



Dialogue:

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

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

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A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



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*Ralph W. Hansen, Klaus J. Hansen,
Edwin B. Firmage, R. A. Christmas*

The second issue of *Dialogue* will be mailed after June 1, 1966. Please notify us by May 15 of your summer address if there is any change.

IN THIS ISSUE

In a recent *Newsweek* cover story which featured his work, Robert McAfee Brown, the distinguished Protestant theologian and observer at the Vatican Council, described the effect of Reinhold Niebuhr's teaching on the vague Christian humanism of his youth: "Niebuhr's willingness to take sin seriously, to submit modern liberalism to the test of an orthodox Christian view of human nature, brought me back to a more historical expression of the Christian faith." In the Roundtable in this issue of *Dialogue*, Reverend Brown applies insights sustained by this kind of "Christian realism" to Sterling McMurrin's *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion*; his criticism complements that of Professor Richard Anderson of Brigham Young University, who challenges McMurrin's description of the Mormon view of man from a quite different perspective.

But Reverend Brown's essay serves additional purposes. He has continually written and acted as a powerful witness for the essential unity of the Christian faith and for the relevance of its theology to modern human experience. His essay in this first issue of *Dialogue* lays effective groundwork, in both tone and substance, for Protestants and Mormons to speak more relevantly to each other concerning their theology.

Other articles in this issue lay the foundations for more fruitful interchange between Mormons and others about Mormon history. Leonard Arrington, speaking from within the Church, describes the development of scholarly attempts to deal with Mormon religion and culture; he points up in particular what Mormon historians have and have not accomplished. On the other hand Mario De Pillis, a young Roman Catholic who wrote his dissertation at Yale on early Mormon history, criticizes historians for failing to take Mormonism seriously as a religion and closely examines its theology on priesthood authority in his own historical account; his work is an example of what a new generation of non-Mormon students of Mormon history is doing.

Professor Arrington's study also provides background for "An Assessment of Mormon Culture," a series of essays evaluating Mormon cultural experience which will continue in future issues. In the second essay of this series, a critical study of *The Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, Robert Christmas comments on a neglected and declining tradition in Mormon writing.

The ideas of all of these men invite response, and it is important that readers of this journal know they can respond — with a letter, note, or full essay. This first issue demonstrates a variety of subject and style that the editors wish to encourage, from scholarly study to sermon, from pointed criticism to defense of faith, from bibliography to poetry. *Dialogue* is not a journal of conservative opinion or a journal of liberal opinion, an evangelical journal or a journal of dissent; it is a forum for exchange of research and opinion across a wide spectrum. Such a forum must depend on the variety and range that writers are willing to attempt and on the response of readers.

The cover and layout of this issue were designed by Paul G. Salisbury, who studied for his career in architecture at Stanford University and the University of Utah.

EDITORIAL PREFACE

G. Wesley Johnson

Mormons have long remained isolated from their neighbors by choice and by necessity. Today is not the past, however, and most Mormons live outside of Utah. Los Angeles and New York are as important subsidiary centers of Mormon culture now as St. George and Nephi were fifty years ago. Today it is not unusual to see Mormon Congressmen in Washington, Mormon business executives in Chicago, Mormon professors at Harvard, or Mormon space scientists at Houston. Mormons are participating freely in the social, economic, and cultural currents of change sweeping twentieth century America.

But Mormons do remain apart from greater American society. Their experience, heritage, and tradition of years in isolation remain an integral part of Mormon belief; Mormon doctrine reinforces individual withdrawal and defiance of conformity in the face of modern convention. This new era of life in the secular world, far from the cloisters of a Rocky Mountain Zion, has created a host of dilemmas for the individual who seeks to reconcile faith and reason.

A new generation of Mormons has arisen in this process of spreading about the land. Its members are curious, well-trained, and in some cases affluent; they are reflective, energetic, and in most cases committed to Church activity. They form study groups and discussion clubs to examine their religion and its relevance for contemporary society and culture. They seek to relate religious ideals to issues of everyday secular life. They share the faith of their elders but also possess a restrained skepticism born of the university,

G. Wesley Johnson attended Harvard College, where he was an editor of the *Harvard Lampoon*. He later served an L.D.S. mission to France and was an Assistant Chaplain in the U.S. Army. He is now Assistant Professor of History and Research Associate of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.

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the office, and the laboratory. They display an inquiring attitude which favors open discussion with members inside the Mormon community and pleads for greater communication with those outside of it. They have talked of the possibility of a written dialogue, an independent journal of opinion, to capture some of this expression and concern. Indeed, such a possibility has been discussed in many quarters by young Mormons for the past decade.

In early summer of 1965, Frances Menlove, Eugene England, Paul Salisbury, Joseph Jeppson, and I met at Stanford University and talked informally about starting a journal of Mormon thought and culture which might fulfill a need we and others had long felt. We decided to issue a preliminary prospectus which announced

Many men need some medium in which to consider their historical and religious heritage in relation to contemporary experience and learning. Some are excited about the dialogue this encounter provides and the good fruit it bears in their lives. Others find themselves alone in their experience and cut off from such a dialogue — and too often feel forced to choose between their heritage and the larger world. We are now preparing to publish a journal designed to meet the needs of both these groups.

Response was overwhelmingly in favor of the project. We sent out a call for manuscripts and created two publication groups to provide the collective responsibility necessary for such an undertaking. The Editorial and Business Staff was established at Stanford University to handle circulation, finance, copy, and general editorial direction. Then a national Board of Editors was appointed to review and evaluate all articles submitted. Both groups were composed of qualified young Mormon professional, academic, and business people who could furnish the variety of skills and interests requisite for a national review. By September *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* was launched, bids were sent to printers, and a campaign for subscriptions and financial contributions was initiated. Today *Dialogue* is a reality thanks to the generous and voluntary efforts of many people.

We have chosen a traditional academic format for the magazine, with articles, reviews, and notes and comments, to emphasize our concern for serious writing and scholarly endeavor. This is balanced by special departments, columns, poetry, fiction, and art work to provide the interest and creativity of a feature magazine for the general reader. *Dialogue* does not seek a particular editorial viewpoint. It attempts to serve as a forum for the encounter of diverse opinions, not as a platform for the promulgation of one kind of opinion. Thus, we conceive of *Dialogue* as a fresh idea in reli-

gious journalism — flexible, probing, and responsive to the needs of a variety of readers. Special theme issues will be published from time to time: Leonard Arrington and the Mormon History Association have agreed to edit a special number on Mormon history for Fall, 1966. Others are being considered on morality in government, religion in higher education, and the role of women in the Church today.

There are certain sections in the journal which we hope will foster a spirited exchange of views. The *Roundtable* section offers criticism and comment by selected individuals on a contemporary problem or event; *Letters to the Editors* provides a place for unsolicited and challenging views of readers; the *Reviews* section attempts to bring thoughtful criticism to bear on important books, articles, films, records, and artistic events of interest to Mormons; *Among the Mormons* furnishes the discerning reader with a critical survey of current literature on Mormon themes and subjects.

Some of the more general purposes of *Dialogue* are: to stimulate excellence in writing and the visual arts throughout the Mormon community; to present fresh talent and to offer established authors a new vehicle of thought; to sustain a serious standard of objectivity, candor, and imagination in dealing with Mormon culture; to give students and thoughtful persons across the land a journal directly concerned with their quest for rational faith and faith-promoting knowledge; to provide professional people from a variety of disciplines a place to publish findings on Mormon topics which are of interest to the general public; to help Mormons and their neighbors develop understanding and concern for each other through an exchange of ideas; and perhaps most important of all, to help Mormons develop their identity, uniqueness, and sense of purpose by expressing their spiritual heritage and moral vision to the community of man.

THE POSSIBILITY OF DIALOGUE

A PERSONAL VIEW

Eugene England

Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.

Paul the Apostle

These words are an obvious place to begin to consider the possibilities of dialogue about a Christian religion and its cultural heritage. The words are familiar to our time. “Examine. Test. Prove.” The demand for re-evaluation and for proof and the pressure toward thoroughgoing skepticism continue in our universities and mount in our society generally. The voices against dogmatism (especially religious dogmatism) grow in the land. And here is Paul, who brought Christianity to the Western world, speaking the same words. “Prove all things”: consider all things; look at all possibilities; examine your inherited prejudices and evaluate again even your cherished beliefs; be open to what might be a new understanding — a new faith.

But, of course, Paul was no mere skeptic. The Christian Apostle would have us give our searching a meaning, not allow it to serve as an easy posture. He also said, “Hold fast that which is good”: respect certitude as well as doubt, commit yourself to the good you find, give yourself to the possibilities that begin to prove out, live the faith that is given you in your seeking — however deeply you continue to test that faith and examine others.

A Book of Mormon prophet named Alma understood this paradox. He knew that “faith is not to have a perfect knowledge” but is a willingness to “experiment” in new realms, to give place in our hearts for new words and not cast them out prematurely with our unbelief. He knew what it is to prove and also hold — to be open to seeds of potential meaning and being, to continually both

Eugene England is completing a Ph.D. in English Literature as a Danforth Fellow at Stanford University, where he is serving in the bishopric of the L.D.S. student ward. He has a Wallace Stegner Creative Writing Fellowship for this year and has published poems in *The Southern Review*.

test and nourish them (because they can only be properly tested if nourished) until the good seeds produce fruit that is “most precious.”

Paul’s challenge and Alma’s experiment have been deeply significant to my own experience of the possibilities of life and my faith in the process of dialógue as a way to discover life’s possibilities. I have tasted the precious fruit of faith in specific things; I have been able, in all my proving, to discover and to continue to hold some things fast as certainties — faith in the divinity of Christ and in the saving power of His teachings and atonement, faith in the divine mission of His Church and His modern prophets — and the deep hunger of my soul has been fed as I have given myself to this faith. At the same time, I have sensed the risk of choice, the limitation of commitment to a defined context in this world that is full of richly complex possibilities and allows us only finite vision into their worth. Yet I have found that my very specific faith does not cut me off from this rich complexity, but actually intensifies and informs with meaning my involvement in it.

I am motivated in my relationship to Christ and my desire to build His Kingdom by both the questing openness and the loving authority exhibited in His life and in His revelations to His prophets. I think and act within a specific context of Mormon faith that defines my life and shapes my soul. I relate to my wife and children and friends and use my time in terms of the counsel of the Church and the heritage of Mormon experience. But my very grasp on this specific direction, this “iron rod,” turns me out to all people and their experience in desire for dialogue with them. The very principles I accept as definitive of my life warn me to be continually open to the revelation of new possibilities for my life from both God and man.

My faith encourages my curiosity and awe; it thrusts me out into relationship with all the creation. The Christ I have come to know through my Mormon faith affirms the world as good and each of its people as eternally precious; He insists that my words and actions be integrated with each other and relevant to that world — that they not just speak to it but really make the connection. My faith in Him encourages me to enter into dialogue.

* * *

Such a dialogue seems to me to depend on some initial commitment to values, to some beliefs that give a person a place from which to speak and a purpose for speaking. It can be engaged in best by

those who hold fast that which is good. But such a dialogue depends also on willingness to prove all things. We must be willing to consider that anything we believe or base our lives upon may be a partial truth — at best something seen (as Saint Paul also said) “through a glass darkly” — or even may be dead wrong. We must take seriously the jovial words of Henry Eyring, “In this Church we don’t have to believe anything that isn’t true.”

A dialogue is possible if we can avoid looking upon doubt as a sin — or as a virtue — but can see it as a condition, a condition that can be productive if it leads one to seek and knock and ask and if the doubter is approached with sympathetic listening and thoughtful response — or that can be destructive if it is used as an escape from responsibility or the doubter is approached with condemnation.

A dialogue is possible if, in trying to describe our findings and convictions, we can be honest with ourselves and each other, if we can use traditional forms and conventions without letting them become lies or idols. We must be witnesses for all that is real to us and no more, recognizing the eternal dignity of truth which gives it claim finally over expediency and even perhaps charity.

But a dialogue can realize its full possibilities only if there is charity, if we can speak with sensitivity to each other’s framework or ability to hear and speak in order to communicate for each other’s welfare, not to justify or exalt ourselves at each other’s expense. We must truly listen to each other, respecting our essential brotherhood and the courage of those who try to speak, however they may differ from us in professional standing or religious belief or moral vision. We must speak and listen patiently, with good humor, with real expectation, and our dialogue can serve both truth and charity.

Joseph Smith, one of the prophets to whom I give my faith, has recorded the voice of the Lord urging men to be “anxiously engaged in a good cause . . . and bring to pass much righteousness; for the power is in them, wherein they are agents unto themselves.” I am motivated by my belief in that power and agency to test the possibilities that this journal can be successful in fostering a valuable dialogue. I am also motivated by partial agreement with Episcopal Bishop James A. Pike that “The church should be a launching pad and not a comfort station.” (It should be both.) And I am motivated by the challenges to intelligent and creative discipleship made again and again by the leaders of the Church.

The faith I hold fast impels me to speak and to listen; it impels me to express honestly and fully and as gracefully as possible the convictions that shape my life, to try to demonstrate the things I find as I think and do research and experience the holy — it impels me to listen carefully and always. My faith as a Mormon encourages by specific doctrines my feeling that each man is eternally unique and god-like in potential, that each man deserves a hearing and that we have something important to learn from each man if we can hear him — if he can speak and we can listen well. Dialogue is possible to those who can. Such a dialogue will not solve all of our intellectual and spiritual problems — and it will not save us; but it can bring us joy and new vision and help us toward that dialogue with our deepest selves and with our God which can save us.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

These letters are responsive to the editors' announcement of their intention to publish a new journal. The editors now welcome letters responding to the contents of this and subsequent issues.

Dear Sirs:

. . . . The genius of your plan lies in the title, for I think that at present many of us are engaged in a dialogue. Perhaps when we have better defined our position we will be capable of commentary, but for the present our task is more to discover where we stand and to search for our own identity. During the hundred or so years of isolation in the West, we developed something that is precious beyond words, and so far as I am concerned is worthy of all sacrifices. But the doctrine of gathering has been suspended and our job now is to live in the world. While we may know well enough who we are in testimony meetings and Ward Council and General Conference, the new context of

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Harvard or Columbia or Africa requires a new definition. I think that is one reason why we have lost many of our young people in eastern schools, or at the University of Utah for that matter. They are overpowered by a secular culture that dazzles them with its splendors and seemingly puts Mormon parochialism in the shade. If we know better what we have to say to the questions the world asks and how better to pick and choose, fewer of our young people would suffer from their provincialism when they went away to school. Not that the journal should merely protect the young: I use them only as a dramatic example of the plight of many of us.

Richard L. Bushman
Brigham Young University
August 8, 1965

Dear Sirs:

. . . . It's hard to say too much about *Dialogue* till we've seen it, but, judging only by the roster of editors and potential contributors, I am confident we will not be disappointed. The Church already has its sensitive, articulate critics, *per se* . . . , and these have managed to get themselves heard. But we have yet to provide an honest intellectual forum for those, perhaps most of them of a more recent generation, who are essentially reconciled to and in faith with the Church, yet discontent with our general failure to relate the Gospel, boldly and imaginatively, to the intellectual life of our contemporary world. The great hope about *Dialogue* is its concern with synthesis . . . its intent appears to be the enrichment of our L.D.S. heritage, not its disputation . . . to the extent that *Dialogue* persists in serving, in the broadest, most objective sense, the cause of Mormon idealism, *rather than supplanting it* — to this extent it will bless the Church and deserves our enthusiastic support and attention.

Thomas F. Rogers
Howard University
December 24, 1965

Dear Sirs:

I am changing my policy of subscribing only to one magazine, namely MAD. Please send me *Dialogue* for one year.

Kjell Nilsen
Salt Lake City, Utah
December 11, 1965

Dear Sirs:

. . . . Even the name is ideal. I have reproached my Mormon friends on occasion with their failure to make any significant effort to expand the current and universally recognized Protestant-Catholic-jewish dialogue into a four-way interchange. I sensed that the objection to such communication would have been a fear of the dilution of doctrine or hesitancy to let good fellowship breed concessions.

I have also questioned a disinclination on the part of the most well-educated Mormons to approach theology from a philosophical point of view, that is, to accept a "natural theology" or to apply reason alone to the data of revelation. Here a conviction of the strict adequacy of revelation seems to make such scientific study of religion irrelevant or impertinent. Sterling McMurrin's *The Philosophical Foundations of Mormon Theology* is, of course, an effort to do precisely this, and is an admirable piece of work. I was disappointed to find, however, that this book was not generally well looked upon by Mormons. At any rate, I was not able to get a copy of it in Provo.

The Mormon experience is so important for a knowledge of the evolution of the American character, if for nothing else, that it is a shame to see it kept the property of the believers, as it were. In a typical eastern academic situation such as I find myself in, there is more knowledge of Jansenism, Lollardy and Hinduism than of our own native phenomenon of Mormonism — well, that's an exaggeration but not too much of a one. I think that academic people often feel that they are going to encounter nothing but proselytization if they approach Mormons and consequently never try to engage Mormons in academic discussions. Fortunately my own experience has been different for I have had many Mormon friends in academic circles and have always been able to communicate intelligently with them. I have wished that my own experience could be projected on a larger scale.

. . . . I have the vague hope that I may be able to write up something about *Dialogue* for some appropriate Catholic publication — I am especially interested in bringing Mormonism to the attention of Catholics because of certain similarities in the experience of the two religions in their adaptation of a strict unequivocal revelation to contemporary civilisation and to American civilisation in particular.

Thomas F. Heffernan
Adelphi University, New York
December 17, 1965

Dear Sirs:

Mormons have always had a religious commitment to world-wide evangelism. Yet as a result of historical circumstances they have been in a measure physically and culturally isolated from the world they seek to evangelize. Thus a paradox exists in which the many voices of Mormonism are heard, but are too seldom understood. There has been little real communication between Mormons as Mormons, and everybody else.

This is unfortunate for many reasons. Simplistic and stereotyped notions of Mormon religion, history, and society remain. Unique contributions of Mormon experience and understanding to the body of Christian thought have not been made. And Latter-day Saints themselves suffer the parochial consequences which accrue in any movement whose adherents communicate mostly with one another, and in such a way as to avoid much disagreement or diversity of opinion.

Dialogue will improve the quality of Mormon communication with the many individuals and publics who have a sincere interest in Latter-day Saint culture, as Mormons in its pages analyze their movement publicly in greater breadth and depth than has perhaps ever been the case before. As Mormons

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identify Mormonism with clarity and precision in its relation to the larger world, to the past, and to the future, Mormonism will be more comprehensible and better comprehended.

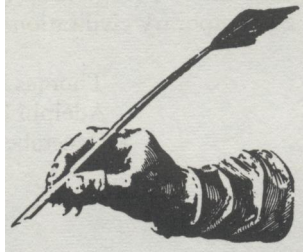
I hope that in *Dialogue* there will be dialogue as we have come to understand the word in our generation.

Robert Flanders
Graceland College of the
Reorganized Church of Jesus
Christ of Latter-day Saints
Lamoni, Iowa
January 18, 1966

Dear Sirs:

. . . . As director of Interreligious Cooperation for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, your magazine will be of great interest to me. For understandable reasons, I believe that linkages between the Mormon and Jewish communities ought to expand on the basis of common concerns, and I believe your publication will be a step in the right direction.

Rabbi Solomon S. Bernards
New York
December 22, 1965



Dialogue: A JOURNAL OF
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SCHOLARLY STUDIES
OF MORMONISM IN THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY

by Leonard J. Arrington

This article introduces a continuing series, "An Assessment of Mormon culture," which will examine the history, present achievements, and potential of various aspects of Mormon life. Professor Arrington is well known for his books and articles on Mormon history, particularly Great Basin Kingdom; he is a member of the presidency of the L.D.S. student stake at Utah State University and was recently elected President of the Mormon History Association.

ALTHOUGH REARED IN A MORMON HOME IN IDAHO AND ALTHOUGH my family were devout members of the Mormon faith, I was first introduced to Mormon studies as a graduate student in economics at the University of North Carolina. In fulfillment of an assignment in a graduate sociology course, I happened to read a book on *The Sociology of Rural Life* by T. Lynn Smith (I did not know at the time that he also had been reared a Mormon) and came to a section which he discussed the land settlement patterns of the Mormons.¹ Until that moment it had not occurred to me that there was more to Mormonism than "the Church," the theology, and the goal of personal righteousness. Fascinated, I immediately canvassed other works on rural sociology and found several additional references to the Mormons. I hunted through monographs concerning American history, politics, and economics and discovered to my surprise and delight that a whole literature on the "secular" aspects of Mormon culture was in the process of creation.²

Actually, the systematic study of Mormon institutions and history is a relatively recent phenomenon. Writings about the Mormons during the first seventy-five years after the Church was organized in 1830 consisted essentially of three kinds of works: (1) pietistic, missionary, and apologetic literature by church authorities, devout writers, and missionaries of the Church;³ (2) scathing attacks on the Church and its leaders by schismatic, disaffected, or excommunicated Mormons, and by wrathful Gentile opponents;⁴ and (3) the "curiosa" literature of writers who were impressed with the peculiar characteristics of the Mormons and their religion and who wrote about the Mormons and their settlements as other journalists and travelers wrote about the Hottentots, the hairy Ainu, and the wild men of Borneo.⁵

While no historian could wish to denigrate or detract from the enormous significance of the histories by Edward Tullidge and Hubert Howe Bancroft,⁶ it may be fairly said that "objective," "scholarly," and "systematic" treatises on the Mormons and their

¹ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (New York, 1940).

² Among the first works which I stumbled upon were: Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Study in Social Origins* (Provo, Utah, 1930); Juanita Brooks, "A Close-up of Polygamy," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, CLXVIII (1934), 299-307, and "The Water's In!" *Harper's Magazine*, CLXXV (1941), 608-613; and Bernard DeVoto, "The Centennial of Mormonism," in *Forays and Rebuttals* (Boston, 1936), pp. 77-137, and occasional articles in "The Easy Chair" in *Harper's Magazine*.

³ The basic source for early "pro" accounts was Orson Pratt, *An Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions* (many printings, 1840, *et seq.*). There followed the "History of Joseph Smith" first published in *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Illinois), March 1842; and *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, III-V XIV-XXV (Liverpool, 1842-1844, 1852-1864). This was later edited by B. H. Roberts and published as Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ, Period I* (6 vols.; Salt Lake City, 1902-1912). One of the earliest semi-objective accounts is John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints . . .* (St. Louis, 1839).

⁴ Among the early "anti" works were: E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled [sic] . . .* (Painesville, Ohio, 1834); J. B. Turner, *Mormonism in All Ages . . .* (New York, 1942); and John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints . . .* (Boston, 1842). The latter was the first such work to achieve a national audience and set a style followed by many subsequent works of exposé. Other widely read "anti" works in the 19th century were: J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah: or The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia, 1870); T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints . . .* (New York, 1873); and Ann Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19 . . .* (Hartford, 1875).

⁵ The better travel accounts include Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City* (2 vols.; London, 1861); Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints . . .* (New York, 1862); Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent* (Springfield, Mass., 1865); and Phil Robinson, *Sinners and Saints* (Boston, 1883).

⁶ There were at least three reasonably impartial histories of the Mormons in the nineteenth century: [Charles Mackay], *The Mormons, or Latter Day Saints* (London, 1851); Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders* (Salt Lake City, 1886), the only one of the three by a Mormon — and at this stage he was somewhat disaffected; and H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540-1886* (San Francisco, 1889). Despite their excellence, one would hardly have found the first two in a typical library. As for the Bancroft, it left many readers confused by the favorable account of the Mormons in the text and the equally unfavorable account in the footnotes.

culture began in this century as a product of work toward the Ph.D. in history and the social sciences.⁷ The first of more than a hundred doctoral dissertations on the Mormons (see appended list) was presented by Edgar Wilson at the University of Berlin in 1906.⁸ It is no accident that this early study was written and published under the direction of Professor Gustav Schmoller. As the founder and leader of the Younger German Historical School of Economics, Schmoller believed that the best approach to economics and other social phenomena was through history. Taking sharp issue with “classical” and “neo-classical” economics, he contended that economics had gotten off on the wrong foot by emphasis on deductive theorizing. Generalizations of temporal phenomena, he asserted, must be built up from a wealth of detailed, factual, and historical studies and monographs.⁹

Among the hundreds of dissertations on as many subjects which were sponsored by Schmoller and his colleagues was Wilson’s “Co-operative Economy and Forms of Enterprise in the Mormon Commonwealth.”¹⁰ Based upon “years of residence and study” in Utah, the dissertation discussed the nature and goals of the Mormon Church, the “communistic” phase of its history, the “cooperative company” phase, irrigation companies, business cooperatives, the “capitalistic phase,” and had a concluding section on “achievements and expectations.” A Midwestern Lutheran, Wilson took as his text a phrase from Seneca: “For I am accustomed also to go over into alien camps, not so much as a fugitive, but as an explorer.”

No one would contend that Wilson’s study was objective in the modern sense; it reflected the author’s personal feelings and opin-

⁷ As will be seen, many of these dissertations and other works by their authors were subsequently influential as published works.

⁸ This was preceded by “Economic Aspects of Mormonism,” by Richard T. Ely, who had been trained in the German Historical School, in *Harper’s Monthly Magazine*, CVI (1903), 667–678. The earliest Ph.D. dissertation on a Mormon subject is Woodbridge Riley’s psychological interpretation of Joseph Smith, but it cannot be classed as a dissertation on the Latter-day Saints and their culture.

⁹ This mention of Schmoller and his somewhat marginal connection with Mormon studies at the beginning of the century should not obscure the dominating influence of Leopold von Ranke on general German and American historiography. Another leading European historian, Eduard Meyer, wrote one of the early “scientific” studies of Mormonism, which, however, suffers from the shortcomings of Riley, Linn, and other writers on whom it was based: *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen* (Halle, Germany, 1912).

¹⁰ English translation. The original was published under the title “Gemeinwirtschaft und Unternehmungsformen im Mormonenstaat,” *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich* (39 vols.; Leipzig, 1877–1915), XXI (1907), 1003–1056. The writer has an unpublished translation into English by Dr. Philip Flammer, of the United States Air Force Academy, which was completed several years ago while Dr. Flammer was a student at Utah State University.

ions, as well as the available literature and prejudices of the time. But it is significant that Wilson sought to study Mormonism as a phenomenon in the same sense that other students of the German historicists had studied the tax system of ancient Greece, the legal contributions of the Romans, and the origins of German statecraft.¹¹

Since this pioneer effort, the hundred or more dissertations on the Mormons and their culture fall into one of three categories: "analytical" social science studies, historical studies of one or more aspects of "the Mormon epic," and what might be called "quasi-official" or "institutional" studies.¹² It is not entirely a coincidence that the earliest *American* doctoral dissertations on the Mormons were completed the same year (1918), that both were written by young Mormons who had taught in the church educational system (Ephraim Ericksen and Andrew Love Neff), and that both exemplify and suggest themes for the first two types of studies suggested above.

The first of the analytical studies, and somewhat resembling the Wilson dissertation, was "The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life" by Ephraim Ericksen.¹³ Although Ericksen does not cite Wilson and does not even list a bibliography (at least in the work's published form), among his professors and ad-

¹¹ In 1904–1905, just prior to Wilson's dissertation, the famous social philosopher and economic historian, Max Weber, had published in a German review *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, which contained an interesting footnote reference to the Mormons (London, 1930, p. 264, note 25). This may or may not have excited the interest of Schmoller and Wilson, but it was unquestionably one of the factors which induced Lowell L. Bennion, a (Mormon) sociology student at the Universities of Vienna and Strasbourg in the early 1930's, to write a little-known Weber-type analysis of Mormonism in his doctoral dissertation entitled *Max Weber's Methodology* (Paris, 1933, esp. 128–135). Shortly thereafter (1934), a French student of Vilfredo Pareto, G. H. Bousquet, spent several weeks in Utah and later published a similar analysis under the title "A Theocratic Economy: The Mormon Church," in the *Revue d'économie politique* in 1936. In addition to other works, Bousquet is also author of *Les Mormons: Histoire et Institutions* (Paris, 1949), one of the "Que sais-je?" series of the "Presses Universitaires de France," which has been widely distributed and read in France. An authority on Arab sociology attached to the University of Algiers, Bousquet became interested in Joseph Smith and Mormon history because of supposed similarities to Mohammed and the history of Islam.

¹² Obviously, the three categories are not mutually exclusive. Some of the "quasi-official" studies belong, topically, in the analytical or "Mormon epic" categories. They are classified separately because of the need to distinguish studies which tend to be basically "faith-promoting" from those done in "secular" graduate schools which insist upon naturalistic or humanistic description and analysis.

¹³ A year earlier Hamilton Gardner, a student at Harvard, had published "Cooperation Among the Mormons," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXXI (1917) 461–499. He later published "Communism Among the Mormons," *ibid.*, XXXVII (1922), 134–174. But his projected work, "Economic Activities Among the Mormons," completed in 1925, was never published. It is available on microfilm at the Utah State University Library.

visors was Dr. J. Laurence Laughlin, a personal friend of Schmoller, who had given a series of lectures at the University of Berlin in 1906–1907.¹⁴ These, it will be remembered, were the same years that Wilson's dissertation was written and published. Ericksen's study, which was highly critical of Mormon leadership, initiated and influenced a rather substantial number of penetrating social and economic studies by persons reared as Mormons. Among these early "analytical" studies were those by Joseph Geddes, Lowry Nelson, and Feramorz Y. Fox. It is significant, and perhaps to be expected, that most of these dissertations have been written by persons who received part or all of their training in a discipline other than history — psychology, sociology, economics, or political science. It is also significant that these studies have centered on the more unusual elements of Mormon culture, giving emphasis to the differences between the Mormons and other groups of Westerners and Americans.

The second of these early dissertations, and the earliest of the "Mormon epic" studies, was "The Mormon Migration to Utah" by Andrew Love Neff. While not completed until 1918, this study was actually conceived by Neff as early as 1903 while he was a student at Stanford. Perhaps unconsciously, it reflected the influence of Frederick Jackson Turner. "To my mind," wrote Neff in 1906, "the greatest fact in American history is the spread of settlement from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific Ocean. And I hope to ascertain the relative part of Mormons in blazing the trail and opening up of the continent to settlement."¹⁵ Neff's goal of a three-volume "epic" history was never fully realized because of an untimely death, but we can be grateful to L. H. Creer and others for the posthumous publication in 1940 of his intended first volume, which covers the history of Utah and the Mormons to 1869.¹⁶ Early works built upon this "frontier" tradition include the dissertations by L. H. Creer, Dean McBrien, Joel Ricks, and Milton Hunter. These and the "Turnerian" works which followed have emphasized the "American" character of the Mormon movement and have sought to demonstrate the elements in common between the Mormons and other Westerners and Americans.

There is a third kind of monograph which has flowered in recent years with the establishment and growth of graduate studies

¹⁴ See Laughlin, *Industrial America Berlin Lectures of 1906* (New York, 1906).

¹⁵ A. L. Neff to G. H. Brimhall, April 1, 1906, MS., Brimhall Papers, Brigham Young University Archives, Provo, Utah.

¹⁶ Andrew Love Neff, *History of Utah, 1847 to 1869*, Leland Hargrave Creer, ed. (Salt Lake City, 1940).

in the College of Religious Instruction at Brigham Young University. These theses and dissertations might be regarded as “quasi-official” because, in a broad sense, they are encouraged by, or sponsored by, the Church. Directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, they adduce evidence in support of the Church, its history and program. Written under the influence of what Samuel W. Taylor recently called the “positive thinking” philosophy, they serve to “build testimonies” (*i.e.*, increase conviction) by showing the wisdom of past and present church policies and programs.¹⁷ Many of them consist of Ed.D. theses written by instructors in the Church’s seminaries, institutes of religion, and colleges.¹⁸

It was the prediction of Ephraim Ericksen that these “quasi-official” monographs would increasingly characterize Mormon studies in the years after his dissertation was completed. The Church, he asserted, had gone through three stages: an early stage of conflict with neighbors in New York State, Missouri, Ohio, and Illinois — a conflict produced by the Mormons’ peculiar religious ceremonies, peculiar marriage institution, distinct economic order, and the unique lay priesthood hagiography; a second stage of conflict with nature, as the pioneers in the Mountain West sought to make the desert blossom as the rose in a region hostile to human settlement; and a third stage of accommodation and adjustment to the dominant scientific and democratic culture of the nation.

It was the third stage which, Ericksen contended, would present the most difficult problems for the Church. In the earlier stages, he said, there was very slight distinction between the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Church:

They [the Mormons] all belonged to the Kingdom of God and the church claimed the right to exercise its authority in any direction. But when sufficient private capital had accumulated and the individuals began to feel their own strength and could undertake business enterprises without the aid of the church its influence in economic matters began to decline. The state began to assume greater responsibility and was becoming stronger in all lines of general community interest. The individuals were beginning to assert themselves through the institu-

¹⁷ Taylor decried the baneful influence of the “positive thinkers” in a recent address to the Conference on Utah and The West at the University of Utah, June 22, 1965. It should be emphasized that religious history is not synonymous with non-objective history, and “secular” history is not always honest and impartial. Theistic history is quite capable of becoming “great” history.

¹⁸ Since only the dissertations written under Ph.D. programs are included on the appended list, many of these studies are omitted. Examples of fine Ed.D. dissertations by Mormon educators on Mormon subjects are: Wendell O. Rich, “Certain Basic Concepts in the Educational Philosophy of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1930,” Utah State University, 1954; and James R. Clark, “Church and State Relations in Education in Utah, 1847–1957,” Utah State University, 1958.

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tions of the state. The church was forced to confine its activities to that sphere in which the older group sentiments still hold sway. Its sphere was becoming less temporal and more spiritual. Its attention was being turned to its traditions, and its function was becoming more and more that of conserving its institutions and group sentiments.¹⁹

As secularization set in, said Ericksen, church history would become more defensive, doctrinaire, and theological.²⁰ As the last refuge of their early faith, a “Mormon scholasticism” would develop which would have as its purpose the “justifying” of Mormon dogmas. “The old institutions and traditions are thus fortified on the one hand by sentiment and on the other by a well-developed system of theology.”²¹ But this would lead to a form of group introspection which would prove to be essentially sterile.

. . . with a social group as with an individual, it [a group] tends to lose its vigor as soon as it becomes self-conscious. Its spirit weakens as soon as it begins to think about itself. When Mormonism finds more glory in working out new social ideals than in the contemplating of past achievements or the beauty of its own theological system, it will begin to feel its old-time strength.²²

Nevertheless, while Ericksen predicted the emergence of a substantial body of quasi-official studies, he failed to foresee the outpouring of scholarly secular studies by Mormon Ph.D. candidates in non-church universities and in departments outside the College of Religious Instruction at Brigham Young University itself.

The English historian R. G. Collingwood once wrote that the historian investigating any historical event or phenomenon must make a distinction between the “outside” and the “inside” of the event.²³ In an analogous way some writers have looked at Mormon

¹⁹ E. E. Ericksen, *The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life* (Chicago, 1922), p. 91.

²⁰ Ericksen did not use the term secularization — a term which is common among sociologists of religion and others, particularly Catholics. Secularization “has usually referred to the developments of the past century or so during which what might be termed a kind of naturalistic humanism has gradually displaced life orientations of a theistic character with those focusing on the rational empirical mastery of the human condition in the here and now.” John T. Flint, “The Secularization of Norwegian Society,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, VI (April 1964), 325. The term is not ordinarily used by Latter-day Saints because of the unique association in Mormon theology of earthly life with eternal salvation. However, there is increasing justification for the use of some such term to refer to the gradual replacement of the church as the central focus of all aspects of life — and the church leader as the authority on all aspects of life — with a more naturalistic or “secular” humanism which accords to religion, the church, and the church leader a more limited role.

²¹ Ericksen, p. 98.

²² Ericksen, p. 99.

²³ Cited in Frederic C. Lane and Jelle C. Riemersma, *Enterprise and Secular Change: Readings in Economic History* (Homewood, Illinois, 1953), p. 438.

culture from the “outside” and others from the “inside.” For example, one of the finest studies of Mormonism in recent years is the dissertation by Thomas F. O’Dea for Harvard entitled “Mormon Values: The Significance of a Religious Outlook for Social Action.” Reared in an Irish Catholic household in Boston, O’Dea, after discharge from the Armed Forces at the end of World War II, did an honors thesis on a “fundamentalist” Catholic sect led by Father Feeney called the “Benedictines.” Because of the brilliance of his work, O’Dea was invited to participate in the Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures Project of the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard, under the direction of Professor Clyde Kluckhohn. It was the Laboratory’s plan to study the impact of religion on five different cultures located in one geographic area of northern New Mexico: Zuñi, Navajo, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Mormon. Since scholars had already been assigned to work on the first four groups, O’Dea, who knew virtually nothing about Mormonism prior to that time, was assigned the Mormon community. He devoured the literature, wrote an insightful preliminary analysis, conducted interviews with scholars and church authorities, and reached a sympathetic understanding by residing for six months in a “frontier” New Mexico Mormon agricultural settlement. He concluded with a summer teaching assignment at a predominantly Mormon state university (Utah State University). His resulting dissertation, and the articles and books published from his research, offer unquestionably the best “outside” view of Mormon thought and practice now available.²⁴

The prime example of a scholar and writer beginning from the “inside” is Juanita Brooks. Reared in a polygamous family in a Mormon settlement in southern Nevada, her brilliant, sensitive, and imaginative mind was saturated from childhood in Mormon lore — the Mountain Meadows Massacre, John D. Lee, stories of the Three Nephites, the inspirations and foibles of pioneer leaders, and the emotional and practical impact of Mormon doctrine. Her writings have illustrated the remarkable insights into Mormonism that can be obtained by a study of the lives of individual adherents, particularly in emotionally-charged episodes.²⁵

²⁴ See O’Dea’s *The Mormons* (Chicago, 1957). His “Mormon” essays in sociological journals are as profound as they are influential; e.g.: “Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation: A Study of Church, Sect, and Incipient Nationality,” *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (November, 1954), 285–293; and “A Comparative Study of the Role of Values in Social Action in Two Southwestern Communities,” *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (December, 1953), 645–654 (with Evon C. Vogt).

²⁵ Strictly speaking, Mrs. Brooks’ parents were both reared in plural households. In addition to many articles, her books include: *Dudley Leavitt: Pioneer to Southern Utah* (St. George, Utah, 1942); *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Stanford, 1950); and *John Doyle Lee: Zealot — Pioneer Builder — Scapegoat* (Glendale, Calif., 1962).

It is not possible to say whether Mormon studies are best done by practicing members, by "Jack Mormons" (*i.e.*, lapsed or non-practicing members or excommunicants), or by complete "outsiders."²⁶ A. L. Neff felt that those reared as Mormons had an advantage. Born of pioneer parentage, Neff had been educated at the Brigham Young Academy, and later served as a principal of three "Mormon" high schools. Sensitive to the beliefs and feelings of his own people, Neff refused to accept either adverse or favorable generalizations until all the evidence was in. "I don't pretend to be very religious," he wrote, "but I have a passion for the truth in this field of American history." "In my projected historical labors," he wrote, "I intend to make allowance for inspiration. . . . I realize that if I were guided by the canons of historical criticism alone, I would make no real contribution to the already many works on the subject. But by combining the two I feel that I shall have an advantage over previous writers."²⁷ By adhering to this goal and by resourcefulness and circumspection in the use of sources, Neff set a high standard of integrity for others to follow.

Despite the substantial number of scholarly studies of Mormonism undertaken since the turn of the century, and of course there are significant works in addition to the dissertations listed,²⁸ much still remains for present and future researchers. The struggle of scholars not specializing in Mormon studies to find accounts and interpretations which would be useful and reliable for reference purposes points to serious deficiencies. At the same time, recent studies suggest new interpretations and opportunities.

²⁶ The curious may want to know how the writer classes himself. My family were Latter-day Saint converts from the South — not an established or pioneer family with "a heritage." I grew up in a town (Twin Falls, Idaho) which was at the time almost completely non-Mormon; I went to non-Mormon universities (University of Idaho and University of North Carolina); I married a non-Mormon girl (now a converted Mormon) and went off to war in North Africa and Europe, where I had no Mormon associates. I did not settle down in a Mormon environment until I came to Utah State University in 1946 at the age of 29. Whatever their worth, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958) and other essays and monographs thus represent attempts to see the Mormon economy and culture from the perspective of a sympathetic "outsider."

²⁷ Neff to Brimhall, *op. cit.* I am grateful to Dr. Klaus Hansen, of Utah State University, who called the Neff correspondence to my attention and furnished me a copy of the letter cited here.

