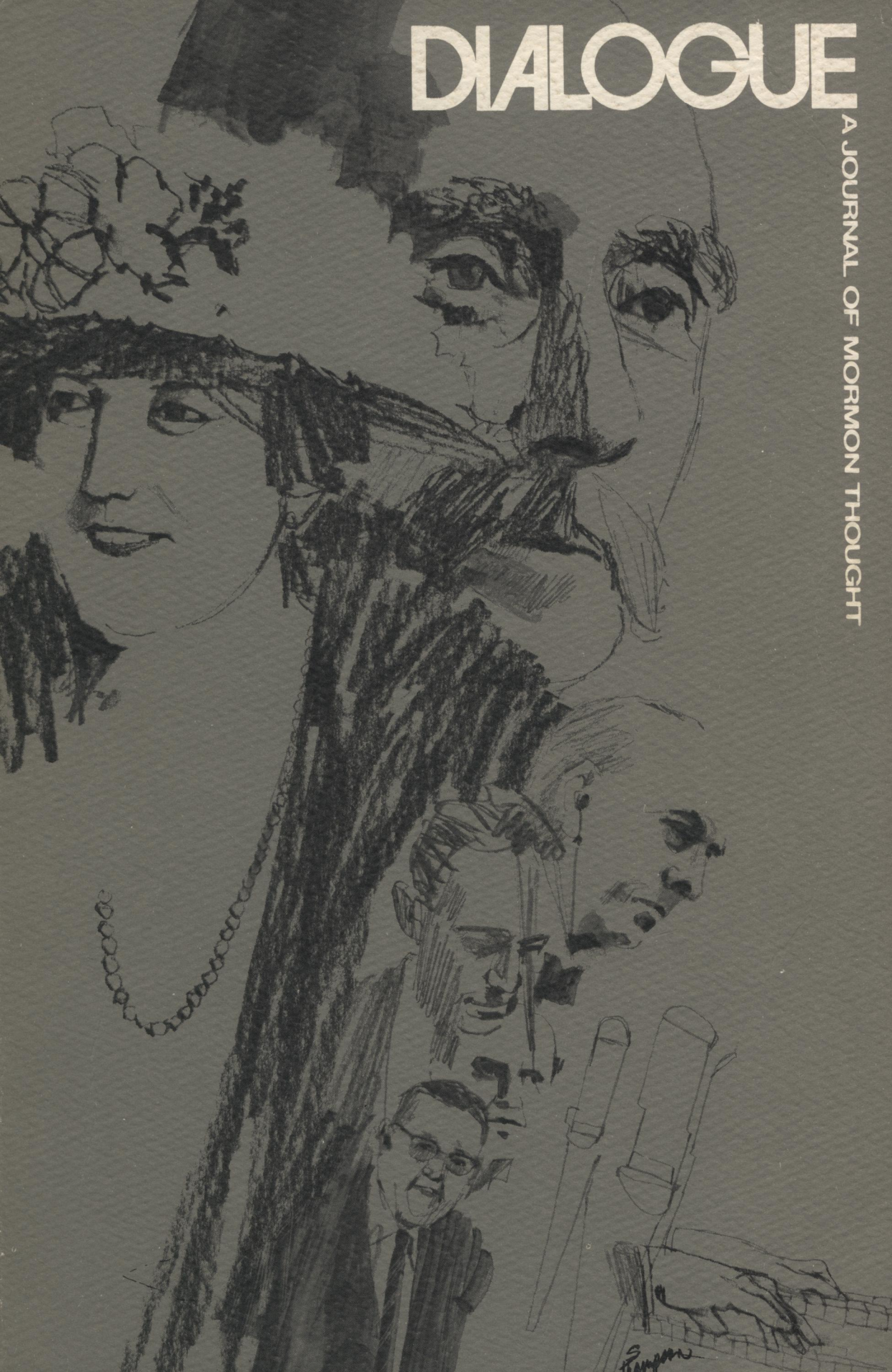


DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT



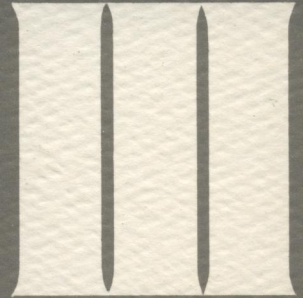
Sampson

BOARD OF EDITORS

DOUGLAS ALDER, *History, Utah State University*
JOHN BERNHARD, *Political Science, Brigham Young University*
MARY L. BRADFORD, *Literature, Arlington, Va.*
CARLFRED B. BRODERICK, *Family Relations, Pennsylvania State University*
DOUGLAS R. BUNKER, *Social Psychology, State University of New York, Buffalo*
VICTOR B. CLINE, *Psychology, University of Utah*
RICHARD J. CUMMINGS, *Modern Languages, University of Utah*
GARY H. DRIGGS, *Banking, Phoenix, Arizona*
JOHN HALE GARDNER, *Physics, Brigham Young University*
MICHAEL R. HARRIS, *History, Pomona College*
G. KENNETH HANDLEY, JR., *Law, Salt Lake City*
KARL KELLER, *Literature, San Diego State College*
STANLEY B. KIMBALL, *History, Southern Illinois University*
KENT LLOYD, *Political Science, University of Southern California*
GARTH L. MANGUM, *Economics, Washington, D.C.*
EDWARD D. MARYON, *Fine Arts, University of Utah*
FRANCES MENLOVE, *Psychology, Los Alamos, New Mexico*
R. JOSEPH MONSEN, JR., *Economics, University of Washington*
DIANE MONSON, *Political Science, Yale University*
REID NIBLEY, *Music, University of Michigan*
DALLIN H. OAKS, *Law, University of Chicago*
DeWITT J. PAUL, JR., *Industry, Union, N.J.*
CHASE N. PETERSON, *Dean of Admissions, Harvard University*
KENDALL O. PRICE, *Executive Development and Research, Inglewood, California*
STERLING D. SESSIONS, *Business Education, Lima, Peru*
CHERRY B. SILVER, *Literature, Denver, Colorado*
JOHN SORENSON, *Anthropology, Santa Barbara, California*
NORMAN H. TOLK, *Physics, Columbia University*
DOW O. WOODWARD, *Biochemistry, Stanford University*

ADVISORY EDITORS

LEONARD ARRINGTON & LOWELL BENNION



DIALOGUE A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

Volume III Number Two

☐ ☐ Summer 1968 ☐ ☐



EDITORIAL STAFF

MANAGING EDITORS:

*Eugene England**

*G. Wesley Johnson**

PUBLICATION EDITOR:

*(Salt Lake City) Paul G. Salisbury**

NOTES AND COMMENTS EDITOR:

*Joseph Jeppson**

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR:

*Richard L. Bushman**

ASSOCIATE BOOK REVIEW EDITOR:

Ralph W. Hansen

MANUSCRIPT EDITOR:

*Edward Geary**

COPY EDITOR:

R. A. Christmas

EDITORIAL ASSOCIATES:

Kent Robson, Karen Rosenbaum

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS:

Marilyn Pearson, Dixie Taylor

PUBLICATION ASSISTANTS:

Linda Wilcox, Doug Cowley

OFFICE MANAGER:

Christie Goldfarb

SUBSCRIPTIONS:

Pat Bacon, Nancy Folland

