cowdery were in possession of a press, and in May they began to assemble it with the intent of publishing a newspaper. One can only guess at the extent to which this posed a threat to the Missouri Mormons. Under any circumstances in mid-June they ordered Cowdery, the Whitmers and Phelps out of the county and apparently confiscated the press.³⁰ Six months later—the animosity between Mormons and Missourians having passed the point of combustion—the Latter-day Saints were fleeing into Illinois, and their leaders, Joseph Smith, his brother Hyrum, Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt and others were beginning terms of many months in Liberty and Columbia Jails.

The events just following Joseph Smith's ordeal in Liberty Jail mark Liberty as a watershed in Mormon history. Late in 1839 Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon journeyed to Washington to plead for federal assistance in recovering Mormon property left behind in Missouri. In Philadelphia they met Parley Pratt and his brother Orson. Each of the Pratts spent time with Joseph Smith as he visited the Latter-day Saints in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Parley later reported that it was at this time that Smith first taught him the doctrine of the eternal nature of marriage.³¹ At the first of the year Parley published his *Millennium and Other Poems* (New York, 1840) which includes "A Treatise on the Regeneration and Eternal Duration of Matter." This essay, written to pass the time in Columbia Jail, contains a clear denial of an ex nihilo creation and the earliest statement of the Mormon belief in a finitistic God. Orson Pratt left Pennsylvania to take up a mission in Scotland where he published his *Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions* (Edinburgh, 1840)—the first printed account of Joseph Smith's cataclysmic 1820 vision. During the spring of 1840 Samuel Bennett, a Mormon elder missionarying in Philadelphia, published there *A Few Remarks by Way of Reply to an Anonymous Scribbler* which includes an affirmation of the Mormon belief in a corporeal, anthropomorphic God and allusions to the 1820 vision and the eternal nature of marriage. In New Jersey about the same time, Benjamin Winchester printed his *Examination of a Lecture Delivered by the Rev. H. Perkins* which contains a reference to the Mormon doctrine of the pre-existence of spirits. Back in Nauvoo in August, 1840, Joseph Smith preached a funeral sermon which first discussed the doctrine of vicarious baptism for the dead.³²

It is clear that immediately after his escape from Liberty Jail, Joseph Smith began to openly teach many of Mormonism's most distinctive doctrines. Others have identified the Nauvoo period (1840–1844) as the time when the more dramatic aspects of Mormon theology emerged.³³ But the flood of new ideas following on the heels of his incarceration at Liberty together with the hints and allusions to them that earlier surfaced in Kirtland show that, for the most part, these distinctive doctrines were fully formulated in Joseph Smith's mind before he set foot in Nauvoo.³⁴ To what extent the months of solitude in Liberty Jail affected the doctrinal development of Mormonism is now difficult to assess. What does seem apparent is that, free from the inhibiting influence of David Whitmer and the old guard, Joseph Smith walked away from Liberty eager to discuss openly theological ideas that were only whispered of in Kirtland.

Mormonism emerged from Liberty Jail with a new attitude toward the printed word. During the nine years 1830–1838 Mormon pamphleteers produced just three polemical tracts, all published away from the main body of the Church—Orson Hyde's *Prophetic Warning* (Toronto, 1836), Parley Pratt's *Voice of Warning* (New York, 1837) and Parley Pratt's *Mormonism Unveiled: Zion's Watchman Unmasked* (New York, 1838). During 1840 they published almost twenty.³⁵

In Nauvoo Joseph Smith's position as a prophetic leader reached a point of equilibrium between the primitivism of New York and the authoritarianism of northern Missouri. With apparently little unease he could

direct the Latter-day Saints to invest their money in a church-sponsored hotel (D&C 124) or deliver sweeping theological discourses like the ones at Ramus, Illinois, on April 2, 1843 (D&C 130) and at Nauvoo on April 7, 1844 (*Times and Seasons* 5:612-17).³⁶ At the same time he could take a classical primitive gospel stance as with Josiah Butterfield in January, 1843:

In reply to Mr. Butterfield, I stated that the most prominent differences in sentiment between the Latter-day Saints and sectarians was, that the latter were all circumscribed by some peculiar creed, which deprived its members the privilege of believing anything not contained therein, whereas the Latter-day Saints have no creed, but are ready to believe all true principles that exist, as they are made manifest from time to time.³⁷

Again when some Nauvoo authorities were about to censure Pelatiah Brown for teaching unorthodox doctrines, Joseph Smith chided these authorities for “acting like Methodists,” adding

Methodists have creeds which a man must believe or be asked out of their church. I want the liberty of thinking and believing as I please. It feels so good not to be trammelled. It does not prove that a man is not good because he errs in doctrine.³⁸

And a cautiousness persisted toward solidifying the gospel in print: despite the many Mormon tracts published in the eastern United States and Great Britain, only one new theological book issued from the Mormon press in Nauvoo—Parley Pratt’s collection of essays *An Appeal to the Inhabitants of the State of New York* (1844).

In January, 1842, Ebenezer Robinson, the church printer in Nauvoo, announced that he was making stereotype plates for another edition of the *Doctrine and Covenants*.³⁹ Not until after the death of Joseph Smith in June, 1844, however, was this edition printed. It added only seven revelations to those published nine years before in Kirtland plus a statement on the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Twice more, in 1845 and again in 1846, editions were printed from the same stereotype plates in order to supply the Latter-day Saints with this book during the years to come while they built the Mormon kingdom in the Great Basin—a fitting symbol that the passage was complete, that the Church leaving Nauvoo would be the Church that would flourish in the West.

NOTES

Parts of this article appeared earlier in the *Princeton Library Chronicle* and are used here with the permission of the editors.

¹Mark P. Leone, *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 171–2, 190–3.

²*Ibid.*, p. 192. This ongoing process of restating Mormon theology is the theme of Thomas Alexander’s recent article “The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine: From Joseph Smith to Progressive Theology” *Sunstone* 5 (1980): 24–33 which focuses on the events just after the turn of the century. Such a restatement actually occurred twice during the nineteenth century—in the

1850s with such books as John Jaques' *Catechism for Children* (Liverpool, 1854), Parley Pratt's *Key to Theology* (Liverpool, 1855), Orson Pratt's series of eight pamphlets *True Faith, True Repentance*, etc., (Liverpool, 1856–7), and Franklin D. Richards' *Compendium* (Liverpool, 1857); and in the 1880s through such works as John Taylor's *Items on Priesthood* (Salt Lake City, 1881) and his *Mediation and Atonement* (Salt Lake City, 1882), Charles W. Penrose's "*Mormon*" *Doctrine Plain and Simple* (Salt Lake City, 1882), F. D. Richards' and James A. Little's *Compendium* (Salt Lake City: 1882), and John Nicholson's *The Preceptor* (Salt Lake City, 1883). It occurred again in the mid twentieth century through the writings of Joseph Fielding Smith, John A. Widtsoe, Lowell Bennion, and others.

³Marvin S. Hill, "The Role of Christian Primitivism in the Origin and Development of the Mormon Kingdom, 1830–1844" (PhD diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1968), p. 6–36.

⁴Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and his Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool, 1853), p. 9, 34–6, 41–2, 46–50. Richard L. Anderson, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage* (Salt Lake City, 1971), p. 21–6, 50–61, 104–9.

⁵David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ* (Richmond, Mo., 1887). Hiram Page in *The Olive Branch, or Herald of Peace and Truth to All Saints* 2 (August 1849): 28–9. *Tiffany's Monthly* 5 (1859): 50–1, 119–21, 163–70. D. Michael Quinn, "The First Months of Mormonism," *New York History* 54 (1973):317–33.

⁶Hill, p. 52–6, 80–108.

⁷Lucy Mack Smith, p. 73ff.

⁸Whitmer, p. 28–33, 45–8.

⁹B of C xxii refers to chapter xxii in the *Book of Commandments* and D&C refers to Section 21 in the current edition of the Doctrine and Covenants.

¹⁰*History of the Church*, 1:104–5. The manuscript "A Commandment from God Unto Oliver" is in the LDS Church archives; it is reproduced in full in Robert J. Woodford, "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants" (PhD diss. Brigham Young University, 1974), p. 287–292.

¹¹*History of the Church*, 1:109–15.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 338.

¹⁴Whitmer, p. 35, 62–7. *Olive Branch*, 2:28–9. William E. McLellin to Joseph Smith III, January 10, 1861, and July 1872; orig. mss. in archives of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Independence, Missouri.

¹⁵*History of the Church*, 1:104, 217. Orson Pratt, for example, reports in *The Seer*, p. 228, that he had personal copies of the revelations. The LDS Church Historical Department contains several small manuscript notebooks containing revelations that belonged to private individuals.

¹⁶*History of the Church*, 1:221–2, 229.

¹⁷Whitmer, p. 53–4.

¹⁸P. Crawley, "A Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New York, Ohio, and Missouri," *BYU Studies*, 12(1972):480–6.

¹⁹This chapter (D&C 19) defines "eternal punishment" as "God's punishment."

²⁰P. Crawley and R. L. Anderson, "The Political and Social Realities of Zion's Camp," *BYU Studies*, 14(1974):406–20.

²¹Whitmer, p. 55. *Ensign of Liberty of the Church of Christ* (1847), p. 6, 18, 33, 43–4. *History of the Church*, 3:32 note.

²²Crawley, "Bibliography of the Church," p. 499–503.

²³Whitmer, p. 51.

²⁴Crawley, "Bibliography of the Church," p. 496–7. "Journal of Newel Knight" Nov. 23, 1835, as quoted in Marvin S. Hill, "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom: A Reconsideration of the Causes of Kirtland Dissent," *Church History* 49(1980):291. Benjamin F. Johnson to George S. Gibbs (1903); photostat of orig. typescript at Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

²⁵See Hill, op. cit. For a discussion of the bank see Marvin S. Hill, C. Keith Rooker and Larry T. Wimmer, "The Kirtland Economy Revisited: A Market Critique of Sectarian Economics," *BYU Studies*, 17(1977):387–476.

²⁶*Messenger and Advocate* (April 1837), p. 488. "Journal of Wilford Woodruff" Jan. 6, 1837, *BYU Studies*, 12(1972), p. 381.

²⁷Crawley, "Bibliography of the Church," p. 516–18. Apart from its importance in the intellectual history of Mormonism, the *Voice of Warning* was probably the most effective nineteenth century Mormon missionary tract. Before 1900 the Utah Church published twenty-four editions in English as well as editions in Danish, Dutch, French, German, Icelandic, Spanish and Swedish.

²⁸"Oliver Cowdery Letterbook" Jan. 30, 1838; orig. ms. in Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

²⁹*Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c. in Relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons* (Fayette, Missouri, 1841), p. 121. "Oliver Cowdery Letterbook" Jan. 30, 1838.

³⁰*History of the Church*, 3:1–19. "Cowdery Letterbook" Feb. 4, 1838, May 10, 1838. *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c.*, p. 102–6, 110, 120–2. Crawley, "Bibliography of the Church," p. 467–8.

³¹*Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (1874), p. 328–30.

³²*History of the Church*, 4:179, 321.

³³See, e.g., F. M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History* (New York, 1963), p. 277ff.

³⁴For example, W. W. Phelps' article in the *Messenger and Advocate* (June 1835), p. 130 alludes to the pre-existence of spirits and the eternal nature of marriage. Truman Coe's article in the *Ohio Observer* (11 Aug. 1836) shows that the Mormon concept of a corporeal anthropomorphic God existed in Kirtland; see *BYU Studies* 17(1977):347–55. Lorenzo Snow reported that his famous couplet "As man now is, God once was; as God now is, man may be," was prompted by a comment of Joseph Smith's father in Kirtland in 1836; see Eliza R. Snow, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City, 1884), p. 9–10, 46.

³⁵In addition to those mentioned in the text, these include: Elias Higbee and Parley P. Pratt, *An Address by Judge Higbee and Parley P. Pratt . . . to the Citizens of Washington and to the Public in General* (Washington? 1840); Orson Hyde, *A Timely Warning to the People of England* (Manchester, 1840); six tracts by Parley P. Pratt—*An Address by a Minister of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to the People of England* (Manchester, 1840), *An Answer to Mr. William Hewitt's Tract Against the Latter-day Saints* (Manchester, 1840), *An Epistle of Demetrius, Junior, the Silversmith* (Manchester, 1840), *Late Persecution of the Church of Jesus Christ, of Latter Day Saints* (New York, 1840), *Plain Facts, Showing the Falsehood and Folly of the Rev. C. S. Bush* (Manchester, 1840), *A Reply to Mr. Thomas Taylor's "Complete Failure," &c.*, and *Mr. Richard Livesey's "Mormonism Exposed"* (Manchester, 1840); Sidney Rigdon, *An Appeal to the American People* (Cincinnati, 1840); Erastus Snow, *E. Snow's Reply to the Self-Styled Philanthropist, of Chester County* (Philadelphia, 1840); three tracts by John Taylor—*An Answer to Some False Statements and Misrepresentations Made by the Rev. Robert Heys* (Douglas, 1840), *Calumny Refuted and the Truth Defended; Being a Reply to the Second Address of the Rev. Robert Heys* (Douglas, 1840), *Truth Defended and Methodism Weighed in the Balance and Found Wanting: Being a Reply to the Third Address of the Rev. Robert Heys* (Liverpool, 1840); Benjamin Winchester, *The Origin of the Spaulding Story* (Philadelphia, 1840).

³⁶The April 2, 1843, discourse at Ramus taught such doctrines as "whatever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection," and "the Father has a body of flesh and bones as tangible as man's." The April 7, 1844, discourse at Nauvoo, the famous King Follett Funeral Sermon, taught that there are many Gods, that God the Father was once as man now is and that man can become as God.

³⁷*History of the Church*, 5:215.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 5:340.

³⁹*Times and Seasons* Jan. 1, 1842.

REVELATION: THE COHESIVE ELEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL MORMONISM

CANDADAI SESHACHARI

PRESIDENT SPENCER W. KIMBALL, in his address to the Samoa area conference in 1976, pointed out that he is frequently asked at press conferences about what he thinks is the single "greatest" problem facing the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints today. "It is rapid growth," responds President Kimball. "It is very difficult to keep up with the growth of the Church in many lands."¹ The president, of course, was referring to problems of organization and logistics resulting from a spectacular increase in membership. The dimensions of the problem of nourishing nascent leadership in newer Mormon communities and of providing religious instructional materials in diverse languages become obvious when we realize that "the membership doubles every fifteen years." To quote Apostle Mark E. Peterson: "Our missionary system has increased from about a dozen men in 1930 to an army of nearly thirty thousand today. Our four million will soon be eight million. Our stakes and missions now exceed thirteen hundred in number in about eighty different nations. We have twelve thousand local congregations in forty-six languages."² As Alice found in her wonderland, the Church too has to run hard to provide existing services to ever-increasing numbers. In spite of the marvels of technology at its command, the Church, as President Kimball assessed, is hard-pressed to meet the challenges of today.

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Expansion undoubtedly will bring the Church face to face with a host of other problems. Historically and doctrinally, for instance, the Church has been projected as an American Church and its members have been exhorted to subscribe to the belief that the Lord "had established the constitution of this land by the hands of wise men whom [he] had raised up to this very purpose" (D&C 102:80). As the Church expands beyond traditional boundaries of language and culture, it will have to underplay its doctrinal commitment to its land of origin. There is evidence that a reconstruction of views on this point may be under way. Ezra Taft Benson quotes President Harold B. Lee with approval to say that "no longer might this Church be thought of as a 'Utah Church,' or as an 'American Church.'"³ Hugh Nibley opines that "the gospel is not culturally conditioned, neither is it nationally conditioned."⁴ He seems to feel that the Church was umbilically tied to the United States more or less as a historical necessity because America alone, in the past, had guaranteed unbridled freedom to practice one's religion. Obviously, by implication, the Church is ready to cut its umbilical ties to the United States as other countries begin to practice freedom of religious belief.

There is also a more basic problem facing the Church. Will it be humanly possible for members from other cultures, across diverse language barriers, across hurdles of ingrained rituals and customs, primordial ways of thinking and being to blueprint their beliefs and life in accordance with the plan of salvation which is so alien? If the experience of the Roman Catholic Church in the internationalization of its faith is any indication, the Mormon Church, like the Roman Catholic Church, will become pluralistic. The problem of pluralism may not be amenable to solutions, either wishful or real. The American experience with its native Indians, Blacks and Chicanos proves that assimilation of peoples into another ethnic mold is not easy. Historians have long discarded the melting pot theory to explain the American experience in favor of the stew theory. The newer theory argues that American culture is more like a pot of stew where the components retain their identifiable ethnic and racial individualities. Will the experience of the Mormon Church be otherwise?

Many other problems, both genuine and insistent, may be catalogued in Whitmanesque fashion, but that is not the purpose here. These questions have been raised in order to focus specifically upon another crucial question: Is there anything in Mormonism that will keep the Church from following in the way of the Roman Catholic Church, from becoming pluralistic, from becoming doctrinally fragmented, divisive and schismatic? Alternately, to state the question affirmatively: Is there anything in Mormonism that will keep the Church doctrinally cohesive even as it builds edifices of faith in other lands? What impulses are there in the doctrine, experiences, and structure of the Mormon Church that will continue to sustain a vital and ever-growing church without developing fissiparous tendencies?

The one single element in Mormonism that will serve to unite the Church, as under an umbrella, will be Mormonism's unique concept of revelation and the intimate role it plays in the daily lives of each one of its members, whether the member be a new convert from Korea or a hallowed descendant

of the founder of the Church. Carrying the gospel of the restored church to every clime and culture will exert extraordinary centrifugal pressures that will tend to pluralize the Church were it not for the fact of Mormon belief in the very centrality of revelation as its sole and continuing source of the expression of the divine will and grace. Albeit that Christianity is a revealed religion, Mormonism alone of all Christian churches posits faith in a continuing, ceaseless and endless revelation as a means of God's imminence in history, and makes divine encounters the lifeblood of every single Mormon's religious experience. When, for instance, a convert from Roman Catholicism is admitted to the Mormon Church, the new member, upon baptism and confirmation, is vouchsafed revelation as a gift of the Holy Ghost, a gift that he was expressly forbidden in his former faith.

The distinction between the manner in which the Mormon Church and the Roman Catholic and protestant churches posit their belief in revelation is easy to see. Pointing out the difference between the traditional churches, Richard Niebuhr says: "In Roman Catholicism revelation is always discussed as though it meant a supernatural knowledge about man's supernatural end, while in Protestantism revelation has been commonly set forth as meaning Scriptures or its doctrinal content, such as that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, or that God forgives sin."⁵ In contrast and running doctrinally counter to the Catholic and protestant churches, the Mormon Church believes, to quote its ninth article of faith, that God "will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the kingdom of God." If the Mormon Church is a restored church through God's revelation, as it categorically affirms it is, it is all the more so because it restored revelation as a continuing dispensation of God's immutable and otherwise inscrutable will. More important, without regard to any distinction of manner or means, it restored revelation as a divine grace to anyone who would embrace the gospel as it has been revealed in these latter days.