²⁸ Perhaps the most significant works on Mormonism which did not originate as doctoral dissertations are: B. H. Roberts, "History of the Mormon Church," *Americana*, June 1909 to July 1915, later revised, brought up-to-date, and published as *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I* (6 vols.: Salt Lake City, 1930); Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1941); Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago, 1942); and Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York, 1945).

With regard to the deficiencies, there is, first of all, not even a satisfactory general history of the Mormons. This appalling fact is evident from the large number of national and regional historians who still base their accounts on such “anti” works as Linn’s *Story of the Mormons*, which is not only out of date but was not a reliable treatise to begin with.²⁹ On the other hand, the most widely-used “official” history is theologically oriented, its focus is primarily on the recurring conflict between the Church and its “enemies,” and it makes no attempt to relate Mormon history to contemporary national developments.³⁰ We continue to await the multivolume history by Dale Morgan,³¹ but many monographic studies would be helpful to a future synthesizer.³² Particularly neglected are the “churches of the dispersion”—the dissident sects and groups which split off from the “mainstream” group headquartered in Salt Lake City.

Second, there are only a few Mormon biographies, and not all of those few are historically sound. The biography most often referred to by most scholars is Fawn Brodie’s life of Joseph Smith, but earnest critics have found many inaccuracies in both fact and interpretation.³³ Despite the evidence of prodigious research, despite the charming imagery of its style and its stirring chronicle of an enigmatic career, the book has two methodological weaknesses. First, it is evident that Mrs. Brodie, who is a lapsed Mormon, not only has little patience with the pretensions of Mormonism, but

²⁹ William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons . . .* (New York, 1902; New York, 1963). An example of the use of Linn as the basic reference by a scholar who ought to know better is Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom’s Ferment: Phases of American Social History to 1860* (Minneapolis, 1944; New York, 1964).

³⁰ Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials of Church History* (Salt Lake City, 1922). This book is now in its 18th edition.

³¹ Reared as a Mormon, and a University of Utah graduate of 1937, Dale L. Morgan did extensive research on Mormon history while associated with the Historical Records Survey and Federal Writers’ Project in Utah and the Office of Price Administration in Washington, D.C. and in connection with the books under his own name which began to appear in 1943. The quality of his work is evidenced in *Utah: A Guide to the State* (New York, 1941), and *The Great Salt Lake* (Indianapolis, 1947). A specialist in the Bancroft Library since 1954, he has become heavily involved in other historical projects and his Mormon history has been in a state of suspension.

³² At this date, the most satisfactory short narrative history of the Mormons for a non-Mormon, despite many inaccuracies and omissions, is Ray B. West, Jr., *Kingdom of the Saints: The Story of Brigham Young and the Mormons* (New York, 1957). The best “analytic” study is O’Dea’s *The Mormons*. Roberts’ *Comprehensive History*, which is almost never used by non-Mormons, is surprisingly complete and objective; it is the best single reference.

³³ Examples of errors in the book are given in a lengthy review in *The Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), May 11, 1946, and in Hugh Nibley, *No Ma’am, That’s Not History* (Salt Lake City, 1946). Many of the factual errors in *No Man Knows My History* have been eliminated in recent printings.

little appreciation of religious phenomena generally. She refuses to accord integrity to the many men of undoubted intellect and character who associated with the Mormon prophet and believed him to be an inspired leader. Second, Mrs. Brodie was concerned, or at least it would seem, with painting a pen portrait rather than with writing a work of history. The work reads as though she began by studying the historical background sufficiently to formulate what she regarded as a reasonable and believable approach to Joseph Smith and then proceeded to mobilize the evidence to illustrate and support her interpretation. To be sure, these indictments may be overdrawn, but Mrs. Brodie's colorful adjectives and sometimes damning inferences imply a finality of judgment that is not warranted by the contradictory character of the evidence she examined.⁸⁴

The need for a good biography of Joseph Smith must be emphasized because he was unquestionably a theological and social innovator of major significance. There are those who have deprecated Joseph Smith as a bumbling knave, far inferior to that great practical statesman, Brigham Young.⁸⁵ But, as Robert Flanders and Jan Shippo have shown in two recent doctoral dissertations, Joseph Smith was neither a charlatan nor a lunatic, but a personality of undoubted stature—a leader of imagination and energy and the person most responsible for the formulation of Mormon doctrine and practice. One can hardly obtain an understanding of Mormonism without coming to grips with his life, intellect, and character.

Just as Mrs. Brodie's biography, and certain others, are usually regarded (by the Mormons, at least) as "anti,"⁸⁶ most of the "pro" biographies are undeviating pictures of sweetness and light. These err even more on the side of incredibility than the blacker portraits of the anti's.⁸⁷ Indeed, the only Mormon biography which appears to have withstood historical criticism in either direction is Juanita

⁸⁴ One reader of this paper writes that it ill behooves Latter-day Saints to complain so frenetically about Mrs. Brodie when they have thus far failed to produce a scholarly study which could even hope to compete with hers as a life of Joseph Smith.

⁸⁵ "Mormons," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.; New York, 1910); DeVoto, "The Centennial of Mormonism"; and elsewhere.

⁸⁶ The "anti" biographies include: Harry M. Beardsley, *Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire* (New York, 1931); and Hoffman Birney, *Zealots of Zion* (Philadelphia, 1931).

⁸⁷ Among the better Mormon biographies are John Henry Evans, *Charles Coulson Rich: Pioneer Builder of the West* (New York, 1936); Clair Noall, *Intimate Disciple: The Life of Willard Richards* (Salt Lake City, 1959). Several biographies by Bryant S. Hinckley are of the "sugary" kind; e.g., Bryant S. Hinckley, *Daniel Hanmer Wells and Events of His Time* (Salt Lake City, 1942); *ibid.*, *Sermons and Missionary Services of Melvin Joseph Ballard* (Salt Lake City, 1949).

Brooks' *John Doyle Lee*. This is indeed embarrassing, considering that there have been, by now, several million Mormons. It is unfortunate for the cause of Mormon history that the Church Historian's Library, which is in the possession of virtually all of the diaries of leading Mormons, has not seen fit to publish these diaries or to permit qualified historians to use them without restriction. One result has been that "Mormons" have become known essentially through the lives and characters of some of their most notorious adherents — *i.e.*, Porter Rockwell, John D. Lee, and Hosea Stout³⁸ — rather than through such "mainstream" leaders as Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith, and David O. McKay. Even Brigham Young, recognized universally as one of America's great colonizers, has no satisfactory biography.³⁹

There is also a need for studies of those who have contributed to the literature on Mormonism: Linn, Roberts, Ericksen, Neff, Werner, Beardsley, Anderson, Brodie, and others. How did they become interested in writing as they did about the Mormons? What familial, intellectual, and other influences colored their opinions and analyses? Here are topics for many master's theses and journal articles.⁴⁰

The third great deficiency is the lack of studies of the period since 1877. It was right and proper that the first studies should reconstruct the great migration and the settlement of the Mormon West and analyze the social and cultural setting. Inasmuch as the great principle of history is continuity, increasing emphasis should be given to the period after Brigham Young's death — and, even more, to Mormon history in this century.⁴¹ Of the one hundred

³⁸ Charles Kelly and Hoffman Birney, *Holy Murder: The Story of Porter Rockwell* (New York: 1934); John D. Lee, *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876*, Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds. (2 vols.; San Marino, Calif., 1955); Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, Juanita Brooks, ed. (2 vols.; Salt Lake City, 1964).

³⁹ An excellent and sprightly-written assessment of Young is a fifty-page chapter in Jonathan Hughes, *The Vital Few: American Economic Progress and Its Protagonists* (Boston, 1966). Biographies include: M. R. Werner, *Brigham Young* (New York, 1925), a researched account which is good but essentially pokes fun; and Preston Nibley, *Brigham Young: The Man and His Work* (Salt Lake City, 1936), which manages to present a life of Young without once mentioning polygamy.

⁴⁰ Pieces which show what can be done are: George Ellsworth, "Hubert Howe Bancroft and the History of Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXII (April 1954), 99-124; and William F. Lye, "Edward Wheelock Tullidge, 'The Mormons' Rebel Historian,'" *ibid.*, XXVIII (January 1960), 56-75.

⁴¹ The only historical study that treats exclusively the last 65 years is the rather brief and topical text by James B. Allen and Richard O. Cowan, *Mormonism in the Twentieth Century* (Provo, Utah, 1964). An excellent sociological study of Mormons in the 20th century is John L. Sorenson, "Industrialization and Social Change: A Controlled Comparison of Two Utah Communities" (Ph.D. Dissertation, U.C.L.A., 1962).

thirty-six years which have elapsed since The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was founded in 1830, seventy, or more than half, have occurred since Utah became a state in 1896. Yet virtually none of the studies of Mormondom has paid more than token attention to the "modern" half of Mormon history.

In this connection, the gradual but sure transition of Mormon Country⁴² from the exclusively Mormon commonwealth to a region in the American (in the broader sense) commonwealth deserves particular attention. Since completing my own study of nineteenth-century Mormon economics several years ago, I have done some research, in association with Professor Thomas Alexander and others, on the economic history of Utah and the Mountain West since 1900; the conclusion is inescapable that the economic and social history of Mormon Country in this century is fully as significant, fully as regional, as that of the nineteenth century.⁴³ The unifying theme of the nineteenth century Mormon economy was the Church, which promoted economic growth, regulated economic activity, and was the focus of community action. In a desert oasis like Utah and surrounding regions, strong organizational backing was required for economic success, and the Mormons were uniquely prepared to meet this challenge by virtue of their ideology and institutions. The cohesion of the Mormon settlers, their willingness to sacrifice for a great cause, and the concentration of capital in the hands of a church interested in promoting economic growth all contributed toward successful colonization.

When the activities of the Church were seriously curtailed by Federal action during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, the only remaining source of organizational strength to overcome the problems connected with the development of the region was the Federal Government. Happily, the nation was in the course of developing governmental organizational facilities which made that feasible. By means of reclamation, road construction, conservation and recreation activities, the construction of defense plants and installations, and other forms of Federal assistance, the region has demonstrated healthy growth. The unifying theme and key to the Mormon economy in

⁴² An excellent definition and description of Mormon Country is found in D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of The American West, 1847-1964," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, LV (June 1965), 191-220. A delightful introduction to the folkways is found in Wallace Stegner, *Mormon Country* (New York, 1942).

⁴³ Two brief essays are: *From Wilderness to Empire: The Role of Utah in Western Economic History* (Salt Lake City, 1961); and *The Changing Economic Structure of the Mountain West, 1850-1950* (Logan, 1963).

the twentieth century is the role of the Federal Government — its programs, aids, and consequences. That the Mountain West (*i.e.*, the setting of “Mormon Country”) was unique in its heavy dependence upon Federal programs for its development can be attributed to the fact that much of the region was settled and developed during years when the Federal Government was able and willing to assist. Without the many Federal programs, the growth would unquestionably have been far less. And yet there are few who would question that the Federal investment has paid off handsomely. The economic and social contributions of Mormon Country to the nation have been numerous and substantial.

This obviously incomplete review should not conclude without mention of two exciting responses, quite independent of the Church itself, by young Mormon intellectuals to the need for competent professional history and commentary. The first is the founding of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*; the second is the formation in San Francisco, on December 28, 1965, of the Mormon History Association. Most of those who have promoted both the Association and *Dialogue* are practicing Latter-day Saints; they share basic agreement that the Mormon religion and its history are subject to discussion, if not to argument and that any particular feature of Mormon life is fair game for detached examination and clarification. They believe that the details of Mormon history and culture can be studied in human or naturalistic terms — indeed, must be so studied — and without thus rejecting the divinity of the Church’s origin and work.⁴⁴

Thus, while Mormon history has been “secularized” as the result of its study in secular graduate schools, a positive attempt is being made to promote research and writing which will give the Mormon heritage a fuller and more sympathetic hearing. Perhaps eventually a Mormon Yearbook can be published that will contribute to the elevation of Mormon studies, much as Schmoller’s *Jahrbuch* contributed toward the edification and cultural advancement of central Europe.

⁴⁴ The above also expresses my own conviction; it is a subject which warrants a full essay. As one reader of this paper has asked, is it really possible to humanize all phases of Mormon history without destroying church doctrines regarding historical events? Can doctrine be examined and explained without losing its very qualities of “doctrine?” Doesn’t such understanding preclude “doctrine” by definition? Aren’t these the considerations that motivate church authorities to hesitate making public the documents relating to doctrinal phases of church history? Finally, is it a valid historical approach to begin with the assumption that the Church itself is not subject to argument?

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*A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF Ph.D. DISSERTATIONS
ON MORMON HISTORY AND CULTURE*

Leonard J. Arrington

1. I. WOODBRIDGE RILEY, "A Psychological History of Joseph Smith, Jr., The Founder of Mormonism" (Yale, 1902).
2. EDGAR B. WILSON, "Gemeinwirtschaft und Unternehmungsformen in Mormonenstaat" (Berlin, 1906).
3. E. E. ERICKSEN, "The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life" (Columbia, 1918).
4. ANDREW LOVE NEFF, "The Mormon Migration to Utah, 1830-1847" (California: Berkeley, 1918).
5. JOSEPH A. GEDDES, "The United Order Among the Mormons (Missouri Phase)" (Columbia, 1924).
6. LELAND H. CREER, "Utah and the Nation, 1846-1861" (California: Berkeley, 1926).
7. DEAN D. MCBRIEN, "The Influence of the Frontier on Joseph Smith" (George Washington, 1929).
8. WILLIAM J. MCNIFF, "The Part Played by the Mormon Church in the Cultural Development of Early Utah (1847-1879)" (Ohio State, 1929).
9. LOWRY NELSON, "The Mormon Village: A Study in Social Origins" (Wisconsin, 1929).
10. JOEL E. RICKS, "Forms and Methods of Early Settlement in Utah and the Surrounding Region, 1847-77" (Chicago, 1930).
11. THOMAS C. ROMNEY, "The State of Deseret" (California: Berkeley, 1930).
12. GEORGE B. ARBAUGH, "Revelation in Mormonism: Its Character and Changing Forms" (Iowa, 1931).
13. FERAMORZ Y. FOX, "The Mormon Land System: A Study of the Settlement and Utilization of Land Under the Direction of the Mormon Church" (Northwestern, 1932).
14. M. LYNN BENNION, "The Origin, Growth, and Extension of the Educational Program of the Mormon Church in Utah" (California: Berkeley, 1935).
15. ARDEN B. OLSEN, "The History of Mormon Mercantile Cooperation in Utah" (California: Berkeley, 1935).
16. EDWARD J. ALLEN, "The Second United Order Among the Mormons" (Columbia, 1936).
17. MILTON R. HUNTER, "Brigham Young the Colonizer" (California: Berkeley, 1936).
18. JOSEPH EARLE SPENCER, "The Middle Virgin River Valley Utah: A Study in Culture Growth and Change" (California: Los Angeles, 1936).
19. CARL J. FURR, "The Religious Philosophy of Brigham Young" (Chicago, 1937).
20. THERALD N. JENSEN, "Mormon Theory of Church and State" (Chicago, 1938).

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21. G. BYRON DONE, "The Participation of the Latter-day Saints in the Community Life of Los Angeles" (Southern California, 1939).
22. JAMES E. HULETT, JR., "The Sociological and Social Psychological Aspects of the Mormon Polygamous Family" (Wisconsin, 1939).
23. PAUL W. TAPPAN, "Mormon-Gentile Conflict: A Study of the Influence of Public Opinion on In-group versus Out-group Interaction, With Special Reference to Polygamy" (Wisconsin, 1939).
24. REV. ROBERT J. DWYER, "The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict (1862-1890)" (Catholic University of America, 1941).
25. REX SKIDMORE, "Mormon Recreation in Theory and Practice" (Pennsylvania, 1941).
26. JULIUS B. BEARNSON, "Private and Public Relief in Utah, with Special Reference to the Mormon Church Welfare Plan" (Virginia, 1948).
27. RICHARD D. POLL, "The Mormon Question, 1850-1865: A Study in Politics and Public Opinion" (California: Berkeley, 1948).
28. A. R. MORTENSEN, "The *Deseret News* and Utah, 1850-1867" (California: Los Angeles, 1949).
29. M. HAMLIN CANNON, "The 'Gathering' of British Mormons to Western America: A Study in Religious Migration" (American University, 1950).
30. S. GEORGE ELLSWORTH, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada, 1830-1860" (California: Berkeley, 1950).
31. M. R. MERRILL, "Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics" (Columbia, 1950).
32. PHILIP A. M. TAYLOR, "Mormon Emigration from Great Britain to the United States, 1840-70" (Cambridge, 1950).
33. GABRIEL E. JANOSIK, "The Political Theory of the Mormon Church" (Pennsylvania, 1951).
34. MERLE E. WELLS, "The Idaho Anti-Mormon Movement, 1872-1908" (California: Berkeley, 1951).
35. LEONARD J. ARRINGTON, "Mormon Economic Policies and Their Implementation on the Western Frontier, 1847-1900" (North Carolina, 1952).
36. GAYLON L. CALDWELL, "Mormon Concepts of Individual Rights and Political Obligation" (Stanford, 1952).
37. EUGENE E. CAMPBELL, "A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in California, 1846-1946" (Southern California, 1952).
38. DON W. MCBRIDE, "The Development of Higher Education in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (Michigan State, 1952).
39. WILFRED E. SMITH, "A Comparative Study of Indulgence of Mormon and non-Mormon Students in Certain Social Practices which are Authoritatively Condemned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" (Washington, 1952).
40. THOMAS F. O'DEA, "Mormon Values: The Significance of a Religious Outlook for Social Action" (Harvard, 1953).
41. ELLSWORTH E. WEAVER, "The Evolution of Political Institutions in Utah" (New York University, 1953).

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42. WILLIAM N. DEAN, "The Mormons of the El Dorado Stake and the Valley City Ward: A Study in Social Norms and Their Effectiveness (Washington University, St. Louis, 1954).
43. STEWART L. GROW, "A Study of the Utah Commission, 1882-1896" (Utah, 1954).
44. HERBERT R. LARSEN, "'Familism' in Mormon Social Structure" (Utah, 1954).
45. HYRUM L. ANDRUS, "Joseph Smith: Social Philosopher, Theorist, and Prophet" (Syracuse, 1955).
46. WILFRID C. BAILEY, "The Social Organization of the Mormon Village" (Chicago, 1955).
47. WILLIAM MULDER, "Mormons from Scandinavia, 1850-1905: The Story of a Religious Migration" (Harvard, 1955).
48. RAY R. CANNING, "Changing Patterns and Problems of Family Life in Provo, Utah, 1905 to 1955" (Utah, 1956).
49. J. KEITH MELVILLE, "The Political Ideas of Brigham Young" (Utah, 1956).
50. R. KENT FIELDING, "Growth of the Mormon Church in Kirtland, Ohio" (Indiana, 1957).
51. MARK W. CANNON, "The Mormon Issue in Congress, 1872-1883, Drawing on the Experience of Territorial Delegate George Q. Cannon" (Harvard, 1960).
52. J. KENNETH DAVIES, "A Study of the Labor Philosophy Developed Within The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (Southern California, 1960).
53. RICHARD O. COWAN, "Mormonism in National Periodicals" (Stanford, 1961).
54. MARIO DE PILLIS, "The Development of Mormon Communitarianism, 1826-1846" (Yale, 1961).
55. BARBARA J. M. HIGDON, "The Role of Preaching in the Latter Day Saint Church, 1830-1846" (Missouri, 1961).
56. HAZEL A. LOWENSTEIN, "Comparative Study of Selected Leadership Training Criteria and the Leadership Training Programs of the Church-of-Jesus-Christ-of-Latter-Day-Saints" (Indiana, 1961).
57. HELEN H. MACARE, "The Singing Saints: A Study of the Mormon Hymnal, 1835-1950" (California: Los Angeles, 1961).
58. RUTH ANDRUS, "A History of the Recreation Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (State University of Iowa, 1962).
59. WARREN A. JENKINS, "Zion is Fled: The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri" (Florida, 1962).
60. T. EDGAR LYON, "Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities in Mormon Dominated Areas, 1865-1900" (Utah, 1962).
61. JOHN L. SORENSON, "Industrialization and Social Change: A Controlled Comparison of Two Utah Communities" (California: Los Angeles, 1962).
62. W. C. CARR, "Utah Statehood: Its Background and Development to 1865" (California: Berkeley, 1963).

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63. KLAUS J. HANSEN, "The Kingdom of God in Mormon Thought and Practice, 1830-1896" (Wayne State, 1963).
64. B. CARMON HARDY, "The Mormon Colonies of Northern Mexico: A History, 1885-1912" (Wayne State, 1963).
65. MELVIN S. TAGG, "A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Canada, 1830-1963" (Brigham Young University, 1963).
66. R. D. ZINSER, "Sectarian Commitment and Withdrawal" (Chicago, 1963).
67. JULIA CARVER, "A Study of the Influence of the Philosophy of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on Physical Education in Church Schools" (Oregon, 1964).
68. ROBERT FLANDERS, "Nauvoo: Kingdom of the Mississippi" (Wisconsin, 1964).
69. ORMA LINFORD, "The Mormons and the Law: The Polygamy Cases" (Wisconsin, 1964).
70. WILLIAM R. PERSONS, "An Analysis of Changes in the Interpretation and Utilization of Revelation in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" (Iliff School of Theology, 1964).
71. JAN SHIPPS, "The Mormons in Politics: The First Hundred Years" (Colorado, 1965).

NOTE: It must be emphasized that this list does not include Ed.D. dissertations, many of which represent significant scholarship on Mormon history and culture.

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*THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF
PARLEY P. PRATT:
SOME LITERARY, HISTORICAL,
AND CRITICAL REFLECTIONS*

by R. A. Christmas

This essay contributes to "An Assessment of Mormon culture" with a challenging evaluation of Mormon literature. Robert Christmas, a graduate student in English Literature at the University of Southern California, has published his poetry in a number of literary journals.

I suppose by this time the reader has either forgotten the circumstances in which he took leave of myself, or else is somewhat weary with the winding of the narrative and impatient for it to come to a close. The only apology I have to offer for the many digressions and wanderings through which he has been led is, that I consider it impolite and disrespectful to get myself out of a bad place until I have first seen my friends all safely out. True, I did not strictly observe this rule of good breeding in the escape itself; therefore it becomes me to take the more care to observe it now, when there is no danger, excepting that of being deserted by some of my readers before I am safely out. However, if you still wish to accompany me in all the windings of my wearisome and dangerous adventure we will now turn to the happy valley, where you recollect leaving me on the morning of the fifth of July in the act of breakfasting on a small biscuit, while, to all appearances, I was lost to myself and to all mankind.¹

THE *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* HAS BETTER THINGS TO offer than this paragraph, but nothing that so clearly indicates the source of the style. The voice is not Fielding's, nor is it Dr. John-

son's (although "happy valley" may be an ironic echo of *Rasselas*); but it rather skillfully follows the convention of authorial intrusion that they, along with many others in the eighteenth century, brought to perfection: the combination of familiarity and formality; the sophisticated irony that comes from "glossing" a deadly serious situation (Pratt has just broke jail at Colombia, Missouri) in highly rhetorical terms; and the leisurely sense of the value of style for its own sake — all of which recalls, say, Fielding's prefaces in *Tom Jones*. Here, then, is a stepchild of the eighteenth century.

Between his birth in 1807 and his murder in 1857, Parley P. Pratt crossed the country at least twenty times as a Mormon preacher; he travelled to Canada, England, and Chile as a missionary; he composed his *Autobiography*, more than fifty hymns and songs, and enough tracts and discourses to fill another volume; he edited several Church periodicals; he spent upwards of a year in prison; he suffered just about every disease and physical hardship that the frontier had to offer; he baptized and administered to thousands; and in the midst of a life that collapses any mere summary he married twelve women and fathered thirty children.

From the beginning of his book we see that he was a very earnest, studious, and spiritual young man. Pratt tells us of his "excellent . . . common school education" and his fanatical reading:

But I always loved a book. If I worked hard, a book was in my hand in the morning while others were sitting down to breakfast; the same at noon; if I had a few moments, a book! a BOOK! A book at evening, while others slept or sported; a book on Sundays; a book at every leisure moment of my life. (20)

His early and absolutely constant religious zeal shows well in his description of his feelings at twelve years — afraid that he might miss the Millennium:

I felt a longing desire and an inexpressible anxiety to secure to myself a part in a resurrection so glorious. I felt a weight of worlds, of *eternal* worlds resting upon me; for fear I might still remain in uncertainty, and at last fall short and still sleep on in the cold embrace of death; while the great, the good, the blessed and the holy of this world would awake from the gloom of the grave and be renovated, filled with life and joy, and enter upon life with all its joys; while for a thousand years their busy, happy tribes should trample on my sleeping dust, and still my spirit wait in dread suspense, impatient of its doom. (21)

¹ *The Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*, ed. by his son Parley P. Pratt (Salt Lake City, 1874), p. 263. Page references are to the paperback fifth edition (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1961) and will be hereafter noted in parentheses. Quotations are made with permission of the publisher.

These opening passages are, in a minor way, impressive and promising — in their rhythms and in phrases like “trample on my sleeping dust” which show an imaginative stylist at work. Others like “gloom of the grave” or “in dread suspense, impatient of its doom” exhibit familiar alliterative patterns that have always been one of the marks of the best English prose.

In 1826, Pratt was seeking a homestead in the Ohio wilderness when the weather caught up with him “about thirty miles west of Cleveland”:

The rainy season of November had now set in; the country was covered with a dense forest, with here and there a small opening made by the settlers, and the surface of the earth one vast scene of mud and mire; so that travelling was now very difficult, if not impracticable.

Alone in a land of strangers, without home or money, and not twenty years of age, I became discouraged, and concluded to stop for the winter; I procured a gun from one of the neighbors; worked and earned an axe, some breadstuff and other little extras, and retired two miles into a dense forest and prepared a small hut, or cabin, for the winter. Some leaves and straw in my cabin served for my lodging, and a good fire kept me warm. A stream near by door quenched my thirst; and fat venison, with a little bread from the settlements, sustained me for food. The storms of winter raged around me; the wind shook the forest, the wolf howled in the distance, and the owl chimed in harshly to complete the doleful music which seemed to soothe me, or bid me welcome to this holy retreat. But in my little cabin the fire blazed pleasantly, and the Holy Scriptures and a few other books occupied my hours of solitude. Among the few books in my cabin, were McKenzie’s travels in the Northwest, and Lewis and Clark’s tour up the Missouri and down the Columbia rivers. (28)

This was toward the end of the early period of westward expansion, which we usually associate, in literary terms, with Cooper; but Pratt’s obvious delight in the natural economy of the situation — “the stream near my door quenched my thirst” — his “few books,” and his somewhat romantic response to winter — “music which seemed to soothe me” — recall, in a distant and primitive way, Thoreau’s experiment some twenty years later. In view of this less-selfconscious (but more cliché-ridden) “Walden,” and his many similar adventures in the thirties and forties, we should not be surprised to find that he spends only two short chapters on the epical crossing of the plains and the settlement of the Salt Lake Valley, and that he never mentions the much belabored miracle of the sea-gulls and crickets. To a man who had seen and suffered so much in the twenty years before the Church went west, and who continued in equally active and dangerous travels thereafter, the trip

from Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake Valley could not possibly seem as unique as it does to many Mormons today; nor would a swarm of crickets be likely to overly impress a mind that had been through several versions of the following:

Next morning resuming our journey, we crossed the Okah river on a bridge, but the bottoms for two or three miles were overflowed to various depths, from six inches to three or four feet, and frozen over, except in the main channels, with a coat of ice, which we had to break by lifting our feet to the surface at every step. This occupied some hours and called into requisition our utmost strength, and sometimes we were entirely covered with water. At length we got through in safety and came to a house where we warmed and dried our clothes and took some whiskey. Our legs and feet had lost all feeling, became benumbed, and were dreadfully bruised and cut with the ice.

On the next day we had to cross a plain fifteen miles in length, without a house, a tree, or any kind of shelter; a cold northwest wind was blowing, and the ground covered with snow and ice. We had made two or three miles into the plain when I was attacked with a severe return of my old complaint, which had confined me so many months in Jackson County, and from which I had recovered by a miracle at the outset of this journey — I mean the fever and ague.

I travelled and shook, and shook and travelled, till I could stand it no longer; I vomited severely several times, and finally fell down on the snow, overwhelmed with fever, and became helpless and nearly insensible. This was about seven or eight miles from the nearest house.

Brother John Murdock laid his hands on me and prayed in the name of Jesus; and taking me by the hand, he commanded me with a loud voice, saying: 'In the name of Jesus of Nazareth arise and walk!' I attempted to arise, I staggered a few paces, and was about falling again when I found my fever suddenly depart and my strength come. I walked at the rate of about four miles per hour, arrived at a house, and was sick no more. (75–76)

Since both of these last two passages rather obviously have more historical than literary significance, we should stop to mention some of the ways in which they show Pratt's stylistic weaknesses. In the first, phrases like "doleful music," "holy retreat," and "hours of solitude" are certainly formulaic and worn out; "a dense forest" is repeated twice; and as we might expect after all this, the "winter raged," "the wolf howled," and "the owl chimed in" — all of which tends to dissipate a magnificent experience. In the second, "became benumbed," "to various depths," "or any kind of shelter," "my old complaint," and "became helpless and nearly insensible" are redundant and awkward; and "shook and travelled" and "I walked at the rate of about four miles per hour" are belabored. Proximity, repetition, and triteness, then, are Pratt's general faults.

But just as important, what these passages — and the whole book for that matter — offer is a different perspective on Mormon history: a revealing and often moving picture of the early eastern and midwestern mission of the Church, at the end of which the exodus to the Rockies seems more like a tragedy than an epic, in view of the great failures of community relations and democratic process during the Missouri and Illinois periods. Although primarily published to provide Church-members with “interesting sketches of Church history” and to “promote faith,” Pratt’s *Autobiography* has additional value as a general reflection of frontier manners. Aside from its didacticism, it provides an informative mirror of the times: the strange juxtaposition of free and easy hospitality and savage religious and economic warfare; the bitter competition between the popular roving preachers; the poverty and physical sufferings of the settlers as opposed to the incredible richness of the land; and the agonizing slowness of travel contrasting with an amazing rate of change. Two years after his winter in the Ohio wilderness, Pratt returned with his first wife to homestead the same ground: “Other houses and farms were also in view, and some twenty children were returning from the school actually kept by my wife, upon the very spot where two years before I had lived for months without seeing a human being” (31).

Pratt’s longing for religious certainty, his interest in preaching, and his desire to convert the Indians soon took him out of Ohio, into the Mormon Church, and on to Missouri, where most of the best scenes in the book are set. For example, his account of the eager Mormon missionaries meeting with the chief of the Delawares:

He was seated on a sofa of furs, skins and blankets, before a fire in the center of his lodge; which was a comfortable cabin, consisting of two large rooms.

His wives were neatly dressed, partly in calicoes and partly in skins; and wore a vast amount of silver ornaments. As we entered his cabin he took us by the hand with a hearty welcome, and then motioned us to be seated on a pleasant seat of blankets, or robes. His wives, at his bidding, set before us a tin pan full of beans and corn boiled up together, which proved to be good eating; although three of us made use alternately of the same wooden spoon. (53)

In the last sentence, the humorous contrast between “good eating” and “the same wooden spoon” is delivered neatly by the periodic subordinate clause, and a corresponding sense of light anti-climax develops in the rhythm after the semi-colon. Note the agreement of sound and sense — and again the effective use of

periodic structure — in this description of the place where Pratt lay sick for a winter in Colesville, Missouri:

The winter was cold, and for some time about ten families lived in one log cabin, which was open and unfurnished, while the frozen ground served for a floor. Our food consisted of beef and a little bread made of corn, which had been grated into coarse meal by rubbing the ears on a tin grater. (72)

and this fine paragraph on the hardships of winter travel:

In the beginning of 1831 we renewed our journey; and, passing through St Louis and St. Charles, we travelled on foot for three hundred miles through vast prairies and through trackless wilds of snow — no beaten road; houses few and far between; and the bleak north-west wind always blowing in our faces with a keenness which would almost take the skin off the face. We travelled for whole days, from morning till night, without a house or fire, wading in snow to the knees at every step, and the cold so intense that the snow did not melt on the south side of the houses, even in the mid-day sun, for nearly six-weeks. We carried on our backs our changes of clothing, several books, and corn bread and raw pork. We often ate our frozen bread and pork by the way, when the bread would be so frozen that we could not bite or penetrate any part of it but the outside crust. (52)

The rhythm and diction show Pratt at his best; the only obvious improvements I can think of would be to cut “trackless,” find a better adjective than “vast,” and end the first sentence with “skin off.”

Pratt’s account of his capture by the Missouri militia and his imprisonment at Richmond and Colombia from November, 1838, to July, 1839 (chapters XXII-XXXIV) is probably the best stretch of narrative in the *Autobiography*. It begins with the disarming of the Mormons at Far West and the humiliating exhibition of the Mormon leaders through the state; and it ends with Pratt’s escape from the jail at Colombia on the evening of July 4, 1839, and his foot-journey into Illinois, from which we quoted at the beginning of this paper. In this sequence the style is improved by some skillful dialogue and characterization and the author’s rare and fortunate sense of humor, as in this description of his fellow inmates Luman and Phila Gibbs:

He was a hard faced, ill formed man, of about fifty years of age; full of jealousy, extremely selfish, very weak minded, and withal, a little love cracked; and, I may say, that he seemed not to possess one redeeming quality.

His wife was about the same age, and withal, a coarse, tall, masculine looking woman, and one of whom he had no reason to com-

CHRISTMAS: The Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt/39

plain or be jealous. True, she did not love him — for no female could possibly do that; but then no one else would love her, nor was she disposed to court their affections. However, he was jealous of her, and therefore, abused her; and this kept a constant and noisy strife and wrangling between them whenever she was present. . . .

On one occasion they had quarreled and kept us awake all night, and just at break of day we heard a noise like a scuffle and a slamming against the wall; next followed a woman's voice, half in a laugh and half in exultation: "Te-he-he-he, Luman, what's the matter? What's the matter, Luman?" Then a pause, and afterwards a man's voice in a grum, sorry, and rather a whining tone was heard at a distance from the bed, exclaiming: "Now, I swan, Phila, that's tu [*sic*] bad."

The truth of the matter was this: She had braced her back against the wall, and with both her feet placed against his body, had kicked him out of bed, and landed him upon the opposite side of the room. (235-36)

Pratt handles his escape similarly well. He has the rhetorical skill to interrupt his own story in order to get his "friends all safely out"; and these interpolated vignettes and the account of his own journey through "a hundred miles of wild country" contain some interesting attempts to imitate frontier dialects as well as several memorable moments — among them his disguises and politic lies to hostile settlers, bedding down with a rattlesnake, the boy who strands him on an island in the midst of the Mississippi, and, as always, the continuous struggle with a weary body:

I now pursued my course the remainder of the night with renewed courage and strength, although so very lame, foot sore, and so much exhausted that, in lying down to refresh myself, I could not again rise and put myself in motion short of extraordinary and repeated exertion, sometimes having to crawl on my hands and knees till I could get sufficiently limbered to arise and walk, and frequently staggering and falling in the attempt. . . . As I was walking along the road I could scarcely open my eyes for a moment to look my way for a few rods ahead, and they would then close in sleep in spite of all my powers. I would then proceed a few paces in my sleep till I stumbled. (271)

It would be a mistake, of course, to imply that the writing is as generally good in the rest of the book as it is in the Missouri section. Even in the passage above a little editing is needed to avoid prolixity and redundancy, and in other places the style breaks down entirely:

Even the fierce and ravenous beast of the desert (which in his native solitude, announces with doleful and prolonged howls the midnight hour, or wakes the weary traveller at early dawn, and gives the signal for another day of thirst, and toil, and suffering) is lacking here. (389)

The overgeneralization is obvious, but Cooper and other nineteenth century stylists have the same problem. It seems to result from the desire to dramatize, describe, and universalize, all at the same time. Old poetic formulas (probably from the large eighteenth-century storehouse) are plugged in, and the result is extreme subjectivity and imprecision. Pratt's "beast of the desert" is so buried in clichés and bandied by the syntax that we can hardly figure out what sort of critter it is.

Another problem is the tendency for the style to succumb too readily to the hyperbolic nature of the events described. This is partly due to the fact that many of the events were, as far as I can tell, beyond the abilities of a good minor stylist, but this is no excuse:

This was the most trying scene of all. I went to my house, being guarded by two or three soldiers; the cold rain was pouring down without, and on entering my little cottage, there lay my wife sick of a fever, with which she had been for some time confined. At her breast was our son Nathan, an infant of three months, and by her side a little girl of five years. On the foot of the same bed lay a woman in travail, who had been driven from her house in the night, and had taken momentary shelter in my hut of ten feet square — my larger house having been torn down. I stepped to the bed; my wife burst into tears; I spoke a few words of comfort, telling her to try to live for my sake and the children's; and expressing a hope that we should meet again though years might separate us. She promised to try to live. I then embraced and kissed the little babes and departed.

Till now I had refrained from weeping; but, to be forced from so helpless a family, who were destitute of provisions and fuel, and deprived almost of shelter in a bleak prairie, with none to assist them, exposed to a lawless banditti who were utter strangers to humanity, and this at the approach of winter, was more than nature could well endure. (189–90)

The scene has some power, but the hyperbolic "most trying scene of all" and "more than nature could well endure" at the beginning and end signal Pratt's failure to realize the event in its own terms. The situation requires some precise understatement, a technique which Pratt only partially mastered; the high level of generality in the diction produces the maudlin "woman in travail" and the phantom "lawless banditti who were utter strangers to humanity."

Another kind of ineffective overstatement is caused by Pratt's view of history. This is to say that he tends, like many another fundamentalist before and since, to see history only in terms of God's dealings with men, or to put it perhaps more clearly, only as a record of God's chosen people and their conflicts with the "gen-

tiles." The results in a kind of leveling in which people are estimated only according to their spiritual standing or, shall we say, only in terms of how they live the gospel or, if gentiles, how they treat the Mormons. Thus Pratt very aptly calls Missouri Governor Lilburn W. Boggs "a living stink," but cannot resist comparing him, in the same paragraph, to Cain and to Herod, who "died of a loathsome disease, and transmitted to posterity his fame as a tyrant and murderer" (213). At another point, Pratt feels obliged to cite several instances of "holy" lying in the Scriptures in order to justify his lying to protect himself while escaping from Missouri, in the course of which we find that Parley P. Pratt's lying is even more justified than King David's because Pratt has "a greater work to accomplish than he ever had" (267). Finally, toward the end of the narrative the style rises to a kind of tasteless exaltation, as Pratt in an aside hammers home the familiar "fates of the persecutors" myth, which he undoubtedly helped to create in passages like this:

A colonel of the Missouri mob, who helped to drive, plunder and murder the Mormons, died in the hospital at Sacramento, 1849. Beckwith had the care of him; he was eaten with worms — a large black headed kind of maggot — which passed through him by myriads, seemingly a half pint at a time! Before he died these maggots were crawling out of his mouth and nose! He literally rotted alive! Even the flesh on his legs burst open and fell from his bones! They gathered up the rotten mass in a blanket and buried him, without awaiting a coffin! (425)

This does not fail of a certain gothic excellence, but Pratt dwells too lovingly and irrationally on the details. The five exclamation points are forced and phony; the same could as well have happened to a man who shot it out with the Daltons.

* * *

Pratt never lived to finish the *Autobiography* or to revise the later notes which now appear in the printed version. The last eight chapters or so are journal entries apparently added by his son. But uneven as it is, Pratt's book is perhaps the outstanding literary achievement of Mormonism to date; it points to a literary tradition in the early Church that may well have produced other minor masterpieces: journals, letters, sermons, and memoirs stylistically and thematically related to a great and established tradition in English prose. Pratt's success calls for similar examinations of the *Journal of Discourses*, Wilford Woodruff's *Journal*, John D. Lee's *Diary*, B. H. Roberts's and Orson F. Whitney's histories, and all of our known and unknown writers up to and including James E.

Talmage, where, as nearly as I can judge, the literary quality of our religious prose falls off rather badly. These men were well trained in the humanities. Their rather wide reading and their apparent concern to imitate the masters of English prose in their own writing has lapsed today into a kind of pragmatic banality, a businesslike rat-tat-tat that usually begins with something like "I sat next to a man on the airplane the other day."