PROMOTION:

George Pearson, Margot Pearson

*Indicates member of Executive Committee

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 Latter-day Saints who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with human experience as a whole and to foster artistic and scholarly achievement based on their cultural heritage. The Journal encourages a variety of viewpoints; although every effort is made to 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.

Contents

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS	5
------------------------	---

ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

ON MORMON MUSIC AND MUSICIANS	<i>Lowell M. Durham</i>	19
JOSEPH SMITH AS A STUDENT OF HEBREW	<i>Louis C. Zucker</i>	41
THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH AND MEANING IN MORMON HISTORY	<i>Leonard J. Arrington</i>	56
THE JOSEPH SMITH EGYPTIAN PAPYRI TRANSLATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS		
A Summary Report	<i>John A. Wilson</i>	67
The Joseph Smith Papyri: A Preliminary Report	<i>Richard A. Parker</i>	86
A Tentative Approach to the Book of Abraham	<i>Richard P. Howard</i>	88
The Source of the Book of Abraham Identified	<i>Grant S. Heward & Jerald Tanner</i>	92
The Book of Breathings (Fragment 1, the "sensen" Text, with Restorations from Louvre Papyrus 3284)	<i>translated by Richard A. Parker</i>	98
Phase One	<i>Hugh Nibley</i>	99

ROUNDTABLE

THE CHURCH AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

The Church and Collective Bargaining in American Society	<i>Garth L. Mangum</i>	106
Philosophical, Legal, and Practical Considerations of Collective Bargaining in an Enterprise Society	<i>Vernon H. Jensen</i>	111
The Mormon Congressman and the Line Between Church and State	<i>H. George Frederickson & Alden J. Stevens</i>	121
The L.D.S. Church as a Significant Political Reference Group in Utah: "Right to Work"	<i>Richard B. Wirthlin & Bruce D. Merrill</i>	129

Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought is published by the Dialogue Foundation. Editorial Office and Subscription Department, P. O. Box 2350, Stanford, California 94305. Publication Office, 2180 E. 9th South, Salt Lake City, Utah 84108. All communications should be sent to the Editorial Offices. *Dialogue* has no official connection with any department of Stanford University or of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Second class postage paid at Salt Lake City, Utah. Printed by The Quality Press, Salt Lake City. Contents copyright © 1968 by the Dialogue Foundation.