The Mormon belief in the primacy of revelation is so fundamental that, like the woof and warp, it runs through the entire fabric of Mormon faith, providing as it does a skein of cohesiveness that binds the faithful to their unique beliefs as well as to themselves. Revelation, for the Mormons, is not a mere self-disclosure of God but is the product "of the interplay between the divine and human."⁶ The scripture promises the faithful: "If thou shalt ask, thou shalt receive revelation upon revelation, knowledge upon knowledge, that thou mayest know the mysteries of peaceable things—that which bringeth joy, that which bringeth life eternal" (D&C 42:61). Behind these revelations there is the strong belief that an active god is eagerly participating in helping further the salvation of the saints. It is made abundantly clear that "as well might man stretch forth his puny arm to stop the Missouri River in its decreed course, or to turn it upstream, as to hinder the Almighty from pouring down knowledge from Heaven upon the heads of the Latter-day saints" (D&C 121:33). The scripture further admonishes those who would believe otherwise: "Wo be unto him that shall say: we have received the word of God and we need no more of the word of God, for we have

enough!" (2 Nephi 28:29). As James Talmage pointed out, if the Roman Catholic Church was founded upon the rock of Peter, the Mormon Church "is founded on the rock of revelation."⁷ One need read no further than the articles of faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to realize that revelation is its bedrock. Several of the articles of faith directly deal with revelation. Article four, for instance, promises the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands, article five reiterates that promise in the context of the hierarchical authority of the Church, article seven pointedly states the belief of "the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc." and, finally, article eight states the canon that the Bible is the word of God.

Not only is revelation a pervasive tenet in Mormonism, but it is also a democratic concept which mitigates against pluralism within the Church. Under it neither peaks exist nor valleys. It holds that revelation is not merely the prerogative of the few, and it imposes no doctrinal constraint on any member because of origin, sex or background. The gift of revelation is conferred in a confirmation rite to every member and the believer retains this grace as long as he's a firm believer and is worthy. This freedom of revelation establishes a direct link between God and the believer, or between the divine subject and the human subject, as John Baillie would phrase it.⁸ If at the heart of Christianity is the concept of life as a "probation" during which the believer is in a state of "'permanent revolution' or *metanoia* which does not come to an end in this world, this life, or this time,"⁹ then a member of the Mormon Church is guaranteed that right—or rather that grace—to lead the life of a spiritual revolutionary. This accessibility to the divine mind and will is a passport to propel the Mormon to transcend the limitations of his earthly existence, for if revelation is an act of God in history, in space and time, then at the moment of contact with the divine subject, by implication, the human subject is lifted into another sphere of being.

Even as revelation bestows upon the Mormon a unique privilege, it also instills in him values and beliefs that lead to implicit obedience; for, ultimately, the only human response to revelation can be obedience. Revelation cannot be validated by any means or manner except in the consciousness of the believer or, as Karl Jaspers says of revelation: "We can ask no further; we have to obey."¹⁰ It is not an empirically explorable phenomenon either.¹¹ Neither can it be psychoanalyzed. It operates totally within the context of faith and "precedes all reasoning."¹² Paradoxically, even if revelation confers upon the individual a degree of freedom, it in truth ties him more securely to his church. The "price of revelation" is a willing and unstinted obedience to the Church and its prophets and the faith that it preaches, since revelations are within the context of the theology which makes them possible. It binds the member to the Church whether she be a newly baptized Samoan drenched by South Sea rains or the president of the Church who shepherds the faithful. Language and culture may diversify but revelation unifies; it provides that quintessential unity amidst cultural, linguistic and other diversities so recognizably Mormon.

If revelation is the primary means of self-illuminated exercise of free will, it is not the sole agency through which a sense of Mormonness, a sense of belonging to a community that transcends national and cultural barriers is created. The Church, both in its doctrine and in its hierarchical flow chart is singularly equipped to sustain and further that sense of cohesiveness. Doctrinally, for instance, the scope and range of revelation a member can have is hierarchically delimited. Even though revelation is a grace, a gift of the Holy Ghost that makes it possible for the receiver to gain access to the otherwise inaccessible mind and will of God, it is not a license to a mystical existence of boundless scope; nor is it a conduit through which supernatural knowledge could flow endlessly. In fact, the very democratic nature of Mormon theology of revelation requires an imposition of unity and order that are outside the context of obedience that revelation itself imposes. The need for this order becomes imperative if only to protect the member's divine right to revelation.

In keeping with the democratic nature of revelation in Mormonism, the members of the Church can receive revelation "as a testimony of truth and as guidance in spiritual and temporal matters" on countless subjects of earthly and transcendental concerns,¹³ but the faithful cannot have revelations outside of what touches them subordinately. In order of hierarchal delimitation, for instance, a bishop has inspiration for his ward, the stake president for his stake, an apostle for his part of the responsibilities of the quorum. In matters of doctrine or matters that touch every single member of the Church, the president of the Church alone can act as "a seer, a revelator, a translator and a prophet, having all the gifts of the Holy Ghost which he bestows upon the head of the Church" (D&C 107:92). The prophet alone "in case of difficulty respecting doctrine or principle, if there is not a sufficiency written to make the case clear to the minds of the council, the president may inquire and obtain the mind of the Lord by revelation" (D&C 102:23). The concept of continuous revelation requires that, through the agency of the prophet, the will and mind of God be obtained not continually, not sporadically, but continuously. And the Mormon concept of revelation posits that if the initial source of all revelations in Christianity were Jesus Christ, the fountainhead of revelations for the restored church is Joseph Smith and continues unbroken through a chain of its successive presidents. To be a Mormon is to subscribe to these two fundamental doctrines. A Mormon cannot amend or modify doctrine because of his gift of the Holy Ghost. Otherwise no two wards in the same stake will steer the same doctrinal course. Instead of spreading the word of God and blessing man, Mormonism would have launched itself on a course of apostasy with each member following his own light, both at home and abroad. It is good to remember that a Mormon is not a Hindu who can exercise his free will without let or hindrance. Mormon theology, like all Christian theologies, is a theology of doctrines, is a theology of affirmation which, by implication, is also a theology of negation. When a Mormon is asked to affirm the prophecy of its church presidents, he is also asked, ipso facto, to affirm that none else can act as a seer, revelator and

prophet. The prophet's worldwide mission is to unify, not divide. He cannot do otherwise.

The president of the Church who, as both the prophet and a powerful symbol of the church he heads, is not restricted, however, to revelations that deal with doctrine alone. As the prophet, who gathers his worldwide flock into his spiritual fold, he can reach the mind of God and seek divine guidance on every aspect of life as it affects the human race here and in the hereafter. But this is only technically so. What is not often realized is that the very democratic concept of revelation restrains the president from coercively enforcing his will on personal matters of choice. He prescribes the doctrine; much else he lets alone. If by hierarchal structuring a believer is proscribed from having revelations for the whole Church, the prophet too, in practice, is restrained from revelations in areas that are solely the prerogative of others.¹⁴ The balance resulting from the sharing of revelatory jurisdictions is preeminently at the heart of the success of the Mormon Church as it has expanded. That which is Caesar's is Caesar's but there is much that is not Caesar's. A Japanese is therefore left alone to be a Japanese, a Peruvian or a Fijian may embrace the restored faith of Jesus Christ without giving up his language and culture. The cohesiveness existing in international Mormonism, it seems, is the cohesiveness of people subscribing to the same faith and is not the regimentation enforced by an iron rod leadership manning the headquarters of the Church in Salt Lake. The cohesiveness of the Mormon community which its Church creates, furthers and holds is very much like the cohesiveness which holds gelatin together; it is resilient, elastic, and mobile. This resilience paradoxically will keep the Mormon Church expanding and unified.

Unfortunately this native resiliency so characteristic of international Mormonism is frequently misperceived and misinterpreted as revealing a lack of internal consistency and as suggestive of its doctrinally pluralistic character. "At the heart of Mormonism," it is charged, "is continuous revision of meaning by the individual believer, a process facilitated by the immediacy and availability of revelation and the freedom to discuss all religious topics."¹⁵ Additionally, it is pointed out, that "at present Mormons possess a do-it-yourself system of personal interpretation which envelops their church's theology, philosophy, and history and which works within the framework of an institution known for its hierarchical organization and authoritarian stance."¹⁶ What is lost sight of in such comments is that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is not a traditional church nor are its tenets traditionally Christian. As prophet Joseph Smith pointed out to President Martin Van Buren, the Mormon Church differs significantly from the other traditional churches in one basic respect. To quote: "We differ in the mode of baptism and the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. We consider that all other considerations [are] contained in the gift of the Holy Ghost."¹⁷ Truly Mormon theology of revelation is unlike either the Catholic or protestant dicta on the subject. Its concept of revelation does not lead to a revision of meaning as it does to an apprehension of the higher level

of truth dictated by the ongoing disclosure of God's mind and will. There is no attempt to mold the Mormon view of revelation, however "unsophisticated," as Sterling McMurrin terms it,¹⁸ to an exact shape, size and definition and fit it to a preconceived notion of scholastic rightness.

Added to this proclivity to see the Mormon Church as another, if quaint, Christian church is the other notion of the Church being exaggeratedly authoritarian and autocratic. It is argued that it is paternalistic of other cultures and that this attitude would inhibit it from taking roots in other lands. There is no denying that the church structure and its organization make for authoritarianism. To argue otherwise would be to bury our heads in the sand. The Church however is fundamentally democratic and individualistic. Its theology of revelation demands it; its practice ensures it. Not even its prophet is a prophet of the Church at all times. As Joseph Smith pointedly records: "This morning, I read German, and visited with a brother and sister from Michigan, who thought that 'a prophet is always a prophet'; but I told them that a prophet was a prophet only when he was acting as such."¹⁹ The prophet, however exalted a person, is an individual. Not everything he says is *ex cathedra*.

What are observed as instances of Mormons doing "their own thinking, which is to say that they create their own meanings, in talks that they give in Sacrament Meetings, in the testimony that they give on Fast and Testimony Sunday, in Sunday Schools and Family Home Evenings"²⁰ in essence are occasions when they share with fellow Mormons their deepest thoughts, inspirations and revelations. These rituals, rites, and symbolic gestures help forge bonds of oneness with other unseen Mormons participating in similar rituals. Mormonism has its rich share of rituals and rites which, as in any other church, has served to unite disparate members from "every nation, kindred, tongue, and people" into a cohesive and dynamic family. Some rites such as the sealing and endowment ceremonies and the rites of baptism for the dead are peculiarly Mormon. Participation in these rituals helps bind one Mormon to another for, ultimately, the purpose of rituals is not only to elaborate and define the meaning of values or abstract doctrines, but also to help internalize these values. Perhaps the one single most significant part of the Mormon religious services which, without apology, binds the member to the brethren is the testimony he renders on fast Sundays.

As Hugh Nibley pinpoints, "If the church has any first foundation it is the unimpeachable *testimony* of the individual."²¹ The reasons for the primacy of the testimony are not far to see. Since the source of all religious inspiration is through revelation, it is incumbent that these revelations be openly shared with fellow Mormons. Cynics will argue that the testimony is a device by which the members are made to toe the official line, but this is indeed a cynical view. The nature of Mormon theology on revelation makes it impossible to etch doctrine in rock. This does not mean that interpretations of Mormon doctrines are constantly in a state of flux, but it certainly means that their meanings will evolve to higher levels of truth as those truths become revealed. As Joseph Smith said, in referring to the First Vision, "Many other things did he say unto me, which I cannot write at this time."²² And

certainly there are many more things that the divine revelator has not revealed, since the human race, which is in a state of constant progression, is not ready to receive the total truth. Because of similar reasons, B. H. Roberts found it difficult to define revelation. As Truman Madsen points out, "He was slow to seek a formal, theoretical rationale of revelation, for reasons similar to those of the poet who is slow to develop a set of fixed dogma of the creative process."²³ For the Mormon, revelation is a creative process, a process of constant definition and redefinition, of apprehension and reapprehension of the higher truths. If Mormons are human beings in quest of their own potential divinity, it is crucial that the faithful share their insights, their glimpse into the higher and more abiding order of things. The Mormon community is an organic community, whose members seek to evolve into reembodyed anthropomorphic creations at levels of ultimate existence. Their discovery of truths have not stood frozen since the second century. For the critics to argue that every Mormon is a "definer of meaning before an audience of peers, who a moment or a month later may switch positions with him"²⁴ is to miss totally the essence of Mormonism. Mormons will be misunderstood and misrepresented as long as critics try to force traditional Christian meanings into the Mormon tenets and doctrines. It is far easier to approach the Mormon gospel through Hinduism than through Roman Catholicism, through the works of Sankara than those of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Another significant aspect of the institution of the testimony is in the fact that it deliberately creates a community of fellow Mormons. Mormon testimony is unlike the Catholic confessional where the individual confesses his sins in the privacy of a confessional. In contrast, Mormon testimony is a celebration of the joy and tears of faith, the rightness of the truth, the blessings of life and the glory of God. It, like the crescendo of classical symphony, rises to a testament of belief. In it, the rituals, the symbols, the tribulation and triumph of a Mormon in quest of a higher truth, the history of his Mormon ancestors and their persecution and his own faith in the inevitability of an eternal Zion all coalesce into a moment of heightened religious experience. At that moment of inspiration, of *revelation*, Mormons all over the world unite in a commonality of shared beliefs and, in turn, the fellowship itself, vaulting hurdles of language and culture, becomes a testament of Mormon oneness. Therein lies the story of Mormon success.

NOTES

¹Spencer W. Kimball, "Official Report of the Samoa Area Conference, February 15-18, 1976," (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1976), p. 9.

²Mark E. Peterson, "Where Do We Stand?" *Ensign* (May 1980), p. 68.

³Ezra Taft Benson, "A Marvelous Work And A Wonder," *Ensign* (May 1980), p. 33.

⁴Hugh Nibley, "How Firm A Foundation! What Makes It So," *Dialogue*, 12 (Winter 1979), p. 31.

⁵H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Meaning of Revelation* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1941), p. 155.

⁶Lorin K. Hansen, "Some Concepts of Divine Revelation," *Sunstone* (January-February 1980), p. 13.

⁷James E. Talmage, *A Study of the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1942), p. 311.

⁸John Baille, *The Idea of Revelation In Recent Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 27.

⁹Niebuhr, p. ix.

¹⁰Karl Jaspers, *Philosophical Faith and Revelation* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 22.

¹¹Jaspers, p. 8.

¹²Jaspers, p. 27.

¹³James E. Faust, "Communion With the Holy Spirit," *Ensign* (May 1980), p. 12.

¹⁴The recent unease on the part of a segment of the church membership on the question of the ERA is directly due to church leaders taking an active role in politics and thus disturbing the traditional balance between hierarchical and revelatory jurisdictions. As the Church expands globally and veers away from its nationalistic moorings, it will find it increasingly more difficult to "interfere" in areas that deal with a member's personal prerogatives. The checks and balances that are an inherent part of the Mormon theology of revelation will keep the Church effectively democratic in impulse and practice.

¹⁵Mark P. Leone, *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 171.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁷*History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978), 4:42.

¹⁸Sterling McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965), p. 112.

¹⁹*History of the Church*, 5:265.

²⁰Leone, pp. 168–169.

²¹Nibley, p. 32.

²²Quoted by Lewis J. Harmer, *Revelation* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1957), p. 56.

²³Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), p. 404.

²⁴Leone, p. 168.

NEW VOICES, NEW SONGS: CONTEMPORARY POEMS BY MORMON WOMEN

LINDA SILLITOE

Taking us by and large, we're a queer lot
We women who write poetry. And when you think
How few of us there've been, it's queerer still.
I wonder what it is that makes us do it,
Singles us out to scribble down, man-wise,
The fragments of ourselves.¹

The sensibility described by Amy Lowell—that there is something odd about women who write serious poetry—is still given substance today by the endangered state of the species. Even *I* will not waste time counting the few woman poets anthologized before Lowell's time; contemporary statistics suffice. One of my favorite modern anthologies, *The New Yorker Book of Poems*, includes some 900 poems by 221 men and fifty-five women. *New Poets of England and America: Second Selection* (frequently used in university classes) presents more than 300 poems by fifty-five men and eight women. In our smaller pond of Mormon Letters, things are somewhat more egalitarian, perhaps by necessity. *Dialogue*, which has published more quality poetry than any other Mormon publication in the last ten years, yields about 140 poems by sixty-three men and thirty-two women. *A Believing People*, an anthology of Mormon literature compiled by Richard Cracroft and Neal Lambert, includes twelve men and four women in the section of nineteenth

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century poetry, but sixteen men and thirteen women in the twentieth century selection. There are more reasons than there is time to explore for the imbalance which makes women poets such a minority. But the issue at hand is more significant than numbers, which, alone, would not persuade me to deal in this paper with only women's poems. "Myth," a poem by the nationally anthologized poet, Muriel Rukeyser (not a Mormon) may help us understand:

Long afterward, Oedipus, old and blinded, walked the roads. He smelled a familiar smell. It was the Sphinx. Oedipus said, "I want to ask one question. Why didn't I recognize my mother?" "You gave the wrong answer," said the Sphinx. "But that was what made everything possible," said Oedipus. "No," she said. "When I asked, What walks on four legs in the morning, two at noon, and three in the evening, you answered, Man. You didn't say anything about woman." "When you say Man," said Oedipus, "you include women too. Everyone knows that." She said, "That's what you think."²

It was Mary Bradford of Arlington, Virginia, editor of *Dialogue*, who returned to Utah several years ago to urge her sisters to write as women without the mask of maleness.³ I was impressed and disturbed by her speech. Only once had I used a male persona in a poem; but, I remembered guiltily, one of the reasons I did so was because I was afraid that particular poem would not be taken seriously otherwise. And how many times had I fiercely scanned my typewritten pages a last time before sending them off to seek their fortunes with this question in mind: "Could this poem have been written by a man?"

Mary Bradford also urged us to write with individual voices, not representative voices; that we leave monuments and mountains to the past and write about things that concern and influence us now. "Reveal yourselves, sisters. Risk it! Risk it! I ask not for a striptease, but . . . a revelation of the human heart."

With these words in mind, I began sifting and sorting through recent poems by Mormon women. Have Mormon women begun to reveal their own hearts? To write as individuals, as women? If so, what has been revealed, has been made plain? What is still to be accomplished?

With only a month for my research, I sent a letter to women whose addresses were in my *Exponent II* file and to other poets I knew. I asked those women to spread the word. They did. I received dozens of poems and letters about writing; those, combined with the poems in the *Exponent II* file (both accepted and rejected for publication) and those published in books or journals, gave me considerable material.

I am grateful to those who responded. Every poem I have received or otherwise uncovered has been used toward the writing of this paper, even though I will be able to refer to only a few of them and to read even fewer. Certainly, I have not seen all that would be pertinent. My conclusions de-

pend on a careful reading, sorting and bringing together of every voice available to me. I thought when I began that I would read work only by poets who are not yet well known. Yet some of the most familiar voices are those which continue to sing new songs—a sign of true proficiency. Occasionally the poems of skilled and interesting poets (such as Sybil Johnston) were sorted repeatedly into the miscellaneous category; written on a wide variety of subjects, some poems were too diverse to be represented in a paper that must, necessarily, generalize.

My primary concern has been thematic. The bulk of the poems I have read are general, didactic and philosophical. The message is all-important and is too often either unconnected or loosely connected to image and form. The poems I will read are the most articulate examples of the themes and trends I discovered by analyzing the body of poems. That is not to say that few Mormon women are writing good poetry. I believe there are more fine poets than ever, and the numbers are growing. But, as always, there are even more who have something to say but have not yet developed the skills to speak through poetic form. *What* they are saying, with whatever skill they possess, was the object of my search.

My first discovery is this: the instinct that prompted me that something was happening with poetry and Mormon women has been confirmed. Mormon women (in America, and elsewhere) are writing poems and, frequently, meeting together in formal and informal groups to share their creations. Of course, groups such as the Utah Poetry Society have functioned for years. An informal group in a Virginia stake has met and performed off and on during the last few years, and Veneta Nielsen has led a stable and supportive group of Logan poets for years. Poetry reading is part of the format, I have found, in gatherings of Mormons for ERA in various parts of the country. Poems criss-cross the country via the mail. In several cases, women have sent me not their own poems, but the poems of their friends. The solitary act of poem-writing has become for many of these poets a communal act, that sense of community and sharing so common to both Mormons and poets.