This is not the place to make any eternal judgments, but Pratt's *Autobiography* does seem superior to most of the other works of literature connected with Mormonism that I have seen. Even as excellent a piece of closely historical fiction as Samuel W. Taylor's *Family Kingdom* seems rather paltry beside it, because Taylor, for all his skill, cannot achieve the same degree of immediacy. By the time we reach the remove of pure fiction, as in something like Richard Scowcroft's *Children of the Covenant* (though by no means the worst example), the Mormon experience seems bankrupt and watery; the truth still seems to be stronger than any fiction, and deeply pious experience in any of its forms has tended, historically, to find its best expression in the genres that deliver that experience most directly — the sermon, the journal, and the biography or autobiography.

If I may, I would like to add a short postscript on Mormon literature — as I know it — to our discussion of Parley P. Pratt. The *Autobiography*, at least, is a sign that Mormon letters in the nineteenth century may not be as dead as we sometimes think; and this thought leads to the possibility that something like Pratt's pious tradition may be renewed in the future. Missionaries or General Authorities might find time to compose beautiful journals or correspondence, and those who have not succumbed to the prevalent "utilitarian" short-hand of Church periodicals and popular doctrinal books might yet deliver sermons that aspire to Wulfstan or Donne. We might even get our great novel; Wallace Stegner said awhile back in the *Atlantic* that it might be lurking somewhere in Idaho Falls. I see no reason to gainsay him, but I often get the feeling that we are going to have to wait until "the next persecution."

To change the subject again, perhaps some other form, like the lyric, is better suited to Mormon writers today. We have had a few fair poets in the Church, Pratt himself among them, although the quality is quite below that of our prose. Orson F. Whitney is probably the best, in his hymns; but his banal and impossibly mannered epic *Elias* or his *Love and the Light* (written in the *Hiawatha* meter) show how far our verse has been from anything tradition-

ally respectable. But even Eliza R. Snow wrote one poem, "Mental Gas," in which she avoided the fawning romanticism and melodrama of most of her verse; and there may be others — although one look at the poems now appearing in Church periodicals is enough to make the critical task seem hopeless, so far has sentimental indulgence corrupted style. Of course, it is also possible that we will have no "Mormon" literature, in the stricter sense, in the future, because of the attraction of secular forms and themes. I mention these things not as conclusions, but rather in the hope that other writers and scholars will begin a dialogue on this neglected subject.

In the meantime, we have the *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, and a reasonably distinguished tradition of Mormon literature which includes some works of real power. We ought to find them, study them, and criticize them honestly, in the hope that readers — in cases like the *Autobiography* — will begin paying a little more attention. Looking back, we may find a few more things like this — from a letter written by Pratt on the ship *Henry Kelsey*, in the Pacific (Lat. 24 N., Lon. 115 W.), September 15, 1851:

Just imagine sundown, twilight, the shades of evening, the curtains of the solitary night gathering in silent gloom and lone melancholy around a father who loves his home and its inmates; his fireside and the family altar! Behold him standing leaning over the vessel's side as it slides over the waters of the lone and boundless Pacific, gazing for hours in succession into the bosom of its dark abyss, or watching its white foam and sparkling spray! What are his thoughts? Can you divine them? Behold, he prays! For what does he pray? For every wife, for every child, for every near and dear friend he has on earth, he prays most earnestly! most fervently! He calls each by name over and over again, before the altar of remembrance. And when this is done for all on earth, he remembers those in Heaven; calls their names; communes with them in spirit; wonders how they are doing; whether they think of him. He calls to mind their acts and suffering in life, their death, and the grave where sleeps their precious dust. (389)

This is not Melville's "Symphony"; but it invites humble comparison; and I sometimes catch myself thinking that it is about as close as we are likely to get.

THE CHALLENGE OF HONESTY

by Frances Lee Menlove

Frances Menlove brings to this essay her insights and experience as a Ph.D. in psychology and a teacher of young children and adults in the Church. She is Manuscripts Editor of Dialogue.

BOTH THE PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC COMMUNITIES ARE BEING swept by a passion for honesty. They are scrutinizing centuries-old suppositions and re-examining current attitudes and goals. In the Protestant world, the writings of Bultmann, Bonhoeffer, Tillich, and of the Bishop of Woolwich are evidence of this quest. Peter Berger's indictment of the Protestant religious establishment attacks the problems of relevancy from the viewpoint of a student of social ethics.¹ Since Pope John first "opened the window to let in the fresh air," the work of self-examination and housecleaning in the Catholic Church has been going on at an amazing clip. The reader of Hans Küng's *The Council, Reform and Reunion*,² Daniel Callahan's *Honesty in the Church*,³ and the candid book *Objections to Roman Catholicism*⁴ is left with a feeling of both surprise and respect for the critical and sometimes agonizing self-examination that is taking place.

But the problem of honesty is not peculiarly Catholic or Protestant, but a problem shared by all men. Psychologists and psychiatrists have become increasingly concerned with the lack of authen-

ticity and the sham that seems at times to permeate to the very core of Western man. "Modern man is alienated from himself, from his fellow men, and from nature."⁵ As Mormons, we not only live in a society whose pressures and criteria for success and happiness can foster dishonesty and inauthenticity, but we have, we believe, a peculiar and divine mandate to seek truth and exemplify honesty. For these reasons it is crucial for Mormons to meet openly the challenge of honesty. It is the purpose of this paper to lay some groundwork for this self-examination.

HONESTY WITH THE SELF

To be honest with others and to be honest with one's self are different things. At the heart of the problem of personal honesty is the ability to confront one's own inner reality, one's convictions and feelings, openly. Personal honesty involves courageously recognizing the discrepancy between what one ought to be and what one actually is, between what one is supposed to believe and what one actually believes. The individual who does not accept this challenge, who turns away and does not face the discrepancy, consigns himself to a life of half-awareness, inauthenticity, and bad faith. He will not know what he thinks but only what he ought to think.

How free is the Mormon to confront himself? How free is he to question and analyze, to admit his strengths and weaknesses, his beliefs and doubts and problems with the Church? These questions are being silently asked by many Mormon students today. The grim jokes about "theological schizophrenia," about mental compartments labeled "Church" and "school" with impermeable walls to avoid confrontations and clashes, are evidence of friction. There seems to be a commonly held conviction that there are only two alternatives, to conform silently or to leave the Church. This, I am convinced, explains the malaise among some Mormons today. This also explains the attraction of disbelief. Disbelief becomes

. . . a promise of liberty. It is present as a call to unity, a call to what-ever separates from life. It is present sometimes in the form of despair

¹ Peter L. Berger, *The Noise of Solemn Assemblies* (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1961).

² Hans Küng, *The Council, Reform and Reunion* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961).

³ Daniel Callahan, *Honesty in the Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965).

⁴ Michael de la Bedoyere, *Objections to Roman Catholicism* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1965).

⁵ Erich Fromm, *The Art of Loving* (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., Inc., 1956), p. 72.

but more often in the form of exaltation. This strange attraction to disbelief proceeds not from what is most base but what is most elevated in man. Now all the more or less empty traditions, all the narrowness, all the useless moralisms, all of the infantile fears of those in authority from which a religious society rids itself only with great difficulty render disbelief even more attractive.⁶

One of the factors which sometimes impede private honesty is "the myth of the unruffled Mormon." This myth is simply the commonly held picture of the Mormon as a complete, integrated personality, untroubled by the doubts and uncertainties that plague the Protestant and oblivious to the painful searching and probings of the non-believer. The Mormon is taught from Primary on up that he, unlike his non-Mormon friends, knows with absolute certainty the answers to the knottiest problems of existence, that in fact his search has come to an end, and that his main task in life is to present these truths to others so that they too may end their quests.

In reality, the Mormon is also subject to uncertainties and doubts. This fact derives inevitably from his understanding of free agency, his freedom to love or turn away, his freedom to choose this path or another one. "Lord, I believe . . . help thou my unbelief" expresses simply the profound experience of those who seek God. The man who blots out internal awareness in order to maintain to himself and to others the appearance of absolute certainty, who refuses to examine his inner life, may all too often settle for the appearance of a Christian believer rather than for its actuality. No one should doubt that in some way, or for some reason, he is also a doubter.

Another more intangible and more insidious obstacle may also impede the quest for inner honesty. To the extent that the Mormon assumes the values and goals of secular society, to the extent that the radical and revolutionary Gospel of Christ becomes indistinguishable from current social norms, Christianity becomes largely irrelevant and this irrelevance tends to dissipate the impetus for self-examination and to blur the issues relating to it. What I am pointing to is the fact that in some crucial areas Mormons have ceased to remain in a state of tension with secular society. When living the Gospel becomes synonymous with social progress or mental health, when the amassing of wealth or power becomes an acceptable goal, when the Church as a group becomes irrelevant as a force for peace and human brotherhood, then the individual's

⁶ Christian Duquoc, "The Mission of the Laity," *Perspectives*, IX (July-Aug., 1964), p. 116.

need to examine his own commitments to God and the Church and the society in which he lives loses much of its urgency. If there are no real discrepancies or conflicts in these commitments, then there is no real need for agonizing self-examination. As Mormons, we would do well to listen to Dan Wakefield's comment about Protestant Christianity:

. . . they [the religious leaders] have dressed Jesus Christ in a grey flannel suit and smothered his spirit in the folds of conformity. The new slick-paper Christianity cheerily rises in the midst of a world seeking answers to survival, and offers an All-Methodist football team.⁷

The Church and its members must never take for granted that they are serving God but must continually ask themselves if, in fact, God is not being made to serve them.

While the myth of the unruffled Mormon makes honest self-examination appear dangerous and identification of God's way with our own way makes it appear irrelevant, many of our educational practices make it practically impossible. Teachers and parents who explicitly or implicitly encourage the child who has doubts or problems or personal anguish to turn away from them is training the child in self-deceit. When a Sunday School teacher states or implies to a child that his question is bad, or threatening, or a manifestation of his own personal failure or immaturity, he is erecting a barrier between the child's public behavior and private world, between his need for love and acceptance and his personal integrity, just as the mother does who tells her terrified son that "boys aren't afraid" or her screaming daughter with the scraped knee that "it doesn't hurt." In short, the individual may come to believe that any questions or problems or inner discomforts he may experience are symptoms of defects in his own character. Personal doubts and uncertainties are seen as temptations rather than as challenges to be explored and worked through. The individual conscience and the weight of authority or public opinion are thus pitted against each other so that the individual either denies them to himself at the expense of personal honesty or hides them from others and lives in two worlds.

There is another kind of inner deception. That is the danger to which the religious liberal is especially vulnerable. The religious liberal is generally thought of as one who examines his religious life and his Church frankly and openly, recognizes the weaknesses and incongruities where they exist, and comments freely on his observa-

⁷ Dan Wakefield, "Slick-Paper Christianity," in Maurice Stein *et al.* (eds.), *Identity and Anxiety* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), p. 41.

tions. He is often able to be candid in his criticism and zeal for change while at the same time remaining active in the Church organizations and maintaining a respected place in the Mormon community. The potential for inner deception here lies in the possibility that he will use his candidness, his frank and often entirely justified criticisms and demands for change, as a smoke screen for his more basic religious problems. He may be using his dissatisfaction with particular organizational procedures, or manifestations of authority or theological interpretations, as scapegoats to help him avoid facing the issues that are of real concern to him: perhaps about the very nature of the Church organization, or the legitimacy of *any* expression of authority, or the validity of the basic theology. The individual is thus relieved from coming to terms with himself.

Similarly the religious conservative has his particular pitfalls. In his desire to preserve and protect he may become indiscriminate and fail to make important distinctions between historical accidents and timeless truths. He may defend with equal vigor anything that is blessed with age, effectively freezing the form in which the Gospel may be expressed. The particular type of personal dishonesty that is possible here is that the conservative may be acting not from faith and love but from a basic lack of interest. He may simply not want to go to the trouble of questioning and sorting. Behind the mask of fanatical preservation may be the real fear that the truth of the Church is too fragile to tamper with, that an honest and open examination may destroy his faith or his way of life. Thus, the religious conservative may also be hiding from himself a basic lack of faith.

Both the religious liberal and the religious conservative might profit from the words of Josef Ratzinger:

. . . we must take into consideration the brother weak in faith, the unbelieving world surrounding us, and, too, the infirmity of our own faith, so capable of withering once we retreat behind the barrier of criticism and of deteriorating into the self-pitying rancor of one misunderstood.

On the other hand, however, there exists in contrast to discretion, another factor which must be taken into consideration. Truth, as well as love, possesses a right of its own and over sheer utility takes precedence — truth from which stems that strict necessity for prophetic charisma, and which can demand of one the duty of bearing public witness. For were it necessary to wait for the day when the truth would no longer be misinterpreted and taken advantage of, we might well find that it had lost all effect.⁸

⁸ Josef Ratzinger, "Free Expression and Obedience in the Church" in *The Church, Readings in Theology* (New York: P. J. Kennedy, Inc., 1963), p. 213.

Another factor mitigating against personal honesty is the failure of the Church to separate the central truths of the Gospel of Christ from historical accidents or customs. It is an historical truism to state that the history of any group or movement participates in the life and history of the culture in which it finds itself. Similarly, a church must employ the images, viewpoints, and language forms which are current in a given time and place for its message to be understood. But it must never be regulated to or bound by these images, viewpoints, and expressions. The risk is always present that current expressions and concepts may become so fused with the Gospel message that they are taken, *ipso facto*, to be the word of God. Any revelation must be filtered down through the mind and intellect of the receiver, pressed and squeezed into language inadequate to handle it, and altered and changed by the boundaries of human understanding and experience. Both the fact that the Church exists and expresses itself in a particular cultural and historical context and the realization that we have only finite and limited understanding about infinite matters must be made explicit. Failure to make these distinctions accounts for some of the most acute abuses of individual conscience.

HONESTY WITH OTHERS

The failure to realize that the Mormon Church in all its manifestations, both historical and contemporary, is an intermingling of the human as well as the divine, also puts some obstacles in the way of honesty with others. In the first place, we have a proud and courageous history. Every Primary child knows the story of how our forefathers crossed the plains and made the desert bloom. Wallace Stegner calls the Mormon pioneers “. . . the most systematic, organized, disciplined, and successful pioneers in our history. . . .”⁹ But the story of Joseph Smith, the early Church, the hegira across the plains, and the consequent establishment of Zion is more than just history. It is the story of God directing His People to a new Dispensation. Perhaps because the history is so fraught with theological significance, it has been smoothed and whittled down, a wrinkle removed here and a sharp edge there. In many ways it has assumed the character of a myth. That these courageous and inspired men shared the shortcomings of all men cannot be seriously doubted. That the Saints were not perfect nor their leaders without error is evident to anyone who cares to read the

⁹ Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964), p. 6.

original records of the Church. But the myths and the myth-making persist. Striking evidence for this is found in the fact that currently one of the most successful anti-Mormon proselyting techniques is merely to bring to light obscure or suppressed historical documents. Reading these historical documents arouses a considerable amount of incredulity, concern, and disenchantment among Mormons under the spell of this mythological view of history. That individuals find these bits and pieces of history so shocking and faith-shattering is at once the meat of fundamentalistic heresies and an indictment of the quasi-suppression of historical reality which propagates the one-sided view of Mormon history.

The relevance of this to honesty is obvious. The net result of mythologizing our history is that the hard truth is concealed. It is deception to select only congenial facts or to twist their meaning so that error becomes wisdom, or to pretend that the Church exists now and has existed in a vacuum, uninfluenced by cultural values, passing fashions, and political ideologies.

There are other temptations to public dishonesty in the Church, temptations to use pretense and distortion to forward the work of the Church. This is the dishonesty of the missionary who presents *only* those facts or arguments which tend to support his purpose or who takes a scripture out of context or distorts its meaning a little to add to the evidence marshalled for the point he is making. Invoking a higher law or greater truth can also be a form of dishonesty. This occurs when someone's views are suppressed or historical manuscripts censored, not because they are false but because they might cause dissension or disturb the faithful or imperil unity.

MEETING THE DEMANDS OF HONESTY

The very nature of the Church itself demands honesty. The demands of honesty are not imposed on the Church from the outside. It is not a demand made by secular society, by the scholarly or scientific community, or by some obstreperous apostates. The demands of honesty are inherent in the mission to seek truth. What then are the motives behind dishonesty? Perhaps the most common is the desire in everyone to protect that which they love. If one admits that the past had its disasters, its misdirections and failings, then it becomes possible to wonder if the Church is not in some way faltering now, a notion which is devastating only to those who fail to realize that the Church is made up of human beings who possess human frailties. Another motive behind some kinds of public dishonesty is the belief that the naked truth would be harmful to the simple believer. The assumption here is simply that the believer

remains better off with his delusions intact, that faith suffers when it bumps into reality. The reasoning of those who distort or suppress reality or alter historical manuscripts to protect the delusions of the simple believer is similar to that of the man who murders a child to protect him from a violent world.

The very nature of the Church demands both personal and public honesty, and the belief in the necessity of continuous revelation helps the Mormon in his quest. While truth can be considered absolute, our understanding and knowledge of this truth is always finite. From this position we can see in those who have different ideas and beliefs a means for us to grow and learn. If we believe that truth and knowledge have limitations, however sacred we hold them or however pragmatically useful we deem them to be, then we must welcome those of diverse opinions as holding out the possibility for increasing our understanding. More important, criticisms which are honestly received and scrutinized and then rejected serve to strengthen our perception of the truth of our position. Conversely, a clash of ideas may force us to abandon the notions that we find to be false when they come under attack. In either event we profit by coming close to an understanding of the truth. Tolerance is based upon the idea that a man has a right to be wrong and, as Reinhold Niebuhr says somewhere, "Many a truth has ridden into history on the back of an error."

The responsibility of the Church is to help the individual in his quest for personal honesty. The Church's leaders must demonstrate for its members the quest for honesty, exemplifying its manner and method in as pure a form as is humanly possible. Because of the tremendous power the Church has in molding and teaching its members, it has an especially sacred responsibility not to misuse this power. Each Mormon is taught the principles of the Gospel, the history of the Church, and the importance of religion in his life from the time he is a toddler. This continual and pervasive educational and social experience roots the Mormon way of life deeply in both his conscious and unconscious life. The expression "once a Mormon always a Mormon" testifies to this fact. Only the most perceptive adult, with strenuous effort, is able to look at his religion and the way of life associated with it, with anything approaching psychological freedom. The Church must, through both precept and example, teach what honesty is.

In order for it to do this, the individual Mormon must be open and direct in his motives and conduct. He must not say to investigators what he would not say to members. The appearance of the Church should never be enhanced at the expense of reality. To dis-

tort the reality of the Church as it is understood, to use tricks of manipulation or “salesmanship,” to distort arguments by taking them out of context or by skillful omissions, no matter how good the intentions or how noble the aim, is to provide the participants with practice in deception and the observers with a blueprint for dishonesty.

Secondly, the Church must avoid any discrepancy between the appearance and the reality. The human failings and occasional misdirections must not be suppressed or omitted from our books, but recognized as the manifestations of those who are less than perfect struggling within the limitations of their understanding. Not only does failure to do this provide an example of dishonesty, but when individuals discover that the Church they have been shown is not the Church as it is in actuality, they may feel that they have uncovered some dark, dangerous secret, a secret that had better be pushed to the back of the mind and forgotten — or a secret that provides evidence for abandoning their faith. There should be nothing based on fact that anyone can say about the Church that the Church has not already said about itself. Such a demand could not be made of a secular power, but then the Church is not a secular organization.

In order that what I have just said will not be misunderstood, let me dispel a common misconception about honesty. Honesty is often equated with exposé. A movie or book advertised as honest is often one that merely exposes something previously held secret or private. The notion seems to be that the one who can say the most unpleasant things is the most honest. Honesty can become a billy club, an instrument of aggression capable of destruction. It is just as dishonest to suppress or play down the positive, the hopeful, the real achievements of the self and of the Church as it is to speak only of these.

Finally, more should be said in the Church about the rights and responsibilities of individual conscience. Although it is possible for an individual to give an important insight to the Church, the individual is too often given little reason to think that this might happen through him. When doubts and problems are seen as evidence of sin, of defects of character, then it becomes dangerous for the individual to confront himself honestly. “To lean upon the authority of the Church, by way of defaulting our own responsibility to think and choose, is to run from our human dignity. To let others, whatever their stature or office, form our inner life is to abdicate our human freedom.”¹⁰ The way is then open for us to

¹⁰ Callahan, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

fool ourselves into thinking we have a relationship with God simply because we conform outwardly to certain rituals and behavioral proscriptions.

The ultimate meaning of the Christian faith lies in the personal meeting of man and God. It is not commitment to a glorious idea or set of ideals, as is characteristic of an ideology. It is not the kind of commitment which demands a communal solidarity because power in the world requires loyal men willing to sacrifice themselves for the good of the cause. Above all, it is not the kind of commitment which excuses any sort of deception and evasion as long as their purpose is a good one. To deceive others for the good of the Church, to deceive oneself for the sake of loyalty to the authority of the Church: each is still a deception and cannot be covered by euphemisms.¹¹

It is impossible for the Church to face the great problems and threats of our age without individual members being free to express to themselves and to others what they think and believe. With the almost unlimited possibility for new scientific discoveries, new sociological and anthropological insights, new ways of explaining human behavior, modern man cannot escape perplexity. "What the Church needs today, as always, are not adulators to extol the status quo, but men whose humility and obedience are no less than their passion for truth; men who brave every misunderstanding and attack as they bear witness; men who, in a word, love the Church more than ease and the unruffled course of their personal destiny."¹² The members of the Church are responsible for the Church.

The aim of both public and private honesty is to abolish dualism. There should not be two churches, one as it actually is and another that is offered to the public. There must not be two selves, one calm and unruffled, basking in the "knowledge" of the Gospel, and the other private and unexplored, pushed to the outer limits of awareness. If the individual does not have an honest relationship with himself, he cannot have an honest relationship with others. If he cannot avoid dishonesty within the Church, he will not be able to avoid it in the secular world. We must attempt to meet the challenge of honesty, realizing that our honesty is enmeshed within a whole framework of values, and that honesty, like truth, is always a partial achievement. There is only the latest word, never the last.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹² Ratzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

THE FAITH OF A PSYCHOLOGIST: A PERSONAL DOCUMENT

by Victor B. Cline

Dialogue wishes to encourage this kind of expression of personal religious commitment as it relates to academic and vocational life. Victor Cline, Associate Professor of Psychology at the University of Utah, is the author of a wide variety of professional articles; he has a special interest in clinical psychology and empirical studies of religious belief and behavior.

IN 1933 JAMES LEUBA¹ CONDUCTED A SURVEY OF THE BELIEFS IN deity held by scientific and professional men. He found that only ten per cent of the psychologists surveyed admitted to a belief in God. This compared with twenty-seven per cent for biologists and thirty-eight per cent for physical scientists; in effect, psychologists were the least "religious" of all professional groups studied. In a later study by Riggs² in 1956, the results generally showed an increase in the percentages of scientists believing in a deity (e.g., physical scientists fifty-two per cent, biologists forty-seven per cent and psychologists twenty-three per cent), but again psychologists were at the bottom.

Some of the reasons for this are hinted at in the later work of Dr. Ann Rowe;³ in her study of eminent scientists she suggests that many psychologists are a rebellious lot, fighting parents, authority, and religion. It would appear that many, when they reject the religion of their youth, find a new religion in psychology, psycho-

analysis, or B. F. Skinner's operant conditioning. These seem to provide for them new, more up-to-date explanations and models of behavior for understanding man and his place in the universe.

Several years ago I found myself challenged by a friend to explain how I, as a clinical psychologist, could also be active religiously and believe in such a fundamentalist religion as Mormonism when many people in my field had rejected even a belief in a deity and conceived of the world from an extremely mechanistic, stimulus-response point of view. Was I being intellectually honest? Did I have a compartmentalized mind where I put religion in one corner and psychology in another, with never the twain to meet? What finally emerged was a brief chronicle of my own intellectual and experiential journey which had led to a religious commitment.

* * *

I must first confess that I am basically reluctant to put this in writing. My religious feelings are quite personal to me, and I feel somewhat uncomfortable wearing my religion on my sleeve, though I have found that at times I can be articulate about such matters if it is necessary and in the proper setting. Also, I am too aware of some of my own prejudices, biases, irrationalities, and at times intuitive (as opposed to logical) thinking to risk exposing these to strangers without some trepidation and misgivings.

To begin with, I had pleasant and happy experiences in my early family life and in my early associations with the Christian religion. My mother was an active and devout Mormon. My father was an inactive nondenominational Protestant who saw no harm in church attendance and activity for his children. My mother respected his free agency and never pressed him about religion (though he did in later years join the Mormon Church). Both were basically good people from agrarian backgrounds, of high personal integrity, and possessed of a keen sense of honor and justice. Education and intellectual achievement were highly valued and rewarded both openly and subtly. This climate was positive and comfortable rather than overbearing or oppressive.

The school years slipped by, and possibly by the end of the second year of college I made a definite decision to make psychol-

¹ J. A. Leuba, "Religious Beliefs of American Scientists," *Harper's Magazine*, CLXIX (Aug., 1934), 291-300.

² D. M. Riggs, *An Exploratory Study of the Concepts of God Reported by Selected Samples of Physical Scientists, Biologists, Psychologists and Sociologists* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, U.S.C., Los Angeles, 1959).

³ Ann Rowe, "A Psychological Study of Eminent Psychologists and Anthropologists and a Comparison with Biological and Physical Scientists," *Psychol. Monogr.*, LXVII, 2 (1953), 1-55.

ogy my career field. Though I was a member of a minority denomination, my religion fit fairly comfortably. No one ever made an issue of it or even of such peculiar habits as not smoking or drinking. In my eight years at Berkeley, where I received all my training, very few people even noticed my religion. To many of my peers there, religion was not something they were rebelling against but rather something they were indifferent about. This reminded me of an old saying that the opposite of love is not hate, but rather indifference.

The indifference to religion at Berkeley was obvious. To some, especially in psychology, religion hardly existed, and few paid much attention to it. In all of my years at Berkeley, I was aware of no psychology professor who ever discussed personality theory or people in our Western culture in terms of religion, worship, or the impact of belief in deity on people's lives. In my graduate seminars problems of religious guilt, values, and ethics or ways a therapist might help one deal with religious or moral conflicts were never even considered. Yet evidence from a variety of studies⁴ indicates that at least ninety-six per cent of the citizens of this country believe in a deity. And later in clinical practice I found that one deals frequently with patients with religious problems, moral conflicts, and deep anxieties about death or about the meaning of their lives and places in the universe. Though I came to have a deep affection for the campus and the intellectual ferment which always abounded there, I was disappointed that religion was an issue which psychology as a field studiously avoided. The silence was deafening.

* * *

As I moved ahead in my discipline, repeated challenges and questions for my religious faith presented themselves. In a church that believes in "speaking in tongues," revelations, miraculous healings, and the like, one must face the very reasonable question of psychologists about the relationship between religious experience and psychopathology. For example, occasionally one sees people who are psychotic who may either believe they are divine or who claim to have visions, revelations, hear supernatural voices or to have extremely unusual religious experiences. How is this any different from a valid religious experience? How is it possible to distinguish between the two? This, for me, has never presented any great overriding problem of explanation or interpretation. If the individual is hallucinating and is sick or psychotic, his judgment

⁴ Discussed in G. Lenski, *The Religious Factor* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961).

will be impaired generally, and there will be an abundance of other evidence of sickness or confused thinking. Admittedly there are borderline cases where it may be hard to tell, but in cases of sickness or disease usually the truth will out. The same is true of the psychopath (e.g., the character disorder or criminal personality). Some psychopaths are very adept at deception and misrepresenting themselves; but these deceptions tend to catch up with them, and the fabric of their lies and claims crumbles under careful scrutiny and examination. In other words, "By their fruits ye shall know them."

If a person who is fairly religious becomes mentally ill, in most cases some religious symbols, ideas, and beliefs become mixed in with his psychopathology. This certainly is not unexpected nor unusual. It does not necessarily mean that his religion made him ill, but only that he makes use of whatever ideas and symbols he was familiar with before his illness (religious, scientific, vocational, sexual, etc.) to restructure the world during his illness. We have to be careful of the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy — that merely because B follows A, A is necessarily responsible for or causally connected with B. Because a person has been religious and has unusual religious beliefs while mentally ill, it does not follow that these beliefs or his religion made him ill.

A related question presented by some of my colleagues has to do with the possible role of religion in creating illness, such as through guilt. They point to such neurotic conditions as anxiety attacks and obsessive compulsive neuroses. Their view is that religion makes people feel guilt about various real or even contemplated misdeeds (such as breaking sexual taboos), often greatly out of proportion to the severity of the offense. My experience, especially in the last five years, has often been to find amazingly little guilt among many patients for breaking society's so-called taboos. Ours appears to be an extremely permissive age. Adultery, for example, is committed by many church-going people, with easy rationalizations and remarkably little psychic pain, even though the results may ultimately be quite disastrous. The view that has made most sense to me is that guilt, remorse, and sometimes acute psychic pain are extremely important prerequisites to constructive change. When people exploit and injure others without remorse, empathy, or pangs of guilt, they are approaching the type of personality seen in the true criminal psychopath. I certainly have not seen many people clinically who have been "damaged" by the stern morality of their religious teachings. However, I have seen sick families inflict religion on their children in unhealthy ways. Neurotic,

excessively hostile, or borderline psychotic parents can take certain facets of their religious belief and in almost diabolical ways torment and ravage their children with these. I do not, in these cases, blame the religion particularly, whatever the denomination, though I would recognize that some religious groups do have more "healthy" techniques for instruction and control than others. If the sick parents happened to belong to no religion at all, they would seize upon other symbols or convenient values in their culture and in like manner inflict these on their children, with the possible production of neurotic or disturbing symptoms in their offspring.

One sometimes hears religion, belief in deity, and religious faith criticized rather disdainfully as a kind of crutch and a sign of weakness. This seems to be an entirely irrelevant point. Crutch or no crutch, the basic question seems to be, "Is there a Supreme Intelligence in the heavens, and if so, what is His nature and plan?" I am not afraid of being either dependent or independent, if my condition is in reasonable balance and appropriate to reality.

Another issue, with which many of my friends have struggled painfully, is the problem of free will versus determinism in the lives of men. The view of some has been that *all* of our behavior ultimately is determined by our genetic endowment plus the pattern of training, conditioning, and life experiences to which we have been exposed since our conception in the womb. They have further claimed that the subjective feeling one may have that he is an agent who can freely choose his destiny is really only illusory. This view posits that our every move, wish, choice and thought could, if we had a large enough computer and sufficient data, be completely predicted and that in a true sense life is determined. This has been called by some the "new materialism." It implies that we are not really responsible for our behavior but rather are merely hapless pawns buffeted about by the winds of our environment on the sea of our self-duplicating nucleic acids (our genetic endowment).

My personal view is similar to that of Vannevar Bush,⁵ wartime director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, who states that of the two vital realities of man's being, his free will and his consciousness, science not only gives no proof but does not even produce evidence. Thus, rationally, empirically, or scientifically there can be no absolute demonstration as to whether or not we are completely determined, as some would have us believe. I agree with Bush that, even so, one's sense of free will is still a vital reality (as are consciousness, love, and many other scientifically unmea-

⁵ "Science Pauses," *Fortune*, LXXI, 5 (May, 1965).

surable entities). However, people do vary in the amount of freedom available to them; some people are more free than others. The goal of successful psychotherapy is to free an individual from the tyranny of his impulses (frequently unconscious). Some individuals are slaves to obsessive-compulsive or other symptoms such as inability to stay on a diet or regulate food consumption, masochistic self punishment, alcoholism (and other addictions), chronic depression, and the like. They have, in a sense, lost some measure of rational control over some or many aspects of their life or behavior. The Apostle Paul put it well when he wrote, "I do not understand my own actions, for I do not what I want, but I do the very thing I hate."⁶ One sees this in marriage counseling when an ordinarily sane and rational housewife with five children, active in her church, loses herself in an affair with a man she would never think of marrying; she risks disaster, loss of family, incapacitating guilt, and all the rest for a few words of flattery and moments of passion.

With regard to the contributions of the major philosophers to my religious growth, I'm afraid the cupboard is bare; most of these thinkers seemed merely analytic (though often brilliantly so), and rarely did they contribute anything to live by or any newer, higher morality. I also have found myself increasingly disappointed with the major Protestant theologians, many of whom, in my view, have pretty much written themselves out of Christianity. Christ and his role in history have been so emasculated as to be hardly recognizable and remain only as a caricature of what one reads in the Four Gospels. Or as O. Hobart Mowrer, professor of psychology at the University of Illinois, has succinctly put it, "Theology has come near to spoiling religion — and life itself for modern man."⁷

Despite this blanket indictment, I must confess to admiration for such men as Robert Elliot Fitch,⁸ Dean of Christian Ethics at the Pacific School of Religion, whose clear-eyed views on personal ethics and social responsibility, especially in the area of sexual conduct, much impress me. Even the maligned and often disparaged Reverend Norman Vincent Peale cannot be dismissed too cavalierly. I have seen patient after patient who obtains solace and significant help from such books as *The Power of Positive Thinking*. This may be an "out" book for the professional therapists, and the Reverend Peale may be an embarrassment to the professors in schools of theology; yet, in fact, he does give people

⁶ Romans, 7:15 (paraphrase).

⁷ O. H. Mowrer, "Integrity Therapy," *Faculty Forum*, XXX (May, 1965).

⁸ *The Decline and Fall of Sex* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1957).

help, and his books do assist some people significantly in staying afloat. As a pragmatist and empiricist, I am more impressed by this than by his reviewers' disdainful comments.

* * *

Some people have mistaken notions about what psychology, psychiatry or even psychoanalysis can tell us. These fields have made and do make major contributions scientifically, as well as relieving suffering and untangling deeply imbedded psychic conflicts. But they give us nothing in the way of values or morals. They say nothing, really, about what is right or wrong, good or bad; if anything they try to avoid making value judgments. And they tell us nothing about who man is, where he is going, or why he is here. Nevertheless, every psychotherapist seems to gradually assume the function of a "priest and prophet." He is almost forced into this by the very nature of his work; patients daily bring him their most intimate problems and challenge him to set their lives aright. This can be a very ego-inflating experience — especially if one has some measure of success. But it also poses the danger of creating unwarranted feelings of omniscience. It is not unusual to see some therapists become extreme cultists, no less fanatical than the extreme religionists one sometimes sees. Psychotherapy is not a science; it is an art. Ten therapists interpreting the same dream will come up with ten interpretations. We still are very much on the frontiers in our understanding of the behavior of man and of many aspects of mental illness, such as schizophrenia.

Frequently I have noticed that some people, when they move into a new town, choose their psychiatrist as others choose a minister. They pick someone with whom they feel some rapport. They may shop around awhile — visiting one therapist, then another — until they hit on someone who particularly suits their fancy. Thus the therapist frequently falls into the role of guide, father, financial advisor, second spouse, healer, priest, and so on. And my prediction would be that as our Western civilization becomes increasingly secular, the psychotherapist will tend to gradually replace the minister and priest as reliever of guilt and dispenser of comfort, wisdom, and personal counsel. Professional people in the arts, sciences, and particularly in the communications industry, appear to be leading the way in this trend (substituting a therapist for a minister), with many middle-class people following suit. To counteract this there is increasingly a tendency of the ministry of the major denominations to move into clinical psychology, social work, and, to a lesser degree, psychiatry. This apparently represents an effort on their

part to “legitimize” their function and become respectable. Thus, as I see it, the seeming convergence of psychology and religion is no convergence at all. Actually psychology (which includes the psychoanalytic view of man) has made no compromises at all toward religion. The religionists; primarily middle-class Protestant ministers, are doing most of the compromising; and if the trend continues, they will wind up as teachers of mental health to their congregations, with private psychotherapy being their primary responsibility and religion in the classical sense coming in a poor third.

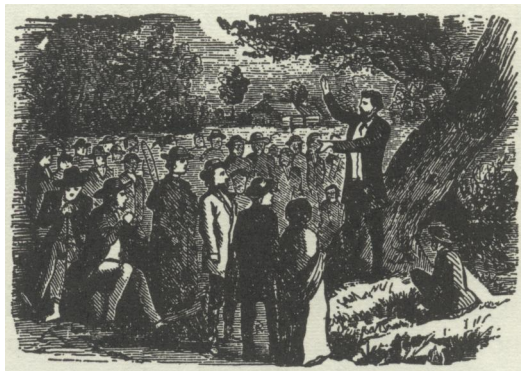
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Even though I consider myself a committed Christian, there are some loose ends, frustrating dilemmas, and completely baffling problems that at present defy all honest attempts at resolution. These focus in several areas. The first has to do with scriptural contradictions. While I accept the Bible and other sacred writings as, for the most part, inspired words from the mouths of men, at times I run into baffling contradictions. God seems to be saying one thing on one day and just the opposite on another. I might try to explain these as faulty translations sometime over the centuries or the distortions of men somewhere in the receiving or editing process. But I am not always comfortable with these explanations. How does one distinguish which inspiration is the correct one? My way of dealing with such a problem is to admit that it is for the moment insoluble and to put it down in writing in a center section of my Bible where there are a number of blank pages for notes. I periodically come back and study the problem again, trying to look at it from another vantage point. Some of my conflicts have been resolved this way, meeting reasonable tests of evidence; others have not.

The second problem area has to do with people. Occasionally people in positions of religious authority say things that rouse my ire, that make no sense whatsoever, that seem calculated to offend and destroy, not heal and repair. Sometimes their biases and politics are very contrary to mine. The view I have finally come to regarding this is that a church can make all of its leaders strictly conform and follow a straight “party line” in expressing their thoughts and politics, or it can allow a certain amount of free agency and independence of thought and expression. Somehow, the latter course would seem to me in the long run to be the most healthy, even at the cost of occasional ruffled feathers. It permits some individual interpretations and personal biases to be expressed — and

thus allows for some honest disagreement and the possibility of individual error.

The third kind of problem I run into has to do with my church's position or lack of position on certain social and moral issues which seem to demand some response. But I am painfully aware that some other active church members, men of good will, do not see eye to eye with me in defining which are the most pressing social and moral issues that should be immediately dealt with; and even if they did, they would not agree as to what would be the most appropriate action. I am not quite egoistic enough to believe that if the Church doesn't happen to agree with me on every social and moral issue it is wrong and I must walk out in a huff. But I am of the conviction that even though the Church has revelation and inspiration guiding its leaders, God is concerned that we exercise our intelligence, pursue truth diligently, and use our free agency. I don't think He wants to solve all of our problems for us, thereby creating an extreme dependency; I think we must sweat it out sometimes. If this is true, it means that occasional tension and disagreement are healthy for the Church. The difficult thing here is making use of talent, diverse ideas, and disagreement in a way that is positive and constructive, rather than allowing them to become destructive and divisive. I have a feeling that even in immortal life we will find differences of opinion inseparably linked with free agency.



Despite the many unanswered questions, the scriptural contradictions, and other issues which constantly challenge my religious belief and faith, I find that science, while ably conquering the material universe, has less to offer than my faith concerning what matters most. In fact anyone involved in continuing research is continually made aware that science only collects evidence. Sometimes, if we are fortunate, this evidence leads to hypotheses, but

these are retained only as long as new evidence supports them. Science proves nothing absolutely; something more is needed. While I can certainly empathize with the bleak and lonely existentialist position which concedes only that man exists, it is not enough for me.

This leads to the next major point: how I can reconcile my religious beliefs with a professional tradition that is so indifferent to religion. My present view has taken many years to evolve, so that all I can do is give a synoptic overview. The Christian view (as I saw it early in my life) was that some twenty centuries ago a man was born who was the Son of God, chosen to come to this earth to fulfill not only ancient prophecies but also to introduce a divine plan conceived and developed prior to the organization of this earth.

From the documents available there appeared to be four separate accounts of Christ's life and ministry on this earth, plus the writings of some of his contemporaries such as the Apostle Paul. A study of these records ultimately convinced me that, with regards to men and their relationships with each other, the records contained some supremely important truths. However, in matters of this kind, the only sure way of testing their validity (as much as we can ever do) is through the crucible of our own experiences and those of people we know or know about — and in part through a study of our history and literature. Thus, completely apart from the supernatural aspects of the New Testament, the ethical and moral teachings, I came to believe, have validity and significance for men and women of all cultures and ages.

However, from an early age I had felt an obligation to examine the scriptures and literature of other religions. I frequently asked myself how the teachings of Jesus Christ might compare with those of mystics and inspired men of other centuries and cultures. In the process of this study and searching, I found myself experiencing delight and appreciation for the great insights and revelations of Buddha, Zoroaster (in the sacred writings of the Gathas), Mohammed, and Confucius. In fact, I found a common theme running through most of these. However, the more I studied these writings and their various interpretations and commentaries, the more I became impressed that the Christian ethic, as an inspired and magnificent piece of architecture, had no really close competitor.