REVIEWS

- THE DIVINITY IN HUMANITY *Louis Midgley* 134
YOU SHALL BE AS GODS by *Erich Fromm*
- STORYBOOK GRANDMOTHERS *Caroline Addy* 138
MARY FIELDING SMITH: DAUGHTER OF BRITAIN
by *Don Cecil Corbett*
LIFE IS A FULFILLING by *Olive Kimball B. Mitchell*
- ON THE MORMON TRAIL *T. Edgar Lyon* 140
MORMON TRAIL FROM VERMONT TO UTAH
by *Alma P. Burton*
THE TRAVELERS' GUIDE TO HISTORIC MORMON AMERICA
by *R. Don Oscarson and Stanley B. Kimball*
- LEARNING TO LEAD *William G. Dyer* 142
THE CHURCH EXECUTIVE by *Kent Lloyd, Kendell Price,
V. Dallas Merrell and Ellsworth Johnson*
THE TEN MOST WANTED MEN by *Paul H. Dunn*

AMONG THE MORMONS

- A SURVEY OF CURRENT LITERATURE *Ralph W. Hansen* 149

NOTES AND COMMENTS

- SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE KINGDOM AND THE
GATHERING IN EARLY MORMON HISTORY *Robert Flanders* 156
- MORALITY ON THE CAMPUS *Wilford E. Smith* 161
- PROFILE OF A MORMON STUDENT *Gary W. Grant* 165

ART CREDITS

Cover Design: SHERRY THOMPSON

The original sketches in this issue are by the following artists:

EDWARD MARYON	138, 142, 145, 150, 159
JERRY THOMPSON	168
SHERRY THOMPSON	31

Photos by:

GORDON PERRY	6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18
--------------	---------------------------------

Dialogue is published quarterly in Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter issues. Subscription rate in the United States is \$7 per year; \$5 for students and missionaries, add \$1 for foreign subscriptions. Single copies, \$2, back issues, \$2.50. Subscription and change of address requests should be sent to the Subscription Department, P. O. Box 2350, Stanford, California 94305. *Dialogue* welcomes articles, essays, stories, notes and comments, and art work. Manuscripts should be sent in duplicate to the Manuscript Editor, accompanied by return postage.

Love is one of the chief characteristics of Deity and ought to be manifest by those who aspire to be the sons of God. A man filled with the love of God is not content with blessing his family alone but ranges throughout the whole world anxious to bless the whole human race.

—Joseph Smith, Jr.

Jesus' teachings may be applied just as efficaciously to social groups and national problems as to individuals if men would only give them a trial.

*—Pres. David O. McKay
General Conference
April, 1968*

We believe that all men are the children of the same God and that it is a moral evil for any person or group of persons to deny any human being the right to gainful employment, to full educational opportunity, and to every privilege of citizenship.

*—Hugh B. Brown
General Conference
October, 1963*

Letters to the Editors

The texture studies in this section are by Gordon Peery.

The letters in this issue reflect accurately the relative quantity of letters received on the different subjects as well as the various points of view.

Dear Sirs:

I am much interested in the cover of the Spring, 1968, *Dialogue*. It is challenging and provocative, as though it carries a hidden meaning. I had some difficulty in the Desert Alphabet bit, until I discovered that it was upside-down and I was going at it backwards. It is, of course, the title, *Dialogue*.

The three buildings, the people singly and in groups, the cannon and its three balls, all have their place in our history. What impressed me was the large, heavy word *MORMON* on the front cover, with the tiny, thin, almost microscopic word *THOUGHT* underneath it. Is Miss Thompson trying to say to us that the magazine is heavy on *MORMON* and light on *THOUGHT*?

Juanita Brooks
St. George, Utah

Dear Sirs:

Greatly concerned over a devastating American tragedy, President Johnson proclaimed Sunday, April 7, a national day of mourning, dedicated to religious services and prayers for peace. Nationwide, prescheduled programs and events were cancelled to report and televise our nation extending empathy to a persecuted minority group, whose Christian leader had been murdered; and sympathy to the bereaved family of Dr. Martin Luther King. Our nation united in prayers for peace, for Christian brotherhood, and wisdom to save our country from riots, arson, plunder, and more deaths.