Virginia Sorensen, Mormonism's most prolific and proficient novelist thus far, was told this by her grandmother: "There is a very old conspiracy against the woman of talent, and it owes its major power to the fact that women are kept ignorant of its existence. You will write in your spare time, which you will steal."⁴

That prediction, promise, curse echoes from virtually every letter in my file. Let me share just one example. This letter which came to me late last year concerns a poem soon to be printed in *Exponent II*. It concludes "I understand the thinking behind your other suggested changes, but I don't have the emotional energy to deal with them right now, so I guess we'd better leave things as they are. Our second baby was born October 12th, and between him, his big sister (age thirteen months), school, job hunting for next year, and my current part-time job I've had little time to give much thought to poetry—mine or anyone else's!"⁵ A finished poem is, the letters from these authors confirm, not only a victory over cosmic blindness and muteness, but over one's own pocket planner as well!

Creation, physical and literary, is a frequent theme in the poetry by Mormon women. Many poems written to or about the author's own children fail as poems. "Why?" asked Mary Bradford several years ago. "Because the mothers in the poems take it upon themselves to represent all mothers everywhere; they see themselves as God's partner; they address God; they talk of cosmic happenings involving pre-existence and death in a way that ignores the individual human pain and joy of this experience."

Those pitfalls still remain and many are susceptible. But there are new developments as well. Two contrasting themes emerge in these poems, which I find fascinating: the relationship between mother and child, which may parallel the relationship between creator and creation—the painter and her canvas, the poet and her vision, and the more frequent theme—that of the child actually forming, or at very least, fulfilling the mother. The child becomes the teacher, the guide, the more holy, the creator. The poem is writing the poet, the canvas is painting the artist.

There is something to that, of course, as any artist can attest. The sense that the material has a mind of its own is a reality that does affect the artist, and of course, a child *does* have a mind of its own. But these poems about children—babies, usually—go far beyond that interaction. The reason for the excess lies, I believe, in the reality of the authors' lives. The child makes the woman a mother. Since motherhood is the most valued status women attain in our society, the child who achieves that for the mother is intrinsically powerful and valuable. The woman's worth is drawn from the child and is dependent on the child's future. No wonder there is such adulation of already endearing, eternal children. Again and again I read words to the effect, "You, child, give life to me."

A stark contrast—and almost a solitary one—is struck by Fae Swinyard's poem, "The Wax Baby." In this poem the author whimsically describes a tiny pink baby rolled from candle wax, magically alive. The wax baby is always malleable, it never grows into something else. A letter from Fae Swinyard compares a poem about massaging a friend with the poem about the wax baby and discusses the author's feeling for both in a way applicable to both physical and literary creation:

This poem describes the massage experience (or the pottery experience) and the two often become the same at table or wheel—gray to pink, dead to alive, hard to soft, incomplete to complete, fragment to whole. One of my favorite images is the wet pot (person?) finally done. At the birth of my children my first impression of them has been of new, wet pots. . . . I was one of the many women . . . who wanted a baby. Not the pregnancy, not the person who would become a family member, just the tiny, helpless newborn to nurture. The poem is how I resolved that conflict. Does she, you wonder, have a bit of wax up in her handkerchief drawer? Do others?⁶

Another theme in the poems about children are those concerned with the reproductive processes: pregnancy, sterility, childbirth and postpartum depression. These are usually described as difficult, dreary, often painful expe-

riences, although their intrinsic worth is not questioned. I believe that these poems begin to fulfill Mary Bradford's challenge. They have moved from the representative to the specific, from the ideal to the real. Though they seem largely negative, the tone does not reject motherhood. Only recently has it become acceptable to acknowledge the challenge or the trauma of such experiences, and that acceptability is downright seductive. Thus information once whispered at quilting bees is now a part of Mormon poetry, particularly in *Exponent II*, and it is given with the same tones of irony and triumph.

Yet virtually all the poems I have read that deal specifically with the body have been negative. The terrors and deprivations of aging are frequent themes as well as the stress of giving birth. The exuberance and sensuality of Emma Lou Thayne's love song to her own body is exceptional now, but I hope a harbinger of poems in the future.

Love Song at the End of Summer

It is clear now, body. Every day can be late August,
after the birth of babies, never quite cold.

But one must learn early what you are for forever.
Good old leather tiger, half domesticated
by paws in pans and shoulders hung too often with beaded fur,
you may think I forget. But you do not let me.
By now I know better. I come back.

Still, you never take me not surprised, faithful one,
by how to arrive, and the pleasure of sweat,
and how to shiver away the bee.
You move to the song behind the dance.
Even after a standard, plain white, unstriped day
you ripple in our sleep and wait, mostly unperplexed.

And when no matter how faint, the music breathes
behind the catcalls of too much to do, you muster
almost without my inclining, potent as needing to dance,
to pace off the house, the garden of weeds, the clogged creek,
and the midnight clutch of vagrancies. You pad from some spring
and, wild, except for my importuning, go. To do it all.

When we lie down, it will be like the squirrel there,
unflagging in the last swift moving in the leaves
August stashed in crisp piles above the dust.
I may find no way at all without your sleek taking.

Under the wrinkles that tell you no, I can hear you now
saying, "I still love you," and to time, "Leave her alone."⁷

I am reading more poems by women about women by both Mormon and gentile authors. There is Fae Swinyard's account of "Massaging a Friend After the Loss of Her Child"; Helen Cannon's poem to her spiritual sister, Virginia Woolf; Emma Lou Thayne's loving "To Marilyn at the Laetrile Clinic"; and several poems to Sonia Johnson at the time of her excommunication, one from a ten-year-old girl. There are poems for role models as well as for personal friends. Even the poems written to pioneer foremothers have become specific. "O Pioneer" has become a great-grandmother or an imagined woman with a name and personality; examples are Marilyn Brown's collection, *The Grandmother Tree*,⁸ and Charlotte Teresa Reynolds' "Indian Grandmother" poem, which won first place in the Eliza R. Snow Poetry Contest in *The Ensign*. Some poems reach out to women of different cultures, most notably *Once in Israel*,⁹ a new collection by Emma Lou Thayne. One of the most unusual of the poems to or about women uses three traditional images—a mother, a pioneer woman, and a star—with unusual results. Sonia Johnson was one of a group of women who participated in the creative session of a Mormon Letters symposium in Virginia in 1979. She wrote this poem at church only days after ceasing to be officially, a Mormon. (See p. 63.)

One question raised by Mary Bradford in her paper was why there are not more Mormon love poems. Since that time, she has published her own love poems in *Dialogue*, and poems by others have appeared here and there. Some are lovely. (I have been told by one Mormon woman that she writes quantities of torrid love poetry, but she refused to send me any of it.) It seems to me, however, that the love poems tend to be much more general than are those written about or to other women. The relationship is explored, the way it makes the author feel is rendered, but the loved one remains vague, faceless, unspecified. It seems that we have made little progress in this area.

What *has* changed, however, is the number of poems about marriage. These are not poems of nuptial bliss, most often, but poems of struggle. Some of them set up conflicts: one wonders why two opposite people believe they are "meant for each other" for all eternity; another questions Paul's theory that Christ is head of the Church as the man is head of the woman. Most such poems retreat to truisms such as "struggle makes us strong" or "sacrifice means progress" or even "If you, then, are the head, let's see your stuff!" This poem, however, meets the author's conflict head on:

Priesthood

My hands can bless, comfort, even create
Without your rituals of anointing oil,
And I can teach, exhort, and even talk to God.

I cannot support my child as she is buried
In the waters of life, nor can I lead us
All, or any part of us that counts you.

Rather, I am told, my womb gives me power,
(Have you not seed?)
My power is to support you,
(Have you not strength?)
That I must play your child,
(Have you no posterity?)
That I should develop some witchwomancraft
To mold you to my bidding.
(Have you not thoughts your own?)

The day may come
When the power recognized in you
May join in truth with the power I foresee
Not yet ordained in me.¹⁰

Other poems speak of diminished closeness, a loneliness within the marital relationship. In a poem called "The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner," Helen Cannon describes the runner this way:

. . . Skin wet and glistening in morning sun
Not alone in this marathon dream
Your body embraces strain
like love exhausting itself

The loneliness comes only after—
As we lie together
Each alone. . . .¹¹

Writing from one's own heart does not, of course, always mean writing from one's own experience. (My own poem about divorce is written in first person, although the situation in the poem is vicarious.) In "The Candy Palace," Emma Lou Thayne assails the fortress of stereotypical marriage.

The Candy Palace

She came to the throne because she thought
it was time. The exact hour before the alarm.
Born to the Kingdom, she had all the trimmings,
certificates bounded in lace, exact replicas
of how it was done. Of course he held

his scepter of having passed through, and knowing
he should (or could) he promised to make her his
Queen-for-a, well, forever. She, as the manuals suggest,
fell in love with his promise. No one could anything
but not see how there was no end

to the rings he began to leave in the tub.
The thing was he had to hurry to get back to
the pumpkin that was waiting to turn and never
did. Still, she attended his table and served
appreciative rolls. She kept the throne

sturdy as home grown tomatoes. This was good.
The base of the throne, however, had a predisposition
to lean. He could not sit squarely and she had lost
her fixings. Night sickness, she began to think,
could account for her yearning for nutmeg

and flour not out of the mill, this longing
for something more common, a touch perhaps.
She remembered in Primary playing Persephone
not wanting to hold the wet hand of Pluto, even to march
for the crowd. In the end of course, it was a renunciation
for air, air.¹²

“Reveal yourselves,” urged Mary Bradford. Now, along with the optimism and strength long exhibited in Mormon literature, is evident individual struggle, adjustment and aching.

“What we do is this,” begins another poem. “We train ourselves to look away.”¹³

If looking away was prevalent during the first 145 years of Mormon poetry, the last five years have begun to reverse that training. Rather than writing only in affirmation of the acceptable and uplifting elements in their lives, the new voices in Mormon poetry are beginning to notice and to call attention to the absences. All of us, I am sure, have read dozens of poems about Mary, about Sarah, about Sariah. I believe that every Mormon woman who has ever lifted a pen has written a poem about Eve! They range the gamut from Eve as temptress who cursed all women with submission, to Eve as liberated woman who caught on quickly and led Adam on to the future of humankind. A few scriptural role models have been immortalized time and again, perhaps because they are few. The novelty evident in recent years is that the examples have become more human, closer to us. It is now understandable why Sariah complained. Now we can wonder how Sarah really felt when she gave her handmaiden to her husband. As they become approachable, we allow ourselves more humanity. Their recent accessibility does not alter their scarcity, however, as perceived in this poem by Sonia Johnson:

Now Appearing

Enoch, Moses, Alma, Moroni—
many of scripture's heroes never died
as far as we know
just disappeared
which shouldn't be greatly wondered at
since half the Hebrew population
disappeared as soon as it was born
female
only a minute proportion
living
vicariously as a rule
mass lives like the mothers of
Helaman's striplings
and the Lamanitish daughters
raped by Noah's priests
flash lives like Lot's wife
nameless forever
like King Lamoni's valiant queen
who deserved better
child lives like Esther's
who had no thought but Mordecai's
or disdained lives like
Leah's whose anguish at being
forever second best
is never hinted at
though out of her body burst
the ten tribes.
(Jacob, wombless and barren,
but getting all the credit.)
Women of biblical lineage
have disappeared thus
until now.

Welcome to the race, daughters of Sarah,
human and to the finish.¹⁴

The search for presences among the caverns in scripture, ritual and history weaves throughout the poems. Links are made not only with foremothers and scriptural heroines, but also with present day temple workers performing initiatory ceremonies. After reading several poems set in the temple, I received this poem:

Their voices
Bounce off mirrors
Sachet through shearings
Leap to lightning rods and
Spiral there like gymnasts
Exuberant and free.

Their chant is to him

Robed, they perform their
Rituals at basins and mirrors
Chattering holiness like ancient
Priestesses in temples at rivertide
Touched and touched
Cleansed and guided
Touched and touched
They become beautified.

Their chant is of him

And should a child enter there
She is accepted as a holy thing.
Mooring her innocence
Among the mirrors,
They reach to her
As a Princess reached
For a babe in the Nile

Their chant is by him

And when they conclude their observance
They depart from the sanctum of ease
And return to him
To whom they are wed
By whom they are led
Through whom they are said
Beloved and Beloved

In his image they are created.¹⁵

The author of this poem, Kristine Barrett, was shocked to find that I thought the poem was about temple rites. I was shocked to discover that she had, in fact, written the poem after a visit to a beauty salon. Reading through the poem again, I saw the similarities—that the rites of becoming beautiful, inside or out, were directed toward the approval of a beloved lord, human or divine. Most jarring in that haunting imagery of women’s voices and hands, the basins and mirrors, is that the final reflected image is male.

A second poem uses a mirror to reflect a male image back to a female author. Patricia Hart Molen, short story writer and novelist, describes a lighter situation in her poem, “Afternoon Nap.” In this poem, the persona falls asleep and dreams that she has “sprouted fully grown” a moustache. Her lips beneath the moustache now speak “poems, theorems, postulates, some laws of physics and recipes for French patisseries.” The poem concludes

I looked like Major General
George Armstrong
“Yellow Hair”
Custer,
my hair flowing to my shoulders,
not competing
but enhanced.

I sat before a mirror,
twirled a corner
(reflectively)
never dreaming
I should not have it.¹⁶

Just as the women in these poems are created in the reflection of male images, so do women's poems sometimes suffer from male-identification. For instance, I once tried to convince a poet to remove erect images and male-connotative language from a poem to her Heavenly Mother. "I know the pillar is a holy symbol," I wrote to her, "but I think you should take it out. But don't," I added, horrified by an afterthought, "please don't replace it with a pedestal!" Like Oedipus, we find that our traditions and history tend to encompass womankind with mankind in ways that do not represent us all.

The rejection of that ancient dependency is represented in this poem:

Let My Sisters Do for Me

If we must preserve our differences,
Then let my sisters do for me.
Let my sister tear my last resistance
From my mother's womb, let her
Cradle me and give me my name,
Let her baptize me and call me forth
To receive the Spirit, let her
Teach me of the world, let her
Ordain me to womanhood, let her
(She does wash, anoint and clothe)
Be my god beyond the veil, let her
Heal my sickness, hold my baby, be my friend.
Let her dig my grave, let her robe me,
Let her bless my empty bones.
If you will not have me for your sister,
Then let my sisters do for me,
And let me greet my Mother on the far shore.¹⁷

There is anger in this poem, which was written three years ago. I have read more angry poems, particularly in the last year. Anger has become an acceptable emotion for women to experience, let alone display, only recently—if at all. It is rare in the poetry of Mormon women. In most of the angry poems I have seen, the anger is directed toward personal or institutional absences; the anger represents the rejection of rejection. In most cases (and this is always the peril of protest poems) the anger overwhelms the poem itself. One, written early in 1980 by Jan Tyler, is a tongue-twister of impacted words and pictures shaped to a furious jump-rope chant. It ends this way:

Dominion unrighteous, common occurrence,
control and power undercurrents,
earthly complex web is woven
claiming it comes straight from Heaven.

This is the one and True Church only—
by *their* fruits, ye shall *not* know it!¹⁸

Another poem of enormous energy and ambition, “Down on My Knees” by Susan Hafen, uses a multitude of swirling, vibrant images. Here is one:

We have blood royal but slow-flowing, clotted and unclean
a thick, dark mess to shame and curse our sex . . .

with heaven as its precedent; where *is* our mother?
Our sire-king did slay the dragon, we have heard.
He cast out trolls to make the kingdom safe
for us to kneel in worship and in wonder of the Word—
co-authored by the eldest, translated by our brothers,
to give us Truth, to make us good, to keep us chaste. . . .¹⁹

The recognition of the missing pieces has converged for a great number of writers into that question asked by Susan Hafen: “Where *is* our mother?” I suspect that more poems to or about our Mother in Heaven have been written in the last year or so by Mormon women than in all the years since Eliza R. Snow penned “Our Eternal Mother and Father,” later retitled “Oh My Father.” There have been a few in between, such as Carol Lynn Pearson’s “Children of Light” in her book *The Growing Season*, and she continues to write on that subject. *The Ensign* magazine and *Exponent II* have both received a number of Mother in Heaven poems of late which wonder, search, explore, plead and cry out for enlightenment. The Mormon belief in a Mother in Heaven was addressed in a historical setting at the recent Sunstone symposium by Catherine Albanesie and Linda Wilcox. Preceding that symposium, several Mother in Heaven poems appeared in *Exponent II* and my own appeared in *Dialogue*.

Margaret Munk, an adoptive mother who has recently written a short story about the search for “real” mothers, earthly and divine, approached the subject this way:

First Grief

Last night, my daughter—
Mine by right of love and law,
But not by birth—
Cried for her “other mother.”

Accountable
And duly baptized she may be,
But eight is young . . .
For grown-up grief,
The first I cannot mend
With Band-aids,
Easy words,
Or promises.

I cannot tell her yet
How often I have also cried

Sometimes at night
 To one whose memory
 My birth erased;
 Who let me go
 To other parents
 Who could train and shape the soul
 She had prepared,
 Then hid her face from me.²⁰

"Why are you silent, Mother?" asks Lisa Bolin Hawkins:

. . . How can I
 Become a goddess when the patterns here
 Are those of gods? I struggle, and I cry
 To mold my womanself to something near
 Their goodness. I need you, who gave me birth
 In your own image, to reveal your ways: . . .
 . . . My brothers question me,
 And wonder why I seek this added light.
 No one can answer all my pain but Thee.
 Ordain me to my womanhood, and share
 The light that Queens and Priestesses must bear.²¹

"I want to know your name," writes Kristine Barrett:

I know it is lovelier than Mary
 or Sarah or Eve. Can you
 please whisper it to me?
 What is your name?²²

Women everywhere are seeking for the feminine attributes of God, for a female model of godliness. I believe that these poems demonstrate that for Mormon women the search is even more urgent. That urgency is rooted in the Mormon concept of a personal God, an eternal *Father*, who is tangible and vitally concerned with the lives of His children. Mormons also center upon the unity and efficacy of the family. The sudden realization, which seems to be spreading rapidly, that we are all, for all intents and purposes, *motherless* brings with it—to women particularly it seems—unique pain. The implications for women here and in eternity are immense as the quality of the poetry attests.

The new voices in the poetry written by Mormon women question, wrestle, explore and affirm. Even in loneliness or anger, there is a determined note of survival; there is also irony, realism and affirmation. A unity of theme is evident as these poets seek to discover one another and the world, to build, link by link, a chain to heaven from mothers, sisters, grandmothers, scriptural and historical role models, temple priestesses and at last God, Herself. Are we to conclude then that these poems indicate a disinterest in romantic love or happy marriage? Have women ceased to desire children? Have they renounced their devotion to their Heavenly Father? I think such suppositions miss the mark. Jerrilyn Black writes:

There

Beyond the tenth pot
the fourth drawer,
the six loose buttons,
lies that shiny drop;
my new self,
a self to be,
a self for me.
It rolls away
as I move near,
slips over the vegetables,
disappears into the soup.
We'll have it for supper.²³

Where are the love songs, the songs of the pleasures of the body, of equal and productive marriage? Where are the songs that celebrate oneness with God and with the human world? Perhaps they are still in the soup we eat for supper.