As I have gained experience and maturity in my profession, an examination of the most intimate and precious aspects of my own personal life and the lives of those individuals who have entered

my "life space" has led me to continue my critical appraisal and evaluation of the validity of the teachings of Christ. And I have found myself continually coming to the same conclusion: that, whoever Jesus Christ was or wasn't, the Christian ethic is unmatched anywhere. To deny this, I would be false to myself and those powers of judgment and discernment which I possess. It has seemed quite apparent that of all the billions of intelligences who have existed on this earth, none made such a contribution and impact as this one individual, Jesus Christ. I therefore came to believe that Christ's claim to divinity had to be given serious consideration.

I was deeply impressed by the New Testament account of the teachings and miracles of Jesus, which are certainly appropriate to a divine being. He offered mankind a plan for salvation from sin and error and for self-fulfillment in this life and in a post-mortal existence, and he demonstrated His unique power over sin and death in His crucifixion and resurrection. But, however deeply impressed the investigator and truth-seeker is by this great series of events, one may still wonder if it is really all true. Did Jesus Christ actually conquer death? Or is this merely a legend which has developed around a humble and deeply spiritual mortal being? This question is obviously one of the greatest importance.

It was at this point that the crucial element of faith entered in. I am convinced that from the study of visible evidence men will never have final, certain knowledge about most things in the fields of science or religion. The history of physics, for example, has been one of continuing revolutions in which the "past" has repeatedly been challenged and in which new theories have replaced the not-so-new. We might consider, for example, Yang and Lee's⁹ overthrow of "parity" a few years ago, or Werner Heisenberg's introduction in 1927 of the "Uncertainty Principle," which plays a fundamental role in quantum mechanics and which shook physics to its foundations. In fields such as archaeology, there is even less "certainty" (the downfall of the Piltdown man being a dramatic example of this).

I finally concluded that after I had read all the books from Aristotle to Camus and the learned discourses of both the wise and foolish, I would still find no absolute final proof. I would have to reach out into the unknown and seek my creator through an act of faith. I could have played it safe and refused to do this, preferring

⁹ Drs. Chen Ning Yang and Tsung-Dao Lee (of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Columbia University) won the 1957 Nobel Prize in physics for their work earlier in the year, in which they toppled a corner stone in nuclear physics, the principle of the conservation of parity or space reflection symmetry.

to wait for "ultimate evidences," but in so doing I think I would have denied myself peak spiritual experiences and self-actualizing insights. Complete verifiable evidence will never be available. But I believe that an encounter with the Creator, a vastly more moving and profound experience, is well within the realm of possibility for any human who chooses to seek it.

I am convinced that it is through faith, sometimes by the medium of prayer, that we receive the witness of the Holy Spirit (which Jesus Christ has promised to all men who so wish to avail themselves). And it is the witness of the Holy Spirit which testifies that Christ is the Son of God and that His teachings are true and which indicates whether our judgments and discernments are true. It is this most powerful of religious experiences that burns within men and motivates them to dedicate their lives to the service of their Creator. It can bring about a most dramatic change of personality, creating a sweetness and gentleness of spirit and a tolerance and love for one's fellow man that are amazing to behold.

That this occurs is not to say that members of other religions who worship God do not also have experiences of this nature. I cannot believe that God rejects any person who sincerely seeks after truth concerning His reality.

For many years I heard the term "born anew" used frequently in connection with the Christian faith. I found it, frankly, devoid of much meaning. My own religious or spiritual development had been rather gradual and, while there had been moments of deep religious significance, there were never any dramatic changes. However, I have occasionally known people to experience this spiritual rebirth. Sometimes one who has lived "carelessly" and seriously offended members of his family or others within range of his influence "accepts Christ" and as a result develops an attitude of deep regret and humble repentance. He acquires a totally new sweetness of spirit and tolerance toward others, and a very obvious inner light radiates through his whole personality. He experiences a vital spiritual awakening and a faith that transforms him, and his experience gives great meaning and significance to the term "born anew."

A physician in Scotland who attended Billy Graham's crusade in Edinburgh wrote of this experience in a national (U.S.) publication. He ridiculed the whole affair, particularly the teen-age girls and others who responded to the "call" and were "saved." He cast them in the stereotype that many dormant religionists and agnostics apply to camp-meeting salvation, which amounts to

a ridiculous caricature and parody of the real thing. I feel that this reflects only ignorance about a supremely important experience in the lives of legions of men and women. Some of these individuals, through their cynicism and pride in their "emancipated" intellect, have cut themselves off from almost any understanding of or sensitivity to a genuine religious experience.

* * *

With regard to my attraction to the Mormon view of Christianity, two factors weigh heavily with me. I am impressed by the positive impact of its philosophy and remarkable action program on people's lives, an impact akin to what I occasionally witness in psychotherapy. And, secondly, the Book of Mormon has come to have a unique validity for me. This I initially found very hard to relate to myself, but when I eventually studied the book with care, I was very impressed, especially as a psychologist and student of human behavior. I was struck with the universality of its content and its "psychological validity." It was not "paranoid gibberish," but a remarkable chronicle of challenge and travail of the human spirit. Its history is psychologically true for any age or people.

To thumb through or read a chapter at random does not do justice to the Book of Mormon. It has major rhythms, remarkably similar to those of the Old Testament, in its recounting of cycles of reconciliation and alienation in the relationship between God and his chosen people. It has new names, faces, and geography, but the plot is ageless: the eternal struggle between tyranny and liberty, freedom and bondage, and the flowing tides of a great civilization's rise and fall. Always, however, there is the central unifying theme, the relationship between God and man.

There are some specifics of dogma, theology, and religious history in my church that leave me confused. Somehow they do not seem to fit into the architecture of the Four Gospels. These scriptures are indigestible, sometimes painful to face. My temporary solution, as I mentioned previously, has been to write these discrepancies out on a blank page in the center of my family Bible. My understanding of my religion is like an unfinished tapestry which has an overall pattern that is fairly clear and makes sense to me. On that basis I have decided to exercise a little patience with the dissonances and ambiguities that exist on the unfinished edges of this tapestry. But the same is also true with my profession; there are a vast legion of unanswered questions. I have learned to live with this.

In my profession as a clinical psychologist I have a personal and professional interest in ridding my patients of their demons, their unconscious, self-destructive impulses, their irrational approaches to problems and their loss of identity. I try to free them of the pathological preconditionings which hound them, so that they can rationally choose their destinies as free men. My success has been variable. Some people get well for reasons I do not understand. Others, with rather minor problems (apparently), stay about the same, for reasons that are also hard to understand. The goals of the healthy religion are very similar to those of some aspects of psychiatry and psychology — to enlighten and liberate men, not through fear and coercion, but through reason, love and faith. And as a pragmatist and empiricist I am much impressed by what I see as the fruits of healthy religious development, though I recognize that religious dogma and institutions are sometimes misused with sad and painful results (as are other kinds of dogma and institutions, such as academic and political).

I must add that I have much appreciated and have highly valued my friends of other faiths, as well as some who have had no involvement with religion. I have found them to be men of honor and good will, who have on occasion shown great courage and grace under pressure or in moments of personal sorrow. They have greatly helped me to appreciate the complexity of the human spirit and to recognize other pathways to personal fulfillment.

* * *

I have come to know God through Jesus Christ. At the intellectual or rational level I have examined the tenets of my faith against the evidence of my own experiences and those of other individuals I have known and have become personally convinced of the validity of these experiences. A comparison with other faiths, scriptures, and prophets has led repeatedly to this same conclusion. I have seen the tremendous changes that can come into the homes of individuals who have accepted Christ and his ethic into their lives. And this, when all is said and done, may be the most powerful evidence to the outside observer.

The cumulation of these evidences and experiences has enabled me to plant and nurture a germ of faith whose growth in time has led to the witness of the Holy Spirit. It is this "light" which sharpens my spiritual and ethical discernments and leaves me with a burning testimony of the truth of Christ's message and the essential validity of His restored Gospel.

THE QUEST FOR RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY AND THE RISE OF MORMONISM

by Mario S. De Pillis

The editors believe this essay will help bridge the unfortunate gulf between Mormon and non-Mormon writers of Mormon history, which has allowed Mormons to be cut off from many useful insights and allowed non-Mormons to be blind to important elements such as the role of doctrine. Mario De Pillis teaches American social history and the American West at the University of Massachusetts. He has been trustee and historical consultant for the restoration of the Shaker community of Hancock, Massachusetts, and is presently the Roman Catholic member of a four-college ecumenical seminar of Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy and laity. Both Mormon and non-Mormon responses have been arranged for the next issue.

IF THERE IS TO BE ANY HONEST DIALOGUE WHATSOEVER BETWEEN educated members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) and outsiders, the question of the historical origins of Mormonism must ever remain central. And in a way it has remained central.

Nevertheless, no serious student of writings on the origins of this central issue can deny that the controversial "dialogue" of the past hundred and thirty-five years has been less than candid. It has long been true, however unfortunate loyal Mormons may find it, that the historians who write our generally accepted social and intellectual history have rarely consulted such standard Mormon historians as B. H. Roberts, Orson F. Whitney, or Joseph Fielding

Smith. This was true even before the writings of these historians had become dated.

Until very recently, professional historians and serious writers outside of academia have been non-Mormons and often implicitly anti-Mormon. This non-Mormon historiography, as “official” in its attitude as that of the approved Church historians, has been a failure in three basic ways.

First, it has been dominated by the later period of Mormon history: by Brigham Young and Utah, by the great “practical” leader and the first “successful” Mormon settlement. Secondly, and related to this, is the role of Joseph Smith the Prophet. Among the Mormons, of course, he has never really lost ground to Young. But in accepted American history he was the impractical visionary who belongs to the Jacksonian reform era. Serious treatments of his career have emphasized to this day the golden plates of the Book of Mormon and the revelations — an implicit concern with the decades-old question, important enough, of whether Mormon scriptures are authentic or not. Thirdly, the serious writings have rarely dealt with early Mormonism as a religion whose study was governed by the same canons of modern scientific methodology as, say, Congregationalism. There is nothing in the official historiography of Mormonism to compare with the intense studies of Puritanism: in the editing of documents, the relationship with other groups, the personnel, the earliest environment and background, and above all in the religious ideas. Even Mormon historians have neglected to work on critical editions of such crucial documents as Joseph Smith’s *History of the Church*.¹

¹ The “practical” Young who saved Mormonism appears everywhere, and it would be pedantic to document this view of him. Almost any college textbook embalms in language and illustration the contrast between the visionary, hounded Smith and the “brilliant,” “commanding” Young.

Standard Mormon historians like Roberts, Whitney, and J. F. Smith have, of course, done much writing on the early period, but they are not consulted by persons who write American history. When the *Harvard Guide to American History* was published (Cambridge, 1954), it listed as standard (p. 215) W. A. Linn’s *Story of the Mormons* (New York, 1902), which puts extreme emphasis on the later period. Other references are to the well-known works of I. W. Riley (1902), W. E. La Rue (1919), M. R. Werner (1925), B. H. Roberts (1930), and F. M. Brodie (1945). Linn, Riley, and La Rue do deal with the early period but are clearly polemical and concerned mainly with authenticity.

Except to Mormons, Brodie’s *No Man Knows My History* (New York, 1945) is not clearly polemical. Intellectual honesty requires this opinion to be stated at the outset at the risk of offending some Mormon readers. Though hardly pro-Mormon, Brodie’s book does not clearly fit either of my two categories of Mormon and non-Mormon. Leaders of Mormon thought have yet to come to grips with the influence of her book.

The sole Mormon authority is B. H. Roberts, but his six-volume *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1930) is too

These failures are understandable. Among the many possible explanations of this regrettable state of affairs, the most profoundly plausible, aside from an unexpressed anti-Mormonism, is the modern regional interpretation of the American West. Writers have emphasized the later period of Mormon history because they have worked under the influence of what may be called the myth of the Trans-Mississippi West, that is, the well-known folk-image that associates the Mormons with cowboys and Indians, the gold miners, the mountain men, and other heroic figures of the great, open, arid spaces of the West. As residents of the trans-Mississippi region, most Mormons have tended in their historical publications to live up to the role expected of them: inflating the importance of Brigham Young in their history and diminishing the significance of Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, Martin Harris, and other leading figures in the early Church (1827–1844). They celebrate Pioneer Day, not Hill Cumorah Day.

The third failure in the serious academic study of the origins and theology of Mormonism may not seem apparent at first glance. Some will be quick to assert that Mormonism has not been neglected in thoroughness and wideness of research or in relation to environment; that, in fact, one may easily find many works and sections of works that reasonably and correctly relate the new religion to a wide variety of historical elements: frontier conditions, reform movements, anti-Masonry, Jacksonian equalitarianism, theories concerning the Hebraic origin of the American Indians, the widespread evangelical rebellion against conservative Calvinist orthodoxy, and so on.

But while all trained historians may agree that these and other factors are necessary in any explanation of Mormonism, historians have not formed any pattern of agreement or disagreement, as they have on Puritanism or the Reformation or perhaps even Christian Science. Not even within the Mormon camp has there been any attempt to explain what made Mormonism unique in its appeal and in its surprising and even shocking heterodoxy.² One well-

sprawling and undigested to be of much use, and though it is listed by the *Guide*, one very rarely finds it cited by non-Mormon historians.

In alluding to the very recent change in the acceptability of works by loyal Mormons, I have in mind such works as Leonard J. Arrington's excellent and definitive *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1958). Significantly, perhaps, this does not deal with early Mormonism or its theological milieu.

² A very recent Mormon attempt to do this was not yet available to me as this article went to press: Milton Backman, *American Religions and the Rise of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City, 1965). It remains to be seen whether this work, published by the Deseret Press, will gain an acceptance outside the Church comparable with Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom*. For the haphazard nature of non-Mormon interpretations, see below, note 31.

known historian has even asserted that theology made no difference to the pragmatically minded Americans of the nineteenth century, anyhow. Mormons and similar believers were incapable of distinguishing even between the relatively simple teachings of the Methodists and the Presbyterians.³

This failure in approach or methodology is deficient chiefly in that it merely provides a traditional analysis of the traditional factors without taking into account the traditional element of dogmatic theology. How different from the standard treatment of the most miniscule of orthodox denominations! The Pilgrims of Plymouth, for example, could never be treated acceptably without adverting to the whole theology and doctrine of the English Reformation. In other words, non-Mormon historians have not taken Mormonism seriously *as a religion*. They have thought it sufficient to take a position on the golden plates and to relate the "movement" to the general history of the time. Mormonism ends up as a kind of religious Grahamism.

Mormon historians have, of course, taken the religious part of their history seriously. But motivated for the most part by the demands of apologetics and catechesis, they are more likely to view their religious history through the new revelations rather than through the theological issues that gave birth to the new revelations. They have not related the doctrines of this new body of revelation to the historical and *theological* time and place of the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants. They seem to reason that if these works are divine, true, and authentic, it is more important to expound and believe. Non-Mormons (and, of course, anti-Mormons) seem to reason that since the new revelations were human, false, and inauthentic, it is more important to expose, to *disbelieve* such shocking heterodoxies.

It is the aim of this essay to assess the rise and historical significance of Mormonism from the neglected point of view of historical theology and to show the crucial importance of the doctrine of authority.

* * *

If historians were to take Mormonism as seriously as, say, the Separatism of Plymouth, what could they discern as the chief religious appeal of the new revelation? For an answer they must look not merely to the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants, but also to the sincere concerns of the intensely religious

³ Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's* (New Haven, 1950), p. 9.

people of western New York in the 1820's and 1830's. A good place to start is the explanation, never closely read by non-Mormons, of Joseph Smith himself.

The Prophet's neglected explanation of the events leading to his first vision are among the most significant and revealing in all of early Mormon history. It occurs in essentially the same form in two different places: at the beginning of his own *History of the Church* (1838)⁴ and in his letter to John Wentworth, editor of the *Chicago Democrat* (1842). In both places his explanation, following the bare facts of birth, family, and education, comes first as the very source of his whole life and career:

When about fourteen years of age, I began to reflect upon the importance of being prepared for a future state, and upon inquiring [about] the plan of salvation, I found that there was a great clash in religious sentiment; if I went to one society they referred me to one plan, and another to another; each one pointing to his own particular creed . . . Considering that all could not be right, and that God could not be the author of so much confusion, I determined to investigate the subject more fully . . .

Retiring to a grove, he began to call upon the Lord for wisdom and while so engaged was suddenly enwrapped in a heavenly vision, brighter than the noonday sun, in which two persons appeared:

They told me that all religious denominations were believing in incorrect doctrines, and that none of them was acknowledged of God as His Church and kingdom: and I was expressly commanded "to go not after them," at the same time receiving a promise that the fullness of the Gospel should at some future time be made known unto me.⁵

There was no room for much detail in his letter to Wentworth, but in his more discursive *History* the Prophet related his search to the particular religious conditions in the vicinity of Manchester:

[About 1820–21] there was in the place where we lived an unusual excitement on the subject of religion. It commenced with the Methodists, but soon became general among all the sects of that region. In-

⁴ See the *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Period I. History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet by Himself*, edited by Brigham H. Roberts (7 vols.; various editions; Salt Lake City, 1902–).

Knowledgeable Mormons will point out that this work, though it goes back to as early as 1838, cannot be so precisely dated. But in so doing they underline the fact that Brigham H. Roberts, the editor, was not following the rules of modern critical editing, rules which were in full flower when he published the work. No modern historian can use the work as he would the modern editions of the presidential papers — or even, e.g., the University of Utah's scholarly edition of Hosea Stout's journal, *On the Mormon Frontier* (1965). This, in part, explains why official Mormon publications have until recently not found acceptance among non-Mormon scholars.

⁵ *History of the Church*, I, 3–4.

deed, the whole district of country seemed affected by it, and great multitudes united themselves to the different religious parties, which created no small stir and division amongst the people, some crying, "Lo here!" and others, "Lo there!" Some were contending for the Methodist faith, some for the Presbyterian, and some for the Baptist.

The Prophet's family succumbed to Presbyterianism, which the early Mormons often equated with Congregationalism. Joseph, then fifteen years old, remained uneasy and undecided:

So great were the confusion and strife among the different denominations, that it was impossible for a person young as I was, and so unacquainted with men and things, to come to any certain conclusion who was right and who was wrong.⁶

Who was right and who was wrong — that was the issue at the very root of Mormon beginnings. By what *authority* did the contending preachers lay claim to the one true road to salvation?

The issue of authority will not seem unusual to faithful, informed, educated members of the Church. But in the writing of history this criterion of salvation is rarely cited as an important explanation of the origins and immediate success of the early Church. Non-Mormon historians and, indeed, most Mormons, habitually attribute the rise and progress of the Church to personalities: Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery, Brigham Young, or others; to the appeal of the Book of Mormon; to the "age of reform"; to the environment of the Burned-over District of Western New York, with all its revivalism and religious emotionalism, its "far-out" reform movements; to the frontier environment.

These traditional explanations are relevant and necessary. But they do not make complete sense of the revivalism, the visions, the handful of Mormon baptisms that took place before the organization of the Church in April, 1830, nor of the Mormon insistence on the necessity of a High Priesthood (the Melchizedek Priesthood); of the new revelations (collected in the Doctrine and Covenants); of the social and economic instrument of restorationism represented by Mormon communitarianism (chiefly expressed in the United Order of Enoch); of the new historical framework (the Book of Mormon). All these may be explained by the thirst of Joseph Smith and his contemporaries for the religious authority of one true church, *i.e.*, for divine authority.

When this thirst has been recognized by leading historians, most of whom have belonged to the liberal tradition, it has been dis-

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV (2d ed. rev., 1956), 536.

missed as “authoritarian.” The use of this pejorative denies to Mormonism any sincere concern with divine authority — and thus abjures any need to analyze Mormonism as seriously as one would analyze a more orthodox denomination. Thus, a standard work in American intellectual history deals with Mormonism in this way:

The weakness of Protestantism in the Middle Period was its sectarianism Inevitably some anxious souls sought the reassurance of an authoritarian Church. Two such organizations played minor roles in the United States during the Middle Period. One, the Catholic Church, was old; the other, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, was new. The latter was indigenous.⁷

The “anxious souls” were many, not “some.” They all refused to accept the three evangelical orthodoxies of Baptism, Methodism, and Presbyterianism. Some rebelled against any kind of formal doctrine of salvation and became Universalists, Unitarians, and “infidels.” These sought authority and truth by relying in varying degrees on some concept of reason; others joined splinter groups like the Reformed Baptists, Reformed Methodists, Free Will Baptists, and others; some followed minor prophets like Joseph Dylks or Isaac Bullard; many joined various “Christian” groups and communitarian societies.

One “Christian” group, the Campbellites, and one communitarian movement, Shakerism, were very strong advocates of religious authority as the foundation of salvation. And it is significant that these were the two groups whose history impinged most closely on Mormonism.

Alexander Campbell’s quest for primitive Christianity and divine authority led him, between 1808 and 1812, from Secession Presbyterianism to a kind of Baptist congregationalism. Authority was to be found in the ability of a congregation to find truth in scriptures. Campbell called the first such congregation assembled by him the “Christian Association.” He found authority to ordain in the consent of his congregation — unlike the Mormons, who found this crucial exercise of authority in new revelations, especially the revelation on the High Priesthood.⁸ For the Campbellites,

⁷ Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* [1940] (2d ed.; New York, 1956), p. 57. Another leading historian in this tradition hardly admits the existence of sectarianism, noting, quite erroneously, that the work *sect* was only “occasionally used” in nineteenth-century America! Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Great Century, A.D. 1800–A.D. 1914*; Vol. IV of *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York, 1941), p. 429.

⁸ Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1868–1870), I, 387–391. Campbell’s doctrine of adult baptism for the remission of sins has often and erroneously been stated to be the model for the similar Mormon doctrine. But the doctrine was a kind of afterthought for Campbell. *Ibid.*, pp. 391–400. For both

sectarianism was the chief evil⁹—one reason why they called themselves “The Church of Christ” and “The Disciples of Christ”; for the names implied nonsectarianism or “unity.”

A second group that competed with the Mormons in the Western Reserve of Ohio and elsewhere was the United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing, commonly called Shakers. The Shakers were also ardent antisectarians. Richard McNemar, who before his conversion to Shakerism had been one of the leading figures of the Kentucky Revival, wrote a poem in about 1807 ridiculing the sectarians of the age; one stanza runs:

Ten thousand Reformers like so many moles
Have plowed all the Bible and cut it [in] holes
And each has his church at the end of his trace
Built up as he thinks of the subjects of grace.¹⁰

Thirty years later he was preaching the same message. He made it clear that antisectarianism was a general feeling among the non-orthodox seekers of the early nineteenth century.¹¹ He and others like him sought one true church with the mark of divine approbation. It had become meaningless to pick one of the major contending denominations as an instrument of salvation.

Antisectarianism could, of course, lead to infidelity or to rationalist simplifications of doctrine, but it usually meant, as it did with Joseph Smith, a fundamental rejection of the three dominant denominations of the frontier and rural areas of the time: Baptism, Methodism, and Presbyterianism. A seeker hardly wasted time with those denominations, and perhaps the spiritual history of the many anxious souls of the day may be symbolized by the brief story of the religious experience of young Michael Hull Barton of western Massachusetts, an area that gave so much to the religious life of western New York.

After traveling extensively throughout New England seeking the one true church, Barton found himself torn between the Mormons and the Shakers. Finally, in 1831 he started from Western Massachusetts for Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to be baptized by a Mormon elder. On the way back to his home his “conscience

Campbell and Smith (and many others) it was simply the way of the apostolic church, to which almost all sectarians appealed for the authority of their doctrine.

⁹ See Campbell’s prospectus for his projected newspaper (*The Millennial Harbinger*) in the *Western Reserve Chronicle*, Dec. 3, 1829; also, the earlier Campbellite announcements of Feb. 28 and Mar. 18, 1828.

¹⁰ “The Mole’s little pathways” (1807?), ms. copy, Shaker Papers, Library of Congress.

¹¹ Richard McNemar, *A Friendly letter to Alexander Mitchell* (Union Village, Ohio, 1837), reprinted by the Shakers from the *Western Review*.

seized him and his sins stared him in the face.” Retiring to the woods to pray, he received the spiritual light which turned him toward the nearest Shaker community in the town of Harvard, Massachusetts.¹² If he had lived in western Pennsylvania, he might have joined the Campbellites.

Fully to understand the importance of authority in early Mormonism, one must do more than take into account the religious milieu of the 1820’s and the extraordinarily direct testimony of Joseph Smith. One must examine in detail, painful detail for the nontheologically inclined, the subsequent development of Mormon polity and doctrine. Does it prove the sincerity of Joseph’s quest for authority? Did his followers also seek it? Does the extraordinary elaboration of Mormon doctrine after 1830, and especially between 1839 and 1844, cast doubt upon his original quest?

Aside from the Book of Mormon (1830), the Mormon conception of authority rests chiefly on a special Priesthood and on the revelations received by Joseph Smith. Most of the development of the Priesthood and most of the revelations came after 1830.

For Mormons authority means the right of those holding the Priesthood to act for God. This right and the Priesthood that exercises it are given a historical rationale in the Book of Mormon and acquired specific forms and goals through subsequent revelations and practices. Mormon religion was authoritative (a slightly different concept from that of authority) because God attested to its truth by direct revelation. To demonstrate that Mormonism was a continuing quest for authoritative religion, it is not necessary for the historian to enter into the question of whether these revelations were authentic or to show how the Mormons proved their doctrines to be true in contrast to those of all their competitors.

Both Mormon apologetics and anti-Mormon propaganda have always dwelt, and understandably for their purposes, on the issue of the historical authenticity of the golden plates and on the divine authenticity of Joseph Smith’s visions and revelations. This question of authenticity is basic for explaining the rise of the new religion, but is not enough. What must be shown is how much stronger the Mormon quest for authority was than that of the Campbellites, Shakers, and others who preached against sectarianism, how much more elaborate and theologically central was the Mormon concern for authoritative religion than, for example, Campbell’s exaggerated reliance on the New Testament or the Shakers’ faith in the postmillennial ministry of their foundress. Despite the intricate

¹² Letter from the Ministry of Harvard to the Ministry of New Lebanon, Harvard, Mass., Nov. 9, 1831, ms. Western Reserve Historical Society.

elaboration of their Priesthood, Mormons never watered down its function: the right and power to act authoritatively for God. Only the restored Priesthood could save a torn and divided Christianity.

* * *

The mitosis of churches, or what Kenneth Scott Latourette has called the "fissiparous genius of Protestantism,"¹³ has been the classic problem of Protestantism, stemming from a belief in the individual interpretation of the scriptures, bibliolatry, and a rejection of sacerdotal authority.¹⁴ And it antedates by at least two centuries the "Middle Period" of American history.

To oversimplify, it may be said that there are three modes of establishing a theological claim to being the one true teaching church: apostolic succession, miracles and "gifts" (as signs of divine approbation), and special revelations. With certain modifications the Prophet used all three methods. Since apostolic succession was Roman and alien,¹⁵ he turned to a more familiar source of Protestant tradition, the Old Testament: he claimed a *prophetic* succession through a dual priesthood that allegedly existed among the Hebrews.¹⁶ Miracles and gifts he used discreetly and sparingly; ambitious miracles, such as his attempt to raise a dead infant, were likely to fail.¹⁷ As for special revelations,¹⁸ they were central to the

¹³ *History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. IV, *The Great Century, A.D. 1800–A.D. 1914* (New York, 1941), p. 261.

¹⁴ For an excellent short statement of the problem of authority, see Robert McAfee Brown, "A Protestant Viewpoint: Protestantism and Authority," *Commonweal*, LXXXI (Oct. 9, 1964), 69–71.

¹⁵ The Mormons became quite sensitive to the accusation that they had glossed over apostolic succession. See Henry Caswall, *City of the Mormons; or, Three Days at Nauvoo, in 1842* (2d ed., rev. & enl.; London, 1843), 17, 39, 42. Caswall, an Anglican minister, taunted them concerning this traditional touchstone, for he knew that it could not be reconciled with the story of early Christianity given in the Book of Mormon. For the Roman Catholic Church the "marks" of the one true church are traditionally four: it is one, holy, catholic, and apostolic.

¹⁶ *The Prophet*, Jan. 4, 1845, p. 1, col. 1; *History of the Church*, I, pp. 40–41. A priesthood did, of course, exist among the Hebrews; and some orthodox Christian denominations believe in a continuation, in some manner, of this priesthood. Such Christians point, as do the Mormons, to the appropriate verses in the seventh chapter of Hebrews, where the familiar phrase occurs: "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec." But the dual priesthood and the special elaboration of the Mormon Priesthood of Melchizedek (spelled Melchisedec in the King James version) is peculiarly Mormon.

Mormon readers will also be aware that Joseph Smith claimed apostolic succession through Peter or, more accurately, Peter, James, and John. But this is far less important to the definition of Mormonism than the belief that the Apostles were "prophets and revelators" in a prophetic succession from Moses on down through Solomon, John the Baptist, and Christ to Joseph Smith. See James E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith*, pp. 300–301.

¹⁷ F. M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, pp. 104, 112.

¹⁸ For revelation in general as a source of authority, see Parley P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning* (New York, 1837), p. 119.

establishment of authority and Joseph adopted them even before the Church was organized (1830); his mother, with her antinomian predilections for special inspiration, encouraged him to see visions and revelations. Joseph believed that his additions to orthodox Christian-Jewish scripture — his revelations, the Book of Mormon, “lost books” like the Book of Enoch, and his revision of the King James Bible — constituted the “fulness of the Gospel.” In short, while using some of its doctrines, Joseph rejected Protestantism as well as Calvinism: he claimed to bring an entirely “new dispensation.” “Truth,” he later said, “is Mormonism. God is the author of it.”¹⁹ This special status of Mormonism as a fourth major religion is generally accepted in American society.²⁰

The idea of a religious authority established by means of prophetic succession and direct revelation originated not in the Book of Mormon but in the mind of Joseph Smith. The historical foundation, or authority, supplied by that book was of little practical use to the Prophet in defining the polity and doctrine of the new religion. For the non-Mormon it is almost as though he had simply composed a Hebrew-and-Indian novel with no thought of making it the Bible of a new religion. Even the uneducated agrarians who had read it with relish seemed to sense this, for they usually felt compelled to visit the Prophet and hear what was concretely required of them for salvation. At first the Prophet had little to offer them beyond baptism and his own impressive personality. Many heard him preach, but by January, 1831, less than eighty persons in western New York had embraced the gospel — eleven years after Smith’s first vision and six months after the publication of the Book of Mormon.²¹

Converts soon discovered that Mormon polity and doctrine would consist of what God revealed through Joseph Smith, month by month, in direct revelations. It was Smith’s revulsion against the sectarianism of the Burned-over District and his consequent quest for a new source of authority that made direct revelations

¹⁹ *History of the Church*, III, 297.

²⁰ This separate, “fourth” position of Mormonism achieved a kind of quasi-official recognition in a film used in the Democratic party convention of 1956 and shown on nationwide television networks.

²¹ I mean here the conversions in the area of western New York under the direct influence of the Prophet. It is true that in the fall of 1830 about one hundred persons had been converted in the vicinity of Kirtland, Ohio, mainly from a group of former Campbellites there known as Rigdonites. In January, 1831, there were not more than a hundred converts in the area, most of whom had been baptized a few weeks before. The Ohio conversions differed from those in western New York, where the leadership, presence, and revelations of the Prophet were of primary importance. See the *History of the Church*, I, 77 note, 120, 124, and 146.

necessary. And it was in the newer Wests of Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois that most of the doctrine and much of the polity took form.

In spite of these facts students of Mormonism have assumed for over a hundred and thirty years that the religion sprang full-blown from the brain of Joseph Smith in the form of the Book of Mormon. This myth may be traced back to a single sentence in a book published in 1832, a sentence quoted in almost every work touching upon early Mormonism. In that year the Rev. Alexander Campbell, the founder of the Campbellites, or "Reformed Baptists," published *Delusions*, the first serious, critical analysis of the *Book of Mormon*. Campbell wrote that the Mormon bible had provided final answers to every theological problem of the day:

. . . infant baptism, ordination, the trinity, regeneration, repentance, justification, the fall of man, the atonement, transsubstantiation, fasting, penance, church government, religious experience, the call to the ministry, the general resurrection, eternal punishment, who may baptize, and even the question of freemasonry [*sic*], republican government and the rights of man.²²

This was the bitter attack of a man who had lost his best preacher, Sidney Rigdon, to Joseph Smith's new religion and who resented being identified as a friend to Mormonism. Hardly any of these many "answers" was much more than hinted at in the Book of Mormon and certainly not in any way that was unique to what is now termed Mormonism. The Prophet gave his answers, answers which diverged from the Book of Mormon, in the form of nearly one hundred revelations issued after 1830 in accordance with what Mrs. Fawn M. Brodie calls his extraordinary "responsiveness to the provincial opinions of his time."²³ So great seemed his doctrinal departures from the Book of Mormon that one heretical offshoot of the church called the Whitmerites made opposition to such changes their chief point of doctrine.²⁴ And the justice of the Whitmerite position is well attested by the evolution of the main elements of Mormonism between 1830 and 1844: church government, the nature of God, and the nature (the Fall) of man. A brief discussion of each of these three elements shows that Mormonism was mainly a product of these later years.

²² Alexander Campbell, *Delusions. An Analysis of the Book of Mormon . . . and a Refutation of Its Pretences to Divine Authority* (Boston, 1832), p. 13. The title is an allusion to 2 Thes. 2: 11.

²³ F. M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, pp. 69, 86. This is also emphasized very strongly by Stow Persons in his *American Minds: A History of Ideas* (New York, 1958), p. 183.

²⁴ David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ. By a Witness to the Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon* (Richmond, Mo., 1887), pp. 4, 50.

Mormon church government was based on two priesthoods, the Priesthood of Aaron and the Priesthood of Melchizedek. This dual priesthood provided a sacerdotal authority for the latter-day gospel, and between 1830 and 1844 the Prophet organized and elaborated a whole hierarchy of offices founded on this dual priesthood. The dual priesthood not only developed outside of and after the Book of Mormon, it also came in answer to specific needs.

The first need arose even before the Book of Mormon was finished — from the skepticism of Oliver Cowdery, one of the Prophet's scribes in the translating of the golden plates. Cowdery pointed out that the Book of Mormon did not provide the "keys," or authority, for performing baptism.

Cowdery's skepticism²⁵ was immediately overcome by a vision in which John the Baptist, in the form of an angel, conferred upon the two chosen ones the lower Priesthood of Aaron, with authority to baptize the first converts to the new faith. Thereupon, in the spring of 1829, Smith and Cowdery baptized one another in the chilly Susquehanna River and became the first members of the Church. A year later the Book of Mormon was published and almost simultaneously, on April 6, 1830, the little church of less than thirty persons — most of them closely related — was formally organized.²⁶

This solution, the restoration of the Aaronic Priesthood, did not lay the question of authority to rest. The Book of Mormon had implied that all elders could ordain priests and teachers. But the relations among the Melchizedek Priesthood, the Aaronic Priesthood, and church government were not crystal clear, and subsequent, clarifying revelations were needed to supplement the Book of Mormon. Accordingly, in April, 1830, the Prophet issued a revelation on church government which outlined the duties of elders, priests, teachers, and deacons and the manner of baptism. Over the next year and a half he issued two revelations teaching that the second or higher Priesthood of Melchizedek would be necessary for ordaining and being ordained to teacher, deacon, the new office of bishop, and "all the lesser offices."²⁷

²⁵ Smith also wondered about the need for authority to baptize, but he was not weak in faith, as was Cowdery throughout his life.

²⁶ *History of the Church*, I, 64–79, 84.

²⁷ *Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 20. Hereafter cited as *D. & C.* This extremely important revelation was received in April, 1830, and Smith may already have revised it while preparing it for its first printing in the *Book of Commandments* (Independence, 1833). In August another revelation stated that the higher Priesthood of Melchizedek, then held by Smith and Cowdery, bore "the keys of ministry." See *D. & C.*, 27: 12. The predominance of the Melchizedek Priesthood in general and of its First Presidency in particular was first strongly asserted in November, 1831, in *D. & C.*, 78: 15–22. When

By June, 1831, the rapid growth of his church in Ohio persuaded the Prophet to announce at an important conference in Kirtland that the Lord had restored the special office of High Priest.²⁸ The Prophet may have been encouraged to make this announcement by an influential new Ohio convert named Sidney Rigdon.

The office of High Priest has often been confused with the Melchizedek Priesthood, even by Mormons. And well it might be, for it was not until after the death of Joseph Smith that the complex, vague, and shifting relationship between the High Priesthood and the Melchizedek Priesthood could be stabilized.²⁹ The distinctions were quite blurred in Smith's time, for between 1830 and 1844 he issued many revelations which greatly expanded the two priesthoods of Aaron and Melchizedek, not to speak of the High Priesthood. In 1832 he provided them with a genealogy or "succession" going back to Adam and Aaron, respectively.³⁰ That same year he made the dual priesthood indispensable for personal salvation and for the salvation of the world. In March, 1835, the Prophet greatly elaborated the biblical background of the higher priesthood and its manifold relations to all other offices. By 1841 the Priesthood of Melchizedek was the most important institution of church government. And toward the end of his life the Prophet seemed to be clothing it with the power of binding and loosing of sins.

The entire government of the Church came to rest on the dual priesthood. The primitive officialdom of the Palmyra years — Priests, Teachers, Deacons — was incorporated into the lesser, or Aaronic, priesthood. The high offices of the High Council, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the Patriarch, the Seventies, and the First Presidency all arose after 1830–31.

the *Book of Commandments* (1833) was revised and reprinted with additional revelations as the *Doctrine and Covenants* (1835), Smith added verses 65, 66, and 67 to *D. & C.* 20. In these verses he defined more precisely the right of ordaining and being ordained, a right that was the very key to the complex hierarchy of offices from Apostle down to Deacons and church members. In short, the Melchizedek Priesthood and the powers associated with it were elaborated even before the first printing of the revelation on church government in *D. & C.*, 20. Elaboration continued at least up to 1841 in subsequent revelations.

²⁸ *History of the Church*, I, 176.

²⁹ Some time after 1844 the relationship between the two institutions was reduced to the seemingly simple notion that the High Priesthood is a *category* to which the eldership and High Priesthood belong as *offices*. A High Priest also always holds the Melchizedek Priesthood or is "within" it. But actually there is extensive overlapping of offices and categories even today.

³⁰ Fawn M. Brodie has suggested that the concept of the dual priesthood came directly from two books published by one Rev. James Gray in Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1810 and 1821. See *No Man Knows My History*, p. 111.

It is apparent that the dual priesthood had a genesis and history of its own. Its theological *raison d'être* was the principle of teaching authority, a central principle of Mormonism to this day. This principle was a response to the "social sources" of rural Jacksonian society in western New York, a society which burned with religious fervor but was torn by sectarianism. At the time and place there were many other responses to the religious yearnings and sectarianism, but Smith alone clearly saw the need for authority and this might have made Mormonism a unique solution even if his new, heterodox scriptures had not been published.

Of course, the Book of Mormon did provide the basic historical rationale for the prophetic succession (restored in the nineteenth century), and consequently the "Mormon bible" is strongly emphasized among Latter-day Saints as the main historical source of teaching authority of the Church. Non-Mormon historians, on the other hand, have tended to ignore the theological claims described above as rooted in a quest for authority. They have looked to "the frontier," to the New England mind, and to Jacksonian reform for explanations of Mormonism. These three nontheological explanations will always remain relevant; and so, too, will the Book of Mormon as the historical foundation for the basic doctrine that Mormonism is a new or "restored" historical religion. But the only non-theological element that seems to explain the unique content and appeal of Mormon religion is the one that most clearly shows it to have been a quest for religious authority: the element is the fluid, sectarian, torn society of rural (or "frontier") New York and northern Ohio.

It was here and in the subsequent, socially fluid, western environments of Missouri and Illinois, that the principle of authority was spun out in the revelations of Smith and in Mormon institutions, the most important of which was the dual priesthood. (As a set of Mormon institutions, the communitarian United Order of Enoch, begun in Ohio, was possibly even more important in early Mormonism than the dual priesthood, but it was an answer to social as well as theological problems.) The dual priesthood and a peculiarly Mormon obsession with authority arose outside of, and, in large part, after the Book of Mormon. And it arose in a special social environment as a result of specific needs confronting the young Prophet. In logical order, skepticism over the Book of Mormon had to be overcome, converts made and baptized, and leaders ordained — all tasks requiring authority. Particular ordinances connected with the dual priesthood, chiefly baptism and ordination, were widely enlarged as the Church moved westward, as it

grew in numbers, and as it encountered everywhere persons and printed matter which cannot be identified solely with the New England Mind, the Book of Mormon, the Turnerian "frontier," or Jacksonian reformism. In sum, Mormonism and its characteristic doctrine of authority was a growth made possible by the social conditions of Smith's time and place: the rural, northern society that was emerging between the 1820's and the martyrdom of the Prophet in 1844.