That is, all except the Mormons.

As usual, the Mormons had a prearranged two-hour world-wide coverage for morning conference. A grieving, frightened world heard our Mormon leaders, in both opening and closing prayers, pray for our Mormon leaders, our Mormon membership, our Mormon missionaries; and the safety of Mormons returning to the Salt Lake Tabernacle for afternoon conference.

Our leaders usually pray for peace and brotherhood. But not April the seventh. The Presidential proclamation was completely ignored. On a world-wide hook-up there was no Mormon sympathy extended to the bereaved King family; there was no Mormon offer of Christian brotherhood and understanding; there was no Mormon prayer for national and world peace. But alas! We met our national crisis by telling the world all problems could be solved by keeping the Word of Wisdom.

Isn't it time we got off the milk diet and sank our teeth into hard core racial problems, and assumed our portion of guilt for the existing racial war?

Lucille Young Hyler
San Jose, Calif.

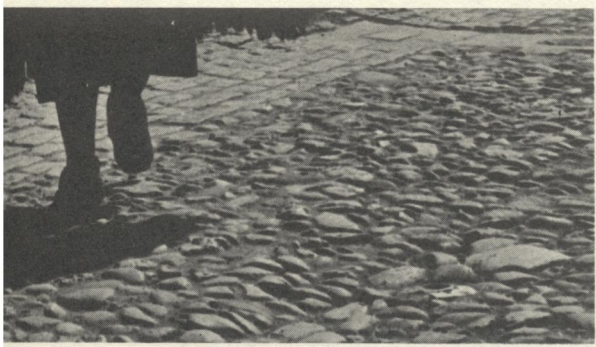
Dear Sirs:

. . . The absence of any reference or allusion to Dr. King during the Sunday broadcast of General Conference, while the remainder of the nation remembered the man and mourned the loss of a great humanitarian, was damning. The least one could infer from this conspicuous omission is that the Church is extremely provincial and anti-ecumenical. The most one could infer is (1) the Church is not concerned with human (civil) rights, (2) a Negro "Ghandi" cannot be recognized as such by Mormon

leaders, and (3) there is a racial gulf between Mormonism and Negroes that transcends theological finery. . . .

Had Martin Luther King, a truly great modern disciple of Christ, not been "cursed" by the Church, then perhaps he would have been remembered before the world by one of the Conference speakers.

Roger Knight
Santa Barbara, Calif.



Dear Sirs:

In the morning session of General Conference in Salt Lake City on April 7th, there was no mention of the murder on the preceding Thursday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. On that same Sunday morning, sermons in many other churches were dedicated to the memory of Dr. King.

There may have been listeners who expected something would be said of Dr. King who were puzzled or even troubled when nothing was said. My purpose in writing is to attempt to answer any such listeners. I have not consulted with the General Authorities, and of course the answers I give are entirely unofficial. There may be other answers which have not occurred to me.

I submit that the silence of the General Authorities on the murder of Dr. King was proper for the following reasons:

1. Only a minuscule percentage of the members of the Church are Negroes, and it would have been inappropriate to use valuable time on matters of so little interest to the great majority of the listeners. If mention of Dr. King was appropriate at all, it should not have usurped the time of the one Conference session that was broadcast nationally and internationally on radio and television.

2. Too much time and attention were being devoted to Dr. King by other churches, and our Church was right in remaining steadfast in its devotion to correctness of theological precept and practice rather than diverting its energies to racial inequality and social injustice and other matters not properly the concern of organized religion.

3. Bluntly, though Dr. King professed nonviolence, violence always followed him. We cannot excuse his encouragement of disobedience to laws which he thought unjust and unconstitutional. In our ordered society, no individual or group has the right on grounds of conscience or religious belief to advocate even peaceful defiance of any law whether that law requires segregation of races or limits the number of wives a man may marry.

4. Finally, it simply may not have occurred to anyone to mention the death of Dr. King. After all, the martyrdom of a 39-year-old zealot leader of a fanatic minority is of no more moment today than it was in 1844.

Owen Olpin
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

President McKay's plea for faith in the living Christ to solve the problems of society was an inspiring highlight of the April General Conference. Disappointingly, however, Conference speakers avoided directing their moral suasion specifically toward resolving the big social problems of urban America.

Coming as it did on the week-end designated by Presidential proclamation for national mourning over the tragedy in Memphis, the Conference may have been the only nationally broadcast religious service in which fitting tribute was not paid to the Christian leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. My own family watched Conference and listened to the Priesthood session hoping for a note of consolation only to find none.