In the anthology of contemporary women poets *No More Masks*, Florence Howe includes in the introduction of the book an analysis of the poetry of men:

Men, we know, write about women at least part of the time. They also write about themselves as artists, their (female) muse, their lust for fame. They write sometimes about their fathers, and occasionally their mothers; occasionally, too, their children. But on the whole, and in spite of their interest in the public world of affairs, men stand at the center of their poems. They create and re-create themselves, their feelings, in thought or in action.²⁴

"I wonder what makes us do it," wondered Amy Lowell, "Singles us out to scribble down, man-wise, the fragments of ourselves." As long as women feel that the very act of writing a poem, of centering in oneself is "man-wise" we will have only "fragments of ourselves" to "scribble down." Creation and re-creation in poetry will become "woman-wise," I believe, when we, ourselves feel whole. The object is not to imitate what men seem to have achieved in writing poetry, but to create ourselves and thus our poetry in our own image. The poems of women are filled with isolation and fragmentation, the divided self, the undiscovered self, the renunciations. That is beginning to change, as a number of new anthologies by women demonstrate. But for Mormon women, the change is a little slower. Helen Cannon ends one poem this way:

Clocks measure out the wasted hours
Mirrors reflect the wasted years
While those I love
Leave me to incessant tasks
In this love affair with my enemy.²⁵

The poems I have examined demonstrate that Mormon women have begun to write as individuals, as women. We have first recognized, quite

naturally, what is not in us, what is lacking in the world around us, what excludes or ignores us. We are beginning to voice our reactions to those things, as well as to affirm the positive presences in our lives and poems for years.

The songs of the self are still largely unlearned and unwritten, but the new songs in the poems by Mormon women are sung *by* selves which are moving closer to the center of their poems and, presumably, their own lives. A symphony of whole and joyful melodies is still a matter of hope and faith. Thus far there is the creak of growth in the forest, and above that the steady song of the Chinook wind that heralds the very beginning of a new season.

NOTES

¹Amy Lowell, "Two Sisters," in *No More Masks! An Anthology of Poems By Women*, edited by Florence Howe and Ellen Bass (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1973), pp. 40–44.

²Muriel Rukeyser, "Myth," in *I Hear My Sisters Saying: Poems of Twentieth Century Women*, edited by Carol Konek and Dorothy Walters (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1976), p. 243.

³Mary Bradford, "The Secret Sharers: Utah Women Writers," paper delivered at the Utah Retrenchment Society meetings, April, 1976.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵Lisa Bolin Hawkins to author, November 18, 1979.

⁶Fae Swinyard to author, August 21, 1980.

⁷Emma Lou Thayne, "Love Song at the End of Summer," *Exponent II* (Summer 1979), p. 16.

⁸Marilyn McMeen Miller Brown, *The Grandmother Tree* (Provo, Utah: Art Publishers, 1978).

⁹Emma Lou Thayne, *Once In Israel* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1980).

¹⁰Lisa Bolin Hawkins, "Priesthood," unpublished poem in possession of author.

¹¹Helen Cannon, "The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner," unpublished poem in the possession of the author.

¹²Emma Lou Thayne, "The Candy Palace," unpublished poem in the possession of the author.

¹³Emma Lou Thayne, "Renunciation," unpublished poem in the possession of the author.

¹⁴Sonia Johnson, "Now Appearing," unpublished poem in the possession of the author.

¹⁵Kristine Barrett, "The Beauty Salon," unpublished poem in the possession of the author.

¹⁶Patricia Hart Molen, "Afternoon Nap," unpublished poem in the possession of the author.

¹⁷Lisa Bolin Hawkins, "Let My Sisters Do For Me," unpublished poem in the possession of the author.

¹⁸Jan Tyler, "The One and Only True Church," unpublished poem in the possession of the author.

¹⁹Susan Hafen, "Down On My Knees," unpublished poem in the possession of the author.

²⁰Margaret Munk, "First Grief," *Exponent II* (Fall 1978), p. 6.

²¹Lisa Bolin Hawkins, "Another Prayer," *Exponent II* (Winter 1980), p. 5.

²²Kristine Barrett, "To Mother," unpublished poem in the possession of the author.

²³Jerrilyn Black, "There," unpublished poem in the possession of the author.

²⁴Konek and Walters, *No More Masks*, p. xxviii.

²⁵Helen Cannon, "Home," unpublished poem in the possession of the author.



SONIA JOHNSON

Written in Church, December 23, 1979

The church of my childhood
was redbrick, too.
Smug and warm inside, I'd
watch the snow battling the windows
or one cold star in the cold sky
and rejoice at being inside with Mama
and the choir
hymning the wintry day to its close.

In blue by the covered wagon,
the pioneer woman poised above us
on choir breath
whispered, "Fear not, fear not."
Godwrapped in that singing room,
What was there to fear?

Tonight in maturity's church
goodbye who I was in the
warm silent service with snow fighting
to break through the windows of my youth
and ghost voices forever echoing
down the dusk and farewell of the wintry day.

Hello at last, cold star and blowing snow,
and you, my pioneer sister,
with your grave and steady eyes
who knew so well what there was to fear,
and feared not.

COLIN DOUGLAS

Take, Eat

Take, eat; this is my body.

Like a deer he came to me,
Parting the ferns,
Like a deer with bright antlers.
I chased him across meadows,
Beside streams I pursued him,
And he did not weary.
But in the thicket he surprised me;
He let my arrow pierce him.
He gave me of his flesh at evening,
And in the bright morning
Like a deer he came to me.

COLIN DOUGLAS

Wedding Song

Let the stone whisper to the flower,
The flower to the sun,
And the sun to the stars of heaven,
That Jehovah is come for his bride;
She bends her knee graciously to him.
The sun hides its face,
And all silvering clouds, all shimmering snow
Are darkness to the light of her raiment.
He calls her Zion; he lifts her by the hand.
Let the stone whisper to the flower
And the flower to the sun
That his kiss is tender.
The table is set; the wine is served;
And the stars break forth in song.

FICTION

SHOCKS OF GRAIN

ROBERT L. EGBERT

"WHOA." Benjamin Vaughn pulled back on the lines and stopped his four-horse team. It was midmorning and he had just finished cutting his ten-acre patch of barley. With the binder stopped, Ben grasped the lever that disengaged the cutter bar, pulled back and squeezed the handle and then pushed it forward. "Giddup," he called and the horses started forward, pulling the now free-rolling, borrowed binder to the yard.

Ben unhitched his horses and drove them to the barn. He'd have to get that binder back to David but not today. Dave's grain was cut already and he wouldn't mind if Ben kept the binder another few days—just so it was back in time to be put in shape for winter. In the meantime, clouds were piling in and crows were flying up the draw. It was going to rain and that barley must be shocked or it never would get dry enough to thresh.

Ben folded the harness lines and quickly looped them over hames, unhooked the horses from each other and removed the harnesses to hang them in the barn. As he turned with the last leather harness, Old Sally, made restless by a late season horsefly, lifted her left hind hoof and set it down upon Ben's instep. He gasped in pain and threw the harness back on Sally, then swore a hill man's curse and shoved the mare until she moved her weight. With his foot released, Ben seized a nearby bundle fork, to beat some sense into the dumb beast's head. But even as his hand closed on the handle, he stopped, stunned by the savagery of his own anger. An image of rage and violence long since forsaken passed through his mind. Ben's hand relaxed

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and he turned slowly back to complete the task he'd set aside, to hang Old Sally's harness in the barn. And finally, he let the team out to pasture, through the barb wire gate next to the barn. The way the weather looked, he wouldn't need any horses for a few days.

With looping strides, Ben headed toward the barley field. Only if he worked through dinner would he have the bundles in shocks by dark.

Ben's quarter section lay in the Valview hills next to the Wyoming border and south of Badger Creek. The lower end of his land was in quaking asp country, the upper end, in pine. Barely one-fourth of his hundred and sixty acres had been scarred by a farmer's plow, or ever would be. Ben and Agnes' house was three miles from Church, four and a half from school, eight from the nearest store and ten miles from a doctor.

From the front door of their two-room log house, Ben could see the Teton Peaks, like sharks' teeth, the Big Hole Mountains, light blue with distance, and the wheat covered hills of the Basin's west side, fifteen miles away. Entering those hills were the gray-dry brush and tree-lined cliffs of the Narrows, the Canyon cut by the Teton River as it left the Valley. These weren't Kentucky hills; Ben and Agnes were not yet sure they liked them.

Each winter the snow fell deep among the trees of the Valview hills, stairsteps to the Tetons' western slopes. For months each winter transportation was a horse drawn farm sleigh; sometimes not even a sleigh could make it through the dugway's drifts. Then Ben had to ride a horse or hike to do the things he must. Sometimes the kids missed school and even getting the family to Church was not possible. But neither winter's deepest drifts nor springtime storms could keep the weasels away from his chickens.

Forty-five feet from the packed-earth front step of Ben's sod-roofed house was a spring. Year round it flowed clear water—drinking water, bathing water, washing water, stock watering water. It ran between the rows of willows a scant ten yards away and trickled down the draw until it disappeared into the dry earth.

Ben and Agnes Vaughn had married young and had two kids. Then the Mormon missionaries came—and nothing was ever the same again. After he and Agnes joined the Church, even their own families didn't much care for them and so they left the Pine Mountains and moved to Idaho. They had lived in Valview a bare three years, still talking with the nasal twang of Kentucky's hill country. Some folks laughed at the way they said their words and so Ben didn't talk very much. He didn't talk at all about Kentucky and how they joined the Church. Nor did he talk about the feud between his family and another family. Ben had left the feud behind him, but he still had his rifle; it hung on the wall in the kitchen. The only time he used it now was when the family needed meat. He still could drop a deer or elk with a single shot—farther away than most of these farmers could see it.

Ben reached the field where barley bundles lay in sets of four and five as he had dropped them from the binder. Hundreds of bundles strewn in rows must be put together in shocks, bunches of ten or twelve, their golden heads pointed up. Another man might have wondered how many bundles there

were and how many nine or eleven bundle shocks they would make and how long it would take to form each shock and thus how long it would take to complete the field. Ben didn't. As the first drops of rain struck the parched gray earth, he set two bundles upright and began leaning others against them.

One shock and then another and a third and a fourth Ben made as he worked across the field. The sprinkle became a slow, steady drizzle that soaked his shoulders and ran unheeded down his arms. Bearded heads of barley shoved their whiskers through his sleeves and climbed his arms, scratching as they went.

Stoop, reach, grab and stack. One hundred bundles and then one hundred shocks. Ben's shoulders grew tight and his back ached and his arms were raw from barley's sharp-toothed whiskers.

Stoop, reach, grab and stack and fumble a rain-slick barley bundle and then pick it up and stack it once again. Scores of bundles, hundreds of bundles, thousands of barley bundles—each one a trifle for Ben's arms and back, but a thousand of anything, even trifles, take their toll. And the rain came down and soaked the soil and the bundles and Ben. The rain reminded him of October in Kentucky.

Back and forth across the rows of barley Ben moved, building shocks, straight up and true shocks, making sure that his grain could ripen under September's slanting rays. His gut gnawed from dinner missed, and his throat was parched. He never could figure why a man got thirsty in the rain.

Water soaked through his hat and mixed itself with sweat and trickled down around his ears, both front and back, and dripped from his chin and nose. Rain mixed with dust that earlier had sifted through his clothes. Dust and rain formed mud and the mud caked on neck and face and arms and legs.

The barley shocks increased in number, and with each shock there were ten fewer bundles on the ground. And still Ben moved. Stoop, reach, grab, and stack. Back and shoulders and legs throbbed and Ben's mind produced a stark image of Cousin Fred stepping off the train in Lexington. One bullet and then a second one smashed against his chest and drove him back against the step. He sagged and died, and when Ben heard about it, even the trail that he and Fred had walked became a barren place.

Inside the house, out of sight from Ben's barley field, Agnes moved around her kitchen and wished her husband would come in for dinner. She'd been keeping it since noon. She could see the binder in the yard so she knew that the barley was all cut and that Ben must be putting it in shocks. Agnes put another pan under a muddy drip and hoped the rain would stop.

Ben straightened, rubbed his back, and looked out to the west. It would rain all night.

Just two more rows to go. He would be finished well ahead of dark. More slowly now. Mud clung to his boots. Ben slipped, then caught himself, and slipped again. One more row of bundles and he could leave the rain and mud and the skin-stabbing barley whiskers.

The threshing machine wouldn't reach Valview till Monday and then it would take two weeks of good weather to wend its way to him. Most of that time Ben would work his rack and team for other men, pitching bundles with his three-tined fork and hauling them to the separator; pitching them onto the slatted conveyor belt which carried them into the slashing steel jaws that cut the twine and chopped the stalks and freed the heads of grain. And everything would disappear into the bowels of that great, gray steel giant and then, mysteriously, it would all come out again, the straw and chaff blown to an ever-growing stack, the kernels of grain shunted down a metal tube and into burlap sacks. Almost no one knew what took place inside.

At last the field was done. Ben slogged head down through mud and stubble, among and between the shocks. At the door he stuck his head inside and asked, "Have you milked the cow, Aggie?"

"Yes, Ben, I've milked her."

Ben kicked and scraped his feet against the lowest log, the one set on flat rocks to keep it off the ground. And then he stepped into the overheated, fresh-bread-and-mutton-stew-smelling kitchen. He unlaced his shoes and tossed them under the peg where he hung his coat and then he took the round tin wash tub from the wall. The kids all disappeared to the other room when Ben poured boiling water from the tea kettle and cold water from the bucket into the tub and slumped his body in.

By the time Ben had soaked and soaped and washed, Agnes had his dry clothes waiting on the nearest chair. He dressed and lifted the tin tub and its contents and opened the door and threw the mud and sweat and rain and barley whiskers and water as far as he was able.

As the mixture flew and fell, Ben saw a mounted figure on the road, and then another. George, it was, and Jake, sons of neighbors farther down in Valview—talking and laughing as they rode, the way young boys will. Ben called out "Hello" and they called back and kept on riding—quiet now.

Agnes put the bowl of stew and plate of bread on the bare, wood table and called the children and held the baby on her lap. Each one sat in front of oatmeal-package plate and glass while Ben thanked God for their blessings, including supper, and asked him to bless the food and protect each one of them.

Ben spooned and chewed and swallowed; his eldest child, Ruth, asked, "Why did we leave Kentucky, Pa?"

Ben stopped chewing, slowly raised his eyes, and looked at Ruth. Agnes interrupted, "They've been talking about it in Primary, Ben. Each child tells where them and their parents come from."

"We come to Idaho to be where the Church is."

"Wasn't there no other reason, Pa? Seems like I remember some shootin' and hollerin' just before we left."

Ben looked at Agnes and then at the other children—and back to Ruth. He hawked the frog from his throat, swallowed it, and said. "Some folks in Kentucky shoots others, Ruthie. After we become Mormons, we didn't want no more killin'".

"Why'd they shoot each other?"

"No reason. Just did."

Yes, Ben thought, the others kept on killing but he couldn't get out of his mind Elder Walsh's voice when he said "Thou shalt not kill." Even today he could remember when that young boy opened his Bible to the Book of Romans and read, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord."

The kitchen was quiet except for the sounds of eating, and then Ruth tried once more. "They must of had some reason, Pa."

Ben ducked his head and ate another bite of stew before he said. "My daddy's pa told me that some boy threw his rope onto a crazy old man's fence and pulled it down. The old man got mad and shot the boy and the boy's uncle shot the old man. Whenever one would get caught out by hisself, the other side would try to kill him. So we left."

Ruth sighed a dry-mouthed sigh and went back to eating mutton stew. The two boys, their supper finished, left the table. Ben once more looked at Agnes and asked where was the piece of cake left from last night's supper.

The next morning, as soon as it was light, Ben stepped from his front door into a clear, frosty morning. He yawned, stretched sore muscles, and reached back inside the door to get his hat. The rifle hung beside it and when he saw the little used barrel, he thought of Ruthie's question. Slowly he closed the door against the sight and walked to and past the line of willows, kicking holes in the earth as he went. As he walked, Ben's thoughts left Kentucky; they returned to Idaho and to his land. "Must of rained an inch," he thought. "Glad I got that barley shocked. Even with all that rain, it should get on its way to drying now."

Through the line of willows, Ben raised his eyes to view the rows of barley shocks—and stopped, perplexed. Where were they? Where were those shocks he spent all day yesterday building? Where were all those bundles standing up on end and supporting each other?

Ben broke into a trot—and then he ran. The shocks were down! Every last one! No bundle leaned against another. And then he saw the tracks. Horse tracks. Back and forth across the field. Boys laughing. Stoop, reach, grab and stack. Back hurting and shoulders aching. Horses running. Boys laughing. Barley beards scratching raw flesh. Rifles flashed and men fell. Hate burned white. Ben ran. Women screamed and children cried and Elder Walsh said "Thou shalt not kill."

And then Ben stopped and his shoulders sagged. Ben cried.

PERSONAL VOICES

A Mighty Change of Heart

EDWARD R. HOGAN

I WAS BORN in the Church and have always been active in it—more or less. My conviction in the validity of its claims has vacillated over the years. Until recently there always had been in the back of my mind a suspicion that the supernatural experiences of Joseph Smith were a lot of bunk. Even during times of relatively good feelings toward the Church, I felt that it perpetuated archaic notions, some of which were dangerous to society, and that it was guided by men of no particular distinction. Despite this I have always attended Church, and have usually had a calling in the Church.

My principal reasons for activity in the Church were social and intellectual. I liked many Mormons—especially thinking Mormons, and I liked to discuss moral and ethical problems. But after sacrament meeting or stake conference, I would always wonder at least a little bit why I went. Occasionally some of the talks would be interesting, but when people raved about how wonderful the meeting was, I always felt that they were lying, if not consciously to me, to themselves. I saw nothing to get so excited about.

During a Deseret Club meeting in graduate school, one of the brothers complained about the tone of the meetings. I can't remember exactly what he said except that many of us, myself likely the worst offender, had been critical of the Church much too frequently. I recall his saying that he came to the Deseret Club meetings in hopes of getting a spiritual lift during the middle of the week, and that he just wasn't getting it. This statement struck me with complete incredulity. I had no idea of what a spiritual lift was.

At Syracuse University, another of my fellow graduate students possessed exceptional insight and unusually sincere devotion to the Church. One

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summer he needed to drive to Boston to use the Harvard library, and I went along with him for the ride. We talked a lot about the Church and my problems with it. After trying to analyze them for a short time, he made the simple observation, “Oh, you don’t have a testimony.” He was right. In retrospect, it seems odd that someone hadn’t pointed it out to me long before.

My first two years out of graduate school were spent in the Boston metropolitan area where I had little trouble finding congenial saints. Then came a job teaching at a small rural college. The ward there reflected the conservativeness of the area, and these years were hard ones. I still attended Church, but I’m quite sure that many of the members of that ward regarded me as the anti-Christ.

Then I went back to Syracuse for a year of post-doctoral study. During that year, and to some extent the one before, there was a big change in me. I became a fierce defender of the faith. Now I go to Church meetings and, like my friend from graduate school, receive a spiritual lift. I get to stake conference early in order to find a good seat close to the speakers. I’ve even bought myself a white shirt.

When I come to the question of why, I find no easy answers. In one sense the solution is simple and complete: the spirit touched me. But why hadn’t this happened years earlier? Although none of my family, including me, observed a change until well after we had moved back to Syracuse, perhaps my being in a ward where there were few artificial inducements forced me to come to grips with the spiritual aspects of the gospel. I hadn’t been particularly popular in that previous ward, but just before we left, the Bishop asked us to give talks. It surprised me a little, but I figured it was because of my wife. When the Bishop introduced me, he said that the Hogans had made a number of friends while they were in the ward, that he was pleased to count himself among them. He then added, in so many words, that Brother Hogan really wasn’t as bad as he seemed to be. That incident helped to bring about my “mighty change of heart.” It’s nice to get compliments, especially unexpected ones; and in this case I was just a little concerned for the Bishop’s safety—for saying such things in that crowd.

On the other hand, perhaps being back in a congenial ward made it easier for me to gain a testimony. But I have lived in many such wards before and grew up in a ward whose members are among the most outstanding and intellectually elite in the Church. And many of the people who helped me the most to gain a testimony—people whom I now most admire—are of comparatively limited education.