Alexander Campbell was right in an important sense: Smith supplied people in this fluid society with answers to every perplexing theological question and even some social questions of the day (a day when social questions were still approached theologically). But Campbell wrote too early: in 1831-32, just after the appearance of the Book of Mormon. To the outsider writing over a hundred and thirty years later, the Book of Mormon seems much less decisive in the rise of a full-blown Mormonism than the astonishing developments in revelation and practice between 1831 and 1844.

These conclusions can be confirmed by comparing one partly nontheological explanation of the rise of Mormonism, New England religion and culture, with the Prophet's authoritative doctrinal solutions for the contentions of his day. Two very revealing Mormon teachings are those outlining the nature of God and man. His teaching on property relations (Campbell's "communism") would be even more instructive. His complex property arrangements, under a set of communitarian institutions known as the United Order of Enoch, supplied the social fabric for the millennial kingdom of God on earth. The Order is not within the scope of this essay. Nevertheless, the revolutionary changes in the rural fringes of New England's society are almost equally well reflected in Smith's definition of God and in his conception of the behavior required of men who want to be saved.

When non-Mormon historians consider the rise of Mormonism as a religion, they tend to overlook its setting in western New York and northern Ohio. Their instinct is to see it in relation to the religious aspect of New England culture or even as a throwback to the polygamous, millennial Anabaptists of the Reformation era.³¹ This

³¹ See D. B. Davis, "The New England Origins of Mormonism," *New England Quarterly*, XXVI (June, 1953), 148-149, for the comparison of Joseph Smith with the Anabaptist, John of Leiden. None of the standard works on American intellectual history treats Mormonism in the same way; nor are there patterns or schools of disagreement. Ralph H. Gabriel stresses its authoritarianism, as pointed out in the text. See *The Course of American Democratic Thought*, p. 57. He also considers it a "product of the New England frontier" (p. 35). Stow Persons emphasizes its eschatological elements

generalized view loses sight of historical time and place and thus of the principle of authority which Smith preached to the settlers of New York and Ohio.

New England no doubt endowed the Prophet with his willful, ordering, moral, religious, theorizing, institutional cast of mind. But it was from the alchemy of his personal life, his reading, his daily experiences, from the reception accorded the Book of Mormon, and from the social opportunities of his time and place that he extracted an entirely new socio-theological system that completely repudiated the age-old system of his forefathers. The New England culture he had inherited was shaped by Puritanism, now modified to a kind of combined Congregationalism-Presbyterianism (early Mormon missionaries used the two names interchangeably). And early Mormon teachings on the nature of God and man lucidly illustrate how profoundly Smith rejected this heritage.

* * *

The God of Mormonism was not Calvinistically and unpredictably stern, as He still was in most of New England. God was, as Joseph's mother had taught him, friendly, immediately present,³² easily consulted, and, to one who reads the revelations, knowledgeable and down-to-earth. To the older New England the ways and "providences" of God were inscrutable. To a rebellious son of New England, living in an age of secret societies with strange signs and special ceremonies, God was quite scrutable, but only to those who were initiated. Some Mormons knew more than others and the one who knew most was the Prophet, who acted as the very medium of God's revelations.³³ These revelations are only the most obvious kind of evidence for the knowableness of the Mormon God. The stalwart Apostle Parley P. Pratt demonstrated in his *Autobiography* how the minutest occurrence could clearly and indubitably reveal the scrutable will of God and how those closest to the Prophet enjoyed the completest understanding of the Divine Will.

(also mentioned by Gabriel, p. 35). See Persons, *American Minds: A History of Ideas* (New York, 1958), p. 182. But he is also the only non-Mormon writer who clearly asserts that Smith's neighbors were "yearning for an authoritative dispensation of the truth [and] Smith came to such people with an unqualified claim of authority" (p. 184). Merle Curti makes it one of the many new utopian experiments of the age of reform. Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (3d ed.; New York, 1964), p. 304. Henry Steele Commager describes it, together with Christian Science, as a "native American religion." Commager, *The American Mind*, p. 186.

³² Brodie, pp. 6-7.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 141, n. 2. Mrs. Brodie makes much of this. It is doubtful that the Prophet veiled his actions in the particular incident which she cites here, but some Saints thought so. The well-known fact that the Prophet permitted only a select group of Saints to know the spiritual wife doctrine (polygamy) may also be recalled.

God was not only knowable; he was material and plural. There are three persons in the Godhead. A revelation of the Lord given in 1843 stated that of these three the Father and the Son have bodies "of flesh and bones as tangible as man's."⁸⁴ The Holy Ghost is less important than the Father and the Son; he is a spirit, but still matter — more finely divided. A few days later another revelation put it bluntly: "There is no such thing as immaterial matter."⁸⁵ But these are not the only Gods, said the Prophet in a sermon. There are others far above them,⁸⁶ and man, below them, can attain equality with the Gods⁸⁷ and rule kingdoms. God himself was a man in the beginning with Adam. He had risen to a high position in heaven, as indeed every American of that egalitarian period hoped to do on earth.

Mormonism as it evolved between Kirtland, Ohio, and Nauvoo, Illinois, also rejected the pre-eminence of faith over works, a doctrine which has always had direct implications for the behavior of men. The *Evening and Morning Star* comes, said the editor of this first Mormon newspaper, "to declare that goodness consists in doing good, not merely in preaching it . . . all men's religion is vain without charity."⁸⁸ The allusion, of course, is to what Luther called the "straw epistle," James, chapters one and two. But charity did not drive the Mormon into a philosophy of supererogation. He wholeheartedly accepted the worldly "creature" (earthly pleasure) that had plagued the old Calvinist conscience. The best-known work on early Mormonism stresses this acceptance:

The paradise of the prophet had much of the earth in it. Joseph had the poor man's awe of gold, and it crept into his concept of heaven. When God would descend to the holy city, he said paraphrasing Isaiah, "for brass he will bring gold, and for iron he will bring silver; and . . . the feast of fat things will be given to the just." And when the lost tribes of Israel streamed forth at last from the North countries to join the Saints, they too would be laden with jewels and gold.

Mormon theology was never burdened with otherworldliness. There was a fine robustness about it that smelled of the frontier and that rejected an asceticism that was never endemic to America. The

⁸⁴ *D. & C.*, 130: 22.

⁸⁵ *D. & C.*, 132: 7.

⁸⁶ George F. Partridge (ed.), "Death of a Mormon Dictator; Letters of Massachusetts Mormons, 1843-1848," *New England Quarterly*, IX (Dec., 1936), 594. The doctrine caused many to apostatize.

⁸⁷ "King Follett Discourse," a funeral sermon given in 1844 and printed in [Joseph Smith], *The Voice of Truth* (Nauvoo, Ill., 1844). See pp. 60-62 and also *D. & C.*, 132: 20, 37 (1843). Joseph had hinted at the plurality of Gods as early as 1832 (*D. & C.*, 76: 58).

⁸⁸ *Evening and Morning Star*, I, 7 (June, 1832).

poverty, sacrifice, and suffering that dogged the Saints resulted largely from clashes with their neighbors over social and economic issues. Though they may have gloried in their adversity, they certainly did not invite it. Wealth and power they considered basic among the blessings both of earth and of heaven, and if they were to be denied them in this life, then they must assuredly enjoy them in the next.³⁹

While some may cavil at the psychological interpretation of the “frontier” here, it is far more dubious to see, as anti-frontier historians often do, a kind of anti-liberal “puritanism” that “shaped” Mormonism in the East and to state that Mormonism “was nearly extinguished on the frontier.”⁴⁰ Mormonism was, if anything, a moderate liberal revolt. Like Transcendentalism on its higher plane,⁴¹ Mormonism avoided the extremes both of Unitarianism and Calvinism. The frontier produced neither Turnerian frontier liberalism nor conservatism. A fluid frontier society was simply a stimulus to change in any direction.

In time, Mormonism as a full-blown religion developed after as well as before the publication of the Book of Mormon. In place, Mormonism flourished in the fluid, socially confused, newer settlements — and sometimes in the decayed, confused areas of older settlements. This is what makes it a “frontier religion.” Much of what is peculiar to Mormon doctrine developed west of, or better, after Palmyra and Manchester. The Book of Mormon of Palmyra days was anti-Masonic; in Far West, Missouri and Nauvoo, Illinois, Joseph became more Masonic than the Masons.⁴² The earlier, Book of Mormon doctrine of baptism for the remission of sins, little different from that of neighboring Free Will Baptists, was metamorphosed in Nauvoo by the teaching that baptism could be accepted after death. Indeed, it was not until the Far West and Nauvoo period of Mormon history (1838–1844) that Mormon theology came to its “full flowering.”⁴³ The greatest of the official Mormon Church Historians, Brigham H. Roberts, once wrote that

³⁹ F. M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, pp. 187–188. To non-Mormons the most famous of the heavenly pleasures was the retention of one’s earthly spiritual wives.

⁴⁰ D. B. Davis, “The New England Origins of Mormonism,” pp. 153–154, 162. Davis is trying to refute “frontier historians [who] say that Mormon theology is mostly absurd and meaningless, but can be explained as a Western revolt against Calvinism” (p. 153). In this anti-frontier interpretation of Mormonism, Davis follows the widely accepted but shaky interpretation of Whitney R. Cross in *The Burned-Over District: the Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca, 1950). For a fairly successful attempt to refute Cross’s interpretation of Mormonism, see Alexander Evanoff, “The Turner Thesis and Mormon Beginnings in New York and Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXX (Spring, 1965), 157–173.

⁴¹ Frederick Ives Carpenter, *Emerson Handbook* (New York, 1953), pp. 129–131.

⁴² F. M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, pp. 64–66, 380–382, 367.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

no one could understand the wondrousness of his faith without a knowledge of this "essentially . . . formative" period: "It was in Nauvoo that Joseph Smith reached the summit of his remarkable career. It was in Nauvoo he grew bolder in the proclamation of those doctrines, which stámp Mormonism as the great religion of the age."⁴⁴ It was in Nauvoo that Joseph taught the "higher and more complex doctrines of Mormonism" — baptism for the dead, the functions of the priesthood, the correct methods of spiritual exegesis, the vision of the three degrees of glory, the kingdom of God, the time of the coming of the Son of God, the resurrection of the dead, the being and nature of God (His "materiality," the "plurality of Gods"), the immortality of matter, the spirit prison, and many others.⁴⁵

Theologically, Joseph Smith's moral and physical departure from New England may be summed up in the second and tenth "articles of faith," which were not formulated until 1841.⁴⁶ Article Two explicitly rejected the old Puritan maxim that in "Adam's fall we sinned all." Not only had God become predictable, but the Calvinistic man who was a sin-laden worm was replaced by an individualistic Arminian who "will be punished for his own sins and not for Adam's transgression" (Article Two). Article Ten insured the fact that these optimistic Americans, by "gathering" in the "lands of their inheritance," were to move west.

* * *

One must conclude from this essay into Mormon doctrinal history that Alexander Campbell's description of Mormonism on the basis of the Book of Mormon, a description avidly accepted by anti-Frontier historians over a century later,⁴⁷ was grotesquely wrong in that it considered the Book of Mormon alone to be the essence of Mormonism. But he was unwittingly right in noting that Smith sought authoritative answers for every perplexing theological problem of the day.

⁴⁴ Brigham H. Roberts, *The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City, 1900), p. 17. Daryl Chase, another professing Mormon, echoes this in *Joseph the Prophet* (Salt Lake City, 1944), pp. 74–75. See also the *History of the Church*, III, 379–381, 386 ff.

⁴⁵ Roberts, *The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo*, pp. 165–215.

⁴⁶ See James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City, 1901). This (in its various editions) is the official church statement of the Articles.

⁴⁷ D. B. Davis, "The New England Origins of Mormonism," pp. 153, 155; Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1950), p. 145. The most thorough historian of early Mormonism also quotes the Campbell litany, but does not state that the doctrines listed were Mormon doctrines. They merely reflect, like the anti-Masonic elements, the fiery issues of the Burned-over District in the 1820's: F. M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, p. 69.

Joseph Smith hoped to establish the authority of what the early Mormons called “the one true church” over against the theological potpourri of competing sects that surrounded him as a young man in the Burned-over District. Later elaborations of doctrine never obscured this goal. New revelations merely reinforced the uniqueness of the one true church.

A great deal of additional evidence for this central concern of Mormonism could be cited. Even after he had been excommunicated, Sidney Rigdon, for example, preached the Mormon doctrine of authority. In 1845 he defended the truth of Mormonism against criticisms of the Roman Catholic bishop of Pittsburgh: the Roman church lacked a true priesthood and lacked new revelations.⁴⁸ But nowhere is the concern more apparent than in the Book of Mormon itself. That work expresses only contempt for sectarianism.⁴⁹ The danger of “going astray” from doctrinal truth and the need for establishing the one true fold are major and recurrent themes of the Book of Mormon.⁵⁰ These themes are, it seems to me, the only real theological themes of the book.

The Prophet hated the contentions and contradictions of sectarianism and hoped, in a sense, to establish a sect to end all sects. Indeed, the origin and whole doctrinal development of Mormonism under the Prophet may be characterized as a pragmatically successful quest for religious authority, a quest that he shared with many other anxious rural Americans of his time, class, and place. Historians who do not take this quest seriously enough to examine it do not take Mormonism seriously enough for rigorous historical inquiry.

⁴⁸ *Latter-Day Saints Messenger and Advocate* (Pittsburgh), June 1, 1845.

⁴⁹ *Book of Mormon*, I Ne. 22: 23–25, II Ne. 3: 12.

⁵⁰ See the dream of Lehi, I Ne. 8. Also Al. 41: 1, II Ne. 12: 5 (where, astonishingly, “astray” is added to Isaiah), II Ne. 26: 21, and II Ne. 28: 3–6.

THE STUDENT: HIS UNIVERSITY AND HIS CHURCH

by Claude J. Burtenshaw

The editors hope that this essay will encourage a range of thoughtful reactions to the problems of relating religious belief to secular education. Claude Burtenshaw has drawn both on his experience as Professor of Political Science and Dean of Students at Utah State University and on his associations while teaching classes in the Church.

IN AN ATTEMPT TO ENCOURAGE WIDER READING ABOUT ISSUES raised in a class discussion, I once suggested that the students read an article which I referred to as a philosophic analysis of the subject. After the class a student asked if there were other materials that would be acceptable. "You see," he said, "I'm a member of the L.D.S. Church, and I promised my father that when I went to college I would not lose my testimony. Father was very much afraid that I would become like his cousin, who, while at college, studied philosophy or something, and it wasn't long until he lost his faith and quit attending church. I would prefer," the student pleaded, "to read something other than a philosophic book."

A junior student recently announced to his parents that he would not accept a mission call now because he had doubts about some of the doctrines and principles of the Church. "I don't feel the same about the gospel as I did a year or so ago. These doubts," he said, "were caused by some of my college courses."

I recently received a letter from a former student of mine in which he announced that he had discontinued his activity in the Church. This young man had been attending college for nine years; during five of them, while attending two different universities, he had been the L.D.S. branch president in the nearby communities. There seemed to be no bitterness, just a statement that he had some intellectual problems about church doctrine and philosophy that he could not settle and that, until he resolved them, he did not feel comfortable in church association.

These were expressions of L.D.S. students resulting from encounters with the university, and it seemed clear to these students that the Church and the university were two quite different organizations. Many students have found the university, with its many and varied academic, vocational, and social programs, to be most interesting and demanding in time and attention, requiring them to reduce their church participation while attending the university. To most students this is expected and acceptable and, consequently, is a manageable problem. But this is not the difference to which I am alluding. The problem I refer to is an intellectual one. The two organizations, church and university, approach and explain the world from two quite different perspectives. And even though our society accommodates both institutions, many students find the accommodation intellectually difficult, and some find it impossible.

The conflict between the two organizations is not readily seen since the Church owns and supports a system of higher education which is patterned after non-church university course offerings and, for the most part, employs teachers who have received instruction and degrees from non-church institutions. Moreover, church members are encouraged to seek knowledge from all sources.

Reluctantly does an L.D.S. student admit that he has a conflict; and when he does, ardent church members are inclined to deny him an opportunity to discuss his problem. A common response from the zealous member, when hearing about a wondering student, is to blame a sinister university faculty member who is "out to fight the Church." These faculty members, so states the charge, "delight in destroying young people's faith and are determined to poison young students' minds." Still others attempt to explain the expressed intellectual conflict as caused by an emotional disturbance or a hidden immoral act. I have heard students say, "It is wrong to have an intellectual conflict, because having such a prob-

lem is doubting, and a faithful church member never doubts.” This kind of atmosphere and attitude is not conducive to the open exploration of intellectual problems that university attendance seems to require.

In this discussion I shall argue that it is appropriate for a believing L.D.S. student to deal openly with intellectual problems, if and when they arise. I shall further contend that intellectual problems will likely arise at some time in the mind of a curious, healthy student if he seriously pursues the university program. “The two organizations are extremely different,” said one student as he began his senior year. “One teaches me to question and doubt; the other teaches me to accept and trust.” I am not insisting, however, that every L.D.S. student must have conflicts, because some do not involve themselves in any kind of subject matter to a degree of serious concern. This was so with an alumnus of the university, an active church member, who recently said to me, “I got through the university and remained active in church without seriously considering intellectual claims of any kind. I laughed at my friends who claimed they were having problems.”

Apparently, some university courses are more apt than others to arouse questions, and some students by temperament, ability, or past experience are more easily stimulated to intellectual inquiry and, consequently, to intellectual problems. The university staff, however, believing in its purposes, attempts to expose all students to its methods and broad areas of knowledge. The requirements for a degree, the general educational courses, a major and a minor, and the total hours, tend to stimulate all students intellectually. A student becomes aware of the university’s perspective, often quite suddenly. One student said to me, “I really didn’t have a conflict until I realized that the university did not accept church revelation as knowledge.” And to this student the methods of the two organizations immediately became an issue for him. “How does revelation work, and is it reliable?” he asked.

Another student in a social science class, becoming conscious of the two organizations and concerned with the university’s sensory methods, reasoned, “If the university relies on the five senses for information, how does it explain its discovery of a theory of world progress, and how different is this from the Church’s theory or doctrine of eternal progress? What is the difference between the Church’s method of divine inspiration and the university’s method of reason?” In a discussion between two students, one of them argued that the Church’s method of direct revelation was distin-

guishable from the university's method of man-directed inquiry. He later was forced to admit that the prophet and the researcher were both men and that it takes faith to accept either.

A student contending for the Church said, "The university cannot allow miracles or supernatural explanations. The Church relies on them. Jesus and Joseph Smith are meaningless figures to the university unless I can explain their activities as human and natural." Another young student reflected, "The conflict would be avoided if the method of each organization identified exclusive subject matter." The overlap of subject matter seemed to refuse him this kind of separation.

The simplest conflicts noticed by many students are about factual-like descriptions of the world. The student is taught to ask factual-like questions in both organizations, such as How old are the world and the universe? When did life begin on the earth? When did human earth life begin? How did life forms get to their present condition? Was there a flood? Was it a universal, worldwide one? How did human language originate? What is the origin of the American Indian? A student does not have to be very alert to detect a difference in the answers received from the two institutions, and he only has to be mildly concerned to wonder about the accuracy of the answers.

Some students' anxieties are aroused when they try to interpret the findings of these questions. The influence of the university is detected in the statement of these intellectual problems: If the earth life forms evolved, does this mean that each new form had a corresponding spirit? Which one of the evolving creatures was Adam? When did the Fall of man take place — before evolution began, during, or after? How can I accept the redemption function of Jesus when I can't really explain the Fall?

The broader, more general interpretations of human experiences are often in conflict. After a course in civilization or philosophy, students have voiced wonderment about the interpretation of events and the general meaning of history. The L.D.S. historical explanation, the student frequently believes, is a God-directed world from Adam to the contemporary prophet. The many other explanations presented at the university are often disturbing. Does man direct history? Can man be a free agent if the course of history is planned? Is there a predictable end to the world? How do prophets predict future events? Does the world have a built-in purpose?

While taking a course in American government, a student reasoned, "If the Constitution is divinely inspired, then its interpre-

tation must also be — but which court or judge is inspired? I'm confused by the many changes made by interpretations."

An introductory course in ethics has disturbed many students. In such a course the student finds many answers and many ways to answer questions concerning right and wrong or good and bad. What is a valid ethical or moral concept? One student said to me, "I am having difficulty believing that all our moral standards came from God through prophets." Another said, "If I should believe in biological evolution, I feel I must also believe in the evolution of goodness and right."



The instructors in the social sciences propose answers to current social problems. The church leaders, too, offer solutions, though usually not in an initiating role. In most instances they express opposition to or approval of existing or proposed programs.

A student spoke to me in a very alarmed manner when the First Presidency of the Church issued a statement against repeal of section 14 (b) of the Labor-Management Relations Act. They supported in their statement the "right to work" position. "This implies," said my friend, "that church leaders know how unions are best organized. I don't believe they do," he argued. "Does the Lord tell them about unions?" A student was concerned with what he thought was the Church's position about the proposed Medicare Bill. Another couldn't understand the Church's apparent stand on a U.S. agriculture policy. The student in each case felt his university classes were giving him a more acceptable answer to these social problems than the Church, and in each case the student wondered how the Church knew or discovered its position.

This raises a vital issue for some students: which institution, the Church or the university, is equipped to deal with social problems? The Church, historically, has believed that these are the issues with which it should be concerned. In earlier times the Church claimed doctrinally the assignment to manage all aspects

of the community. Has the world changed, and does the Church have a new assignment?

A most concerned student did not have a specific issue in mind but a general one when he stated, "I am learning at the university to think, investigate, read, and then form an opinion. The Church, however, seems to be saying to me to ask the leaders and trust their answer. Why should I be inquisitive and doubting at the university and not at church?"

* * *

I think these are sufficient examples to establish my contention that L.D.S. students do have conflicts. The two organizations often disagree about facts and about the interpretation of the facts. It seems quite clear, too, that the two organizations disagree about the valid methods of inquiry. The serious student often feels a need to determine in which of these areas lies his problem, and to do this he needs a listener, one that will freely discuss his problems.

It is easy to understand the source of the eager student's problem. He listens to zealous teachers of both organizations who are convinced of the usefulness of their organization's methods and the accuracy and validity of the findings. Each organization claims to allow an area of activity for the other but often disagrees about the size and the exclusiveness of that area and frequently questions the accuracy of the findings.

Both organizations claim to be tolerant of skeptical members and investigators, allowing questioning. But both have their sensitive points. The university is impatient with the student who wonders about the value of the university to society or the value of an intellectual life. The Church is particularly sensitive to questions about its divine mission. Socrates and Newton, Jesus and Joseph Smith are founder-leader symbols, not to be questioned by the faithful L.D.S. university student. Regardless of research or investigation, an L.D.S. member must find Jesus and Joseph Smith the central and authoritative figures from which the Church receives its life and direction. And his university study must conclude with Socrates and Newton that the intellectually examined world will bring the good life.

Then the L.D.S. university student's predicament is clear: what to believe, how to manage his two memberships, how to square the two organizations. Some students I have known have lost interest in the Church; some have done their best to ignore the university; and, of course, some have fled from both. I am directing my discussion to those students who try to keep active member-

ship in both organizations and try to make their dual association compatible.

I must hasten to add that the intellectual problems are not the only ones that disturb and cause the student concern about church and university participation. The student is as complex as other people. All kinds of success and disappointment in social and academic experience change his ardor for activity and association. But I refer only to the intellectual concern and the need for settling conflicts. The intellectually anxious student may receive advice from a church leader or a university faculty member. The student, however, must make intellectual sense for himself; he must manage his own conflicts.

I have assumed a neutral role, a position that attempts to clarify a problem and identify alternative solutions. This is nearly an impossible task, for each reader will be watching for a solution favoring one of the organizations. I will try to avoid the dilemma by explaining a number of solutions which have been applied by students. I will classify the reconciling attempts into four categories; each one has been for its possessor a consistent intellectual position. Students, however, are generally not aware of alternative possibilities, and some students only roughly fit into a category. Some students change categories with issues and with age. The classification is mine, not the students'. The categories may be instructive for providing an intellectual framework from which a student may more clearly explore his intellectual problem.

* * *

In category one I place those students who have resolved their intellectual conflicts by assigning the Church a superior role. A student once told me, "I had many intellectual problems until I realized that I believed the Church was true and this conviction could guide me to the true source of all knowledge. This belief places God as the source of all truth, and He has established His Church and appointed prophets as His method of revealing to man all that he needs to know." As I talked with the student, it became evident that he always read the scriptures to find the truth. When I inquired why he attended the university, his answer was clear. "God expects me to understand all I can about His revelations. I decided to be a geologist so I could more clearly understand the scriptural creation story. After four years of study I can explain what God did when He created the earth."

This kind of student seems to have solved his intellectual problem. To him the Church's position is as wide as the world; all

knowledge, physical, moral, practical, is within the province of the Church. Regardless of the nature of the question, he feels that if an answer is to be had the Church will give it or give notice when a right one has been given. Should the U.N. be supported? Is the U.S. Constitution divine? How old is the earth? What is a conscience? What is freedom? God has answered or will answer these questions through the Church in His own time. To any question that he or I could ask, he would first look in the scriptures for an answer. Expanding his understanding and increasing his appreciation should come from his university study and experience. "Since I know God's plan and can read the predictions of His prophets," he reminded me, "I can learn of the events and recognize them. This, I think, is my obligation as a church member. The university adds to my church awareness."

This kind of L.D.S. university student settles his intellectual problems by totally accepting what he believes to be the method and findings of the Church. The university has a role to play, but it is only a supporting one, not original. The Church is the primary human association for him, and eventually direct revelation to church leaders will establish God's community. Universities have been approved as have many other institutions, but one day they will likely pass away. This kind of student expects the university to provide the vocational training needed to pursue his livelihood. After assigning the Church the superior role, understanding his profession usually becomes his primary intellectual concern. A student of this orientation is often criticized for believing in the supernatural, but to him the supernatural is real, even natural.

* * *

In category two I place those students who settle their intellectual conflicts by dividing the world into two parts and assigning a part to each organization. A very capable student at Utah State University, active in the Church, was recently questioned about his association in both organizations. Listen to his response: "I haven't found any insurmountable conflicts between my work at the university and my church; however, some people believe I have. A scientist must work with the physical objects and knowledge at his disposal; religion comes in a different realm. Faith and other things of the spirit can't be proven scientifically, and persons who try to do so are making a mistake." This student goes to church and with its methods explores and learns about the things of the spirit. The non-spiritual, the world of things and objects, he pursues and expects to understand at the university.

Some students have chosen to divide the world differently, into the moral and non-moral, assigning to the Church moral values. "After all," one student said, "God is only concerned with man's behavior. The church ritual and ordinances are only useful in helping us to know and obey His commandments. The main statements of God's revelation are the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount and all similar instruction about proper living." Other students make a division by simply distinguishing the religious from the non-religious, expecting the Church to provide a theology, explanations of God, the organization of the Church, the rituals and ordinances. The more sophisticated student borrows philosophic terms, natural and supernatural, sensory and supersensory, to divide the world and identify what is to be known and a proper method of inquiry into each realm.

Regardless of the division, these students expect the Church to function completely in its assigned sphere. Faith in the church organization and its leadership gives them an accepted means of participation. Seeking God and His ways, however, is not to be confused with seeking man and his worldly ways.

The physical science student makes a division more easily than other students, seemingly because the scriptures or the church leaders have not dealt directly with physical phenomena. The age of the earth and the process of Creation are notable exceptions. The student of the social sciences finds difficulties in making the division, but those who succeed seem to find usefulness in thus separating the church community from the non-church one. The church leaders have jurisdiction over the affairs of the Church, and the non-member community can be organized and developed in whatever manner is agreeable to its people. Theocracy is an acceptable governmental form for the church community, and democracy is an equally acceptable form for the outside community in which the student freely participates. The world of the future is unclear, somewhat doubtful, he says. When Jesus comes, it is quite possible he will come to the church community. He will not be a political king; the political kingdom of man will probably be kept separate during a millennial reign.

For all the students in this category the actual dividing line is not clear. The width of the two divisions varies, and the division is not always consistent. For example, to some students the questions Did Joseph Smith see God? Is Jesus divine? Does man have a spirit? even though factual, are exclusively the business of the Church. To many of the same students questions such as Should

the world control population growth? Should there be racial segregation? Should there be divorce? — even though moral — can be appropriately answered by the university. A generalization about those who divide the world is difficult; the variations are many.

* * *

In the third category I place the students who are impressed with the university methods and with the non-supernaturalness of the whole sphere of existence. Miracle-like events are difficult for them to explain even though they can accept some for the right occasions. The church method of asking God for answers and seeking advice from church leaders seems inappropriate in most situations. They are usually happy with the social relationships and with study activities about brotherhood, morality, the good life, and programs that bring understanding to men of all races and nationalities.

Many of these students use the university methods of reason and science for proving the Church to be true. A student said to me, "I feel an obligation to test the Church, its claims and principles." When I asked how he intended to do this, he described a method acceptable to the university. This student had "proved" many things, the Book of Mormon from the purported archeological discoveries of Central and South America, the Word of Wisdom from the Surgeon General's Report, and temple marriage from sociological studies of American families. I recently read an article written by a very active L.D.S. student who established and "proved" his faith from an anthropological study. His writing "proved" that man needs religion and membership in a church. Mormonism and the Mormon Church satisfy more of these needs than any other church; therefore, Mormonism is true.

It is common for many students to claim that the Church is "practical" and to use this as a scientific method, a type central to the university, of establishing truth. The "practical" method is often claimed to have application in solving life's problems. This so-called pragmatic method is one used in much current university research and is, to many students, a method for determining the validity of the Church. Church instruction manuals occasionally present this method as one approved by Jesus. These writers contend that Jesus proposed this method when he said, "Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? . . . A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit." The Apostle Paul, too, is said

to have agreed with the method when he suggested that one prove all things and hold fast to that which is good. To these students, the good fruit and goodness are obvious to all people, and when a good thing is noted, that which caused it is good, too. A student friend of mine is convinced of the truthfulness of the gospel because of the Welfare Plan. He reasons, "Anyone knows that the Welfare Plan is doing a tremendous good in the world. This is the Church's program; the Church, therefore, must be good and true." Or as another student said, "Mormon youth are kept constructively active by its M.I.A. organization, and this is good. The Church planned this organization; it must, therefore, be true." One can add a number of good things the Church does, and in this fashion students often arrive at a very strong conviction of the Church's truthfulness.

Many students using this methodological frame of reference insist that the methods of the Church and the university are identical. Both organizations ask that their claims be tested and, in the end, the tests always are the same; they are human judgments. With this conclusion the intellectual conflicts vanish. The temple and the laboratory become equally respected. Prayer is a source of truth, just as any planned experiment is used to solve a practical problem. Something like this seems to happen when an L.D.S. student knows the gospel is true because he has proven, historically and scripturally, that the L.D.S. Church organization is identical to the primitive Christian one, the primitive church being the accepted model for the test. There appears to be a great deal of reason and scientific method used in establishing the religious proposition for a testimonial witness. The university method seems to be in wide use in resolving intellectual conflicts.

* * *

A fourth and final category is an odd one, perhaps a questionable one, but I need it to cover some students who do not fit into the previous categories. In this one I place those students who have reservations about the methods and findings of both organizations. These reservations, however, are not the kind of a true skeptic, for the student's doubts do not force him to disassociation from either organization. He accepts uncertainties, admits he has unsolved problems, but these do not become a creed. And it is within the realm of uncertainties that the intellectual conflicts are resolved. Questions such as How old is the earth? Did man evolve? Is God the only God? When will the world end? do not concern this student so much as to require a final answer. The Church and the university give meaning to him, but the answers are never final

and therefore do not require that he decide which organization is correct. A student friend of mine, a historian, is certain that after he has done his best research, he really has not established a truth, only a probability. But this does not thwart his enthusiasm for his university inquiry; he continues to work and study even though to him his answers are doubtful. He seems certain that God's ways are not man's and occasionally doubts that man knows God's will, but he still finds satisfaction in church membership. He doesn't need or expect to resolve many of his intellectual problems. This student divides the world of exploration and discovery into two parts: a fairly certain realm and a nearly uncertain one; the uncertain realm of the Church is not too different from the uncertain areas of the university. Inquiries into such things as goodness, God, ultimate purpose, right and wrong, are not totally accessible to either method or organization, but this doesn't seem to interfere with his happy, healthy living.

Recently a very active church friend of mine wondered if the church leaders had not been unresponsive to the changing times. "The leaders keep talking about the national debt, labor management relations, and family problems as they did years ago. I believe," he said, "they will have to update their thinking." In the area of uncertainty he not only allows the leaders of both organizations to speculate, but he, too, does some. "The church leaders receive inspiration," another student advised me, "but not all the time or about everything, and I reserve the right of judgment of my own." Both of these students are active in the Church, and I think their intellectual conflicts are adequately resolved.

Students in the first three categories ask questions and are not satisfied until they are answered. This is not so, however, with the student in category four. He doesn't mind formulating a question that can't be answered; it is satisfying for him because he enjoys clarifying his problems. If I understand this student, the world to him is an enigma, at times impossible but challenging, and he is not disappointed because much is unanswered.

A student of this kind said to me, "I am not always accepted by my university colleagues; they occasionally call me an anti-intellectual." I would suppose his church friends may call him a skeptic, but he seems to feel comfortable in both communities. I asked a student of this kind where he thought the world was headed. "I really can't tell; I will wait and see," he said.

I have not doubted the sincerity of any of the students who have dealt with or solved their intellectual problems. My point has always been to help them think.

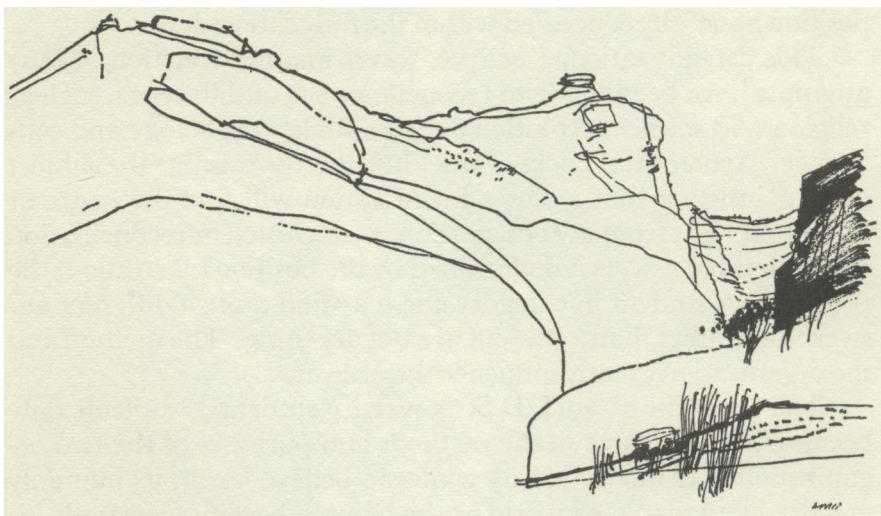
In talking about the student and explaining his problem, I have tried to keep detached. Probably, I should have created a fifth category, just for me — a place to stand while I identified others — but I think I have moved about through all of them, keeping my position hopefully concealed within the four categories.

This categorization, I believe, serves another function. Many attempts have been made to reconcile points of difference, such as religion and science, evolution and the Bible, psychology and conscience. Articles and books of this kind usually examine the subject matter, insisting that a closer investigation will find the truth, or the actual. But from my observation, a conclusion or reconciliation of conflicting answers is determined by the position taken about the problem. A student in category one may find quite a different answer to a conflict than a student in category three. The method and the organization greatly influence the answer.

The problem of an L.D.S. university student is difficult only because he is sensitive to the methods and purposes of the two organizations. If the university comes to believe less in its humanly explored and managed world or the Church becomes less faith-in-God oriented and less zealous, the problem may go away. I hope neither happens. I like them both.

GUEST ARTIST

V. Douglas Snow

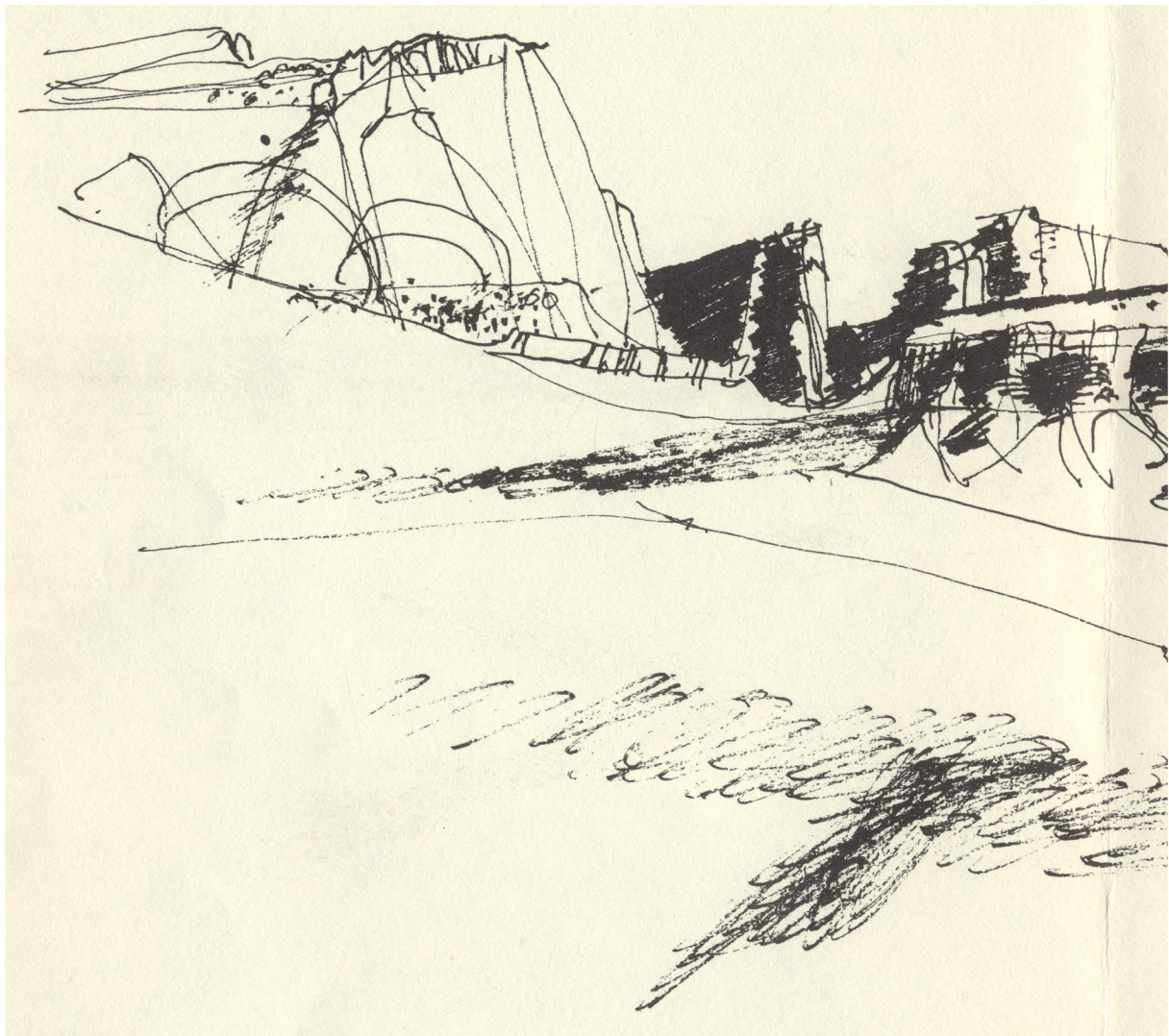


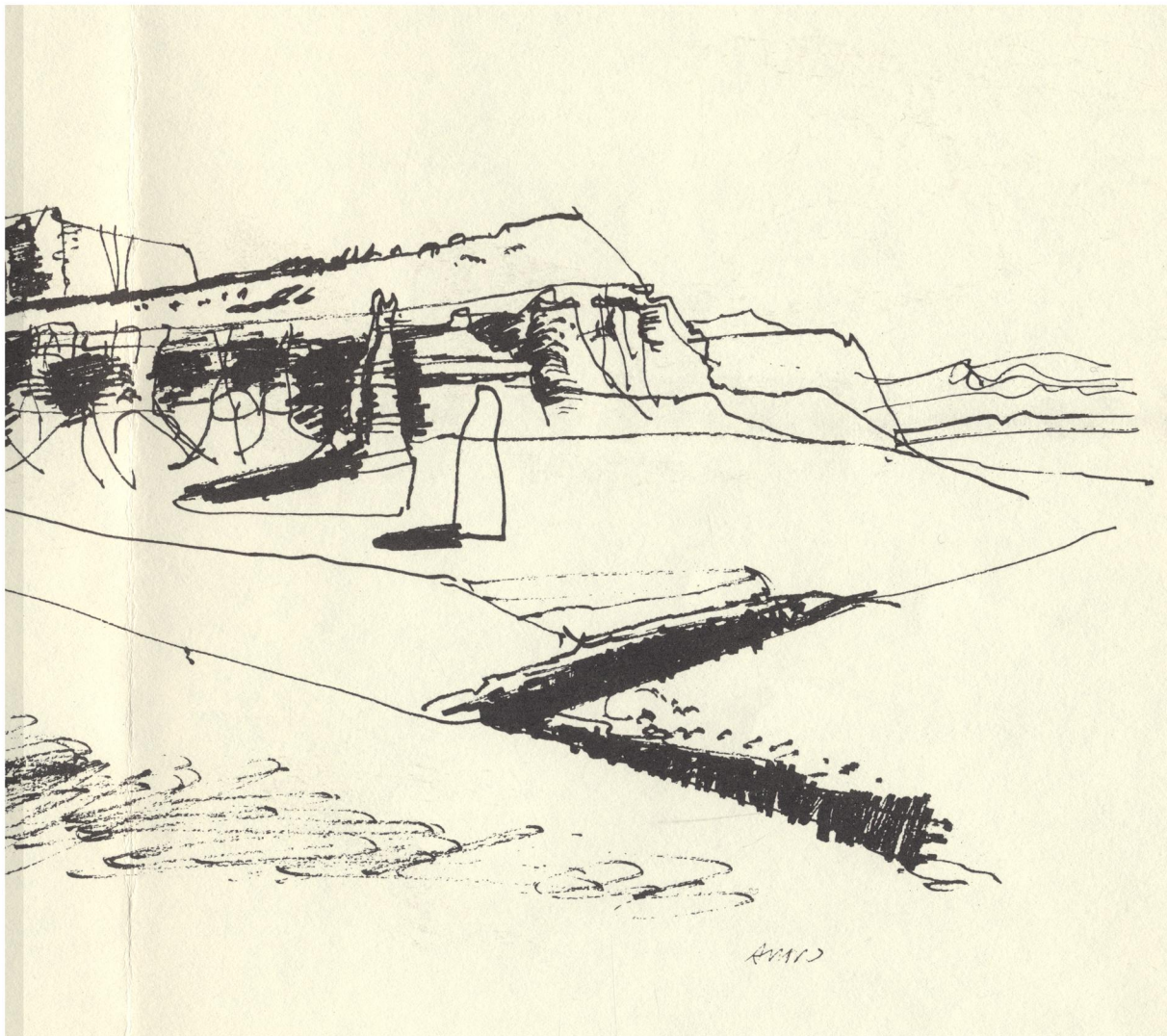
V. Douglas Snow, currently affiliated with the Feingarten Gallery in New York City, is a modern painter whose work often reflects the mountain and desert forms of Utah and the southwest. His painting is characterized by a sense of mood, rich color, and strong design. He took his B.F.A. and M.F.A. at Cranbrook Academy of Art after first studying at the University of Utah, American Art School, and Columbia University. Later he attended the Academy of Fine Arts in Rome during a Fulbright year in Italy. He received national recognition in *Life* magazine as one of four artists who make "skillful use of modern styles to embody their own vital response to the world of nature in the West." Exhibitions include one-man shows in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles in addition to numerous group shows, and his work is represented in many permanent and private collections. He is presently Professor of Art at the University of Utah.

Facing Page: Pioneer Head

Foldout: Landscape Near Fruita, Utah







AMAS

Roundtable

THE THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE MORMON RELIGION

*Participants: Robert McAfee Brown
Richard L. Anderson
David W. Bennett*

*This section will regularly feature a variety of responses to topics of particular current interest. In this case, the subject is a book¹ which is unique in its attempt to describe Mormon theology in relation to the traditional categories of Western thought and which is attracting unusual interest both in the Mormon community and among others. Robert McAfee Brown, a Protestant theologian and ecumenist and Professor of Religion at Stanford, is the author of *An American Dialogue* (with Gustave Weigel, S. J.) and *Observer at Rome* (on the Vatican Council). Richard L. Anderson, Professor of History and Religion at Brigham Young University and bishop of one of the student wards, is finishing a book on the witnesses of the Book of Mormon. David W. Bennett is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the University of Utah and a member of the L.D.S. Church's Coordinating Committee.*

A NEW STEP IN UNDERSTANDING

Robert McAfee Brown

To the non-Mormon, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is usually a very mysterious entity. His knowledge of Mormonism is roughly the following: (a) Utah is the center of the Mormon universe, (b) there was something about polygamy awhile back that got the Mormons in trouble with the courts, (c) Mormons "look after their own" very well and stay off relief rolls,

¹ *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion*. By Sterling M. McMurrin. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965. 151 pp. \$3.00, paper \$2.00.

(d) there was something about polygamy awhile back that got the Mormons in trouble with the courts, (e) Mormons are zealous in trying to convert people, (f) there was something about polygamy awhile back that got the Mormons in trouble with the courts. Recently a new item has been added to the American lore: (g) the Mormons aren't quite right on the race issue.

That this is hardly a fair summary of the faith once delivered to Joseph Smith would be granted by all who have ever given the matter any thought, whether Mormon or not. What has been the reason for the isolation of Mormonism from other currents of American Christianity that could have produced such misunderstanding? On the non-Mormon side there has certainly been the suspicion and hostility with which any majority confronts a minority, particularly a dedicated minority like the Mormons, who know what they believe and whereof they speak. On the Mormon side, I suspect that this feeling has been enhanced by the picture that Mormons have usually communicated to non-Mormons, that their concern for the latter is to produce "conversions" rather than to foster "dialogue." The Mormon missionary has not been out to establish understanding as much as to produce converts. His contacts have had a clear end in view: to convince the other person of the wrongness of his present position and bring him around to accepting the rightness of the Mormon position.

A further consequence of this situation has been that non-Mormon ignorance of things Mormon has been matched by Mormon ignorance of things non-Mormon. Convinced of the superiority of his own faith, the Mormon has not needed to understand the faith of the object of his conversion-procedures, but has simply proceeded step by step to lay forth the superior insights of his own faith. Real mastery of the faith of the other person was beside the point. Understanding and rapport were not the goals of the human encounter. Conversion was.

This description is surely a caricature of many dedicated Mormons, but it does, I think, convey the *overall* impression that much Mormonism has created. And the point of the description is not to engage in polemics, but rather to give added force to the contention that Professor McMurrin's book indicates the beginning of a new direction. It is at least a prolegomenon to a new method — a first word if not a last word. For whatever else this book may accomplish, it illustrates clearly a concern to *relate* the Mormon religion to classical and liberal Christianity, as well as to streams of ancient and contemporary philosophic thought. The book is not an

exposition of Mormon religion in isolated splendor, but an exposition of Mormon religion in relation to the living options that confront both Mormons and non-Mormons today. Only as this kind of approach begins to dominate the discussion — from both the Mormon and the non-Mormon side — can we hope to overcome the misunderstandings and caricatures described in the paragraphs above.

To some, the venture will seem risky in the extreme, for if two points of view are fairly compared, there is always a danger that the reader may opt for the greater attractiveness of the alternative. (My own initial exposure to the theology of Emil Brunner, for example, came through a book attacking him vigorously, but the author quoted so generously from Brunner's writings, in an effort to refute him, that I quickly decided that Brunner was far and away the more persuasive thinker.) Those engaging in genuine dialogue may also be accused of capitulating to indifferentism; if one really gives the alternative a fair hearing, the complaint runs, he will seem to be granting at least its partial validity, and the dynamic of missionary witness will be stifled.

But the Catholic-Protestant dialogue has shown that we must genuinely seek to understand the position of the other, enter into it as fully as we can, and then look again at our own position, and at the other position, in the light of this new insight. The venture is risky, for it may destroy our convenient stereotypes and render invalid our easy dismissals of the alternative; but once we grant that a position other than our own can contain *some* truth, at least, we have no alternative but to embrace the venture, risky though it be.

Until a few years ago I would not have thought that this attitude was a real possibility within Mormonism. Now I see that it is. This does not mean, it must be clear, that the Mormon (or anyone else) is called upon to surrender the compelling quality that his faith has for him, and therefore, as he believes, for all men; but it does mean that his attempt to share that faith is going to be based less on verbal bludgeoning and personal persuasive pressures and more on give-and-take, on willingness to listen as well as to speak, on openness to the other person as one whose present convictions are sincerely held and are not simply the result of wrong-headedness or sin.

Professor McMurrin, I suggest, has taken this step from the Mormon side, and the non-Mormon is therefore called upon to extend the dialogue by a response. A few lines cannot do justice

to a book, but a few lines can at least indicate that the book is being taken seriously. The most important thing to me about Professor McMurrin's book, I repeat, is its intent. The author has not been content simply to write a book saying, "Here is the truth, period." He has written a book saying, in effect, "Here are the claims to truth of the Mormon religion, related to the claims to truth of other religions and philosophic positions, so that you can see more clearly where we fit. If you are a classical Christian, now you know where we differ from you. If you are a philosophic idealist, now you know what points we share with you." And so on.

Rather than dwell on the manifest attractiveness of this approach, it will be more constructive, I believe, to take it for granted — with gratitude — and indicate some of the places at which the non-Mormon looks for further clarification.

1. Rather curiously, I learned considerably less about the Mormon religion than I expected to. The book says very little in a systematic way about the *content* of Mormon belief. In retrospect, I realized that I had not taken the title seriously enough. The title reads, after all, "the theological *foundations* of the Mormon religion." The book is more a treatment of the methodology of thinking *about* religion, than it is a description of the Mormon religion. I say this not to condemn the book, but to urge its author to complete the task he sets for himself in the foreword, namely the production of a number of further books, one of which will deal specifically with the content of the Mormon faith.

I raise one other question about the title. To me, the book centered much more on the *philosophical* foundations of the Mormon religion. The problems that abound in the early pages are the problems of necessity and contingency, monism and pluralism, being and becoming, universals and particulars, and so forth. Later on, to be sure, the book deals with questions of sin, grace, and salvation, but the impression one gets, from the book's structure, at least, is that Mormonism is solidly built on philosophical concepts and that revelation is strictly subordinate — this despite the disclaimer on page eighteen.

2. Revelation itself is an issue on which the non-Mormon needs further help. As indicated above, the book gives the impression that Mormonism is a highly intricate and subtle philosophical system, and Professor McMurrin's *expertise* in philosophy makes it possible for him to draw helpful analogies and parallels from many philosophic systems in ways that illumine the Mormon perspective. But the issues of revelation and authority are thereby left

hanging in mid-air. To what degree, for example, does Professor McMurrin speak for what might be called “normative Mormonism” and to what degree does he simply speak for himself as one Mormon? How, indeed, would one determine the content of “normative Mormonism,” assuming there is such a thing? Without knowing anything directly about schools of thought within Mormonism, I would suspect that Professor McMurrin clearly lies within the “liberal wing” — and a second reading, particularly of page 113, convinces me of this. But I am not clear from his account how a Mormon weighs those things within the tradition that he will accept or reject.

Some examples may clarify the problem. “Mormon literature,” the author asserts, “is not entirely free of the concept of original sin. . . . This is especially true of the *Book of Mormon*. . . .” (p. 67) And yet, Professor McMurrin roundly rejects the concept of original sin. After decrying a kind of “Jansenist movement” in Mormon circles, he continues that “such negativism in the assessment of man, whether scriptural or otherwise, is a betrayal of the spirit and dominant character not only of the Mormon theology but also of the Mormon religion.” (p. 68) But who determines what is “the spirit and dominant character” of Mormonism? Still speaking of the doctrine of the fall, Professor McMurrin advances a position which he holds “notwithstanding the statements of some Mormon theologians. . . .” (p. 74) On what basis does the reader accept one view as authentic and reject another? On the issue of free will, the author asserts that “the Mormon writers of earlier generations enjoyed a more profound grasp of philosophical issues and exhibited greater intellectual acumen in their attempts upon those issues than do their present successors.” (p. 82) Again, one wonders what criterion has been employed in making this judgment. Commenting on the rhetoric of the Mormon pulpit when dealing with the transcendence of God, Professor McMurrin asserts that “the Mormon theology in its more thoughtful moments disagrees. . . .” (p. 104) But the outsider still has no way to judge what criteria are used to isolate “the more thoughtful moments” in Mormon theology. Reference is later made to “Mormonism in those moments when its thought is clear, careful, and consistent with its own primary insights, and when it forcefully exhibits its distinctive character.” (p. 105) The identical query remains.

The question with which one is left, then, is Who really speaks for Mormonism? What is the doctrine of authority, and how does it relate to a doctrine of revelation? It may be that this is to be the

subject of other books in Professor McMurrin's projected series, and one must hope that attention will be given to it. (The question, of course, is one that the Mormon is entitled to voice when he examines Protestant theology with all of *its* diversities, and perhaps one of the best fruits of a future Protestant-Mormon dialogue will be the joint necessity for clearer articulations, on both sides, of a doctrine of authority.)

3. Our twin tasks in dialogue are to articulate our own faith and to understand the faith of the other. Professor McMurrin has taken giant strides in both of these directions, and he has read widely in the literature of traditional Christian faith. It may be helpful, therefore, to point out some of the places where his descriptions of traditional Christian theology still seem inadequate to one who stands within that stream.

(a) Some generalizations are too sweeping. Reference is made, for example, to "the typical mind-body dualism that has typified Protestant thought, for example, since Descartes." (p. 6) But Protestant thought, certainly in recent times, has vigorously attacked this notion, preferring a Hebraic view of the unity of man. Similarly, there is a description of "the general pattern of Christian theology, that the soul or spirit is immortal though the body is subject to death." (p. 7) Again, the whole Biblical perspective has radically challenged this dualism, which entered into Christianity through Greek rather than Jewish sources.

(b) Some theologians are over-simplified. With a minimum of qualification, Schleiermacher, for example, is described as a thinker who "flirted somewhat blatantly with pantheism. . . ." (p. 22) This is simply too neat a pigeon-holing of one of the seminal thinkers of recent Protestant history.

(c) Some descriptions fall short of reality. In describing tendencies toward finitistic theology, Professor McMurrin asserts that "the churches have quickly condemned them as heretical." (p. 34) Theological fortunes wax and wane, to be sure, in contemporary church life, but heretical condemnations are a very scanty part of our organizational life as churches. I would be hard put to describe where such condemnations have been going on, or who, indeed, has the power to engage in issuing them.

(d) Some descriptions are applicable only to small pockets of Christian life or history. When he deals directly with theological matters, Professor McMurrin's foil often seems to be fundamentalistic Protestantism, interpreted in rather narrow terms that take little account of movements in Protestant thought within the last

half century or so. The author distinguishes Mormon thought most sharply from traditional thought on the issue of original sin, yet in his treatment of original sin, couched almost exclusively in the extreme forms of the Augustinian-Pelagian controversy, there is no recognition of what Chesterton once called “the good news of original sin,” the news, namely, that man is not left to his own resources but is the recipient of the grace of God. I would strongly dissent from the statement that “The central dogma of traditional Christian orthodoxy is the doctrine of original sin.” (p. 57) The central dogma of traditional Christian orthodoxy is the doctrine of grace. Luther and Calvin do not revel in man’s vileness; they glory in God’s greatness, and the doctrine of original sin is a way of asserting that man’s greatness is anchored in God rather than in man himself. Even the devil can quote Calvin for his purposes.

Similarly, the treatment of evil in traditional Christian faith is presented almost wholly as something privative. To be sure, Augustine gave much space to this notion, particularly during the neo-Platonic hangover from which he never quite recovered even in his later heights of Christian sobriety, but more attention, I think, should be given to the recognition (even in Augustine) of evil as a positive reality, a perversion of the good rather than an absence of it, and a very powerful force at work in the human scene.

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These are only a few indications of places where the issues at stake in the conversation can be sharpened. Professor McMurrin has broken important ground in this book and initiated a dialogue that is long overdue on the American scene. All of us will look forward to his next installment.

THE STRENGTH OF THE MORMON POSITION

Richard Lloyd Anderson

The reader of *Theological Foundations* will see for himself that Mormonism is a religion of intellectual adventure. Joseph Smith reported divine instructions not to rely on traditional theologies, and Professor McMurrin shows how radical are the results. The foreword denies the singularity of individual Mormon doctrines, but the book attests the uniqueness of the L.D.S. synthesis by such observations as “most uncommon” (p. 6), “radical digression” (p. 36), and “basically at variance not only with traditional Christian theology . . . but with occidental philosophy generally, both sacred

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and secular” (p. 50). The complexity of this “comparative commentary” precludes detailed review simply for want of space, but an exploration of its significance in Mormon literature can be made.

Theological Foundations begins heavily with metaphysics and concludes with highly subjective evaluations of the status of Mormon theology. A careful reading, however, will reward every reader, no matter what his religious persuasion: whether a Mormon, who is likely to discover the meaning of several technical theological terms, or a non-Mormon critic, who may concede that a religion with a “fundamentally orthodox Christology and soteriological pattern” (p. 74) has more than a small claim to classification as Christian. Yet the religion of the Latter-day Saints is Christianity with a difference, which necessitates a comparative format. Professor McMurrin disarmingly states a merely descriptive intent in the foreword, but produces a work impregnated with a profound critique of traditional theology. The book could with equal justice be titled “The Theological Foundations of Orthodox Christianity.” That much is clear by examining the footnotes, since non-L.D.S. sources outnumber L.D.S. sources about three to one and criticism follows about the same ratio. The opening section revises McMurrin’s *Philosophical Foundations of Mormon Theology* and raises what I consider to be a question without meaning in Mormon theology: whether “priesthood” and “church” are universals. (Professor McMurrin debated this issue with Truman Madsen in 1960 in *Brigham Young University Studies*.) The vital questions of *Theological Foundations* center on God, man, and salvation.

From the formative years to the present, thoughtful Mormons have found the scope of their doctrine of Deity exciting. With stated admiration, McMurrin follows the tradition of B. H. Roberts, who wrote with intellectual magnificence on the subject. McMurrin underscores the inadequacy of seeing the Mormon doctrine of Deity as unique only because it teaches a physical God. While Mormon materialism is important, McMurrin adds dimensions by exploring the implications of accepting a non-absolute Organizer of the mortal venture. But L.D.S. doctrine, based on this premise, encounters the solid resistance of Christian orthodoxy. In McMurrin’s *mot*, “clearly they are not willing to take their problems to a God who may have problems of his own” (p. 35). From the Mormon point of view, however, a God who *has had* problems of his own now has experienced ability. McMurrin sees a

common inconsistency in the presentation of Mormon theology; he thinks that some writers who are committed to the premise of an evolving God with less than absolute power still succumb to the temptation of clothing him with verbal absolutes (pp. 29, 109). Yet the terminology of “omnipotence” and “omniscience” grapples with an important truth. Mormon theology teaches that for the mortal relationship with God their opposites would be less true, since, as the early “Lectures on Faith” were quick to point out, a man cannot trust his problems to a God incompetent to handle them. A university professor may be omniscient in grade school but only relatively learned at higher levels. A finitistic and pluralistic theology demands that differing relationships of the same being be recognized, and one of God’s roles is omnicompetence in leading man to salvation, despite the relative nature of his knowledge and power on the level of post-mortal existence.

One of Professor McMurrin’s most consistent themes (the book’s essay style involves deliberate redundancy) is the strength of the Divine Personality declared by Latter-day Saints. The cost of accepting the bundle of superlatives traditionally called God is depersonalization. In a “Supplementary Essay,” which is actually a provocative climax, Professor McMurrin virtually states his own *credo* by examining alternatives. If God is restricted to his own temporal dimension, as the theologians’ “life-destroying intellect” asserts (p. 123), then he has no logical relationship with personalities, which exist in time. If God is unique, can he enter into the interaction that men call love? If the anthropomorphism of the scriptures is effectively “cleansed,” what is left of personality? In McMurrin’s own question about the meaningfulness of traditional theory, “can there be an eternal, non-temporal person?” (p. 131) On this issue a deep correspondence exists between the theology of a God with similarities to mortals and the mortal need to identify with a Being of power but without such forbidding distance that his participation in human affairs is inconceivable.

McMurrin has set up a dilemma for Christian theology worthy of Orson Pratt: the choice exists between “personalistic theism” (p. 123) and pantheism, “the only theism that can be genuinely absolutistic” (p. 131). The modern creed of the United Church of Canada (not cited by McMurrin) typically attempts to marry discordant elements by defining God as “the eternal, personal spirit.” *Theological Foundations* would term this an uneasy union of “quasi-absolutism” accompanied by the “constant threat of pantheism” (p. 31). The choice between personality and abstrac-

tion is of compelling relevance in this century when Christian leaders have insisted on meeting the question of the reality of ancient symbols and scriptures. Mormon scholarship will continue to probe the historical origins, the psychology, and the epistemology of this issue, all of which are treated only in passing in McMurrin's essays.

A book titled *The Mormon Doctrine of Humanity* remains to be written, but McMurrin works with the kind of materials that may be brought together in such a book. He sees theistic humanism as the "authentic spirit of the Mormon religion" (p. 111). Theological writing seldom so candidly recognizes that the extent of God's glorification has had, theologically, an equal and opposite reaction in the abasement of man. But McMurrin portrays Mormon theology as capable of exalting God without diminishing man's potential. He even feels that many Mormons are untrue to their religion in being pessimistic about man's nature. A conflict is seen in Mormon writers on this issue, represented by those who may follow Paul in portraying the natural man as opposed to God and by those who follow Brigham Young, who affirmed that "the natural man is of God" (p. 68). But Brigham Young was talking of the disposition of the immortal soul towards truth and goodness, while Paul was referring to the pressure of one's mortal (and Corinthian) environment to force the compromises defined as evil. It is thus an oversimplification to deny either the innate goodness of man's spirit or the forces that produce evil *in the world* (which Mosiah 3:19 and Moses 5:13 are specifically talking about). Precisely because McMurrin sees great virility in the Mormon view that evil is actual both to God and man, his position strengthens the L.D.S. doctrine that the environment inclines man to evil.

Aside from this oversimplification, Professor McMurrin has accurately contrasted "the radical heresy of Mormonism against the traditional Christian faith" (p. 55) on the subject of man. Man is in his own right an uncreated citizen of the universe. Man possesses inherent powers as a creator — of both good and evil. Man has eternal dignity in the midst of a mortality that actually insures the reality of will and choice. Whether or not the L.D.S. view of man is liberal, it is clearly liberating: "Mormonism's conception of human possibility far exceeds those of humanism and the standard forms of religious liberalism" (p. 110). Yet Professor McMurrin can report as an aware observer that the typical misgivings of orthodox Christians on this subject are unjustified. The "faithful Mormon" develops self-confidence within the framework of "a profound sense of dependence upon God for his present estate and for whatever salvation he may achieve" (p. 56).

On the issue of the atonement, however, man's dependence on God is not developed with theological accuracy. *Theological Foundations* describes a salvation determined "by human merit" and yet "possible only through Jesus Christ and the grace of God" (p. 56). But the former is clearly given preferential treatment, since the author maintains that "Mormonism is essentially Pelagian in its theology" (p. 82), which means to him a salvation through human agency. Such a choice, he recognizes, raises the issue of whether there is a real need for "the traditional pattern of atonement through Christ" (p. 82). It is questionable whether the book states a genuine solution, particularly in the light of the author's opinion that an orthodox view of Christ's atonement does not harmonize with the Mormon concept of Adam's fall (p. 74). In presenting his solution, Professor McMurrin seems to say what some Mormons popularly maintain: that Christ's sacrifice grants to all a resurrected immortality, but human merit alone determines the degree of exaltation. The author stresses a key issue of Mormon theology by equating salvation with overcoming of sin, and not with simple forgiveness. But if he simplifies by maintaining that salvation comes "through merit" (p. 71) or "is earned" (p. 90), the atonement is logically superfluous. However, if one takes the position, as L.D.S. theology does, that salvation is the cumulative achievement of building a sin-free character, then salvation is in a deep sense earned, but at the cost of many mistakes, the consequences of which, the revelations affirm, are forgiven through the atonement of Christ. In Mormon doctrine it is not entirely true (from a mortal point of view) that salvation is earned.

Probably every well-done book has a vulnerable point, and the issues of man and his salvation reveal epistemological difficulties in *Theological Foundations*. Mormonism is certainly not Augustinian, but the author is obligated to discuss his evidence for the conclusion that it is Pelagian. Professor McMurrin recognizes the "error" of deducing Mormon theology from "metaphysical principles" (p. 18) and maintains that the L.D.S. doctrines on God are known "by revelation only" (p. 48). This would suggest that the student of Mormon theology must control his definitions by the scriptures. As a professional philosopher, Professor McMurrin brings not only the strength of the comparative method to his task, but also the weakness of lack of analysis of the scriptural sources of Mormon theology. His comments on Talmage and his disdain for scriptural explanations of the atonement (pp. 89-90) express a certain impatience at documented theology; the reiterated dichotomy

tomy of Christ and Paul (e.g., p. 56) is hardly this settled in current New Testament scholarship; reference to "the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith only" (p. 88) seems to reflect more what theologians say about Paul than Paul's words, where the term "only" is wholly absent.

This problem transcends *Theological Foundations*. The Mormon intellectual is capable of drawing inferences from isolated sources and then formulating conclusions that may not correspond to the body of revelations. No thinking person can avoid theological generalizations, but the student of Mormonism must frame these in the context of the basic doctrinal sources, the Standard Works. Whoever aspires to formulate Mormon theology is committed to his scriptural homework: Pratt, Roberts, and Talmage led the way here. Professor McMurrin is a competent technician at methods which are not always adequate to this task. Nevertheless, his mastery of other theologies must challenge any Mormon writer who seeks to write significantly on doctrine. Judged by the author's statement of intention in the foreword to produce a "comparative commentary," he has clearly succeeded. Extraneous opinions on origins aside, Professor McMurrin has commented impressively on the strength of the Mormon position.

A STANDARD OF OBJECTIVITY

David W. Bennett

The appearance of Sterling McMurrin's new book *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* will be regarded as an event of first importance by anyone who has a serious interest in this subject. Mormon readers will delight in seeing their theology shine with a natural lustre beside other systems which men have been polishing up for a much longer time. Non-Mormon readers will welcome a chance to view Mormon theology under this new lamp, which lights up the more striking and attractive features of its subject without generating uncomfortable heat on any side, and without casting distorting shadows across any face or into any hidden corner. Indeed, the dispassionately cool but sympathetic light in which the ideas contained in this book are examined sets a very high standard of objectivity for future writers, in or out of the Church, a standard which could usher in a new era for scholarly studies on Mormonism.

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The title of Professor McMurrin's book gives no hint of its real scope; as the author indicates in his foreword, he has "composed a

comparative commentary that is intended simply to differentiate Mormon doctrine from the classical Christian theology as that is set forth by the major theologians or expressed in certain of the historic symbols of the Christian faith." It seems to me that the commentary contains two to three times as much material on classical Christian theology as it does on Mormonism. Professor McMurrin warns that his "highly selective references to Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish doctrines and ideas can lead all too easily to distorted conceptions of these religions and their theologies." On the contrary, his illuminating discussions will, I think, tend rather to help many serious minded Mormon readers to arrive at a much less distorted view of classical theology than the one which is traditional in the Church. Herein lies one of the main values of the book.

Many enthusiastic readers of this book will come away with the satisfied feeling that the theological foundations of Mormonism are philosophically sound. But no such conclusion is warranted, nor, I am sure, intended by the book or its author. Dr. McMurrin's book is not a systematic treatise on Mormon theology, as he himself insists, and the most that should be claimed for it as a defense of Mormon theology is that it shows the main lines along which the theology might be developed to make it appear quite respectable alongside other theological systems. It is far from certain that, if the development of the theology were competently carried through along the suggested lines, the result would be sufficiently representative of actual beliefs and practices to be acceptable to the Mormon people.

But even if one grants the theological respectability of Mormon doctrines when compared to other systems as in Dr. McMurrin's book, there still remains the question of the philosophical respectability of theological systems generally. Such systems are in wide disrepute in philosophical circles at present. The reasons are hinted at but not adequately developed in the book, doubtlessly because providing philosophical criticism of theological doctrines is not a primary aim. Still, such a criticism would undoubtedly call into serious question the meaningfulness and practical importance for today of many of the theological doctrines which are referred to in the book. The suspicion that these doctrines lacked a clear meaning would engender doubts as to the value of the numerous discussions which are based on them.

This matter seems important enough to deserve clarification by an example. Much of the strength of the Mormon theological

position is supposed by Professor McMurrin to derive from the doctrine of the uncreated eternal intelligences whose main characteristic is to possess freedom of the will. Notice the impressive list of concepts involved in the statement of this idea: uncreated, eternal, intelligences, freedom, and will. In dealing with such notions, the tendency among present day philosophers is first to isolate each concept from the others for a closer analysis, and then to split each term into as many further parts as may be suggested by the many different kinds of contexts in which the term can be meaningfully used in ordinary language. This process of conceptual analysis, the details of which are too technical to enter into here, is in many ways quite the opposite of the kind of synthesis which characterizes most theology. Rather than to separate concepts and then split them up by analyzing the different linguistic contexts in which they appear, theology tends to take concepts which are already complex, to put them together to form larger doctrines, and then to draw still larger conclusions which appear to be implied by these doctrines.

The analytic approach assumes that for the most part words should be used with the meanings which everyone understands them to have from common speech; the synthetic approach allows much greater freedom in the use of words in uncommon ways. For example, the word "intelligence" in Mormon theology is only very loosely related to its ordinary meanings. A patient analysis of different contexts in ordinary language where this word is used may help us to understand its meaning in such contexts, but how shall we understand the meaning in theology, since we admit from the outset that in theology the word is used quite differently than in everyday speech? If we analyze technical theological contexts we may indeed learn how to use the word properly in these contexts, but this may only deceive us into supposing that we understand it; this kind of analysis does not show how the word can be tied down firmly enough to anything of which we have genuine knowledge or experience. We can talk meaningfully about intelligent men and women, intelligent decisions, military intelligence and the like, because we have some knowledge and experience of these familiar things; but how do we get knowledge of the eternal intelligences of Mormon theology? What experience is this knowledge based on? We can properly ascribe freedom to human beings in certain situations, but it is not so clear to say that they are free, period, less clear to say that they have free will, and still less clear to say that their eternal intelligences have free will.

Finally, while theology is very much concerned to draw out the larger implications of philosophical doctrines, analytic philosophers are more than a little reluctant to do so. So theologians are often found accusing philosophical analysis of being sterile, while analytic philosophers are charging theology with being futile. It is not my responsibility to arbitrate this clash; I will only say that I think there is some foundation for the charges on both sides, though I disapprove the extreme forms which these charges sometimes take.

The point of all this for the present purpose is simply to indicate why we must not construe Dr. McMurrin's book as providing for Mormonism philosophical foundations which will or ought to be regarded as acceptable to many philosophers. There is no reason to suppose Professor McMurrin ever thought his book would, could, or should do this; but some of his readers might very naturally think so. These readers should be reminded that the book is only intended as a comparative commentary on Mormon theological notions in the context of classical theology. Such notions have undoubtedly exerted a very great influence on a very large number of people and deserve to be better understood. Considered in the light of this purpose, Professor McMurrin's admirable essay must be recommended in the highest terms.

From the Pulpit

JOSEPH SMITH AND THE SOURCES OF LOVE

Truman G. Madsen

We plan to publish, in this section of the journal, sermons which we believe will be of particular interest to our readers. This is the twenty-third annual Joseph Smith Memorial Sermon, given under sponsorship of the L.D.S. Institute of Religion at Utah State University in December, 1965. Professor Madsen, the author of a number of essays on Mormon theology and contemporary thought, studied philosophy at Harvard, was recently President of the New England Mission, and is now Director of the Institute of Mormon Studies at Brigham Young University. He has provided footnotes to his sermon for its publication here.

MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS, TODAY WE REACH INTO A REALM THAT is subtle and intricate, all intertwined with feeling. More than usual I pray that you will be forgiving if my own feelings are apparent. As we drove past the Logan Temple this morning, I could not recall ever hearing the word "love" in the endowment ordinance, that summation of eternity presented there. But does love have on earth a more glowing *demonstration*? Just so, the Prophet is profoundly articulate on the sources of love in ways that transcend words.

* * *

Some first vital words came when Joseph was a lad of only fourteen summers, kneeling in a shaft of light. They are both a divine indictment and an imperative, and we should take them

personally. Said the voice, "They drew near to me with their lips but their hearts are far from me."¹ Late in his short life, the Prophet stood in the midst of a multitude and said, "People ask, 'Why is it this babbler gains so many followers, and *retains* them?' I answer: It is because I possess the principle of love."²

What principle is this? Return to a scene at Harmony, Pennsylvania. Here two young men (the Prophet was then twenty-three), immersed in poverty, living on mackerel, are translating "a great and marvelous work" on scratch paper. Oliver Cowdery sits and struggles to make readable ink marks.³ The words Joseph dictates are these:

All things must fail

But charity is the pure love of Christ, and it endureth forever; and whoso is found possessed of it at the last day, it shall be well with him.

Wherefore my beloved brethren, pray unto the Father with all the energy of heart, that ye may be filled with this love, which He hath bestowed upon all who are true followers of His Son Jesus Christ.⁴

Have you ever wondered how the Prophet felt in such moments? We do not often reflect that translation (no matter how it be "explained") was a learning process for him, often tintured with first-time wonderment. One day, Emma Smith records, she was writing for him and he dictated the phrase, "the wall of Jerusalem." The Prophet paused and then said, in effect, "Emma, I didn't know there was a wall around Jerusalem."⁵ Perhaps a similar exclamation came from him when the passage above was given on the sources of pure love.

The characterization of "pure love" as "bestowed," something with which we may be "filled," becomes personified in the portrait of Jesus Christ in the "Fifth Gospel," Third Nephi. This picture, in fact, is more than a sufficient answer to the query, "Why another book?" For here, surely, is the heart of the Book of Mormon. In this segment of the life of Christ, otherwise unknown, He is a resurrected, composite self.⁶ He has received "the glory of the Father" and dares to apply the word "perfect" to Himself. His is not an

¹ "Writings of Joseph Smith," 2:19, Pearl of Great Price.

² *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, ed. Joseph Fielding Smith (Salt Lake City, 1938), p. 313.

³ The original manuscript is on a variety of kinds and sizes of paper. Oliver Cowdery's handwriting is almost without punctuation, as if the whole book were one long dictated sentence.

⁴ Moroni 7:46-48.

⁵ *Saints Herald*, XXXI (June 21, 1884), 396-397.

⁶ III Nephi 11-26.

abstract, or metaphysical, or “utterly other” perfection. He is, in all the highest senses of flesh and spirit, a personality. He can be seen, felt, embraced — loved. He is the revelation of the Father, not because “two natures” are combined but because He is now exactly like the Father in nature. He is the revelation of man, not because He has condescended to act like one but because He has now become what man may become. He is still “troubled” by the degradations of Israel. He ministers and responds to a multitude who have great spiritual capacities. His heart is “filled with compassion.” He kneels with them in prayer, consumed by “the will of the Father.” He calls down upon them the powers of the Spirit, first its purifying, then its glorifying, and then, I believe, its sealing powers. He weeps and then weeps again as he blesses their children. He prays in ways that reach beyond mortal grasp, and yet “their *hearts* were opened and they did understand in their *hearts* the words which he prayed.”⁷ This is the highest possible order of existence.

Although they profess monotheism, our Christian creeds actually teach two kinds of God. They retain only shadows of Christ’s personality, or, if they seriously affirm it, they likewise affirm that there is an unconditioned, non-spatial Something that is the “real” and “ultimate” Deity. They permit us, of course, to think of God in personal terms, provided we do not assume our images to be literally true.⁸ But through Joseph Smith’s recovery of this portrait in the Book of Mormon and its confirmation in his own experience, we know that the Living Christ is a Christ of response, who not only feels all we feel, and by similar processes, but wills us to feel all He feels. The spectrum of affection, presently limited in us, is filled out fully in Him, not because He is less personal than we but because He is more.

In the same vein, the Prophet recorded, before he was twenty-five, a central pearl of the Pearl of Great Price, the vision of Enoch. Here the Father (as the Son did later) suffers the anguish of our sleepy, ugly indifference, an anguish that issues in tears. When Enoch, appalled, marveled and cried out, after naming all the perfections of God, “How is it *thou* canst weep?” the answer came,

Unto thy brethren have I said . . . that they should love one another, and that they should choose me, their Father; but behold, they are without affection, and they hate their own blood.⁹

⁷ III Nephi 19:33; cf. 17:14–17. (Italics mine.)

⁸ A few contemporary writers have described a more immanent, personal God, but the usual emphasis is still on the transcendence of Deity.

⁹ Moses: 7:33.

Millions have said we need God, but that God “has no needs.” Joseph Smith witnessed that there is a sense in which God and Christ need us and our love.

* * *

Now it seems clear that we do not (and cannot) love because of walls we ourselves have erected, which can only be eradicated from mind and heart when “we see as we are seen” of God. Rufus Jones,¹⁰ Alfred North Whitehead,¹¹ and Henri Bergson¹² dared to speculate, in this century of abysmal alienation, that God is closer to man and man closer to God, in possibility, than the old dualistic theology would allow. They have convinced very few. Love is defined in one contemporary statement as the “reunion of the separated.”¹³ But its advocates work with assumptions which make reunion impossible.

It is common to suppose that in love “opposites attract.” This may be a motive of much popular writing about the transcendence of God — as if the more unlike two beings are, the greater the power of love. Love, for Joseph Smith, however, is a relationship of similars. “Intelligence cleaveth unto intelligence, wisdom receiveth wisdom, truth embraceth truth, virtue loveth virtue, light cleaveth unto light, mercy hath compassion on mercy.”¹⁴ Even the opposites *within us* must merge and harmonize before we can truly love. The “pure love of Christ,” then, is Christ’s love for us as well as ours for Him. Actual kinship is the core of it. The commandment to love is a hopeless request until we begin to encounter those qualities in fulness in Him and in embryo in ourselves. That presupposes individual revelation.

There is in most of us a hidden apology for the lack of love. We tend to identify love with action, to credit ourselves with it when we do a good turn hourly, when we serve in the sheer constraint of obligation. Joseph Smith turns us from that stone to bread. Going the second (or the first) mile grudgingly, or even habitually and numbly, is not Christ’s way. Love becomes a fountain even “unto the consuming of our flesh” in the growing person — not a source of drudgery but a captivating awareness that pulls us even in our most miserable hours.¹⁵ Until our duty-sense merges

¹⁰ *A Call to What Is Vital* (New York, 1949).

¹¹ *Religion in the Making* (New York, 1926).

¹² *Two Sources of Morality and Religion* (New York, 1935).

¹³ Paul Tillich, *Love, Power, and Justice* (New York, 1960).

¹⁴ Doctrine and Covenants, 88: 29–40.

¹⁵ III Nephi 4:21.

into this “energy of heart,” until love is the feeling-tone at the root of all our feelings and actions, we are still spiritual infants trying to get credit for our moral strength. In religion, this heroic vanity can lead eventually to a sort of insanity.

It is also typical to say we must purge our love of self from our love of God. Hence many a sentimental sermon about an “unselfish” love for God that would cheerfully go to endless torment if it pleased Him. The Prophet drew the thin, precious line here. Am I selfish when I care so little about my total self that I push some fragment of it to fleeting satisfaction, disease, and death? No. In a sense, I am not selfish enough. God, taught the Prophet, loves Himself in an inclusive way and hence “everything God does is to aggrandize His kingdom.”¹⁶ Such love expands the “self” to include all selves, all life; and God, therefore, cannot be happy except in the happiness of all creatures. Call that “selfish” if you like. But notice that the opposite is a selfishness which seeks something in indifference to or at the expense of others. We are commanded to be selfish as God is. Joseph Smith taught that there is a law (not, if I understand him, of God’s making but in the very nature of things) that “upon no other principle can a man permanently and justly aggrandize himself.”¹⁷ This is the meaning of the Master’s cryptic phrase: “Lose yourself . . . and find yourself.” Expand your caring to include all carings and you begin to overcome destructive selfishness. It is the shrinking awareness of self that leads us to hate ourselves that is most agonizing to the Father.