Other specific things that have happened or that I have done have undoubtedly been factors, but they haven’t been particularly different from things done many times before. They started out being no different at all. And no one of these things or even all of them together add up to a satisfactory explanation.

As I’ve thought about what has caused this metamorphosis in myself, I keep thinking of a little article that Samuel Taylor published in *Dialogue* when

I was a graduate student.¹ I remember liking it very much. The article is a tongue-in-cheek guide for would-be Mormon writers. He called it "Little Did She Realize—Writing for the Mormon Market." And he gave a prototype example of a "little did she realize" story. A story that he observed was at once very popular among the Saints and very poor literature.

Janice is a beautiful and talented girl, see, who takes drama at BYU and yearns to be a great actress. But her boy friend, Claude, wants her to stay home, marry him and have babies. Claude, however, runs a dairy farm, and Janice wants fame and glamour, not manure on her shoes. Well, Janice is in an MIA play and by an astounding coincidence a great Hollywood producer is in the audience (how he got there is *your* problem). Anyhow, the producer flips over Janice's talent and beauty. He's got to have her for the starring role in his new \$50-million movie. So Janice's fondest dreams have come true. Everybody thinks it's a wonderful thing, and she's packing her bags when in comes Claude with hay in his hair and manure on his shoes (he heard the news while milking), and he says he's just come to say goodbye and gosh, honey, I'm going to miss you something terrible because, gee-whiz, I love you. At this moment Janice comes to realize that she doesn't want the tinsel and glitter of Hollywood; what she really wants is to be with Claude and have manure on her shoes, bear his babies and use her great talent as ward drama director of MIA. Fadeout.

There are infinite variations to the come-to-realize story: Janice is an orphan girl whose foster parents don't love her; so she's going to run away, but then she comes to realize that they *do* love her. Fadeout. Janice is a little old lady who rebels at going into an old folks' home; but she comes to realize that that's what such homes are *for*, old folks like her. Fadeout. Janice is a housewife who can't have babies, so she takes in a foster child; but the child doesn't love her and she's going to take it back, when she comes to realize. . . .¹

Well, I came to realize! It's very hard to say more, or less.

In college I took a course in painting from a professor who was, in retrospect, one of the best, perhaps the best, I ever had. This wasn't apparent at the time; he stuttered terribly when he lectured, so much so that it was embarrassing to all of us. When we started the course, he told us that he didn't expect to make many of us into artists, but he did hope that the course would make us appreciate what we saw. I *thought* he meant that we would learn to appreciate things that we saw in *museums* more. When we would have trouble with our painting, which was often, he would keep telling us that we couldn't see what we were trying to paint. None of us believed him. We would all say to each other, "I know what an apple looks like; what I don't know is how to paint an apple."

The course lasted for a full year. About the middle of the second semester I had finished all my assigned work and started a small painting of a green bottle. He came over and looked at what I was doing and obviously didn't like it much. He started to try to say something, but gave it up and took the paint brush from me and started painting yellow, red and whatever all over my respectable green bottle. I looked at the painting and wondered what on earth he was doing. Then I looked at the bottle again, and saw that it was also

red and yellow. Many times in my life I have had similar experiences when I was blind and then given sight. But none that were quite so dramatic or literal as that one.

Dramatic changes in outlook are also a fundamental part of the development of scientific knowledge. Thomas Kuhn gives the following scenario for scientific change in his *Structures of Scientific Revolutions*. Scientists in a particular discipline will have a set of theories and viewpoints, and they will adhere to these viewpoints with a strictness that Kuhn likens to orthodox religion. After a while some scientists will point out problems with the existing theories. Then quite suddenly the scientists will “come to realize” that the old theories were “wrong” and develop new theories which are “right”. The surprising thing is that often the new evidence is not sufficient to explain the change in outlook, and the new theories leave unanswered many of the questions that the old theories explained. That is, a sudden change or shift of viewpoint in science has been common.

Even though Samuel Taylor doesn’t like “little did she realize” stories very much, a largely inexplicable change of heart, or change in outlook is a type of experience that accompanies many of the periods of significant growth in our lives. And such a phenomenon is especially fundamental to experiences with the gospel. That may be one reason why we in the Church are so fond of that type of story: We can identify with it.

Religious experiences are extremely hard to share with those who have not had similar ones. And the person who attempts to do so will often appear ridiculous. But once the spirit has become a part of one’s life, one’s life changes and one’s attitude towards the Church as an organization changes. To those who have had them, manifestations of the spirit are very real.

I have many friends who are still in a situation similar to the one I was in a short time ago. They have strong cultural and social ties to the Church but lack testimonies and feel disaffected with the Church. Theirs is a rough spot to be in, and my heart goes out to them. They are fine brothers and sisters, but I know of no sure-fire way of sharing with them what I have, and what they, in most cases, seek.

The role of either a learner or a teacher is difficult if one is attempting to learn or teach anything beyond the mundane. If you can’t “see” the bottle or if you’ve never had a spiritual experience in sacrament meeting, there is no routine thing you can do to achieve your goal. Others can give you insights and general outlines, but if and when you finally do make a significant achievement, you may find it extremely hard to tell how you got there.

When Christ talks to the Samaritan woman at the well, He offers her a new well, an inexhaustible source of strength. What I now know is this: that such a source of strength does exist. It is a source that is available to all of us and it can make your lives far richer and more abundant than we ever dreamed possible.

NOTE

¹Samuel W. Taylor, “Little Did She Realize: Writing for the Mormon Market.” *Dialogue*, 4 Autumn 1969, pp. 33–39.

Some Sentimental Thoughts on Leaving the Fold

KENT L. WALGREN

A FEW SATURDAYS AGO, I stood in the duplication center at the University of Utah, photocopying a book-length manuscript with the cover title: "A Manuscript, by B. H. Roberts." Halfway through the project, a dark-haired student, in his mid-twenties, engaged me in conversation. I could see that only a considerable curiosity had overcome his instinctive reluctance to approach a stranger.

"Excuse me for being nosey, but I couldn't help but notice that you were copying something by B. H. Roberts. Would you mind telling me what it is?"

"It's an unpublished typescript of a work he wrote in the last years of his life entitled 'Difficulties with the Book of Mormon'," I answered.

"What is it about?"

I wasn't sure how to answer. I didn't want to be offensive, but I did enjoy religious discussions. "It's a study in which Roberts examines problems with the historicity of the Book of Mormon and concludes that a case can be made that it is the concoction of a boy living in western New York in the early nineteenth century."

The student tried to keep his face from cracking, but I could see he was nettled. Having been through dozens of unpleasant conversations in the preceding few years with believing Mormons, I made a few weak attempts to end the discussion which he resisted. After probing ineffectually to peg me, he finally offered that he was a Mormon. I knew that the remark was his way of inquiring into my status with the Church. I hesitated.

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"I'm a lapsed Mormon," I finally proffered. "What are you doing up here?"

"I've been working on a Sunday School lesson I have to give tomorrow. I found a fantastic article by Richard Poll . . ."

". . . 'What the Church Means to People Like Me.' " I interrupted.

"Yeah. How'd you know?" he asked.

Immediately a rush of confusing emotions filled me and I thought back five years to my own experience as the elders' quorum instructor in a University of Utah ward. In the priesthood class that morning, at my prompting, one elder, dressed in a black suit, tie and white shirt (the iron rodder) and another, tieless with a loud plaid sports coat (the liahona) played their parts and shared their beliefs and commitments to the Church. I remembered what a revelation and what a comfort Dr. Poll's article had been to me when I read it; it had been enough that there was someone else in the Church, apparently still functioning, who understood my questions. Dr. Poll had made me believe there was room in the Church for me. Then my attention shifted to a conference talk by Harold B. Lee in which he referred specifically to the article and condemned the liahonas;¹ and I felt an upheaval of pain.

I don't recall when I began asking questions about my religion. While going through the temple the first time before leaving for Italy on a mission, I remember wondering where and when the temple ceremony had been written down and how Joseph had received it; the question has stubbornly remained to this day. My faith then was probably a combination of pride, curiosity, and a sense of duty to God: my ego demanded that I be able to answer any question about the Church; I was curious after the manner of a mischievous child; and I had a profound sense of concern for my immortal soul. Despite the prohibition against "delving into the mysteries" I never hesitated to ponder any questions. I knew the Church was true and that since it circumscribed all truth, it was only a matter of looking hard enough and the answer would be there.

Although my mission was a satisfying experience, it also occasioned my first spiritual struggle. I saw hypocritical zone leaders blow into town, take in a movie, chastise the local elders for laziness and blow out again. I wrestled with the requirement that I obey my leaders with the same intensity that Jacob wrestled with his angel. I finally decided that one must obey even uninspired leaders; that if I were misled, the sin would be upon their heads. I found peace in the cliché that "the church organization is perfect but the leaders are human." But my stone respect for the Church leadership had developed a hairline crack.

My second struggle began in the first semester of law school at the University of Utah. The constitutional law professor, with infinite socratic skill, was grilling a classmate. I do not remember the particulars now, but the dialogue had something to do with the Constitution being a rigid or a flexible document. It was apparent to me that the student being questioned was a Mormon who believed the Constitution was divinely inspired, thus seemingly obviating the need that the document be amenable to fluid interpreta-

tion. As the professor fired question after question, my sorry classmate responded with the exact answers that I would have given. It became painfully obvious that the answers the student gave were logically unsound, but he held tenaciously to his cherished beliefs. As I left that class I felt battered even though I had not uttered a word during the entire hour. I realized that although BYU had filled me with answers, it never had taught me to think.

About this time I became acquainted with *Dialogue* and Dr. Poll's article. I was fortunate to have a (comparatively) liberal bishop who assured us that in order to function within the church we had to believe only three things: (1) the First Vision; (2) the Book of Mormon; and (3) that the current president of the Church was a prophet. Whether belief in the living prophet also implied absolute obedience to him, I am uncertain, but the reduction of the Mormon system to only three requirements gave me a sense of freedom.

The third stage of my journey occurred during the second year of law school. Six couples from the University Ward began to meet periodically for a study group. The first session would be an in depth study of the first vision. Someone brought Dean Jessee's article from *BYU Studies* about the early accounts of the first vision.² That there were numerous versions of the First Vision which seemed to contradict each other in important details penetrated deeply. I was beginning to feel insecure with my Bishop's first dogma.

In time it became inevitable that I read Fawn Brodie. During my undergraduate years at BYU the mere existence of *No Ma'am That's Not History* (though I had never given it more than a glance in the bookstore) had been conclusive proof that any questions she might have raised were ably answered by Hugh Nibley. So I read Brodie. And then I read Nibley. And the poverty of the refutation was more damaging than the exposé. After reading Brodie I felt the Book of Mormon, the remaining solid pillar of my testimony, begin to crumble, and I was frightened into fasting and prayer as never before. Although my testimony was disintegrating, I continued to attend church, partly to keep my marriage intact. The Church, after all, did much good; and it still might be true. But church meetings now became as painful as the dentist's chair. Contradictions that had once been assuaged by neat rationalizing or courteous evasions now glared: How could God be no respecter of persons and deny blacks the priesthood? How could the Book of Mormon prohibitions against secret rites and societies be squared with the temple ceremony? Was there really a difference between Christ's hypocrite praying on the street corners and prayer before 25,000 fans at a BYU basketball game?

In a magazine one day I came across horrifying color photographs of two children in Niger swollen near death from starvation. I dry-mounted the pictures and sent them with a letter to the First Presidency in which I asked how the Church could justify a half-ton, 10,000 crystal, 3,930 watt, chandelier in the new Washington Temple while thousands of children were starving to death daily; and if I could have permission to pay my tithing to hunger relief organizations and present receipts for the contributions to the bishop for purposes of obtaining a temple recommend. The First Presidency, after denying my request, answered as follows:

Were everyone in the world members of the Church, the tragic problems referred to . . . could of course be handled according to accepted welfare procedures.³

One winter night, while lying in bed before going to sleep, I told my wife Mischel that I did not believe in the church anymore. I had not planned it; I had never before even admitted it to myself, and I told her even though I knew that it would be shattering. In retrospect, I see that I had grasped at anything to keep from facing head-on the question of whether the Church might really be false. That ultimate question is always left unasked in Mormonism. Freedom of thought is circumscribed, often within a rather large circle, but the contemplation of the possibility of the downright falsity of Mormonism is a question always outside the circle. As Mischel lay crying that winter evening I felt a burden lifted from me as at no other time in my life. I was finally at peace again. I could now frankly admit my doubts and reservations without worrying about weakening testimonies or damaging potential converts. That evening the balance scales tipped. Needle after needle, day by day, had accumulated until there were finally enough of them to outweigh the solid lead of twenty-seven years of love and conditioning. I have asked many fallen Mormons since that time if they remember a precise moment of epiphany and most have answered yes. For Mischel it occurred two years later, her agony of fasting and prayer having been met with heavenly silence. But not before our marriage was becoming unravelled. After all, why should she waste time with me in this life when I wouldn't be around in the next? I love Mischel more deeply for having cared enough to decide for herself.

My affair with *Dialogue* had turned out to be a resting point along the way, not a final destination. I now, justly or unjustly, came to perceive the Englands, Polls, Hansens, Bushmans and Kellers as a coterie of intellectual chickens who'd found a place to roost. I imagined the compromises that *Dialogue* had had to make in order to survive. I thought that perhaps *Dialogue* should have kept its integrity and gone the way of *Courage*. But time has tarnished my idealism, and I am glad *Dialogue* is still around—even with its limitations. It may have cleared ground that some would not otherwise have been able to pass.

There remained the final ordeal: parents. Both Mischel's and my father had been in a stake presidency. Presurmisng the anguish our confessions would cause, we resisted until it finally became a matter of our psychic survival. Five years ago we mailed to our parents lengthy letters in which we set forth the reasons we could no longer retain our commitments to the Church. There were no ugly scenes; there have been no bitter arguments; but our relationships with our parents have never been the same.

Having parted ways with Mormonism, Christianity and theism seemed naturally to follow. Bertrand Russell's *Why I Am Not A Christian*, and *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* by Albert Schweitzer transformed the divinity of Jesus into myth. Walter Kaufmann, Bertrand Russell and Albert Camus destroyed God. A few years before, I had known even the name of the planet next to God's residence; now I knew nothing. The process of building a

personal moral and ethical system from the ground up has been, and continues to be, both exciting and painful. An initial enmity toward Mormonism caused me to discredit automatically any notion propounded by the Church. I have since found that many of the teachings of the Church are worth following, though for different reasons. I have had to learn to continually resist the security of absolutes: to think in shades of gray rather than in blacks and whites.

I have also discovered that I will always be a Mormon, whether or not the Church excommunicates me. Months ago a friend in another state wrote and asked why it is that some who leave the Church are able to integrate into the world and others are never really able to extricate themselves from the Mormon milieu. The answer must lie, in part, in the intensity of devotion before the fall from faith. Many are so deeply hurt by the social stigma of apostasy that they compulsively spend their remaining days inquiring into the Church's past in an effort to assure themselves and those who once respected them that they are not really crazy or evil. Perhaps it would be less medieval to borrow from the Jews and refer to these apostates and cultural Mormons as "progressive" Mormons; i.e., Mormons who cannot accept the dogma but who are as much a part of the Mormon culture as any fundamentalist or orthodox Mormon. The Church has little to fear from progressive Mormons. They are by nature generally individualists who are as inclined to reject an organization of liberals as they were to reject the church institution itself. Not so the fundamentalists. They seem to bear many of the traits of the Hofferian "true believer:" the need to identify with a mass movement; deprecation of the present; certitude in doctrine and fanaticism. If there is a threat to orthodox Mormonism it is the fundamentalist, not the progressive.

The freedom that I experienced in the last few years has been exhilarating. I discovered the amiability of coffee, beer and wine. I made new acquaintances whose diversity is as refreshing as the conformity within orthodoxy was stifling. But the parting has also brought sadness. Will Durant expressed it in describing his change from Catholicism to atheism:

I am still thinking of the suffering the change will bring. Not merely to disappointed parents, who will rear some of their sons to be priests only to find them becoming apostates and atheists. I am thinking of the apostates and atheists themselves. They will always have within them some seed of the faith they have left; they will feel a strange emptiness of soul when they look into the skies that once held a loving God, or into graves that once meant resurrections. I think some of them will go back to the old faith after a while, unable to bear the world without fiction. But even those who do not go back will secretly yearn for the poetry and comfort of the old beliefs. If we had never had the idea of a Father in heaven, and a happy life after death, we might bear this world cheerfully enough. Perhaps our children, or their children, will learn to be happy without lying to themselves about death. But we won't. We'll find it harder to die, I think; a little harder to leave life when we can never hope to taste its sweetness or see its colors again. The age of the great change will also be for many of us the age of the great sadness.⁴

Mormonism, Jesus and God, once real for me, have become fictions; yet, as I have approached the coal-blackness of my new reality, I have concluded bitterly that the human mind can handle only limited doses of reality; that some self-deception is necessary in order to survive. Understanding the game, I am uncertain how to deal with the self-deception; but I can no longer condemn my Mormon friends for their fiction.

As I focused again on my new acquaintance, the pain I initially felt melted into pity.

"How'd you know the name of the article?" he asked.

"It meant something special to me at one time in my life."

"Yeah. I know what you mean. I was feeling cornered until I ran across it. Now I feel there really is room in the Church for me," he said with relief.

NOTES

¹Harold B. Lee, Address delivered at general conference Sunday afternoon, April 4, 1971. Printed with the title "The Iron Rod," in *The Ensign*, June, 1971, p. 5. See especially page 7: "There are many who profess to be religious and speak of themselves as Christians, and, according to one such 'as accepting the scriptures only as sources of inspiration and moral truth,' and then ask in their smugness: 'Do the revelations of God give us a handrail to the kingdom of God, as the Lord's messenger told Lehi, or merely a compass?'" Poll's article, originally published in *Dialogue* 2 (Winter 1969): 107, has recently been reprinted in *Sunstone* 6 (July-August 1980).

²Dean C. Jessee, "The Early Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision," *BYU Studies*, 9 (Spring, 1969), p. 275.

³Letter dated February 21, 1975, signed by Spencer W. Kimball and Marion G. Romney.

⁴Will Durant, *Transition* (Garden City, New York, Garden City Publishing Company, Inc., 1927), pp. 159-60.

FROM THE PULPIT

Personal Conscience and Priesthood Authority

L. JACKSON NEWELL

FROM THE TEACHINGS of its founder, Joseph Smith, down to the present time, Mormon doctrine has recognized two complementary, though sometimes competing, sources of authority in personal affairs. Through one source, the priesthood hierarchy, Latter-day Saints may receive guidance that pertains not only to them as individuals but to other members as well. The other source, reason or inspiration, requires that we exercise personal initiative to seek truth and to discover principles that may also elevate us towards Christian attitudes and behavior. These two foundations of religious belief and action sometimes conflict, and many Mormons are loath to trust the promptings of their consciences if they differ from instructions received through priesthood channels. Church leaders increasingly stress the importance of obedience, thus diminishing the role of independent moral judgment although our doctrine is peppered with warnings about the dangers of this imbalance.

At April Conference in 1843, Joseph Smith defended Pelatiah Brown, who was being tried by the High Council for heretical teachings:

I do not like the old man being called up for erring in doctrine. It looks too much like the Methodist, and not like the Latter-day Saints. Methodists have creeds which a man must believe or be kicked out of their church. I want the liberty of thinking and believing as I please. It feels so good not to be trammelled. It does not prove that a man is not a good man because he errs in doctrine.¹

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Although Joseph warned of preoccupations with doctrinal conformity, Brigham Young counseled the Saints on dangers to individuals and to the Church associated with blind faith. From the Tabernacle in 1862, he said

I am more afraid that this people have so much confidence in their leaders that they will not inquire for themselves of God whether they are being led by Him. I am fearful they settle down in a state of blind self-security, trusting their eternal destiny in the hands of their leaders with a reckless confidence that in itself would thwart the purposes of God in their salvation, and weaken that influence they could give to their leaders, did they know for themselves, by the revelations of Jesus, that they are led in the right way. Let every man and woman know, by the whispering of the Spirit of God to themselves, whether their leaders are walking in the path the Lord dictates, or not. This has been my exhortation continually.²

And only a decade ago, President David O. McKay's First Counselor, Hugh B. Brown, was even more explicit about the need for a questioning faith. Addressing a spring convocation at Brigham Young University, he admonished the students:

You young people live in an age when freedom of the mind is suppressed over much of the world. We must preserve it in the Church and in America and resist all efforts of earnest men to suppress it. . . . Preserve, then, the freedom of your mind in education and in religion, and be unafraid to express your thoughts and to insist upon your right to examine every proposition. We are not so concerned with whether your thoughts are orthodox or heterodox as we are that you shall have thoughts.³

Each of these Mormon leaders, and many others, knew that although reasoned and reasonable obedience is essential to community, blind obedience can be perilous to individuals and dangerous to society.

Reconciling reason and faith is an age-old problem; philosophers and laymen alike have anguished over it for millenia. But the issue is a particularly poignant one at this point in Mormon history because some church leaders are placing greatly increased emphasis on institutional loyalty and priesthood authority, as illustrated by Ezra Taft Benson's February, 1980, speech at Brigham Young University. Using a military metaphor, he said

Our marching orders for each six months are found in the General Conference addresses which are printed in the *Ensign* magazine.

Elder Benson went on to explain how one should handle conflicts that might arise between the words of our present leaders and those of earlier times: "Beware of those who would pit the dead prophets against the living prophets, for living prophets always take precedence." Conflicts between temporal knowledge and spiritual knowledge were also mentioned: "The prophet is not required to have any particular earthly training or credentials

to speak on any subject or act on any matter at any time.” He ended with a grave warning: “The prophet and the presidency—follow them and be blessed—reject them and suffer.”⁴

Though we may debate the practical application of these remarks, they weigh heavily on the authoritarian side of the scale. Judgments of the institution and its leaders are to be accepted and followed by the individual. Two vital foundations for reasoning, knowledge from the past and insight arising from personal experience, are called into question. On what basis, then, or with what confidence, might today’s Latter-day Saint “insist upon his right to examine every proposition,” as Hugh B. Brown urged him or her to do?

If there is truth in the notion that religion needs most and suffers most from institutionalization, then there may also be some value in considering a corollary: The individual needs most and suffers most from the church organization. This corollary could just as well be stated in reverse: The individual needs most and suffers most from the quest for personal identity.

However we state the dilemma, the idea remains the same and the principle is hardly new. What is new is new only at the personal level. Each of us must reckon afresh with the basic conflict: as a social creature I need ties and affiliations with others, and as an individual I need freedom to express my unique aims and talents. Within the Mormon culture, the dilemma is sharpened by explicit encouragements to conform to group norms on the one hand, and to multiply our talents and realize our unique personal potential on the other. Small wonder that many thoughtful members of the LDS Church struggle so valiantly to find peace with themselves and with the Church.

The quest to balance personal needs and beliefs with church loyalties is not always waged with success. Some surrender to the institution, whether from faith or exhaustion, and find contentment in the obedient life while memories of the encounter fade dimly from view. Others opt for freedom in personal expression and abandon ship—eventually dissolving their ties with organized religion in favor of less constraining social groups. But there are others who, for one reason or another, refuse to allow either social needs or personal needs to predominate. Within this group, too, a simplified view suggests two extremes: the *unconscientious resister* (the foot dragger)⁵ and the *conscientious critic* (the loyal opposition). Although the former give every appearance of conformity, they make private accommodations of one kind or another. One common example is the member who accepts a calling from a sense of duty and then proceeds half-heartedly with the responsibilities. This approach is perilous to self-esteem and paralytic to community and institutional life. In the short run, however, it appears to be the route of least resistance, so its path is both well known and frequently trodden.

Conscientious critics pursue a healthier course. They give honest but appropriate expression to their personal views, seeking changes they believe would strengthen the Church and culture but remain committed to the institution and the way of life. Conscientious critics walk a tightrope, however, because both their motives and their ideas are regarded with suspicion by

highly orthodox members as well as foot draggers. What are some of the factors, then, that make it possible for conscientious critics to exercise independent moral judgment and still enjoy institutional and cultural acceptance?

It is my belief that Mormons have more freedom of expression and more latitude in behavior than most of them use. Local ward and stake attitudes and levels of tolerance do vary, but this statement seems to be true more often than not. A few members, however, make a show of their differences with the Church, or with orthodox members of it, simply to satisfy their own needs to be seen as independent-minded. Consciously or unconsciously, some seek to be ostracized. This behavior is regrettable because it intimidates some who would otherwise enjoy greater freedom within the faith. Even so, others may hold the same ideas, but will express them without threatening or offending fellow members. We are all aware, however, that this is not always the case.

Foolish consistency, it has been said, is the hobgoblin of little minds. We needn't reconcile all that is currently known, both from reason and from revelation, into one consistent whole. As Edward Lueders expressed so effectively in *The Clam Lake Papers*,⁶ we should resist the temptation to reject a promising new idea simply because it appears to contradict an established notion or an existing truth. Perhaps a fuller understanding will someday reveal the unity we fail to perceive now. In the meantime, as the 13th Article of Faith suggests, let us embrace all that is of merit—without fretting over the compatibility of one idea with another. Why, for instance, must our knowledge of geological antiquity cause us to deny God's role in the creation of the earth, or why should evidence of evolutionary processes rule out our current (or eventual) likeness to the Creator? If we must demand consistency, must we insist on it *now* at our present level of comprehension?

While few would consciously deny that the purposes of religious activity are individual lives of integrity and service, in the LDS Church we are especially prone to make strict judgments about the means and the personal regimens leading to these ends. Any large organization is tempted to standardize procedures at the expense of individual needs. As a large institution, the Mormon Church is no exception. General Authorities, Correlation Committee members and others assume that a prescribed, highly structured set of activities will advance every member equally along the pathway to a life that is disciplined and humane. The list of expectations is now so staggering that few have the energy, time, or will to measure up completely. Many grapple with their consciences as a result. Worse still, we are all in danger of substituting performance of tangible duties for genuinely Christian character development as we assess our worthiness before both man and Maker.

Is payment of ten percent of our increase to the Church a duty mindlessly performed? An organizational necessity? Or an act of conscious caring that stimulates further generosity of both substance and spirit? If it is not the latter, then a religious means has become an end in itself. If tithing becomes an end for me, and I am *less* generous and *less* caring with the ninety percent that remains, then the practice of tithing may have become *antithetical* to its real purposes and to my development as a Christian.

I am not suggesting that we stop paying tithing even if it has become a routine matter with us because there are other reasons for doing it and others who benefit, but I *do* think each member should keep for himself or herself the responsibility to decide what practices and beliefs will produce a life of greatest integrity and service. Put differently, as an institution the Church appears to assume that a given set of means will produce similar ends for all persons. As individual members, however, we bear responsibility for our own progress. There is no substitute for introspection, at regular intervals, to sort out means and ends and measure our progress against the example of Christ. So long as our ends are truly His, we should not be timid about selecting from among, or substituting for the institutionally prescribed means for advancing us towards the ideal.

By placing so much responsibility with the individual, I am aware that my argument can easily be used to rationalize a variety of compromises with church doctrines and practices. This is a danger, but acceptance of responsibility for one's own moral progress is the key here, and maintenance of standards at least equal to those suggested by the Church is essential to prevent abuse of the principle.

Whether in the Church or out, personal ambition requires sacrifice. One of the chief sacrifices made by those who aspire to leadership in the LDS Church, either consciously or unconsciously, is a degree of personal freedom. Because of the premium placed on obedience, orthodoxy in manner, dress, speech and thought is rewarded. One can advance an hypothesis, therefore, that the degree of freedom a member enjoys (while remaining within the fold) is inversely related to his or her need for status in the priesthood or organizational hierarchy. One who aspires to become a general authority or auxiliary president, for example, has comparatively little latitude when compared with those who seek no more than to contribute to religious community life within their own ward through teaching a Sunday School class or working with the youth. In 1980 terms, for instance, the latter has the option to support the Equal Rights Amendment, while the former does not.

Another constraint related to ambition is employment. Those who seek or hold employment with the Church must accept the fact that they will be judged more strictly, other things being equal, than other members. No Coca-Cola is sold in the Church Office Building. No beards are allowed at Brigham Young University.

Conscientious critics need support from and association with others of like mind, not so much to bolster their strength as to nourish their commitment—to the Church. While that statement may have the ring of paradox, it sets forth a principle I have experienced and observed. When I was a young college professor in the mission field fifteen years ago, *Dialogue* saved my faith. I needed to know that other Latter-day Saints had the same frustrations and had experienced the same intellectual dilemmas as I.⁷ And I needed to see that others could wrestle with the same doubts I had and could remain committed. Reading *Dialogue* under trees bedecked with Spanish moss in South Carolina, I observed through the vicarious example of others that being half-sure didn't have to mean being half-hearted.

Responsible critics are encouraged, in both their responsibility and their faith, by contact with each other. *Dialogue*, *Sunstone*, *Exponent II* and similar publications play an important role here, as do Sunstone's Theological Symposia and study groups of thoughtful and open-minded people.

Another function of these periodicals and friendships is to provide healthy, constructive avenues for the expression of ideas arising from personal frustrations with the church organization or with Mormon culture. It is better to ventilate anger than to suppress it, and it is better, far better, to propose solutions and to seek alternatives than to lash out with bitter criticism.

E. E. Cummings is supposed to have said that most people can be put in one of two categories—those who define themselves primarily by what they are against and those who define themselves primarily by what they are *for*. Well-educated people, thinking people, often fall into the first group, and they make good critics because they have been schooled in analytical methods. But they are too seldom *constructive* critics and when they are not, they are notoriously ineffective in the Church. Those who genuinely seek the “space” to be intellectually honest in the Church will have a wider berth if they are of the second, positive type.

My conclusions are both theological and personal. My thesis is that Mormon doctrine includes both a Catholic and a Quaker strain. We share with Catholics a *hierarchal* belief in a divinely-guided priesthood organization with authority passed down from a leader who is commissioned by the Lord himself. We share with Quakers a *democratic* belief that the Lord may speak *directly* with each of us, and that our salvation depends on our personal relationship with deity, not on human intermediaries. Much of the strength and beauty of LDS theology arises from the creative tension provided by the juxtaposition of these concepts—concepts that are considered mutually exclusive by most of the Christian world. I believe priesthood authority and personal inspiration are necessary countervailing forces. One assures the survival of the Church, the other affixes responsibility for moral action (and salvation) upon the individual. The Church is properly concerned with doctrine, but each of us will ultimately be judged by what we do. Our deeds will tell the tale.

As a convert to the Church, I was attracted by the compelling power of these gracefully balanced assumptions. Now as a member of nearly two decades, I am troubled because that balance appears to be threatened. Fortunately, our doctrine and our history both speak to the issue. But a cattleman from Dixie may have said it as well as any. Noting her tendency to question, Juanita Brooks' father philosophized:

My girl, if you follow this tendency to criticize, I'm afraid you will talk yourself out of the Church. I'd hate to see you do that. I'm a cowboy, and I've learned that if I ride *in* the herd I am lost—totally helpless. One who rides counter to it is trampled and killed. One who only trails behind means little, because he leaves all responsibility to others. It is the cowboy who rides the edge of the herd, who sings and calls and makes himself heard who helps direct the course. Happy sounds are generally better than cursing, but there are times when he must maybe swear a little and swing a whip or lariat to round in a stray or turn the leaders. So don't lose yourself, and don't ride away and desert the outfit. Ride the edge of the herd and be alert, but know your directions, and call out loud and clear. Chances are, you won't make any difference, but on the other hand, you just might.⁸

Fixing our eyes on truly Christian objectives and committing our energies to things we can humanely influence, let us affirm within the LDS Church each other's right to independent moral judgment based on personal inspiration.

NOTES

¹*Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, Vol. 20 (1858), p. 774. It appears, incidentally, that the Methodists and Mormons have switched sides on this issue since Joseph offered this sentiment.

²*Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 9, p. 150.

³*Church News*, 24 May 1969. This issue contains the complete text of President Brown's memorable address.

⁴Quoted from the press copy release, "Fourteen Fundamentals in Following the Prophets," BYU Devotional Forum, 26 February 1980.

⁵For a thoughtful discussion of the foot dragger type, see K-Lynn Paul's "Passive Aggression and the Believer" *Dialogue*, 10 Autumn, 1977, pp. 86–91. In addition to foot draggers and conscientious critics, of course, there are classic hypocrites, who conform in public expression but dissent in private behavior, and the nominal members, or Jack Mormons, who ignore or reject the doctrines of the Church but maintain some ties with the culture.

⁶Lueders, Edward. *The Clam Lake Papers*. New York: Harper and Row, 1977.

⁷One frequent source of frustration and confusion among members is haggling over fine points of doctrine. If a woman is widowed with several children after a Temple sealing, and later marries a widower and they have children who will the children of this new union "belong to" in the hereafter? Such questions may be good teasers to forestall senility, but to me they always have an unreal quality. Do we know enough about the hereafter to reach our grim conclusions? Can't a loving, omnipotent Father somehow find a solution more satisfying than our fledgling attempts? My preference is to trust in God to provide appropriate reward for those who, despite seeming historical or theological quirks, competently and gracefully handle that which falls within their realm of influence.

⁸"Riding Herd: A Conversation with Juanita Brooks." *Dialogue* 9 Spring, 1974, p. 12.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Polynesian Origins: More Word on the Mormon Perspective

RUSSELL T. CLEMENT

IN FEW CASES is the Mormon Church at such odds with “the learning of men” as in its answers to the intriguing questions of Polynesian origins and migrations. Apostle Mark E. Petersen expressed the Mormon viewpoint in a conference address on April 8, 1962: “As Latter-day Saints we have always believed that the Polynesians are descendants of Lehi and blood relatives of the American Indians, despite the contrary theories of other men.”¹ The scientific community indeed favors a contrary theory, that of an approach to Polynesia from the west. Based upon an impressive and increasingly cohesive array of archaeological, linguistic, ethnographic, and ethnobotanic evidence, modern Pacific scholars accept a Southeast Asian origin for Polynesians. With minimal exceptions, scholars agree that explorers called Lapita (Mongoloid and Melanesian Australoid Phenotypes) migrated from Southeast Island Asia through Melanesia and reached Western Polynesia by 1200 BC. From Tonga and Samoa, scholars conclude, they settled the Marquesas, Easter Island and finally Hawaii and New Zealand.

In addition to these disparate theories about Polynesian origin, recent statements by President Spencer W. Kimball about internal Polynesian migration and settlement are equally at odds with the academic community. A brief overview of both sides of the issue is needed to understand and appreciate the little-known but extremely significant remarks of President Kimball delivered between February 13, 1976, and February 24, 1976, at Brigham Young University—Hawaii Campus and at the Area Conferences of Samoa, New Zealand and Tonga.

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For over two centuries people have discussed, written and argued about how the many islands of Polynesia, flung over some twelve million square miles of ocean and separated by hundreds of miles from continental coasts, were discovered and settled. How could primitive man have crossed thousands of miles of the world's greatest ocean to colonize these islands without sophisticated navigational skills and ships? During the late eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, Polynesians were variously traced to India, many parts of Asia, the Americas and even to an exotic lost continent in the middle of the Pacific. Until well into the twentieth century, confusing and contradictory theories abounded.²

AMERICAN ORIGIN THEORIES

American origin theorists, beginning in 1803 with a Spanish missionary in the Philippines named J. de Zuñiga, have included notable Hawaiian scholar William Ellis and, most recently, Thor Heyerdahl. Zuñiga and Ellis based their reasoning on the opinion that prevailing winds and currents came from the east. Heyerdahl renewed their theories of American origins a century later after he completed his well-known and publicized *Kon Tiki* expedition in 1947. Although Heyerdahl's adventure and writings have attracted a large public following, he has gained scant support from Pacific scholars. Researchers have viewed his work with widespread skepticism and have countered with serious objections, derived chiefly from the subjective and unsupported nature of his comparisons between Polynesians and South Americans.³ However, Heyerdahl is credited with having had a positive effect on the growth of Pacific archaeology by prompting careful reviews of earlier assumptions and by generating new research.

In recent years almost all of the purported evidence favoring an American approach to Polynesia has been challenged to the extent that most scholars would concur with Glen Barclay's summation: "What seems beyond question is that, wherever the Pacific peoples might have come from in the first place, they reached the Pacific by way of Asia."⁴ The major evidence which has traditionally maintained American origin theorists includes physical resemblance of Polynesians to South American Indians, blood genetic relationships, botanical and linguistic evidence, migration legends and modern east-to-west "drift" voyages such as the *Kon-Tiki*.

Briefly, scientists answer the supposed similarities of external physical features such as skin pigmentation, hair color and skull shape with the claims that these characteristics are "too variable among Pacific peoples to be reliable indicators of origin,"⁵ and that both groups are Mongoloids of ultimate East Asian derivation. On the other hand, anthropologists use physical evidence to support western origin theories.⁶ While it was once thought that certain blood group percentages indicated a direct connection between Polynesians and South Americans, this hypothesis is no longer considered valid by scientists.⁷

Botanical evidence of New World contact generally concerns the supposed human introduction of the American sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), bulrush

(*Scirpus riparius*, commonly known as *totara*), cotton (*Gossypium*) and several other species. Although seeds of the bulrush reed and cotton are usually explained as having been carried by migratory seabirds, the presence of the sweet potato throughout Eastern Polynesia continues to stump scientists. Those researchers who do accept an Andean origin for the sweet potato are cautious to include, as Bellwood maintains, that "this need not of course imply a massive colonization by South American Indians."⁸ A one-way, accidental drift voyage may have introduced the plant into Eastern Polynesia, perhaps to the Marquesas Islands.

The main linguistic evidence for the South American originists is connected with the alleged Quechua word for the sweet potato, *cumar*, which closely resembles Polynesian names for the plant. As D. D. Brand states, however, the word *cumar*, "is not a Quechua word; and the word *cumar* never was used for sweet potato anywhere along the coast of South America."⁹

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries many elaborate, romantic migration theories were founded on voyaging tales and traditions. For examples, writers such as Abraham Fornander of Hawaii, S. Perry Smith of New Zealand and others contributed theories of navigational technique and settlement based on fanciful legends. Later and better trained anthropologists and historians have discounted these tales and particularly this method of conjectural history. Thor Heyerdahl's belief in the legends of white-skinned, red-haired peoples in America and Polynesia has likewise been discounted.

There have been several modern attempts to retrace possible Polynesian migration patterns such as Heyerdahl's 1947 raft voyage from Peru to an uninhabited reef off the Tuamotu Archipelago. In 1973, Levison counted six more experimental rafts that had voyaged westward to Polynesia from the coast of Peru. As exciting and popular as these adventures are, scholars like Levison point out that "at certain critical early stages of all the modern voyages, as much westing as possible was made by the crews specifically to avoid being swept to the Galapagos or back to the mainland coast." He concludes that "it is most unlikely for drift voyages . . . to reach Polynesia from the South American coast unless they begin some three or four hundred miles off the coast."¹⁰ Barclay termed Heyerdahl's feat "a human achievement of truly Polynesian greatness, but it did nothing to prove that Polynesians had ever done it themselves."¹¹

SOUTHEAST ASIAN ORIGIN THEORIES

While scholars and scientists have refuted, at least to their satisfaction, evidences of American origins of Polynesians, the academic world continues to build the case for west-to-east migration and settlement. Volumes have been written on the theory which has been generally accepted since 1940. Barclay sums up the major evidence for Southeast Asian origins:

The people who swept over the Pacific Ocean were descendants of the same East Asian peoples who had earlier settled in the Marianas.