* * *

We have thought that we must separate our love of God from our love of the world. In one sense, yes. But the Prophet taught that God, who formed and beautified this world, will enable its sanctified sons and daughters to inherit it in its eventual full-flowering re-creation.¹⁸ Again, like has affinity with like. When John the Beloved said, “Love not the world, neither the things that are *in* the world,” he meant the corruptions of men in the world. The Prophet clarified the preposition and thus the proposition. His version reads, “Love not the world, neither the things that are *of* the world.”¹⁹ The lights and shadows of Eden in all color and variety

¹⁶ Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed., revised (Salt Lake City, 1948), V, 385.

¹⁷ *Teachings*, p. 387.

¹⁸ Christ said the beatified shall “inherit the earth.” Small comfort for those who despise it.

¹⁹ I John 2:15 in *The Holy Scriptures, Translated and Corrected by the Spirit of Revelation by Joseph Smith* (Independence, Missouri, 1927).

are *in* this world, not just as a fading racial memory but as a prophecy.²⁰ We must love the world, and what is *in* it, as we love all that feels and all that moves. Once again a withdrawal doctrine is transformed into a participation doctrine. The world itself is a composition of the love of God.

These instances suggest the close interrelationship of love and knowledge. Our hearts cannot get closer to God than our minds. And here, once more, an assumption is uprooted. We all quietly suspect that love may destroy “objectivity” and the perception of truth, if not man to man at least man to cosmos. The Prophet taught the exact contrary. The tensions, and they are sometimes traumatic, between our struggle for God and our struggle for truth are due to our ignorance of both. We cannot apprehend nor comprehend reality as it is save through the love of God. And the Prophet taught that any imposed limitation on our pursuit of either is a limitation on love. For himself he wrote, “It feels so good not to be trammled.” Thus, in one breath he could say that we want all men to “drink into one principle of love,” and in the next add, “One of the grand fundamental principles of ‘Mormonism’ is to receive truth, let it come from whence it may.”²¹

Often love is described as something that “covers” sins, a sort of “blindness” to our own or others’ defects. Says the scripture, “Charity covereth a multitude of sins.” Perhaps so. But the Prophet strengthened the verb. “Charity,” he wrote, “*preventeth* a multitude of sins.”²² In us and in others, love is the Lord’s preventive medicine; and, as we are now learning, it is the only lasting foundation for powerful therapy, whether for sin or for suffering.

But does not love for God separate us from those who love Him not? The Prophet replies, writing from a damp, submerged dungeon, that God-like love, the unique love of those who walk uprightly, is “without prejudice.” “It gives scope to the mind which enables us to conduct ourselves with a greater liberality toward all that are not of our faith than what they have for themselves.”²³ He taught, in fact, that it is a mark of our unfamiliarity with the principles of godliness when our affectionate feelings are “contracted.” The closer we come to our Heavenly Father, he told some huffy sisters in Relief Society, the more we look upon perishing

²⁰ The “end of the world” for Joseph Smith is the end of rampant wickedness, not the destruction of the earth. (*Teachings*, p. 98.)

²¹ *Teachings*, p. 313.

²² I Peter 4:8 in *The Holy Scriptures . . . Corrected . . . by Joseph Smith, op. cit.*

²³ *Teachings*, p. 147. We love others because of their partial or potential loveableness, not in spite of its absence.

souls with compassion. "We feel that we want to take them upon our shoulders and cast their sins behind our backs."²⁴ It follows, and he gave it as a lasting key, that we know something in us has passed from life to death when we hate the brethren.²⁵ Any brethren.

Millions in the world today believe that the love of God, or *agape*, must be finally separated from the love of our mates, or *eros*. The latter "we know" will end. From the Greek distrust of matter and the flesh comes this attitude (if not the explicit doctrine) that religious love, when pure, is "purely spiritual," and anything physical cannot be as pure. Conclusion: the lyrical joys of the body are of this world only. The Prophet Joseph, in contrast, teaches that there is no unholy love (though there is much unsanctified lust). Romantic and marital love are approved of God here and now (which most Christians will allow). But he taught far more: *agape* and *eros* merge as modes of the ultimate nature of God! Whole-souled love includes the love-expressions of a glorified body even for Him. In us the seed of such love is not only blessed rather than cursed by God, but "visted with my power" and "without condemnation on earth or in heaven."²⁶

Thus Joseph's teaching heals a malaise that plagues men to this hour. An innocent child might ask, "Why did God make us creatures but *never* to be Creators-like-Him?" The reply is either that He *could* not (and that is embarrassing for theologians who insist on God's power to make anything from nothing) or that He loves us — but not that much! Joseph testified He *did* and *does* love us that much. The chasm which religious etiquette says we must not attempt has been bridged, not by an arrogant man but by the God of life and love. If men would receive the doctrine (but guilt and terror yield slowly), it would cure many of the psychological and social maladies of our age.

* * *

Let us turn now to one of the "hows" of love. We are living in the midst of what is called a "liturgical revival." Many of the wings of Christianity, with cues from psychology and art, have sought to find again what they earlier abandoned. They have seen the vision of reaching men, in a deeper way, through the impact of liturgy, ceremony, and sacramental act; extensive research is uncovering patterns of worship, old and new, that might heighten this mode of contact.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 136, 137, 193; I John 3:14; *Juvenile Instructor*, XXVII, 42.

²⁶ Doctrine and Covenants, 132:48.

The Prophet (violating, by the way, the whole thrust of New York revivalism) introduced a concept of ordinances which is unequivocal. "Without the ordinances of the priesthood and the authority thereof," a revelation says, "the power of godliness is not manifest unto men in the flesh."²⁷ For him the function of baptism, confirmation, sacrament, temple worship is not only psychological, but to teach and remind us of principles and to lead us to renewed commitment. Ordinances are also divinely appointed "channels" and "keys" of divine awareness. To receive them, to cultivate their influence within our very inward parts, is to encounter the Divine and to be ennobled and sanctified into His very image. "Being born again," said the Prophet to the Council of Twelve, who were about to undertake foreign missions, "comes by the Spirit of God through ordinances."²⁸

One can have the forms without the power but not the power without the forms. Of course ritual may be "empty." But so it may be full, full of godly power.

Moreover, ordinances require the upward reach from below. The Prophet was commissioned to establish at the center of every ordinance a covenant, an "everlasting covenant." By such enactments we do not essay to try or experiment or hope. We say we will do and will not do certain things — forever. This, the Prophet taught, opens the buds of our nature in a decisive act that reverberates through the heavens. Until that takes place, in sacred places in the presence of witnesses and under the influence of God, we do not deeply feel the nurturing spirit sunshine that increases love.

* * *

Let us look now at the Prophet's own makeup, stressing aspects that carry an element of surprise. Note first that his was a masculine love, combined with a robust and muscular faith. Love led him, for example, to strong rebukes of his brethren. Virtuous men grew; others became almost demonic. "I frequently rebuke and admonish my brethren," he wrote, "and that because I love them." Over the long haul he had ample, yes, crushing reason to know that, as the Master learned, "the higher the authority the greater the difficulty of the station."²⁹

Love led him to test and try men's love for Christ, and for himself, to the core of their being. In some ways the Church's survival in that first generation required it. Thus he could walk into a

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 84:21.

²⁸ *Teachings*, p. 162.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 113.

Nauvoo store and say, "Brother Wooley, we want all of your goods for the building up of the Kingdom of God." Brother Wooley (with what inner turbulence we can only guess) set about loading his merchandise into boxes, excepting only some goods on consignment from St. Louis. Calling the Prophet, he offered to pack them also. The Prophet asked searchingly, "Are you really willing, Brother Wooley, to give us all your store goods?" "Yes." Joseph, with deep feeling, embraced his shoulder and said, "Then replace them on your shelves."⁸⁰

Filled with the love of God, the Prophet yet knew, to his depths, that suffering and stress like unto Christ's are inevitable elements of life. Love cannot obliterate pain. It *can* give it meaning and redeeming power. In one of his bleak hours, crying out, he asked like Job, on behalf of his people and himself, "Why this horror? Why us? How long will it last?" He received assurances, under a wave of Spirit, which belong with the great religious consolations of all time:

If thou endure it well, God shall exalt thee on high . . . all these things shall give thee experience and shall be for thy good.

The Son of Man hath descended below them all.

Thine Adversity and thine afflictions shall be but a small moment.⁸¹

For him that "small moment" was five more tempestuous years.

Yet this kind of love led the Prophet to an exhilarating outlook on life, in all its aspects. He was other-worldly but also this-worldly. Call him an intellectual, a contemplative, but add that he was a statesman, a thoroughly active leader. If you say he enjoyed drama, music, poetry, you must add that he also delighted to wrestle, play ball, jump to the mark, pull stakes. Note that he was a dignified, serious, ponderous man, but add that he was gifted in social animation, was cheerful, both playful and warm, incapable of ignoring the child, the laborer, or the aged friend. He could turn a phrase, swing an ax, cut a caper. Most traditional distinctions we make in defining the "religious man" break down in him and in those who caught the vision through him. As Divinity intended, temporal and spiritual fused in him.

Read, for example, about the day a group of the Saints met in the Nauvoo Temple. Part of the morning was spent in sweaty, gritty cleaning and painting. Then came a study class. Later, bathed and dressed in their temple robes, they participated in tem-

⁸⁰ Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City, 1901), I, 632.

⁸¹ Doctrine and Covenants, 121: 7, 8; 122: 7, 8.

ple worship. A prayer and testimony service followed in which the Spirit of God was so intense that many spiritual gifts were manifest. The group next adjourned to the upstairs rooms and relished a feast of raisins and cakes. And then, until late in the evening, they enjoyed music and dancing. What? The whole of life — even dancing — surrounded by a temple of God? Yes. And why not? For the Prophet, every attempt to withdraw “religiousness” from some part of living, including recreation, was a blow against both God and love, and therefore the self.³²

* * *

Joseph exercised an almost irresistible influence on the lives that surrounded him. Parley P. Pratt, for one, after interviews with the Prophet which, he says, “lifted a corner of the veil and gave me a single glance into eternity,” burst into a rhapsody of words:

I had loved before, but I knew not why. But now I loved — with a pureness — an intensity of elevated, exalted feelings, which would lift my soul from the transitory things of this groveling sphere and expand it as the ocean. I felt that God was my heavenly Father indeed; that Jesus was my brother, and that the wife of my bosom was an immortal, eternal companion: a kind, ministering angel, given to me as a comfort, and a crown of glory forever and ever. In short, I could now love with the spirit and with the understanding also.

These “glorious principles concerning God and the heavenly order of eternity” are, Parley wrote, such that “none but the highly intellectual, the refined and pure in heart, know how to prize, and . . . are at the very foundation of everything worthy to be called happiness.”³³ They grew in him until his own martyrdom.

Remember that some of the Prophet’s own brethren, including ten of the original Twelve Apostles at one time or another, out of the lust for power or pride of life or base transgression, came to betray him. (Of the original Twelve, only Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball remained constantly faithful.) But over the following ten years there grew around him a group of men and women who were a marvel of united power and love.

We can read whole volumes in a sentence or two. To Jedediah M. Grant, who had “dyspepsia,” the Prophet one day said, “If I could always be with you I could cure you.”³⁴ Gauge the love-meaning in that!

³² “Diary of Samuel Whitney Richards, 1824–1909” (typescript, Brigham Young University Library), pp. 17–18.

³³ *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, 3rd edition (Salt Lake City, 1938), pp. 297, 298.

³⁴ *Journal of Discourses by Brigham Young . . . and Others* (Liverpool, 1856), III, 12.

Why did Willard Richards, weary after thirty days of penning affidavits in that final period of tragedy, offer to be hanged in the Prophet's stead? Why did John Taylor, blasted in the same volley of bullets, but not fatally, write the hymn, "Oh, Give Me Back My Prophet Dear"? Why did Wilford Woodruff write such extravagant things as this in his Journal: "There is not so great a man as Joseph standing in this generation. His mind, like Enoch's, expands as eternity, and God alone can comprehend his soul."³⁵

Brigham Young, for the first thirty days after the Prophet's death, could not be comforted. At Winter Quarters there came a renewed revelatory touch with the Prophet. And for the rest of Brigham's monumental life, there was no forgetting. He died saying, "Joseph, Joseph, Joseph."

It is easy to conclude that these are the product of insipid and sentimental blindness. But will we someday realize that only such persons, imbued with the Spirit of God, could have really loved and therefore really known the Prophet as he was? If so, these are, indeed, touches of the "pure love of Christ."

* * *

A prevailing need for love, even in its most unenlightened forms, is the uncontested finding of the contemporary study of man, one of the things we know for sure. But we live in a strange time, for the very experts who tell us this warn, and wisely, that often the thing we most want is projected instead of discovered and that much that we call "love," especially in religion, is make-believe. It follows that the religion that has the greatest power to answer our thirst is, by this logic, the one of which we should be most suspicious. Sometimes too, like atomic fallout, the influence of the despairing philosophies of our culture gets through to us. We sincerely tremble as if the whole house of love is a house of cards — just too good to be true.

Introspection moves in a similar circle. Who does not *feel* that life without love is a life of diminishing fervor, for children as for those of us who pretend to be adults? Who doubts that the raw, fragmental love of the world is not enough? We see something of ourselves in the plays and on the screen. It is a time of terrible disillusion. Thence comes the groan in literature: the themes of loneliness, monotony, boredom, nausea, anxiety, dread, troubled sleep, and death.

This cultural moan was anticipated by the Prophet, or rather, by Him who inspired him.

³⁵ Matthias Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City, 1909), p. 68.

MADSEN: Joseph Smith and the Sources of Love/133

I the Lord, knowing the calamity which should come upon the inhabitants of the earth, called upon my servant Joseph Smith, Junior.³⁶

Is there a way out, or, at least, up? The Prophet said, "All will suffer until they obey Christ Himself."³⁷

And so we return to the beginning, to the real Christ, the living Christ, the Christ who manifests Himself now, not a mythical Jesus who was, but the Christ who is. "The Savior," the Prophet said, "has the words of eternal life. Nothing else can profit us."³⁸

In all history there may not have been, except for David and Jonathan, a pair of men more closely bound by brotherly and godly affection than were Joseph and Hyrum. William Taylor, describing how they looked whenever they met each other, says it was deep looking to deep, "the same expression of supreme joy." When Joseph craved the privilege of pioneering the Rocky Mountains and was turned by the clamor of his own to the road to Carthage, Hyrum was first to volunteer to go. "If you go, I will go with you," said Joseph, "but we shall be butchered." Later, having predicted with certainty his then imminent death, Joseph at least three times pled for Hyrum to leave. "I want Hyrum to live." But each time Hyrum could only reply, "Joseph, I cannot leave you."³⁹

Mother Smith came on that fateful day to view the inert bodies of her two sons (unaware that her son, Samuel, as a result of a related mobbing, was on his deathbed); she says she seemed to hear them speak. Mere motherly delirium? Perhaps. But listen to what she seemed to hear:

Mother, weep not for us. We have overcome the world by love. We carried to them the Gospel that their souls might be saved. They slew us for our testimony and they have placed us beyond their power. Their ascendancy is for a moment. Ours is an eternal triumph.⁴⁰

Every man must make up his mind whether Hyrum's lifetime closeness makes him the most creditable witness the Prophet had — or the least. He knew him from his birth to a few seconds before his death. (It was Hyrum who held Joseph as a boy through weeks

³⁶ Doctrine and Covenants, 1:17.

³⁷ *Teachings*, p. 357; cf. pp. 321, 323.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 364. (Italics mine.)

³⁹ *Teachings*, p. 364. The grandson of Hyrum Smith, President Joseph Fielding Smith, believes that if Oliver Cowdery had been faithful, he, not Hyrum, would have died at Carthage, a joint witness to the death with the Prophet. But all the promises and keys and gifts once conferred on Oliver were conferred on Hyrum. (Doctrine and Covenants 124:95.)

⁴⁰ Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith by His Mother* (Salt Lake City, 1945), p. 325.

of bone pain when there were no sedatives or anesthetic.) This, in a sentence, is the testimony he has left for mankind to ponder.

“There were prophets before. But Joseph has the spirit and power of all the prophets.”⁴¹

The spirit and power of all the prophets is the spirit and power of Jesus Christ, and His Spirit is the spirit and power of pure love, “the chief characteristic of Deity.” It is the mission of Jesus Christ to bring into the world again and again the sunshine of light and warmth that is love. By our literal descent and by our redeemed ascent through Christ, we are fully begotten and loved of God the Eternal Father. If we will only respond to what He has given and *now gives*, we will grow in the nurture of perfected love.

* * *

I cannot close without a personal testimony. I know what those who despair are talking about, those who say with Bertrand Russell, “Such a thing as Christian love is impossible.” I know the arguments. But I have witnessed refutation in experience. I bear testimony that the Prophet Joseph Smith and his heirs have lived to love and died to love, and that because of them we have capacities and privileges for love beyond our present conception. I bear that testimony in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

⁴¹ Smith, *History of the Church*, VI, 346.

So nations crucify their moral rebels with their criminals upon the same Golgotha, not being able to distinguish between the moral idealism which surpasses and the antisocial conduct which falls below that mediocrity on the level of which every society unifies its life.

Reinhold Niebuhr

Eugene England

THE FIREGIVER

God, forgive my pen its trespass,
And I forgive thee the sweet burning
That drives it on through thy dominion.

God, if what it might encompass,
If shapes of love, thy face, or being
Itself are challenged in its question,

Indulge the hand that ventures into flame,
Suffer my searching, for you share the blame.

Stephen Gould

THE NEW COVENANT

Bowed in the sacred ark on knees
Of ophiolatry I have burned a virgin candle
To the desert flatness of my forehead and in curious
Attrition bent, arms stretched
With spread palms down, leaving
In the yet warm hardening seal
Of wax a masked impression of my face
And in the beginning light of a candle in new
Worship arisen, hand-and-knee
Stooped, studying, fingers of flesh
Following the open tracings of the flesh
Set opposite in waxen mimicry —
Felt the lumps of eye and nose
Recessed in valleys of reverse imitation,
And the lips, and where a ridge lifts
Amid the wax folds and cuts,
Felt the gullied channels down
My flesh, across the desert's stretch —

O baals of my brow, I feel the chisels
Of my time at work, and blasting sand
Wears the desert surface thin.

The slow candle in reverence to my sunning
Goddess trickles viscous liquid
Down my final slopes into the recessions
Of my valleys; slowly lower it burns
As I, back on virgin knees,
Watch a drifting curl of smoke
Ascend, ophidian, and look at last
Back to where the trickle spreads
My image again to desert flatness.
The indrinkable viscosity of wax fills
All, has seeped ameboid to the burial
Of my study; the last drift of smoke
Rings its tail up into the ark.

Reviews

Edited by Richard L. Bushman

Mormon criticism of secular works, an uncommon venture in the Church, may surprise many Mormon readers. Public criticism from within the faith may surprise some Mormon authors. But we believe that most writers understand the benefits of review. The greatest stimulation to excellence in writing is the consciousness of an audience with high standards. *Dialogue* will be one voice speaking for that audience. Our reviews will avoid the kind of asperity which is inconsistent with brotherly respect, but they will, we hope, be uncompromising and frank.

What books interest Mormons and ought to be reviewed in *Dialogue*? The catalogue would certainly include the best of Church books, the ones by and for Mormons, like Milton Backman's volume on the rise of Mormonism treated in this issue. The list would also include books on Mormonism by non-Mormons, like Horton Davies' discussion of Christian sects to be reviewed in the next. In between are books by Mormons for non-Mormons, like Rodello Hunter's memoir reviewed below.

Beyond these obvious selections virtually any book can be made relevant to Mormon thought. Reviewers can show how a work bears on Mormon doctrine and church life or how Mormon beliefs and experiences affect understanding and assessment of a book. In this vein, future issues will include reviews of John Robinson's *Honest to God*, Katherine Anne Porter's collected short stories, and James Michener's *The Source*. The only limits on possible choices are those of the editors' and reviewers' insight and imagination.

Richard Bushman, Assistant Professor of History at Brigham Young University, studied American civilization at Harvard University and recently returned from Brown University where he did research in history and psychology.

IN MY FATHER'S HOUSE

Mary Lythgoe Bradford

House of Many Rooms. By Rodello Hunter. Illus. by Roy Olsen. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965. 240 pp. \$4.95. Mary Lythgoe Bradford, who did her thesis at the University of Utah on Virginia Sorensen, now lives in Washington, D.C.; she has reviewed for the *Western Humanities Review*.

"Only the names have been changed to protect the innocent," except that in this story all are innocent — innocent, and lovable, and representative of a tradition that is dying. Like Virginia Sorensen's *Where Nothing is Long Ago*, *A House of Many Rooms* is a "dream dreamed out of memory," and it will cause a deal of speculation among those who know Heber City, Utah. One may ask if such a memoir has value for those not personally acquainted with Rodello Hunter's "turn-of-the-century Mormon family." I think it has.

This book might have been published by a Utah book company purely for family pride and genealogy group sheet purposes, like certain familiar paper and paste atrocities. But it was accepted by one of America's major publishers. As Mrs. Hunter says, "It is a story that happened over and over to many people." It is representative genre.

In every library of any size is a shelf Dewey did not quite know how to catalogue, books squeezed in somewhere between humor and biography — memoirs by famous and infamous people. On this rather miscellaneous shelf may be found the "Family Memoir," in which the author disguises himself and tells of lives that influenced his. And wedged in here is a growing body of "Mormon Family Memoirs," consisting of books like Samuel Taylor's *Family Kingdom*, John Fitzgerald's *Papa Married a Mormon*, and Virginia Sorensen's *Where Nothing Is Long Ago*. This group has much in common with other warm-hearted dramas like Clarence Day's *Life with Father*, but it has doctrinal and historical references peculiar to Mormons.

Writers who handle the Mormon story seem to stay with the past and to deal with Mormons only historically. They lean heavily upon polygamy, pioneers, Joseph Smith, and Brigham Young. When I first saw *House of Many Rooms*, I thought wearily, "Here is another of those Mormon stories. Why can't we have something that shows Mormons as they are today?" But I was unable to resist Mrs. Hunter's family and found myself lingering over passages that seemed lifted from my own childhood. Mrs. Hunter's book, like Virginia Sorensen's, speaks of an era vivid in the background of

middle-aged people from rural areas and revives memories that will be strange to their children. Polygamy, pioneering, and folklore of the Three Nephites are disappearing from our world, and Mrs. Hunter records their last stirrings. Hers is a patriarchal society where women are retiring yet strong, with no desires outside their family duties; where Father firmly presides but is kind; where families are large and there is always room for one more, whether “borrowed” or “birthed”; where work is valued for its own sake and “poverty” is not in the lexicon.

Mrs. Hunter uses fictional tools to shape her material, telling the story through “Prilla, the second-born.” (I assume that Mrs. Hunter’s real counterpart is the adopted Rachel Ann, who comes last to the house.) Her rambling, anecdotal, homespun style permits her to transform events to fit her aim — which is to give her characters a purpose beyond their own lives. And the characters do seem to live, not because they are unlike everyone else, but for precisely the opposite reason. The children blur into each other because all seem familiar.

Generally the family memoir teeters precariously on the precipice of sentimentality; it is to Mrs. Hunter’s credit that she does not often slip. Though her rambling occasionally is confusing, the very lack of a clear chronology gives her story impact. This hodgepodge of humorous detail, circling around an event before finally savoring it, combines with the serious and even the tragic to give the memoir its distinctive character. The reader, having laughed lightly at the family’s antics, is surprised to find a lump in his throat when someone dies. Mrs. Hunter handles well this sudden juxtaposition.

She also scores in the characterization of the father, David William Woodrow — “Papa, who built the house.” He is not exactly a Biblical patriarch. He cuddles his children, and when after a race he falls flat before all of them he laughs and brushes himself off. But he rules his large brood with a no-questions-asked attitude that is fading from our child-oriented society. In one scene he is mending a halter and asks little Emily Ellen to hand him a rope. He gently repeats his request two or three times, but when she stamps her foot and swears, he firmly smacks her. Then, having reproved with sharpness, he shows forth an increase of love:

He held out his arms and she ran into them, sobbing, and he loved her and fondled her and told her Papa’s little girls didn’t say “No” and they didn’t say “Damn” and Papa loved them very much.

His wife, dainty Catherine, supports him faithfully, except when she gets her spunk up, and then everyone is proud of her for it.

Her hands are laid on spindle and distaff and often reach out to the needy. She is the proverbial Virtuous Woman. And she is not afraid to administer punishment of her own. Mother and Father are gentle with one another, and there is no question as to division of labor, except while Father is on his Mission. Then Mother takes in sewing, and the older girls work at the town theatre. The children, totalling fifteen in all, some borrowed, are lively and humorous; they marry or die in ways that start echoes in the memory.

Though the events are interesting in themselves, the main attraction for me is the descriptions that brought forth a "Me too" in the margins. I remember with Prilla "the hot bricks Mama always put in our beds on winter nights." I know that "we welcomed bread and milk for supper and we never once thought that was all there was." I, with Prilla, thought the "state pen" was a big sheep corral and that the world turned on its "axle, not axis, — I'll bet you." I too read about Da Vinci and tried to build my own flying machine. I know how it feels to itch through a day of "hauling hay," riding home on my back to "watch the clouds and hear the clop of the horses' hooves." I helped to bury certain friends in the "Pet Yard." I remember Barney Google, Skeezeix, and the smell of newsprint; and I too grew up where "no matter from which direction, you approached by way of hills and streams and fields." And "always they were protective."

Mrs. Hunter never digresses to explain her Mormon beliefs, but fits them gracefully into the story, referring to Mutual and missionary work as easily as breathing, with a slightly longer explanation of the Three Nephites. This easy inclusion seems to say that the rest of the world understands now.

In describing her "mountain-rimmed town," Prilla has her father read to her about the last days: "And in the Last Days the people shall flee to the valleys of the mountains," adding her assurance that "the Last Days held no terror for us, for we were always sheltered in the valleys of the mountains and could fear no evil."

Many Mormons have left their shelters, scattering to all parts of the world to preach, to work, or to adventure. They build their Zions elsewhere. The little town which sheltered the "house of many rooms" is dying out. But it leaves a promise. A familiar scripture comes to mind: "In my Father's House are many mansions." The house put its arms around all who entered and it welcomed their differences. Hopefully this tradition will not die out among those who remember.

PREPARATION FOR THE KINGDOM

T. Edgar Lyon

American Religions and the Rise of Mormonism. By Milton V. Backman. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1965. 466 pp. \$4.95. T. Edgar Lyon is Associate Director of the Salt Lake Institute of Religion and Research Historian for Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.; he has written *Introduction to the Doctrine and Covenants* and *Apostasy to Restoration*.

This book will satisfy an intellectual need which has long existed in the L.D.S. Church and among all those who wish to investigate the "apostasy" from the Early Christian Church and the course of religious history which led to the restoration of the gospel. Within the framework which he set for his treatise, Dr. Backman has written with a remarkable degree of objectivity. His book is not a polemic against various Christian movements, sects, or theologies. Neither is it sheer propaganda from the Latter-day Saint point-of-view. Obviously the author is writing with a bias (and who is ever completely free from bias in his interpretations?), but in writing of the great movements of Christian history he has written with sympathy, trying to let the theologians, reformers, scribes, and religious leaders of previous centuries speak for themselves. In discussing contemporary religious movements, which have been the object of much ridicule from the long-established Christian churches, he has disciplined himself to avoid criticism of those phases of their teachings with which he cannot agree and refrains from sarcasm and contempt. His most obvious deviation from this objectivity is found in his selection of those elements from historic Christianity which bolster L.D.S. restoration concepts and doctrines.

The first chapter is the finest concise condensation with which I am acquainted of the history of Christianity from its founding in New Testament times to the rise of the Eastern Orthodox churches and the modern Roman Catholic Church. Similarly, the treatment of the sixteenth century reformation is well done, with the vital and lasting essentials of the period sorted out from the numerous side issues which usually becloud this important era.

When Mr. Backman turns to the complexity of the American religious scene, he covers the field with a discerning eye, stressing those religious currents which changed the religions imported from England. Tracing these changes, the appearance of new doctrine, and the concurrent rise of religious tolerance and later religious liberty in America, the author has written more and better on the backgrounds of Mormonism and the influences of contemporary Christian sects than any L.D.S. writer known to me.

Professor Backman is to be congratulated on the wealth of statistical information which he has condensed in this book. Drawn from the most reliable sources and carefully documented, and in some instances organized as charts, this information makes the book a valuable reference work for those seeking to understand the numerical growth of sects and the factors regulating their progress or retrogression. The author has used social, economic, political and religious history to explain the various facets of religious growth and expansion in the United States. After he gave such excellent coverage of some religious bodies, it is to be regretted that he passed over some of the most vigorous of the present-day Christian sects, such as the numerous Pentecostal bodies, without a word concerning the great religious movement in America of which they are symptoms.

To date no one has written a perfect book, and the present publication is no exception. I suggest that when another edition of this useful book is printed certain errors of fact and interpretation should be avoided. His treatment of the much-misunderstood phrase describing God as a being "without body, parts, and passions," needs elaboration and clarification for both Mormons and non-Mormons, few of whom know what the statement actually meant to those who framed it. What he has said by way of explanation is confusing and somewhat misleading. Furthermore, the extent to which this belief was formerly accepted needs to be qualified. The author fails to distinguish properly between the early camp-meeting revivals and the later camp meetings and revivals which followed. His theological explanation of the doctrine of the Trinity needs to be made clear by defining for modern Christians his use of the words "substance" and "essence." Otherwise the basis of the doctrine appears non-sensical. The discussion of the tax-supported colonial and state churches is well done, except that he states there were nine of them but ends up with ten in his discussion; one unfamiliar with American political history would be misled by this seeming contradiction. Furthermore, his treatment of the three names by which the L.D.S. Church has been known since its origin is confusing and needs clarification.

When Dr. Backman deals with the Missouri and Illinois periods of L.D.S. history he loses much of the objectivity which characterized his analyses in the earlier and later chapters. Little is explained about the part the Saints played in producing the trouble they encountered, and the unwise actions of Sidney Rigdon, which contributed greatly to the expulsion from Missouri, are ignored. The

weakest portions of the discussion of Mormonism deal with the Nauvoo period. Hearsay and long-standing traditions are given as fact, and little is said to explain why the most industrious people in Illinois were forced to vacate the largest city in the state. Nothing is said of the manner in which much of the land lost in Missouri was later sold or exchanged to assist in the acquisition of lands in Illinois and Iowa.

In spite of these and other shortcomings which need attention, the book is a magnificent "first" in its field. Mr. Backman has written with boldness and a very readable style. I look forward to further studies by this able historian.

SOME VOICES FROM THE DUST

John L. Sorenson

Papers of the Fifteenth Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures. Edited by Ross T. Christensen. Provo: Extension Publications of Brigham Young University, 1964. vii+120 pp. \$1.00. John L. Sorenson did his doctoral work at UCLA in anthropology and is presently Director of Behavioral Sciences for the Defense Research Corporation in Santa Barbara, California.

Any volume with "fifteenth annual" in its title requires placement in historical and sociological context before it can be evaluated properly. Sponsor of this symposium is the 800-member University Archaeological Society. (The name was changed in 1965 to Society for Early Historical Archaeology.) The society began in 1949, in affiliation with the Department of Archaeology at Brigham Young University, which had been organized two years earlier. The personalities and institutions related to these beginnings, or deriving from them, are responsible for most serious Mormon thought on the relation between archaeology and the scriptures.

Joseph Smith himself had views on this subject which were published at length, particularly in *The Times and Seasons*. Early in the development of Mormon tradition his views, considerably simplified, became so firmly established that they were hardly challenged for a century. Mormons usually considered that all Indians were Lamanites and that the "antiquities" of the New World were products of the Nephites, Lamanites, and Jaredites. As for the biblical area, that was of secondary concern; the little supplementary factual information utilized was simply borrowed from "Gentile" scholars.

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By the 1930's academic anthropological scholarship had developed an orthodox position about the peopling of the New World and the development of cultures here. Sharp contrasts between this scholarly view and the received beliefs in the Church led to difficulty for many an L.D.S. student in higher education. Two students at Berkeley, M. Wells Jakeman and Thomas Ferguson (and to some extent Milton Hunter), tried to work out a viable position for themselves between the conflicting views. As a result they emphasized the documentary traditions and certain archaeological and geographical features of Mexico and Central America, placed in alignment with the Book of Mormon account.

When a position at BYU was arranged for him in 1946, Jakeman, with a Ph.D. in history supplemented by some anthropology, brought to the new department and the affiliated society a position characterized by high respect for classical studies, preference for documentary sources, antipathy toward anthropology (the main disciplinary vehicle for the relevant archaeological work both then and now) as it was then construed, and zeal to enlighten those Mormons who held uncritically the traditional views about the scriptures and their context. Of the small number of Latter-day Saints at present qualified to speak seriously to this subject, nearly all have been under Jakeman's tutelage and have at some time shared many of these same penchants.

While the UAS was aborning at the Y, Ferguson produced a sort of landmark book, with Hunter's collaboration, and then went on to organize the New World Archaeological Foundation. His rationale, unlike that of Jakeman, was that work in archaeology necessary to clarify the place of the Book of Mormon account would have to be done in collaboration with non-Mormon experts, not in isolation from them. Thirteen years of changes in the NWAFF have seen it become converted into an element in the BYU structure and gain a respected position as a research agency in Mesoamerican archaeology, but in concept and operation the Foundation and the Department remain far apart.

Various individuals unconnected with these institutionalized activities have also wrestled with the archaeological problem. Few of the writings they have produced are of genuine consequence in archaeological terms. Some are clearly on the oddball fringe; others have credible qualifications. Two of the most prolific are Professor Hugh Nibley and Milton R. Hunter; however, they are not qualified to handle the archaeological materials their works often involve. And as for the study of archaeology in relation to

the Old World scriptures, not a single Mormon with professional standing has adequate expertise to address that subject properly.

The symposium reported in the publication under review displays the organizational variety, and even rivalry, just sketched. The inclusion of five student papers along with those of Ross T. Christensen and M. Wells Jakeman, while nothing appears from Lowe, Warren, Matheny, Green, Lee, Carmack, Spencer, Nibley, Meservy, and others, suggests the limits implicit in the membership list. Unevenness of quality inevitably marks a volume with a heavy proportion of amateur contributors. This raises the question, which the UAS has never faced squarely, of its central objectives. Is it to assist in the development of new knowledge? Is it to provide a vehicle through which "the findings" of archaeology are reported (and interpreted) to L.D.S. lay people, as Christensen (pp. iii and iv) implies? Is it an enthusiasm-generating device primarily, busily engaged in fulfilling Parkinson's laws? No clearcut answer is apparent from this volume.

Dealing with individual papers is difficult due to the limitation on review space, but readers of this journal without the symposium volume at hand need to have the contents clarified. A capsule guide to each paper will, therefore, be given.

* * *

Howard S. McDonald and Francis W. Kirkham reminisce briefly about their association with the early activity of the Department of Archaeology and the UAS. A. Richard Durham makes some observations on Joseph Smith's knowledge of Egyptian, but the slim factual substance of his key point, which could be of more interest if properly developed, tends to get lost in a wordiness which too consciously apes the unique style of Hugh Nibley. Curt A. Seemann summarizes some of the secondary and tertiary sources concerning the Israelite conquest of Canaan, as they are somewhat informed by archaeological work. While serving a certain journalistic function adequately, this paper has nothing to say that has not been said better elsewhere. Louis J. Nackos contributes a similar type of summary concerning the situation in the land of Judah just before the Babylonian conquest, but the sources he utilizes are even slimmer than Seemann's. For example, no note is even made that Torczyner's translation of the Lachish letters is questionable. Einar C. Erickson's paper recites more or less the events connected with the reign and fall of Zedekiah at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. The sources are little more than the Bible, the Book of Mormon, and standard reference works. Some of the speculations are

wild. V. Garth Norman attempts to relate some scriptural and archaeological information to his interpretation that the seven golden candlesticks mentioned in Rev. 1:12 are ultimately "identical" in "symbolic concept" to the Tree of Life referred to in the Book of Mormon. Unfortunately I do not find the proposed connection either as convincing or as significant as does the author. Naomi Woodbury's little piece would better have been developed much further before being made public at all since it is virtually lacking in substance. Carl Hugh Jones has an idea on which solid research might well be done, concerning difficulties which the transfer of crop plants might encounter when borne by Jaredite and Nephite colonists from the Old World to the New. The data he musters are, however, insufficient to draw any reliable conclusions; all he has really done is partially to delineate the question.

Tim M. Tucker claims to have made a "detailed comparison" of Mesoamerican temple-towers and the ziggurat structures of Mesopotamia. The same observations, in about the same detail, have been made a number of times before at UAS meetings or in classes. Problems in the comparison are glossed over. (For example, lumping the entire period from 2500-100 B.C. as a single "Pre-classic Era" leaves the implication that the "sudden" appearance [actually an evolution covering centuries] of temple-towers in Middle America was somehow near in time to the Mesopotamian structures.)

In a bit of incidental history, M. Harvey Taylor sketches the life of Paul Henning, the earliest professional archaeologist who was a Mormon. Also historical is Ricks's documentation of a look by a group of Mormon investigators at a spurious Hebrew inscription. Read H. Putnam's paper was given at a symposium a decade earlier and appears here in slightly different form. It is noteworthy as one of the few contributions here of new knowledge. Ironically the man who produced it makes no pretension of academic scholarship, but he has shown in this article the possibilities open to a layman who is determined to become well informed on a narrow topic. M. Wells Jakeman briefly presents some of the materials on "A Possible Remnant of the Nephites in Ancient Yucatan" which derive ultimately from his dissertation. Some of the phrasing and documentation differ from what he has either written or stated orally before now, but there is really nothing new here for those who know his earlier work.

After having been absent from this literature for a few years I am struck by several recurrent features displayed in the papers.

Despite the title of the symposium there is little archaeology here anywhere. There are only six references in the entire volume to primary archaeological accounts! What has really been done is to stew together the scriptures and some secondary historical materials, adding a bit of archaeological salt and pepper. Surely the recent change in the name of the society is proper in the light of these contents.

* * *

At least six of the participants display that favorite methodology of Mormon students of the scriptures, uncontrolled comparison. Lexical pairings are the simplest to make (e.g., p. 45, where the names Mulek, Melek, Amulek, Amaleki, Amalickiah, and even America are gratuitously linked to each other). But then there is a long tradition of this sort of thing among us Mormons, to which I made my own sizable contribution in more naive days. Comparison of symbols — always a tricky business — is another standard procedure. Jakeman's paper carries trait-list comparison to its logical conclusion (p. 117) in a manner which shows unambiguously the influence of A. L. Kroeber and the "Culture Element Survey" at Berkeley in the 1930's. Obviously comparison remains a key methodological device in the conduct of research in history and the sciences, but the uncontrolled use of trait comparison leads to absurd conclusions. Particularly, it leads to overambitious interpretations of shared meaning and historical relationship, as in Jakeman's previous pseudo-identifications of "Lehi" (and other characters from the Book of Mormon) on an Izapan monument.

One other pervading characteristic of these papers is their lack of currency. Christensen recommends the UAS (p. iv) as a means for "keeping up to date with the fast-moving developments now taking place in the archaeology" of scriptural lands. Yet these presentations, with the possible exception of Durham's, are exclusively concerned with questions and answers which have changed in no significant way in at least a decade.

Where is Mormon thought on archaeology going? After this rather discouraging display of the lack of progress on the topic, is anything happening that is more dynamic and promising? Yes, some things. Increasingly young Latter-day Saints are feeling that it is desirable and respectable to become professionally prepared as archaeologists, at least for the New World, which means they must qualify as anthropologists. In a few years a sizable cadre will be scattered throughout the country. One reason those already established have not been more influential to this point is the resistance

to innovation on their part which authorities and members generally have manifested. As long as Mormons generally are willing to be fooled by (and pay for) the uninformed, uncritical drivel about archaeology and the scriptures which predominates, the few L.D.S. experts are reluctant even to be identified with the topic. To paraphrase Adlai Stevenson, "Your archaeologists serve you right." But this does not mean that the handful who are qualified have done all they could to phrase and communicate what they know. Cyrus Gordon, speaking of ancient Near Eastern studies, has said that they "must languish unless they are actively related to something vital in modern occidental culture." Is "proving" the Book of Mormon sufficient to provide the "drive and stamina to master a whole complex of difficult sources which serious scholarship will require?" Additional motivation may be needed.

Encouragement about future developments can also be drawn from the evident fact that the younger scholars are successfully relating themselves to the professional scientific world around them, rather than isolating themselves in an artificial "scriptural archaeology" cocoon. Precisely how the roles of Mormon and professional scientist are to be balanced remains to be worked out, but at least today's young scholar is clear that the one should not, cannot, replace the other.

Unfortunately, the Fifteenth Annual Symposium volume displays few encouraging signs. It is relatively harmless, mildly diverting in spots, and no doubt gives comfort to some of its audience, but it is not important.

SAINTS OF SONG AND SPEECH

A. Laurence Lyon

The Mormon Pioneers. Solo selections by Jack Elliott and others. "Come, Come Ye Saints" by the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. Choral Arrangements by Alice Parker. Notes by Thomas E. Cheney. Columbia XLP 110084, 1965. \$7.99, stereo \$8.99. A. Laurence Lyon is presently Chairman of the Department of Music of the Ogden City School District; in 1965 his "Festival Prelude" was given its premiere performance by the Utah Symphony Orchestra.

Columbia Records, that national giant of a record company, has beat someone to the punch. To prove that not all good things about Mormons must originate in the West, Goddard Lieberman has produced another of his excellent Legacy Series productions, this one about the Mormon pioneers. This "literary-musical essay"

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should straighten out any who are ignorant of their Mormon ancestry and forebears, or ashamed of them, and in a delightful, painless fashion. A forty-eight page historical booklet, crammed with pertinent photographs, maps, documents and sketches taken from nineteenth century Mormon history, is coordinated with an LP recording of folk songs and writings covering the same events. The total makes up a refreshing package of Mormon history in capsule form.

Carl Carmer, a non-Mormon historian from New York, and LeRoy Hafen, Professor of History at Brigham Young University, have authored excellent historical essays on early Mormon history. The two-page introductory article, "The Birth of the Mormon Church," by Mr. Carmer, is choice reading. Not everyone will be pleased with its sensitive objectivity about a subject which more often evokes denunciations and slanderings or praise and veneration. But Carmer's message is clear: The Mormon Church played a vital role in the development of frontier and Western America.

Mr. Hafen's articles, "The Mormons on the Frontier," and other, shorter pieces, are primarily vignettes of the main events of early Mormon history. Emphasis is rightfully placed on the Mormons' role in the settlement of Utah and the surrounding states. Controversial points, such as polygamy and blood atonement, are wisely avoided. Only the bare facts are given about the pioneer trek in 1846 and 1847, the tragedy of the handcart companies, the encounter with Johnston's Army, and the coming of the railroad. Yet one comes away from the written material rather well-informed on Mormon contributions to the settlement of the West. All told, the historical section has been executed with good taste and dosed out in amounts appropriate for the millions of people, Mormon, Jew and "Gentile," whom the record will reach.

One feels inclined to "sing along" with the pioneers around their imaginary fires as one listens to "Tittery-irie-aye," "Whoa, Ha, Buck, and Jerry Boy," "On the Road to California," "The Seagulls and the Crickets," and "Once I lived in Cottonwood." And it is really possible to sing too, because Thomas Cheney of the BYU English Department, besides preparing notes on each song's background, has also provided us with the words. The large number of seldom-heard songs, all authentic, as Cheney's researches attest, impresses us again with how much we do not know about our own heritage and culture.

The songs tell the Mormon pioneer story better, perhaps, than the printed word they follow. But just in case, Mr. Lieberson has

interspersed selected readings, taken from the journals, letters and official documents of the period, which are read in a natural manner by authentic-sounding voices. This intricate interweaving of song and speech gives the album a continuity, unity, and vitality seldom found in historical recordings. One is left wanting more at the conclusion.

Much care has been taken to keep the songs and their musical presentation simple. No large symphony is heard in the background, and there is no mass chorus, except with the final number by the Tabernacle Choir. Modest guitar, banjo, or harmonica accompaniments add just the right amount of flavor. An old treadle organ provides an unusual but appropriate background for a letter written by Martha S. Haven on the persecutions of the early Saints. A snare drum lends atmosphere to simple renditions of "The Handcart Song" and "Johnston's Army Song." Male soloists or unison chorus handle the choral lines. The folk singers, undoubtedly professionals with Western or Southern accents, give a homespun air to the songs.

With the increased research into nineteenth and twentieth century Mormon culture by Mormons around the nation; with our expanding knowledge of authentic Mormon songs of the pioneer period; and with a growing number of Mormon folk-singers, the time is ripe for a more ambitious offering from within the Mormon culture itself. *The Mormon Pioneers* has taken a small but important first step. Others must soon follow if Mormon culture is to be preserved and passed on to a more urbane, but forgetful, generation.

AMONG THE MORMONS

A Survey of Current Literature

Ralph W. Hansen

Many of our subscribers have asked to have a bibliographical column included as a regular feature of Dialogue. The first of such columns has been written by our assistant book review editor, who is the Archivist and Manuscripts Librarian at Stanford University; on a selective basis, he has used as his main source the bibliography Mormon Americana, which is distributed semi-monthly by the Brigham Young University Library primarily for the benefit of libraries that have an interest in Mormon literature. He has excluded many of the works published by Bookcraft and Deseret Book which are already well advertised in The Improvement Era and The Church News, but some of these will be given short critical reviews in a book notes section, beginning next issue.

The present review (as will be the custom in each Spring issue) deals with books, pamphlets, records, and photo-reproductions published during the past year. In each Summer issue we will be concerned with dissertations on Mormon subjects and in the Winter issue we will review articles from various journals, thus covering the entire bibliographical spectrum annually. Future columns will contain fuller annotations of the works surveyed than was possible for this issue. We welcome any suggestions for the column. [Ed.]

During the past year Mormon theology has occasioned a number of works several of which, evidently lacking salability, have been privately printed by the authors or have been undertaken by smaller presses whose costs are subsidized by the authors. Those that have come to our attention are Wesley M. Jones's *A Critical Study of the Book of Mormon Sources* (Detroit, Mich., Harlo Press, 1964, \$4.50), Robert J. Mathews's *A Look at Joseph Smith's Inspired Translation* (502 East 2950 North, Provo, Utah), and Ronald G. Luker's *Makings of an Apostate* (852 East 8th South, Salt Lake City, Utah). Subject matter in the books is obvious from the titles; however, biographical information about the authors is lacking. Hyrum L. Andrus, of the Brigham Young University faculty has authored a timely study, *Liberalism, Conservatism, and Mormonism** (Deseret Book, \$1.95), which will be reviewed in these pages as will *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion** by Sterling M. McMurrin (University of Utah Press, \$3.00, paper \$2.00).

It is not very often that the L.D.S. Church, which has its headquarters in Utah, gives one of the other churches originating from Joseph Smith its attention, but evidently the Church of the First Born, which disrupted the French

* Books to be reviewed in *Dialogue* will be indicated with an asterisk.

Mission some years ago and has met with some success in the Great Basin, is continuing to capture adherents. An answer to this group's attack may be found in Henry W. Richard's *A Reply to "The Church of the Firstborn of the Fulness of Times"* (Deseret News Press, \$1.75, paper \$1.00). On the other hand, beliefs of "Utah Mormons" are subject to scrutiny in *The Truth and the Evidence; A Comparison between Doctrines of the Reorganized Church . . . and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, by Aleah G. Koury (Independence, Missouri: Herald House, \$1.50).

Placing the Church in the context of American religions in general is Milton V. Backman's *American Religions and the Rise of Mormonism** (Deseret Book, \$3.75). In passing we call your attention to the *Papers of [the] Fifteenth Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures,** edited by Ross T. Christensen (Brigham Young University, \$1.00), and a well-received work by John Repts, *The Making of Urban America, a History of City Planning*. One chapter of this work deals with Nauvoo and Salt Lake City.

Since the pioneer Mormon community of Nauvoo was declared a national historic landmark, it was only a matter of time before a full length history would appear. Robert B. Flanders of the Reorganized Church's Graceland College at Lamoni, Iowa, wrote his dissertation for the University of Wisconsin on Nauvoo, and now the University of Illinois has published it as *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi** (Urbana, \$6.50). Additional works about Nauvoo have been published by Nauvoo Restorations, Inc. (P.O. Box 215, Nauvoo, Illinois). Titles for 1965 are *The Heber C. Kimball Home, The James Ivins[-] Elias Smith Printing Complex* and *The Nauvoo Temple, 1841-1865*. A related pamphlet by Ora Haven Barlow, *Family Recordings of Nauvoo — 1845 and Before*, including minutes of the first Latter-day Saints gathering, is available from Stanway Printing Co. of Salt Lake City, Utah (\$1.00, 48 pp.).

When the Saints left Nauvoo a small group followed James J. Strang to Michigan and eventually ended up on Beaver Island. *Murder on Beaver Island* by Phil Weygand is the latest of a number of recent publications about the Strangites (Dundee, Michigan, privately printed in a limited edition). The Beaver Island Historical Society has added to sources of Latter-day Saints history by reprinting a 1905 memoir of Elizabeth Whitney Williams, *A Child of the Sea; and Life among the Mormons* (\$3.50, available from Zion's Bookstore in Salt Lake City).

This past year has seen the publication of a number of books about Utah and that portion of the Great Basin of particular interest to Mormons. Gregory C. Crampton completed his four-part study of Glen Canyon with *Historical Sites in Cataract and Narrow Canyons, and in Glen Canyon to California Bar* (University of Utah Anthropological Series #72, 1964). During 1965 Gustave O. Larson brought out a revised third edition of his *Outline History of Utah and the Mormons* (Deseret Book, \$4.50).

Many years ago Percival G. Lowe published his memoirs under the title *Five Years a Dragoon and Other Adventures on the Great Plains*. Lowe was a teamster for the army supply trains during the Utah War of 1857-58. Thanks to the reprint series of the University of Oklahoma Press, this scarce work is again available (Norman, \$5.95). Since television has given some respectability to Jesse James, we will honor Utah's contribution to crime — Butch Cassidy — by citing a new book about the "wild bunch," Pearl Baker's *The Wild Bunch at Robbers Roost* (Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, \$7.50). A biography by

Claton Rice which we have not seen but which apparently pertains to Utah is *Ambassador to the Saints*, published by The Christopher Publishing House (Boston). Could this be about Christian missionary activity in Utah? P. A. M. Taylor, the eminent English authority on Mormonism, has recently written *Expectations Westward; the Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century** (Clarke Irwin and Company, Ltd., Canada, or Oliver and Boyd, Ltd., England, \$10.00).

Nevada Mormonism is incidentally treated in *The Nevada Adventure* by James Hulse (University of Nevada Press, \$7.50) and Leon L. Loofbourow's *Steeple Among the Sage; A Centennial Story of Nevada's Churches* (San Francisco Historical Society, California-Nevada Annual, 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, \$2.50). Works of interest on transportation in Mormon Country include Granville M. Dodge's *How We Built the Union Pacific Railway and Other Railway Papers and Addresses* (Denver, Sage Books, \$5.00, paper \$2.50). Fascination with the story of riverboat travel on the Colorado has fostered a collection edited by Alexander Crosby, *Steamboat up the Colorado* (Boston, Little Brown, \$4.50). Readers who haven't the time or durability to personally explore historic locales can perhaps make an armchair visit by using *The Traveler's Guide to Historic Mormon America* by Don R. Oscarson and Stanley B. Kimball (Bookcraft, \$1.95).

Since 1958 the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers has published *Our Pioneer Heritage*, successor to the annual compilation *Heart Throbs of the West*. Volume seven of the new series is now available. Of limited scholarly value due to a lack of documentation, this series nevertheless offers rich sources of otherwise unavailable original narratives. Of more than passing interest because of current events is the printed DUP lesson for May, 1965, *The Negro Pioneer*. Another work of specialized interest, but certainly long overdue, is James L. Haseltine's *100 Years of Utah Painting* (Salt Lake Art Center, 54 Finch Lane, Salt Lake City, Utah, \$3.50).

Works of fiction about Utah and the Mormons are much more prevalent than many of us realize. However, much of this fiction is of the Zane Grey variety. *Gunsmoke over Utah*, by Bevit Arthur (Belmont, \$.40), is a case in point. It shall not be our intention to use the columns of this section to review fiction unless the book is of the stature of Rodello Hunter's *House of Many Rooms** (Knopf, \$4.95). Nor shall we be concerned with business and economics unless the appeal transcends the usual limitations of the subject. By way of illustration the Utah Foundation's *Statistical Abstract of Government in Utah* (Salt Lake City, \$2.00) and the brief study by Leonard J. Arrington and George Jensen, *The Defense Industry of Utah* (Utah State University, 50 pp.), have appeal to more than a local readership.

Microfilm, Xerox and other forms of photo-duplication have made possible inexpensive reproductions of out-of-print or rare books and newspapers. As far as the L.D.S. Church is concerned, such photo-publications are a mixed blessing. Jerald Tanner of Modern Microfilms (Salt Lake City, Utah) has used photo-publications to reproduce early Church and anti-Church works in wholesale lots. Mr. Tanner's object is to embarrass the Church to which he at one time gave allegiance. His reproductions are often as weak as his motives for doing them. Of greater interest is the *History of Brigham Young, 1847-1867*, a reproduction of three manuscripts in the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley. Produced by MASSCAL Associates, in

limited numbers, the original has heretofore been available only at the Bancroft.

We cannot conclude this column without mentioning two new records that have come to our attention. Columbia Records has recently issued *The Mormon Pioneers** (LS 1024) with a handsomely illustrated attached introduction. If you are among the few who have never heard a J. Golden Kimball tale, then the new Folk-legacy record (Huntington, Vermont) is just what you need. *J. Golden Kimball Stories Together with the Brother Peterson Yarns* told by Hector Lee complements Chapter seventeen of the Fife's *Saints of Sage and Saddle*. Tom Lehrer notwithstanding, Kimball stories are what every Latter-day Saint needs to put his life in perspective.

. . . The things of God are of deep import; and time, and experience, and careful and ponderous and solemn thoughts can only find them out. Thy mind, O man! if thou wilt lead a soul unto salvation, must stretch as high as the utmost heavens, and search into and contemplate the darkest abyss, and the broad expanse of eternity—thou must commune with God. How much more dignified and noble are the thoughts of God than the vain imaginations of the human heart! None but fools will trifle with the souls of men.

*Joseph Smith, Jun.
Liberty Jail, Clay County, Missouri
March 25, 1839*

Notes and Comments

Edited by Joseph Jeppson

Notes and comments are not merely short articles or long letters; they are varied, informal glimpses of Mormon thought and life. The Editors welcome news, profiles, opinions, accounts, speeches and other items that seem appropriate.

MORMON HISTORY ASSOCIATION

Leonard J. Arrington was named president of the new Mormon History Association at the group's organizational meeting, which was held in San Francisco in conjunction with the December meetings of the American Historical Association. Other officers elected were Eugene E. Campbell of B.Y.U. and James L. Clayton of the University of Utah, vice presidents; Dello G. Dayton of Weber State College, secretary-treasurer; and councilmen Robert B. Flanders of Graceland College, Davis Bitton of the University of California at Santa Barbara, Alfred Bush of Princeton, and Merle Wells of the Idaho State Historical Society. The association extends its invitation of membership to whoever sends the \$2 annual dues to the secretary-treasurer, Dr. Dayton, Weber State College, Ogden, Utah.

The feature event of the first Mormon History Association meeting was a panel discussion moderated by B.Y.U. Professor James B. Allen, whose outstanding article on Joseph Smith's first vision will appear in the next issue of Dialogue. Panelists were Ralph W. Hansen, Archivist and Manuscripts Librarian at Stanford University, and Klaus J. Hansen, Visiting Assistant Professor at Utah State University; texts of their remarks follow:

NEW SOURCES OF MORMON HISTORY

Ralph W. Hansen

While collecting my thoughts regarding the relationship of archivists to historians, I came upon a simple simile which touches upon a problem of modern scholarship. In my story I liken historical research to laboring in the boiler room of an ocean-going vessel. The boilers (scholars) run on coal (manuscript and other original sources) or oil (secondary sources). The stokers are archivists and manuscript librarians such as myself. The boilers indiscriminantly burn coal and oil in large quantities with the same results — a fire (book or thesis). On most ships oil, easy to use, has apparently won over coal as the

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favorite fuel of the boilers. However, upon close inspection it is apparent that oil burns as a slick rehash of previous knowledge, while the use of raw coal results in new knowledge or a fuller understanding of known facts.

It has been my experience at two of the world's greatest universities, Brigham Young University and Stanford University, that altogether too many historians (including Mormon historians) are content to slip through on oil rather than labor in the coal mines. Indeed, Mormon historians have a problem not faced by their brethren in the craft: some of their coal is protected behind granite walls. Be that as it may, there are veins which may be followed until the proper engineer opens the way into the main body of fuel.

Utah history is inseparably tied to Mormon history. Thus, while important sources in Mormon history are denied the scholar, avenues of investigation in Utah history are abundant and interesting. For six years I had the privilege of collecting manuscripts in Utah, and I found records on mining history (including Cabon County Coal Company records), transportation records, and personal papers of twentieth century personalities relatively easy to come by. It is apparent that the Utah Historical Society, custodian of the State Archives, is in a strong position to provide "coal" and that university and business archives, when tapped, will provide additional resources for future generations of scholars.

Not all of the sources for in-depth studies of Utah and the Mormons are confined to the Great Basin. Excellent collections of books and manuscripts on Mormonism are found at Yale, Harvard, and Princeton in the East, and at Bancroft and Huntington Libraries in California. Yale and Huntington are actively adding to their collection. Even Stanford, which by choice confines its collecting to the Pacific Coast, has, in its DeVoto Papers and Jackling Papers, two large collections of Mormon interest. Doubtless other examples may be found. It is quite evident that enough original sources are available for most scholarly pursuits.

In conclusion may I offer a few suggestions for the Mormon History Association. First, by its very existence it can act as a clearing house for writers, especially for non-Mormons who continue to find Mormon history a subject of fascinating interest. In this role the Association can direct scholars to available sources and, even more important, encourage the publication of bibliographical guides. Hopefully it can undertake (or encourage institutions to undertake) the publication of important original sources. Along this line it should encourage the collection and preservation of historical records by Utahns for Utah institutions. It is probably too late to rectify the mistakes which permitted pioneer records to leave the state. It is not too late to direct modern-day records to Utah libraries. I would further suggest that cooperative collecting of original sources by the major collegiate institutions and historical agencies of Utah would be better than the haphazard collecting now practiced.

Because of the relative inaccessibility to scholars of the files of the Church Historian's Office, my discussion here has centered around the collecting and use of modern records. My final suggestion to the Mormon History Association is to work patiently with those who can provide entry into unknown or closed "mines" of Mormon history. Access to these vital collections will insure a supply of "coal" for much better "fires" in the future.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE WRITING OF MORMON HISTORY

Klaus J. Hansen

This afternoon, in the privacy of my hotel room, it suddenly occurred to me that I would face a group including most of the leading Mormon historians in the country. My heart sank into my stomach. Hence, if I was going to say anything at all, I decided, I simply couldn't take myself too seriously. The following remarks, then, are to be taken as a kind of brainstorming rather than the presentation of a fixed and final position. If anything at all, I hope they may perhaps provide a point of departure for a discussion of the role of the historian in Mormon society. I am sure, I even hope, that some of you will disagree vigorously with my position. Because most of those assembled here are L.D.S. historians, my observations are primarily directed towards them.

Mormon historians have been fortunate, indeed, that in recent years scholars who are not L.D.S. have begun to take Mormonism seriously, not only as a sociological phenomenon but as a religion. As a result, I submit, L.D.S. historians may now relax a little and take themselves and their investigations less seriously. In spite of some notable exceptions, too many of us are still pompously engaged in saving the Church from the Gentiles, as if the Church couldn't take care of itself. Too many of us still conceive of Clio as an *ancilla theologiae*, forgetting that she is a muse. I believe that one major criterion of intelligence is the ability to laugh about oneself — an ability, for example, that Joseph Smith shared with John F. Kennedy. Goethe once coined a marvelous pun: "*Wer sich nicht selbst zum Besten haben kann, gehoert gewiss nicht zu den Besten.*" (Unfortunately, the pun can't be translated; a literal version is, "If you can't make fun of yourself, you have no place among the best.")

Only if we, as historians, can acquire this capacity, will we be able to approach the kind of detachment that is indispensable for the kind of history I believe we ought to write. I do not labor under the illusion that it is possible to write what the nineteenth century called "scientific history." None of us can be truly objective, if for no other reason than that we are captives of our *Zeitgeist*. Moreover, I would hold any historian who lacks commitments to certain ideals suspect. The best we can do is state our case as vigorously and honestly as possible. Nevertheless, I do not believe that history has to become propaganda, no matter how noble the cause. I am not so sure the Mormon historians have always acted on that principle.

Perhaps even more seriously, Mormon historians frequently have tried to assume the role of priest and prophet. To a generation raised under the influence of Charles A. Beard, Carl Becker, and James Harvey Robinson, this was perhaps inevitable. What is past is prologue: how tempting for the historian to become the architect of the future. And yet, how arrogant and impossible a position in Mormon society.

I wonder if we have not here a latent source of friction. I may not speak for all of us, but it seems to me no secret that many of us share a certain feeling of alienation from our society. We attribute our problems to the fact that one of our main responsibilities is to act as critics of our culture — ever a major if not the primary role of the historian. And yet, I wonder how many of us really act on this premise. Are we not, rather, attempting to substitute our intellectual methods for those of the priest and the prophet? I wonder if too many of us simply haven't yet learned that religion is not amenable to the processes of ratiocination.

There can be no question that in our society historians, by and large, are treated at best with suspicion and at worst with indifference. Perhaps this cannot be changed. Perhaps the serious study of history is impossible in a society reared and sustained by faith. Mormonism, it seems to me, has much in common with Transcendentalism. To Thoreau, the past was so much garbage to be discarded in favor of eternal truths that needed no precedent. The Transcendentalists were forever striving for the eternal present. *Sub specie aeternitatis*, history simply ceases to exist, and nature, such as Walden Pond, for example, becomes the laboratory of truth. How many Mormons, for instance, have made distinguished names for themselves as historians? Yet, on the other hand, how many Mormon scientists are listed in *Who's Who*?

The odds against the Mormon historian, then, are formidable indeed. And yet, we might try. We might, for example, take more seriously our role as critics. As paradoxical as this may sound, I believe that we would improve our position. (I can veritably feel the mental shudders of some of you and am reminded of my missionary days, when the dictum "criticism is the devil's tool" became almost a *leitmotif*.)

Nevertheless, I believe that as Mormon society is maturing criticism is increasingly becoming not only a tolerated but a necessary function. As John Gardner recently pointed out in *Harper's*, any viable institution disregards its critics, particularly its internal ones, at its own peril, standing in great danger of dying of what he called "institutional dry rot." The worst enemies of Mormonism, clearly, are not its critics, either external or internal. I hope that it is not merely wishful thinking that makes me believe that the leadership of the Church knows this, too, and that the perhaps unconscious reasons for their suspicion of us historians comes from another direction entirely, namely the supposition that the intellectual wants to compete with the priest and the prophet.

On that point, I believe we can be reassuring: we do not want to compete. But what of our role as critics? It seems to me that one of our major concerns should be a matter of style. Each society, each culture, has its own formalized "ritual." All its members, consciously, or unconsciously, learn to "play the game," as it were. At the medieval court, the jester played a stylized role as critic. He could say things for which ordinary subjects would lose their heads.

Perhaps, in our own society, the historian could play that role, could say things for which one might expect him to lose at least his fellowship if he were, let us say, a second counselor in a stake presidency who sells insurance for a living. This may sound as if I want to create a special class in our society; far from it. If the second counselor stands in danger of losing his membership, then it is only because he lacks the proper style and perspective for criticism.

The historian, by acting as memory and conscience, can serve that function adequately if he does not take himself too seriously. Obviously, a stake president can't do that. For the regular establishment simply has to uphold the various myths that serve a useful function — in fact, without which no society can survive for long. As time goes on, however, the function of the myth is often forgotten, and the servant becomes the master, myth becomes a substitute for history. Hitler's most fatal mistake, ultimately, was to believe his own propaganda. Leave it to the historian to remind us of what is propaganda and what history.

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There are those who argue that in order to create successfully for the future, one has to let sleeping dogs lie. Why talk about the Council of Fifty in 1966? Yet who are we to judge, to determine the needs of our children? I believe it the moral responsibility of the historian to provide access to the entire past, regardless of whatever we perceive to be our special needs of the moment. To do that, he needs a sense of humor, has to be sensitive to the irony inherent in life itself. We have come full circle, then. Ultimately, a disregard for the "responsible, constructive" position is the highest responsibility a historian can assume. To write history slightly tongue-in-cheek, then, is to write serious history — at least serious Mormon history.

THE ARIZONA HERALD

Following the lead of California and Idaho, Arizona now has a privately published L.D.S. newspaper, The Arizona Herald, designed to serve the 125,000 members of the Church in the state. Publisher and editor of the bi-weekly is Donald J. Kenney, a Phoenix attorney. The first issue (January 16, 1966) displayed the headline, "Is L.D.S. Music Up To Par?" A smaller headline added "Critic Says 'No'." But the text of the article revealed a softer theme — that L.D.S. choirs in the Phoenix area might not be as excellent as those in Salt Lake City and Los Angeles. The paper includes a theological column, sports, women's news, features about L.D.S. personalities and projects, etc. Editorial offices are located at 913 Del Webb Building, Phoenix, Arizona.

THE WHITE HOUSE FELLOWSHIP

The White House Fellows Program was initiated by President Johnson in 1964 to give highly qualified young persons an opportunity to gain first-hand, high-level experience with the workings of the Federal Government and to increase their sense of participation in national affairs. This year, two of the fifteen selected were L.D.S. professors: Robert R. Lee, Assistant Professor of Civil Engineering at Stanford University and Edwin B. Firmage, Assistant Professor of Law at the University of Missouri. Dr. Firmage, who was assigned to work with Vice President Hubert Humphrey, reports his experience as follows:

During my few months with the Vice President my activities have largely centered on problems of civil rights and poverty. I have done extensive work on the President's Youth Opportunity Campaign to seek employment of youth and curb school dropout. I have attended staff meetings with Sargent Shriver and the Office of Economic Opportunity, met with senators from mid-West states on rural poverty problems, and helped plan meetings for the Vice President with mayors of cities and civic leaders on youth employment and the school dropout. I worked on and attended the White House Conference on Civil Rights . . . attended the White House Conference on International Cooperation with the Vice President (and) toured Job Corps centers both with and for him. . . .

In relating my experiences to those who share my Mormon culture, I would make several observations. First, in working with the acute and volatile problems of poverty and civil rights, a realization that started within me during my school days at Chicago has come more forcibly to me here. I have had the chance to talk with many Job Corps boys, with recipients of various kinds of

governmental programs and welfare, with the leaders of civil rights movement, and with mayors, union leaders, industrialists and other men who deal intimately with the incredibly complex and critical urban problems which now seem so insoluble. Coming as I do from a small Mormon city in Utah, I had no real comprehension of the problems which confront a government official who must contend with and provide for hundreds of thousands of people of strikingly different races and cultures and levels of education.

By 1985, 180 million Americans will live in 216 cities. This means that in the next twenty years we will add fifty-four million people to existing cities. What this means in terms of race tension, pollution of the atmosphere, ghettos, school dropouts, unemployment and swollen relief rolls can hardly be imagined.

Statistics apart, a ticking off of some of the human factors which go into the equation of urban life highlights the problems. American Negroes and Puerto Ricans, caucasians and orientals, Americans recently from Europe or South America, or (just as much an immigrant in lack of preparation for our urban life) the Negro from the South or the poor farmer from the Ozarks — all these trying to seek fulfillment in the close confines of the city. The aged; the woman who heads a household with children at home; the unskilled and illiterate; the middle-aged, skilled workman who is replaced by automation; the young child born into such social deprivation that he enters school without having seen a crayon or writing paper, without having heard a complete sentence in five years of life; these, along with crushing problems of mass transportation, sanitation, maintenance of law and order, provision of adequate shelter and a host of equally baffling issues, are the challenges to government at all levels and to the private sector in the years ahead.

As the population of the Church, like the population of the country as a whole, becomes increasingly urbanized, these problems will personally confront a growing percentage of our people. This does not call for any change in the basic moral and spiritual teachings of the Church, which remain as eternally true as they have always been since the Gospel of the Master was presented before the creation of this earth. However, personally held notions of some people on the role of government in society, the proper relationship between the public and private sectors, and other related concepts which have their origin in rural life rather than in the eternal principles of the Gospel will have to be re-evaluated as the transitory concepts which in fact they are. These ideas must change with a changing society.

Unnecessary pullings and tuggings on the testimonies of our young people will be avoided as the Church develops a resistance to those who would inextricably link the principles of the Gospel with their own personal political predilections. The latter are transitory, of this world, and of miniscule importance when compared to the former, which are eternal, not only pertain to this world but untold worlds, and are of incomparably greater importance.

I have had no problem in harmonizing my religious beliefs with the problems which confront the Federal Government. Rather, I am profoundly impressed by the inspired wisdom which has marked the teachings of the prophets of our time from the beginning of this dispensation. As but one specific, I would cite the great stress which Church leaders from the Prophet Joseph Smith and Brigham Young to the present have placed upon the necessity of an impregnable family as the basic building block of society, not only in this life but through eternity. Especially from the time of Joseph F. Smith, whom I personally rate

with the Prophet Joseph, Brigham, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and J. Reuben Clark as one of the giants of the Church, has this teaching been repeatedly stressed. Today, with revitalized home teaching, the family home evening program and its refreshingly new and well-written manuals, and the increasing emphasis upon the role of the Priesthood, this principle is emphasized more strongly than ever.

With my work in the interconnected areas of civil rights and poverty, I have been able to observe, both personally and statistically, the results of the breakdown of the family. As one attempts to break the cycle of poverty, each element — unemployment, lack of education, complete social deprivation — seems to demand as a prerequisite to its elimination the solution of another. It is maddeningly difficult to break into this cycle. And at the root of much of it is a breakdown of the family unit. Teachings that might have seemed platitudinous and Polonius-like in my youth now seem rich, basic, and full of hidden wisdom.

THE WATTS RIOT

Robert Christmas, whose essay on Parley P. Pratt appears in this issue, reports from Los Angeles that last fall the L.D.S. Institute of Religion at the University of Southern California sponsored a series of lectures on the Watts riot, which occurred in the vicinity of the University in August. His report follows:

Professor Kent Lloyd of UCLA, Bishop of the Morningside Park Ward in Los Angeles, criticized the general apathy of Mormons towards the Watts problem. He challenged members of the Church to become informed, to stand up for their values as Christians and citizens by participating and becoming leaders in the areas of civil rights, poverty, and public affairs in general. He pointed out that in the last decade the civil rights revolution has become an urban revolution; that it is no longer really necessary to demonstrate for civil rights, but for "dignity without poverty"; and that this applies to other urban minorities besides Negroes. In Lloyd's opinion members of the Church missed an excellent opportunity to counteract the bad publicity about our attitudes toward Negroes when we did not extend at least some temporary welfare to the people of Watts at the time of the riot — even a few cars of elders and supplies might have done much to correct the national misunderstanding on this issue.

Inspector James G. Fisk of the Los Angeles Police Department noted that resentment and disregard of police authority has increased throughout society, not simply in the Negro community, but that in the case of the Negro particularly the police have become a symbol of the power of a society that has denied him equal rights. In dealing with Negroes, the police often face a contempt fed by many other sources; and, as we might expect in such a hazardous atmosphere, this has sometimes led to the use of "excessive force" to restore order. But what the Negroes chiefly object to is the lack of dignity connected with many of their encounters with the police: for example, being searched on the street and embarrassed in front of their friends. According to Fisk, his department is making every effort to improve the situation. In a related area, Chief Charles W. Bahme, a Bureau Commander in the Los Angeles Fire Department, stated the policy of the Fire Department not to involve itself in police activity. During the riot the firemen spent all of their time putting out fires; no hoses

were turned on people and on only one occasion was a fireman discovered carrying a weapon.

Mr. John Lyons, Assistant Administrator for the Commission on Human Relations, and Mr. Prince, a human relations consultant, focused on the riot from the point-of-view of the Negro. Mr. Lyons traced the history of the Negro community in Los Angeles and the factors which led to the concentration of Negroes in certain areas of the city and county. He also outlined the history of the Commission on Human Relations and its efforts to help Negroes find an equal footing in society. Mr. Prince pointed out that slavery virtually destroyed the structure of the Negro family by its arbitrary and brutal separation of husbands, wives, and children; and that the Negro family has yet to overcome this damage because of new factors in the modern environment: for example, the fact that it is generally easier for Negro women to get work, which creates a matriarchal family, with the males aimless and frustrated at the edges. Mr. Prince also enlivened and deepened his discussion with an account of the development of his own personal hatred for white people, his efforts to understand why he hated, and the resolution of his hatred in a determination to eliminate its causes.

Mr. Gene Jacobs, an L.D.S. Seventy who is Legal Counsel for the Los Angeles Urban Renewal Program, emphasized that urban renewal in California would continue to be a grave problem — especially until there is a legal ruling that Proposition Fourteen¹ is unconstitutional or not applicable to Federal housing projects. As things stand, there is no way in which we can use Federal funds for urban renewal. Jacobs sharply criticized recent squabbles in local government that have slowed progress in this matter. In another direction he noted that there appeared to be a pattern of some kind in much of the burning and looting in the Watts area and elsewhere during the riot, based, it would appear, on the Negroes' estimate of the unfair practices of some of the merchants. He noted that poor quality merchandise and unfair credit management were undoubtedly factors which contributed to the uprising and the "selective burnings"; in many cases the fires were first started in the credit department, then the building was looted and finally set completely on fire. Jacobs added that whether or not there were abuses, the important thing is that the people involved thought there were; riots do not happen just because of the way things are, but because of the way things seem to be.

Finally, Ellsworth Johnson, who is currently writing a dissertation at USC on the War on Poverty in Los Angeles, criticized the report of the McCone Commission² for being so "politically clean" that it failed to be either as precise or as critical as it easily could have been. In his opinion the report tends merely to restate some of the obvious needs in the Watts area — educational programs directed to the particular problems of the community, employment, better social services in the fields of health, transportation, recreation, and so on. The extreme generality of most of the recommendations of the McCone Commission leads Johnson to suspect that, in the interest of political neutrality, the Commission may have ignored many of the unpleasant particulars — things

¹ A recently passed amendment to the California constitution which makes it illegal to limit the right of an owner to be selective, on whatever basis he chooses, in renting or selling property. Because this amendment makes it impossible to use the law to prevent racial discrimination in housing, Federal funds for housing have been tied up. [Ed.]

² Appointed by California's Governor Pat Brown to report on the Watts riot. [Ed.]

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that a staff-worker, or even a private citizen, might gather from a few hours of field work in Watts itself.

BISHOPS' LECTURES

Douglas D. Alder, Assistant Professor of History at Utah State University and a bishop in the student stake, informs us that certain bishops, who are also professors at Utah State University, are participating in a lecture series initiated by Stake President Reed Bullen as a feature of the monthly High Priests meeting. The fall quarter speakers were John R. Simmons, "The L.D.S. Student Examines Evolution"; Bishop Alder, "Improving Music Performed in L.D.S. Services" and Lawrence O. Cannon, "The L.D.S. Student and National Student Unrest."

NAUVOO EXPOSITOR

Dallin H. Oaks, Professor of Law at the University of Chicago, has written an article for the Winter 1966 issue of the University of Utah Law Review entitled "Suppression of the Nauvoo Expositor." Marvin S. Hill, Assistant Professor of History at East Carolina College, comments as follows:

Professor Oaks describes ably the events leading up to the destruction of the apostate Mormon publication and explains the reasoning of the Nauvoo City Council in its decision to destroy not only the copies of the newspaper already printed but the press as well. He then dissects the legal implications of the City Council's action, both from the standpoint of Illinois state law and from the broader view of United States legal history. Mormon scholars will particularly appreciate the delineation of the many complexities of law involved in the summary disposal of this anti-Mormon spokesman within Nauvoo; they may be quite surprised at Oaks's conclusion that there was considerable legal justification for much of what the Mormon leaders did on that fateful day, June 10, 1844. Students of American civil liberties will also be impressed with Oaks's assessment of the Nauvoo affair in the evolution of United States constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press. It may be that some cautious historians will ponder Professor Oaks's suggestion that events following the destruction of the *Expositor* demonstrate that mob action was imminent and the security of the city at stake and that this was a justification for the crushing of the apostate press. Nonetheless, they will be heavily in Mr. Oaks's debt for his thorough exposition of what the law would and would not allow. Professor Oaks has here opened a field of inquiry that could bear much fruit. Students of Mormon history have long needed a professional evaluation of the legal rights of the Saints in the numerous controversies in which they were embroiled in the early history of the Church. This is an important beginning that no student will want to miss.

NON-EDITORIAL POSTLUDE

Joseph Jeppson

I am tremendously concerned about the weighty precepts and lofty thoughts which our editors and writers have thrust upon the Mormon people in this issue. And I think I should write a few words to pick up the spirits of the faithful. Outvoted at every turn, I saw the manuscripts of the solid and inspired writers overlooked in favor of those of evil and designing authors who

have absolutely no appreciation for the cultivated anti-intellectual viewpoint (with two exceptions).

Suppose that the religious principles which are most profound in their effect are those to which a man subscribes *unconsciously*. Such principles, then, tend to lose some of their power when a man becomes aware that they are "religious." Suppose too that true and everlasting religion is best glimpsed at the moment when a man asks himself, "What can I think and do which is most worthwhile?" If he responds to this question honestly, he has an opportunity to face up to his existential anxieties, to self-actualize himself, and to participate thereafter in the ground of all being on an I-Thou basis. But to do this he needs the help of his Home Teacher.

Now it is one of my own religious beliefs that happiness often visits a man during his process of striving for worthwhile things; happiness is most often an appendage to something else (i.e. — to the striving for the worthwhile). But if true religion stems primarily from postulates which one accepts unconsciously, then I must apologize for advising you to seek something "worthwhile." For by telling you to do that, I have moved a religious principle from your unconsciousness to your consciousness, setting it up for a patterned process of decline and eventual extinction. You might be better off, then, if you followed my other piece of advice, which I won't give you.¹

¹ Non-simplified explanation: Honest religionists should welcome the demise of that spiritual ecstasy which is born of non-supernatural ineffability. On the other hand, those for whom non-supernaturalism has become a religious commitment, and who take delight in discovering the temporal springs of some men's religious principles, should not think themselves justified in believing that all faith which rises from ineffability is necessarily anchored in *non-supernatural unconsciousness*.

IN FUTURE ISSUES

DIALOGUE will print a wide range of scholarly, literary, and artistic works in an attempt to present the full spectrum of Mormon thought; among those scheduled for publication are the following:

ARTICLES AND ESSAYS :

- James Haseltine on Mormons and the visual arts.
- Marden Clark on the struggle of art and religion against the market-place.
- Garth Mangum and Vernon Jensen on the Church and labor legislation.
- Dale LeCheminant on the Book of Job and the L.D.S. concept of evil.
- Farrell Edwards on the physical sciences in Mormon experience.
- Karen Rosenbaum on her six months in an Israeli kibbutz.
- James Allen on Joseph Smith's accounts of his "First Vision."
- J. D. Williams on the relationship of church and state in Mormon history.
- H. Grant Vest on the possibilities for better teaching in the Church.
- Karl Keller on a Mormon branch president's participation in a freedom ride.
- A series on Protestant theologians, including Charles H. Monson, Jr., on Reinhold Niebuhr, Louis Midgley on Paul Tillich, and Kenneth Godfrey on Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

Poems by R. A. Christmas, Karl Keller, Mary Lythgoe Bradford, Carol Lynn Wright.

Sermons by Ronald Poelman and Robert K. Thomas.

Drawings and paintings by a variety of established artists.

REVIEWS :

- Lowell Bennion on Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension*.
- Milton Backman on Horton Davies, *Christian Deviations*.
- Syi Sobel on Rudolph Glanz, *Mormon and Jew*.
- Carlfred Broderick on James A. Pike, *Teenagers and Sex: A Guide for Parents*, and Norman Vincent Peale, *Sin, Sex, and Self-Control*.
- Douglas Bunker on Harvey Cox, *The Secular City*.
- Rolfe Peterson on current cinema.

NOTES AND COMMENTS :

- Juanita Brooks on finding a meaningful relationship to the Church.
- Stanley Kimball, Dow Woodward, and Richard Bushman on the meaning of intelligence and the place of the intellectual in the Church.
- Hal Cole on the college students' neglect of the scriptures.

Special issues on Mormon history (guest edited by Leonard Arrington), on the Church and higher education, and on the role of women in Mormon society are also being planned.

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