Linguistic studies of the various tongues of what became known as Polynesia confirmed that these languages together formed one element in a linguistic super-family of Malay-Polynesian speech. Archaeological studies of pottery and adzes in the Pacific Islands indicated a link between Malay-Polynesian speakers and the Lungshan cultures of South China, themselves linked with the cultures of North China. Biological evidence is consistent with the findings of linguistics and archaeology: the prevalence of so-called 'shovel-shaped' incisors among Polynesians is a distinctive Mongolian trait, and reinforces the proposition that the Polynesians originated as a mixed Caucasoid-Mongolian racial group, who launched out into the Pacific Ocean from much the same parts of Eastern Asia as the first adventurers, with whom they intermarried extensively.¹²

Regarding internal Polynesian migration, the consensus of the scholarly community is that after Tonga and Samoa were settled between 1200 and 1000 B.C., the Marquesas Islands were settled about A.D. 300, Easter Island by A.D. 400, and Hawaii by A.D. 500. A second movement to Tahiti or the Society Islands occurred by A.D. 600 and from there New Zealand was settled by A.D. 800. Secondary migrations from Tahiti to Hawaii and New Zealand happened after A.D. 1000.¹³ It is important to keep this scholarly pattern in mind as the comments by President Kimball are presented.

THE MORMON VIEWPOINT

Mormons have long adhered to and periodically reaffirm the belief that Polynesians are descendants of Book of Mormon peoples, beginning with that "exceedingly curious man" Hagoth. Unfortunately, the account of Hagoth in Alma 63:5–8 is sparse on details. Three ships were built in which "many of the Nephites . . . took their course northward." The Mormon assertion that Polynesians descended from Lehi and Book of Mormon people via Hagoth is well-documented.¹⁴ Indeed, Mormons have shown a keen interest in Polynesia since Joseph Smith's time.

Apparently, the first attempt to relate the two groups is found in the journal of Louisa Barnes Pratt, wife of Premier Polynesian Mormon missionary Addison Pratt and Mormonism's first female missionary. Louisa Pratt recorded addressing a group on Tubuai in October, 1851, and explaining that "The Nephites were the ancient fathers of the Tahitians," something in which they were very interested.¹⁵ Since then, significant statements and reaffirmations have been pronounced by such Mormon leaders as George Q. Cannon, Parley P. Pratt, Brigham Young, Joseph F. Smith, Heber J. Grant, George A. Smith, Joseph Fielding Smith, David O. McKay, J. Reuben Clark, Matthew Cowley, Hugh B. Brown, Mark E. Petersen, Gordon B. Hinckley and Spencer W. Kimball.¹⁶

Two of the most famous and unequivocal statements were made by Presidents Heber J. Grant and Joseph F. Smith. At the dedication of the Hawaiian temple on November 27, 1919, President Grant prayed: "We thank thee that thousands and tens of thousands of the descendants of Lehi, in this favored land, have come to a knowledge of the Gospel."¹⁷ Joseph F. Smith reportedly

said to a group of Maori Saints in Salt Lake City, "I would like to say to you brethren and sisters from New Zealand, you are some of Hagoth's people, and there is no perhaps about it."¹⁸

During Spencer W. Kimball's tenure as President of the Church, he has repeatedly made explicit, significant statements regarding Polynesian derivation. In the December, 1975, *Ensign*, for example, he said "These descendants of the Book of Mormon peoples . . . numbered in the millions and covered the islands of the Pacific and the Americas. . . . I rejoice that it has been my privilege to carry the Gospel to the Lamanites from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic . . . and in the islands from Hawaii to New Zealand."¹⁹ This article also connects the Polynesians to the Lamanites, an important point members of the First Presidency were apparently unwilling to define as recently as September 19, 1972.²⁰

STATEMENTS MADE IN 1976 BY PRESIDENT SPENCER W. KIMBALL

Possibly the most significant statements and clearest explanations of the Mormon belief regarding Polynesian origins and internal migration made by a Mormon prophet were delivered by President Kimball at Brigham Young University-Hawaii Campus, Laie, Hawaii. Due to the significance of this important yet almost unknown address, the entire text is reprinted. The original typescript of the address is housed at BYU-HC.

What a happy occasion to find all of you good people here waiting in between rainstorms to have this delightful opening session. As President Tanner has said, we are on our way to the South Seas. We're going to visit Samoa and Tonga and Tahiti and Fiji, as well as New Zealand, and Australia. We shall meet tens of thousands of your loved ones in the Islands of the Sea.

A long time ago the Lord, I think, decided that the Middle East wasn't good enough for some of his people, so he sent Lehi and his associates to America where they would find the greatest land, the choicest land in all the world. After they had lived there for some 600 years, I think he found out that the people, some of the people, were too fine, too good for the Americas that he had given them, so He sent Hagoth and his associates, several thousand of them, to Northward. We think they lodged here, and then that they moved from here to the Southland.

President Joseph F. Smith, who was President of the Church said to the New Zealanders, "Now, you are from Hagoth who is the founder of your nation." We understand from the Maoris that they came from the North, so it all fits quite well together. We think that it will be a wonderful thing to visit your people, you who are the natives of the Islands of the Sea, and so we anticipate greatly being with them these coming weeks.

And now it is our privilege to join with you in the breaking ground for this library which will be an important element in the development of this great school. In the library is frozen great treasures of wisdom and understanding, and we hope that the youth of this great school will enjoy and profit by those frozen treasures of knowledge and truth.

We realize that when Hagoth came here, he must have had some inspiration. He came from the Mainland, out here to the islands, and peopled the South Seas. There are thousands of islands, many of which are populated by the people here.

Now the Church has considered for a long time that it was important that we select one of the islands, and there build a great institution where all of the boys and girls from all of the islands could come at a lesser cost, and in their same general environment where they might receive the word of the Lord. And so this institution was organized so that it could teach all of the boys and girls who come to it the truths of the Gospel as well as the truths of the world in which we live.

So we are very happy today to say that the Lord is showing His great interest in the people of the Islands by establishing here this institution, by enlarging it, by building this building that will become a very important part of it. This is your school. We hope that you will enjoy it and use it to the fullest possible advantage. Schools in the United States are very common. But when you get a school like this, in an island far away, that is really something to be proud of and to be happy for.

So we're hoping that you young men and women will look forward, and all of your brothers and sisters and cousins in the islands will look forward to the day when they can qualify to come here to this institution to finish, to complete their training and education.

God bless you, that you will use this institution to its greatest capacity, and obtain from it all the good that is there for you. May peace be with you. May the Lord bless you as you continue your education in this magnificent institution. I pray all this with my love and affection for you in the name of Jesus Christ, Amen.

The important details in the address are contained in paragraphs two and five. President Kimball explains that the Lord "sent Hagoth and his associates, several thousand of them, to Northward (Compare Alma 63:6). We think they lodged here, and then that they moved from here to the Southland." In paragraph five, he states that Hagoth was guided by inspiration and reemphasizes that "He came from the Mainland, out here to the islands, many of which are populated by the people here."

For the first time in Mormon thought, a Church president has publicly explained migration within Polynesia. President Kimball makes it clear that Hagoth came first to Hawaii, then these descendants of Lehi "moved from here (i.e., Hawaii) to the Southland," eventually colonizing many of the South Sea islands. This concept of Polynesian migration from Hawaii southward is as contrary to scientific thought and findings as the Church's belief of ultimate American origins for Polynesians. President Kimball's significant address is a clear explanation and stands for a major document of Mormon thinking on the subject. During the next few days, at the February, 1976, Area Conferences in Samoa, New Zealand and Tonga (to which President Kimball alludes to his BYU-HC address), he reasserted these ideas and added further interpretations of Alma 63:4-10.

During the First General session of the Samoa Area Conference, held at 10 A.M. on Tuesday, February 17, 1976, at the Church College of Western Samoa in Apia, Western Samoa, President Kimball said

I thought to read to you a sacred scripture which pertains especially to you, the islanders of the Pacific. It is in the sixty-third chapter of Alma, and it says, "In the thirty and seventh year of the reign of the judges, there was a large company of men, even to the amount of five thousand and four hundred men, with their wives and their children, departed out of the land of Zarahemla into the land which was northward.

"And in the thirty and eighth year, this man built other ships. And the first ship did also return, and many more people did enter into it; and they also took much provisions, and set out again to the land northward.

"And it came to pass that they were never heard of more. And we suppose that they were drowned in the depths of the sea. And it came to pass that one other ship also did sail forth; and whither she did go we know not.

"And it came to pass that in this year there were many people who went forth into the land northward. And thus ended the thirty and eighth year.

"And it came to pass in the thirty and ninth year of the reign of the judges, Shiblon died also, and Corianton had gone forth into the land northward in a ship. . . ." (Alma 63:4,7-10.)

And so it seems to me rather clear that your ancestors moved northward and crossed a part of the South Pacific. You did not bring your records with you, but you brought much food and provisions. And so we have a great congregation of people in the South Seas who came from the Nephites, and who came from the land southward and went to the land northward, which could have been Hawaii. And then the further settlement could have been a move southward again to all of these islands and even to New Zealand. The Lord knows what he is doing when he sends his people from one place to another. That was the scattering of Israel. Some of them remained in America and went from Alaska to the southern point. And others of you came this direction.

President Joseph F. Smith, when president of the Church, said to the people of New Zealand, "I would like to say to you brethren and sisters from New Zealand, you are some of Hagoth's people, and there is NO PERHAPS about it!" (Joseph F. Smith, quoted by William A. Cole and Elwin W. Jensen, *Israel in the Pacific*, p. 388.) He didn't want any arguments about it. That was definite.

So you are of Israel. You have been scattered. Now you are being gathered.²¹

Four days after the Samoan address, on Saturday, February 21, 1976, at 10 A.M., President Kimball spoke at the first general session of the New Zealand Area Conference held at the Church College at Temple View, New Zealand.

The most pertinent section of his address is included, where President Kimball states unequivocally that the Maoris came from Hawaii and that Hagoth's people remained in the Pacific:

The Maori people came from the north country, from Hawaii. Their origin is recorded in the Book of Mormon where Alma gives an account of their journeys. Their common ancestor was Hagoth.

"He being an exceedingly curious man (says Alma), therefore he went forth and built him an exceedingly large ship, on the borders of the land Bountiful, by the land Desolation, and launched it forth into the west sea, by the narrow neck which led into the land northward.

"And behold, there were many of the Nephites who did enter therein and did sail forth with much provisions, and also many women and children; and they took their course northward . . .

"And in the thirty and eighth year, (approximately two years later), this man built other ships. And the first ship did also return, and many more people did enter into it; and they also took much provisions, and set out again to the land northward.

"It came to pass that they were never heard of more. And we suppose that they were drowned in the depths of the sea. And it came to pass that one other ship also did sail forth; and whither she did go we know not." (Alma 63:5-8.)

Corianton was a member of that sailing party. President Joseph F. Smith, the president of the Church reported, 'you brethren and sisters from New Zealand, I want you to know that you are from the people of Hagoth.' For New Zealand Saints that was that. A prophet of the Lord had spoken. Nothing was said about records, or educational material, so it is reasonable to conclude that Hagoth and his associates were about nineteen centuries on the islands, from about 55 B.C. to 1854 before the gospel began to reach them. They had lost all the plain and precious things which the Savior brought to the earth, for they were likely on the islands when the Christ was born in Jerusalem.²²

President Kimball's longest explanation of Hagoth and Israel in the Pacific during the South Pacific Area Conferences in February, 1976, occurred at the Tonga Area Conference, held February 24-25, 1976, at the Liahona High School in Nuku'alofa, Tonga. On Tuesday, February 24, 1976, during the first general session, President Kimball said

The children of Israel then became enslaved in Egypt. But they were eventually brought out of that experience they had in Egypt and were brought back into Palestine. After some centuries, however, they were taken captive again into the Tigris and Euphrates river valleys.

About that time, you know, was when Lehi left Jerusalem with his family and began your race. Through a thousand years of difficulties, these people, the Lamanites and the Nephites, wandered through the American world, having come here across the ocean.

Hagoth, the Shipbuilder

After the people had been pretty well scattered over the earth it was necessary that there be a gathering of Israel. And so the Lord began

the gathering processes. Hagoth, who was from among the Nephites, apparently came into the islands of the Pacific. The country had become a little too well settled for him in America, I suspect, so Hagoth went north in some boats that he had made and took thousands of his people, mostly Nephites, with him. (This was still a part of the scattering.) And then about fifty-five years before Christ was born, this large contingent of people, Nephites, came to the islands of the sea. Hagoth gathered together 5,400 men with their wives and their children. Then they departed from their land going westward and northward. He was a very curious man and a very well trained man. (See Alma 63.)

Israel in the Pacific

As we talked with some of the New Zealanders the other day, they said that there were traditions which indicated that the people of the islands of the sea came from far away and then from farther away and then from still farther away where two oceans met together. The narrow neck of land which connects North America and South America is what they apparently were talking about at that time.

We were amazed at the scattering of Israel through the islands of the Pacific. There must have been many well trained mariners among these men who went north with Hagoth. I suppose as they grew and multiplied through the hundreds of years that have passed since then, that the little country of Hawaii probably became too small for them. The New Zealanders tell us that the traditions of their fathers indicate that they came from the north in seven vessels. In this way, the thousands of islands in the Pacific became populated.

The Book of Mormon says further that there were many of the Nephites who entered into these newly made ships of Hagoth and his companions. "And (they) did sail forth with much provisions, and also many women and children" (Alma 63:6). In the thirty eighth year of the reign of the judges there were still others who went, including Corianton who was also one of the scattered Israelites. We assume that because there must not have been any records taken, that the record was lost of their migrations to the islands of the sea. It would have been a most interesting history if we had all the details of what happened in that thousand years after Christ came. Little or nothing was ever heard from these people in an official way.

As we have toured the islands of the sea, we have learned that many of the native people have retained in their traditions and their memories certain genealogies of their people. And so we are expecting that the good people of these islands will bring forth the numerous charts of their genealogies that have been memorized and try to reproduce them, so that they can take them to the temple, where the work can be done for their relatives who have passed away. Now that the genealogical program and the temple work is under the direction of the high priests all over the Church, we hope that they will get very busy and work out many, many temple names.

The Lord put it into the heart of Hagoth and others; they wanted to move, they wanted to travel. And perhaps that was the way the Lord was to get the scattering of Israel accomplished. In the beginning the Lord created the heavens and the earth, and made all these islands beautiful places to live. He perhaps would not have accomplished his

desires if all his people had remained in the central part of North America. So it seems to me that the Lord used this plan to scatter Israel.²³

CONCLUSIONS

This series of addresses contains the most explicit and lengthy explanations of the official Mormon view regarding Polynesian origins and migrations. It is interesting to note that no Mormon leader has intimated the possibility of racial mixing in the Pacific.

The purpose of this short essay was to present both sides of a major discrepancy between Mormonism and the scientific, academic world. No doubt the debate over the fascinating problems of Polynesian origins and migrations will continue although it appears unlikely that new discoveries and research could completely reconcile the differences. In light of the Mormon Church's firm assertion and long-standing beliefs on the matter, one must conclude that Mormonism will likely continue to oppose conflicting anthropological theories, choosing instead to rely on the statements of its leaders.

NOTES

¹Conference Report of the 132nd Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, April 6–8, 1962, pp. 111–115. Later published separately as *Polynesians Came From America!* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1962).

²See Alan Howard, "Polynesian Origins and Migrations: A Review of Two Centuries of Speculation and Theory," in *Polynesian Culture History: Essays Presented in Honor of Kenneth P. Emory*, ed. by Genevieve Highland et al. (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1967), pp. 45–102.

³For representative critical appraisals of Heyerdahl's theories see Andrew Sharp, *Ancient Voyages in Polynesia* (Auckland: Paul's Book Arcade, 1963), pp. 123–128; Patrick C. McCoy, "Easter Island," in *The Prehistory of Polynesia*, ed. by Jesse D. Jennings (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 143–145; and Michael Levison, et al., *The Settlement of Polynesia: A Computer Simulation* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: The University of Minnesota Press, 1973), pp. 46–48.

⁴Glen Barclay, *A History of the Pacific from Stone Age to Present Day* (London: Sigdwick & Jackson, 1978), p. 3. Peter S. Bellwood states at the beginning of his book, *The Polynesians: Prehistory of an Island People* (London: Thames and Hudson 1978), p. 19: "I must state at the outset that there is no longer any reason to derive the Polynesians from the Americas, although the idea goes back well into the nineteenth century." On page 20 he concludes "The inexorable progress of research has rendered the whole framework (of American origins) untenable. . . ."

⁵Sharp, p. 125.

⁶For a discussion and bibliography of scientific evidence supporting biological similarities between Polynesians and Micronesians/Melanesians see William Howells, "Physical Anthropology," in Jennings (ed.), pp. 271–285.

⁷Scientific and genetic reasoning on Polynesian blood type comparisons may be found in R. T. Simmons, and J. J. Graydon, "A Blood Group Genetical Survey in Eastern and Central Polynesians," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 15:357–366; R. T. Simmons, "Blood Group Genes in Polynesians and Comparisons with Other Pacific Peoples," *Oceania*, 32(1962): 198–210; and E. Goldschmidt, "An Interpretation of Polynesian Blood-Group Gene Frequencies," in Pacific Science Association, *Abstracts of Symposium Papers, Tenth Pacific Science Congress*, (1961) p. 99.

⁸Bellwood, p. 36. For further discussion see D. E. Yen, *The Sweet Potato and Oceania: an Essay in Ethnobotany*. (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Bulletin Number 236, 1974). See also Barclay, p. 7, for information on Asian and American cotton plants.

⁹D. D. Brand. "The Sweet Potato: An Exercise in Methodology," in *Man Across the Sea*, ed. by C. L. Riley et al. (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1971), pp. 343–365.

¹⁰Levison, p. 47.

¹¹Barclay, p. 9.

¹²Barclay, p. 6. See also Bellwood, pp. 16–65 and Peter S. Bellwood, *Man's Conquest of the Pacific* (Auckland: Collins, 1978), pp. 296–423; and Jennings, pp. 1–60, 249–379 for in depth, scholarly discussions of recent research on the prehistory of Polynesia.

¹³For additional details see Jennings, pp. 2–3, 219; and Richard Shutler Jr., "Pacific Island Radio-Carbon Dates: An Overview," in *Studies in Oceanic Culture History*, ed. by R. C. Green and Marion Kelly, *Pacific Anthropological Records*, vol. 2, no. 12 (Honolulu: Department of Anthropology, Bishop Museum, 1971).

¹⁴See Paul R. Cheesman, *Early America and the Polynesians* (Provo, Utah: Promised Land Publications, 1975); Jerry K. Loveland, "Hagoth and the Polynesian Tradition," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 17(Autumn 1976): 59–73; Norman Douglas, "The Sons of Lehi and the Seed of Cain: Racial Myths in Mormon Scripture and Their Relevance to the Pacific Islands," *The Journal of Religious History*, 8(June 1974):90–104; and Elwin W. Jensen, "Polynesians Descend from Lehi, According to the Statements of the Prophets," 1977. Unpublished manuscript, Historical Department of the Church.

¹⁵Louisa Barnes Pratt. *Journal*, in *Heart Throbs of the West*, compiled by Kate B. Carter (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1947), vol. 8, p. 273.

¹⁶See Jensen, pp. 1–10.

¹⁷*Liahona, The Elders' Journal*, vol. 17, no. 16–631, (3 February 1920), pp. 261–265.

¹⁸William A. Cole, *Israel in the Pacific* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society, 1961), pp. 384 and 388.

¹⁹Spencer W. Kimball, "Our Paths Have Met Again," *Ensign*, 5(December 1975):2–7.

²⁰Cheesman, p. 13.

²¹*Official Report of the Samoa Area Conference Held in Pago Pago and Apia, Samoa, February 15, 16, 17, 18, 1976* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1977), p. 15.

²²*Official Report of the New Zealand Area Conference Held at Church College at Temple View, New Zealand, February 20, 21, and 22, 1976* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1977) p. 3.

²³*Official Report of the Tonga Area Conference Held in the Liahona High School in Nuku'alofa, Tonga, February 24 and 25, 1976* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1977), pp. 3–4.

Utopian and Realistic Thought in International Relations: Some Scriptural Perspectives

RAY COLE HILLAM

TWO "COMMON SENSE" THEORIES of international relations have been with us from ancient times to the present: utopianism and realism. Both share a common belief that understanding man will help explain international relations, and power is at the center of international politics. However, they disagree as to man's "nature" and disagree on what should be done about power. This note will discuss utopianism and realism as defined by traditional international relations theory, and identify some scriptural references to support both theories. This note assumes that the utopian-realism framework is a useful, though limited, guide to the study of international relations.

WHAT IS UTOPIANISM AND REALISM?

Before World War II, both utopians and realists were concerned with the means of preventing another world war, but they clashed over the best means. During this period, E. H. Carr, in his important study, *The Twenty-Years' Crisis*,¹ defined and analyzed the philosophical differences between the utopians and the realists. The utopians, said Carr, are the intellectual descendants of eighteenth century enlightenment, nineteenth century liberalism and twentieth century Wilsonian idealism. Utopianism is an Anglo-American tradition, and the United States entered World War I as a

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reluctant champion of this tradition. The American utopians such as Woodrow Wilson emphasized how men ought to behave in international relations rather than how they actually do behave. They disliked power politics, big armaments, secret alliances and the use of force in international relations. They stressed international law, seeing a "harmony of interests" in international relations reminiscent of Adam Smith. They placed a high premium on negotiations, mediation and the arbitration of disputes. This, they said, was the age of democracy and majority rule. They had confidence in public opinion. They firmly believed that events could be shaped by these democratic forces. They often exaggerated the freedom of choice in foreign policy-making and sought changes which would bring a peaceful restructuring of political systems, including the international system. In sum, they were optimistic about man and his capacity to bridle power for his own purposes. They were optimistic about democratic governments and their ability to secure the peace.

Realism, with no less a historic tradition, stresses the role of power and interests; it is suspicious, conservative and pessimistic about man. The realist believes that political ideologies rationalize rather than shape events. Realism tends to exaggerate causality bordering on determinism. "The drive to live, to propagate," says Hans J. Morgenthau, "is common to all men." "Nations, like men, act like beasts of prey driven by the lust for power." To Morgenthau, it is an evil world and the evil can be traced to man and particularly the twin traits of selfishness and the lust for power. Politics, says the realist, is a struggle for power. The realist has little confidence in international morality and law. He looks to military force to support diplomacy; he reads history pessimistically and runs the risk of cynicism. And he is influenced by the thought of Machiavelli.

The realist defines the national interests in terms of power. There are no "harmony of interests," but conflicting interests which often lead to war. The interest of the state says the realist is to care for its power. "Weakness," said realist Heinrich von Treischke, "is a sin against the Holy Ghost of Power."

In summary, utopians and realists base their theories of international relations on their perception of man, but they do not share the same view of man. Both are concerned with power but for different reasons. While the utopians seek to domesticate power the realists see the need to recognize the "realities" of power and to care for it.

In ancient and modern scripture there is much reference to utopian and realist assumptions. What are some of these references? Do these scriptures give further insight into the study of international relations?

SCRIPTURAL SUPPORT FOR UTOPIANISM

The Book of Psalms assumes goodness in man: For the Lord "hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour."² In his day King Mosiah spoke of the goodness of man when he said

it is not common that the voice of the people desireth anything contrary to that which is right; but it is common for the lesser part of the people to desire that which is not right; therefore, this shall ye observe and make it your law—to do your business by the voice of the people.³

King Mosiah's statement is like to that of James Mill, who helped give modern utopian thought its form. Mill said

Every man possessed of reason is accustomed to weigh evidence and to be guided and determined by its preponderance. When various conclusions are, with their evidence presented with equal care and with equal skill, there is a moral certainty, though some few may be misguided, that the *greatest number will judge right*, and that the greatest force of evidence, whatever it is, will produce the greatest impression.⁴

While these statements by Mosiah and Mill are not the only arguments by which Wilsonian democracy can be defended, their assumptions are fundamental to the utopian thesis.

Utopians also argue that good men will shape events and can structure desirable political systems. This view is implied in Nephi's vision of the discovery and settlement of America; wherein the spirit would guide the "gentiles" to the promised land where . . . "they would set up a free and righteous land. . . ."⁵

Utopian notions about man's freedom of choice is likewise expressed in modern scripture where the Lord says:

men should be anxiously engaged in a good cause, and do many things of their own free will, and bring to pass much righteousness; for the power is in them, wherein they are agents unto themselves.⁶

When the Lord endorsed the American Constitution, he proclaimed that under the Constitution "every man may act . . . according to the moral agency which I have given unto him."⁷ Thus man can introduce change; he can engage in good causes and he has moral agency. These assumptions are at the heart of utopian thought.

The utopian assumption about what to do with power is also evident in scripture, particularly the Book of Mormon. King Mosiah abdicated his throne because he objected to the existence of kingly power. Kings had governed the Nephites for years, but they were convinced by King Mosiah that kingship should be given up in favor of judges chosen by "the voice of the people." Mosiah's argument centered on his concern that kings could make law, and this kind of power if exercised by an evil king, could corrupt a whole society. The advantage of rule by judges was that the people would be judged by God's law and they would be responsible for their own behavior.⁸

The scriptures also have something to say about the utopian search for disarmament. It was Isaiah who said

And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore.⁹

J. Reuben Clark devoted much of his public career working for the utopian goal of disarmament. While he was pessimistic about the power of governments to affect disarmament, he saw basic changes in man which could come through the “civilizing” process of time.

If the thirst for wealth, the greed for territory, the ambition for power and dominion could be removed from men, there would be no more war. But these are some of the basic immutable human passions to be softened at least possibly eliminated only by civilizing centuries.¹⁰

Clark did not have illusions about the ambitions of men, but he saw a “civilizing” process or the reform of man and his institutions. He said: “Guns and bayonets will, in the future as in the past, bring truces, long or short, but never the peace that endures.”¹¹ The right course for the United States, he wrote, was to “honestly strive for peace and quit sparring for military advantage.” Peace, he insisted, would be achieved only through the “strength and power of the moral force in the world.”¹²

In one of his finest rhetorical passages on America and international relations he said:

For America has a destiny—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 their 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 earth together in one great brotherhood in a reign of mutual patience, forbearance, and charity, in a reign of peace to which we shall lead all others by the persuasion of our own righteous example.¹³

SCRIPTURAL SUPPORT FOR REALISM

There is much realist pessimism in the scriptures, particularly in the Old Testament. Ecclesiastes, reflecting on some of the deepest problems of life, said

All the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the *side of their oppressors there was power*; but they had no comforter. Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive. Yea, better is he than both they, which hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun.¹⁴

In modern history scripture expresses a pessimistic view of those who acquire authority and power. The Prophet Joseph was instructed

We have learned by sad experience that it is the nature and disposition of almost all men, as soon as they get a little authority, as they suppose, they will immediately begin to exercise unrighteous dominion.¹⁵

Thus “almost all men” with power exercise unrighteous dominion, not a few but almost all. This scripture would seem to support Morgenthau’s realist thesis that the “drive to . . . dominate is common to all men.”¹⁶

The realist concept of “interests” as the essence of politics and a guide for policy is implied in Section 134 of the Doctrine and Covenants:

. . . all governments have a right to enact such laws as in their own judgements are best calculated to secure the public *interest* . . . human laws being instituted for the express purpose of regulating our *interests* as individuals and nations. . . .¹⁷

The theory of political realism, particularly after World War II, associates interests with power. This notion was discussed by John Taylor more than a century ago when he said:

There have been a variety of governments on the earth, and very powerful ones too have existed in different ages of the world. Those governments have generally been established and maintained by force of arms—by power.¹⁸

But then, John Taylor, unlike King Mosiah, seemed quite pessimistic about man. For he said “. . . it is my opinion that there are no people under the heavens that now exist, nor are there any that ever did exist, that are capable of governing themselves.”¹⁹ This assertion seems to contrast the Prophet Joseph’s optimistic assumption about man when he said: “I teach them correct principles and they govern themselves.”²⁰

There appears to be “realist” themes throughout scripture. For example, “the Lord is a man of war”²¹ to the wicked; “Who is the King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.”²² In the New Testament there are “realist” inferences, such as “. . . he [God] doth judge and make war.”²³ Also the Lord said, “Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I come not to send peace, but a sword.”²⁴ Was it not the Prince of Peace who used force to drive from the temple the moneychangers? Luke records “. . . But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip: and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one.”²⁵ The justified use of force is common in scripture, particularly in the Old Testament and in the Book of Mormon. Even the Doctrine and Covenants says that force is justified when “diplomacy” has failed, as:

we believe that all men are justified in defending themselves, their friends, and property, and the government, from the encroachments

of all persons in times of exigency, where immediate appeal cannot be made to the laws, and relief afforded.²⁶

RELATIONSHIP OF UTOPIANISM AND REALISM

The theories of political realism and utopianism are often a reaction to one another, feeding one upon another. The realism of the Renaissance was a reaction to the excessive utopianism of the middle age; the modern utopians a reaction to the excesses of the Renaissance. By the 1920s, American utopian thought in international affairs reigned supreme. During the '30s and '40s realism once again became dominant, with books like Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations* making an important impact and Machiavelli's *The Prince* becoming fashionable.

American foreign policy over the years has alternated between "weekday diplomacy," or the language of realism, and "Sunday diplomacy," or the language of utopianism. Weekday diplomacy, it was said, is essential to survival, and Sunday diplomacy is essential to a "moral" policy. The U.S. containment policy was a realist response to the Soviets; and the "liberation" policy was an expression of utopian values. But America soon retreated to realism with the entry of Soviet tanks into Hungary. Later, John F. Kennedy set a utopian tone when he declared that America would "support any friend or oppose any foe in order to assure the survival and success of liberty." But this was soon replaced by the "defense of the national interest" in South Vietnam. The "fundamental moral imperative," became the avoidance of nuclear war; hence U.S. commitments abroad were to be based on security needs, not on moral judgments. In the 1976 election campaigns there was a return to utopian ideas, particularly under the theme of "human rights," as President, Carter moved from "soft illusions to hard realism." The 1980 Reagan campaign victory reintroduced themes of realism with pledges of "making American power respected again."

No President, Secretary of State, or politician will claim that they are utopian *or* realist. They will insist that they are "idealists without illusions or realistic idealists." Most see themselves as a blend of many things: optimistic, pessimistic; utopian, realist; etc. They see goodness in men and also badness. They see the "ought" (idealism) and the "is" (realism) in man and his institutions: whether they are utopian or realistic is a question of degree.

The realist image of man does exist; man is "carnal, sensual and devilish." But man is also a child of God, a deity "in embryo."²⁷ There is evil in man and there is good in man. Man has built both cathedrals and concentration camps. He has gone to the lowest depths but he has soared to great heights. There are many forces working upon the thoughts and behavior of man, and we see both good and evil consequences. This is explained by King Benjamin who speaks of the "natural man" and the "saintly man." He said

. . . the natural man is an enemy to God, has been from the fall of Adam, and will be, forever and ever, unless he yields to the enticing of the Holy Spirit, and putteth off the natural man and becometh a saint

through the atonement of Christ the Lord, and becometh as a child, submissive, meek, humble, patient, full of love, willing to submit to all things which the Lord seeth fit to inflict upon him, even as a child doth submit to his father.²⁸

Man can change and perfect himself. Man can also change and perfect his institutions. This was demonstrated in the secular world by "the hands of wise men" who were raised up to establish the American constitution, a document based on the belief that some men are good and some men are bad. The Constitution was established because there were men of virtue; a need to provide security and opportunity for good men to do their uplifting work. But it was also established because there were men of evil. These "wise men" saw the need to set up a constitutional system with "checks and balances:" to curb and bridle "carnal, sensual and devilish" men; to curb men who "lust for power"; to bridle men who will "exercise unrighteous dominion." There are elements of truth in both the utopian and realist assumptions: These elements are found in the American constitution. A close reading of the Mormon Declaration of Belief regarding Government and Laws in the 134th Section of the Doctrine and Covenants also reveals an impressive composite of utopian and realist views brought together into a higher view.

The use of force and war is as acceptable to utopians as to realists if certain conditions are met. For example, the Nephites were encouraged to go to war because they were

. . . inspired by a better cause, for they were not fighting for monarchy nor power but they were fighting for . . . their wives and their children, and their all, yea, for their rites of worship and their church.²⁹

The Doctrine and Covenants also says one is justified to go to war "if any nation, tongue, or people should proclaim war against them." But, "they should first lift a standard of peace unto that people, nation, or tongue."³⁰ This is to be done three times before war is justified.

CONCLUSION

It is perhaps unfair to "wrench out of context" scriptures which seem to support the utopian or realist assumptions, for when they are read in context, there is a blend of the ideal and the real, the spiritual and the temporal, for man and his institutions are a mixture. For instance, the modern scripture on authority and its tendency to corrupt man is placed in its proper perspective as one reads the verses which follow. For men will not "exercise unrighteous dominion" and power over others if they live righteously, and it is assumed they will live righteously if they are taught righteously.

President Kimball implied a duality in man as he discoursed on the "False Gods We Worship" He said:

We are a warlike people, easily distracted from our assignment of preparing for the coming of the Lord. When enemies rise up, we commit vast resources to the fabrications of Gods of stone and steel—ships, planes, missiles, fortifications—and depend on them for protection and deliverance. When threatened we become anti-enemy instead of pro-kingdom of God; we train a man in the art of war and call him a patriot, thus in the manner of Satan's counterfeit of true patriotism, perverting the Savior's teaching: 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven.'³¹

President Kimball is optimistic about man and says that we forget that if we are righteous the Lord will "not suffer our enemies to come upon us—and this is the special promise to the inhabitants of the land of the Americas." He says that the Lord will fight our battles for us. He has this capacity, for as he said at the time of his betrayal, "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?"³² The Lord will use force, when needed but it often depends upon man's righteousness. President Kimball is telling us we need to be spiritually as well as physically prepared to defend ourselves, even enter war, for just causes.

President Kimball's discourse on the "False Gods We Worship" is utopian but it is also realistic. He is not calling for unilateral disarmament. He sees a need for defensive armaments but not our worship of them. He sees a greater need for spiritual armament: Christ-like living, for there is security only in obedience to the Savior's teachings. Like J. Reuben Clark who spoke of our "destiny to conquer the world . . . with high purpose . . . and Christian living," President Kimball says "our assignment is affirmative" not negative. We should "leave off the idolatry" of armaments and "press forward in faith; to carry the gospel to our enemies, that they might no longer be our enemies." President Kimball is, in a realistic way, seeking to bring this about, for the missionary effort of the church has since penetrated the "iron curtain." It is being taken to our "enemies." The Church is recognized in Poland, and International Representatives of the Church are now in Hungary and Yugoslavia. This has required a "realist" accommodation between the Church and Communist regimes. Will the Soviet Union and China be next?

NOTES

¹E. H. Carr, *The Twenty-Years' Crisis, 1919–1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* (London: Macmillan Company, 1939).

²Psalms 8:4–5.

³Mosiah 29:26.

⁴James Mill, *The Liberty of the Press*, as quoted in Carr, pp. 22–23. Italics have been added.

⁵I Nephi 13. Also see Ether 2:7 and II Nephi 10:11.

⁶Doctrine and Covenants 58:27–28.

⁷Ibid., 101:78.

⁸Mosiah 29.

⁹Isaiah 2:4.

¹⁰J. Reuben Clark, Jr., "Preliminary Memorandum No. 3" (Prepared for the United States Preparatory Committee for the Washington Disarmament Conference, 1921), p. 2.

¹¹J. Reuben Clark, Jr., "Let Us Have Peace," in *Stand Fast by the Constitution* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1962), pp. 71–78.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³J. Reuben Clark, Jr., "Some Factors in the Proposed Postwar International Pattern" address delivered before Los Angeles Bar Association, Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, California, February 24, 1944, pp. 30–31.

¹⁴Ecclesiastes 4:1–3. Italics have been added.

¹⁵Doctrine and Covenants 121:39.

¹⁶Hans J. Morgenthau, *Scientific Man and Power Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946). Also see Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), pp. 3–14, 25–29.

¹⁷Doctrine and Covenants 134:5–6. Italics have been added.

¹⁸John Taylor, "Union—Human and Divine Government, etc.," in *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 9 (Liverpool, England: Latter-day Saint Book Depot, 1862).

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰Joseph Smith.

²¹Exodus 15:3.

²²Psalms 24:8.

²³Revelations 19:11.

²⁴Matthew 10:34.

²⁵Luke 22:36.

²⁶Doctrine and Covenants 134:11. Brigham Young saw a need for preparedness in the event of war. He said: "Let the boys from ten to twenty years of age set up schools to learn sword exercise, musket and rifle exercise, and, in short, every act of war. Shall we need this knowledge? No matter, it is good to be acquainted with this kind of exercise." See *Journal of Discourses* 9:173 & 26.

²⁷See "Oh My Father," LDS Hymn no. 139.

²⁸Mosiah 3:19; Romans 8:7; I Corinthians 2:14.

²⁹Alma 43:45.

³⁰Doctrine and Covenants 98:34.

³¹Spencer W. Kimball, "The False Gods We Worship" *The Ensign* (June, 1976) p. 6.

³²Matthew 26:53.

AMONG THE MORMONS

A Survey of Current Literature

STEPHEN W. STATHIS

BIOGRAPHIES AND FAMILY HISTORIES, have been by far the most popular subject of Mormon-related books during the past year. These works stem in large part from the ingenuity of family organizations and the ever increasing emphasis that President Spencer W. Kimball and other General Authorities have placed on the importance of keeping personal journals.

Understandably, they are not all of equal quality, but in the main they are important both as historical accounts and as examples of what an interested reader might do with regard to his own heritage. Three of these biographies, Eugene England's *Brother Brigham*, Frank M. Fox's *J. Reuben Clark: The Public Years*, and Truman G. Madsen's *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* will be of particular interest to both casual and serious students of Mormonism.

By skillfully blending beautiful photography with well-written prose Joseph E. Brown has written, in the recently-published *Mormon Trek West*, perhaps the most appealing account yet written of how the Mormon pioneers "crossed the plains." Looking at the Mormons from several different perspectives, Mark F. McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards have collected a provocative selection of historical essays on *The Restoration Movement*. An equally stimulating volume, "*By the Hands of Wise Men: Essays on the Constitution*," edited by Ray C. Hillam, presents the Mormons' unique view of the American Constitution through both "scholarship and the special language of the Latter-day Saint faith."

Linda Thatcher's painstaking research, which has produced the accompanying bibliography of recent dissertations and theses, provides meaningful insight into the kinds of research on Mormon-related topics now being pursued by seekers of advanced degrees.

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General guidelines.

1. Subject headings appear in **BOLDFACE**. Occasionally an author will also be listed as a subject.

2. Articles are set off by quotation marks; only the page number on which an article begins is listed.

3. Within an entry, names in sub-headings are listed alphabetically by *first* name. Thus, Brigham Young will precede Joseph Smith.

4. The following abbreviations are used: (L) designates a letter-to-the-editor; (R) designates a book review, and (F) a film review.

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