Undoubtedly racism and slavery were common in the days of Abraham and Moses, but they are alien to the gospel of Jesus. It is regrettable to the point of tragedy that we have permitted the ancient writings of the Pearl of Great Price to prevail over the

more enlightened teachings of the Book of Mormon and the New Testament.

As a bishop and former member of the Sunday School General Board who has followed with enthusiasm and respect the great growth in size and influence of the Church under President McKay's direction, I hope his achievements may be crowned with the manifesto ending racial discrimination as an official policy of the Church.

No action could be more meaningful in demonstrating the majesty and spirit of the living gospel in our time.

Wayne M. Carle
Columbus, Ohio

For the information of readers who may not otherwise be informed, it should be noted that President Hugh B. Brown opened the first session of General Conference on Friday, April 5, 1968, with the following remarks:

"At this time we express deep sorrow and shock at the news of the passing of a man, Martin Luther King, who dedicated his life to what he believed to be the welfare of his people. It is a shocking thing that in this age such a thing could happen. We pray God's blessing upon his family, his friends, and those associated with him."

President James O. Mason, of the Atlanta Stake Presidency attended the funeral of Dr. King and when he was unable to deliver the following message from President Brown to the King family, sent it by telegraph:

"The leaders and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints wish to express to the wife, friends and associates of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., our profound sense of shock and grief. We join hands with all those who see in his death a need for recommitment to all those just principles in which we all believe." [Ed.]

Dear Sirs:

The final authority involved in ordinations in the Aaronic Priesthood is no higher than a ward bishop. This means that any restrictions God may wish to impose on such ordinations must be communicated unmistak-

ably to every bishop. So, if it is God's will that Negroes not be ordained (and I concede that God can make such a rule if He chooses), it is imperative that bishops be so instructed. And, considering the admitted importance of order in the Church ("My house is a house of order"), we should expect that these instructions would be very explicit, to include a definition of what a Negro is and the criteria by which their identity is to be determined. Such specifications, though, are not presented, even in the most logical place for such — that section of the Aaronic Priesthood-Youth Handbook entitled, "Worthiness and Age Are Prerequisites to Ordination." Nor is the subject of Negroes mentioned anywhere in the Handbook.

If bishops are not explicitly instructed in this matter, why is it then that no Negro has been ordained for such a long time? I think the explanation may lie in the power of tradition — not just a tradition that Negroes shall be denied the priesthood, but a tradition that the word of General Authorities is the word of God. We have the recorded words of several General Authorities from Brigham Young on that this practice is in accordance with the will of God. Without exception, though, none of these declarations establishes the practice as being God's will; they merely infer that at some time in the dim past the practice was estab-



lished by someone who had the authority to do so. What I have said holds, also, for the First Presidency on the Negro Question, dated August 17, 1951, which says, in part: "It is not a matter of the declaration of a policy but of direct commandment from the Lord . . . that negroes may become members of the church but that they are not

entitled to the priesthood at the present time." Since the "direct commandment from the Lord" alluded to has not been documented, all that can be established with certainty from the cited Statement is that the First Presidency, at that time, sincerely believed that God had made such a revelation. Is it possible that God would permit the First Presidency to make such a statement if it were not true? I think such is possible, and this calls forth the re-examination I alluded to earlier.

In his article, Mr. Mauss stated that "the integrity of the principle of continuous revelation must be maintained." Most members of the Church would emphatically agree. I object on one point, though, and that is with the inclusion of the word *continuous*. Revelations between God and man, as communications between men, are discrete, not continuous. The ninth Article of Faith reads: "We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal, and we believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God." This neither states nor implies anything regarding the frequency, regularity, or duration of revelations. The statement is true whether revelations are received on an average of once every hundred years or whether they are received every hour on the hour.

I can believe that God deliberately avoids anything akin to continuous revelation — even frequent revelations. He has sent us, His children, to this life so that we might grow personally through personal experience. I believe that God trusts us. He trusts us not that we will never err, but that somehow we will make a success of life, in spite of our mistakes, or perhaps better said, because of our mistakes. With a similar faith, I think, we watch our own young children go off to school alone. Were we to go with them and counsel them as they do their schoolwork and take their examinations, they would, no doubt, receive excellent grades. But we don't do that; we allow them to have this experience alone. Yes, we help them out occasionally, but we are wary lest we foster an overdependence which could limit our children's capacity to grow.

The Church is avoiding what could be a golden opportunity to make a significant contribution toward the universal accept-

ance of Negroes by our society. There are examples of Mormons who have made significant individual contributions in this area, but even the greatest of these contributions is negligible compared to what could be accomplished through the united efforts of the membership of so respected an organization as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. But any overt effort the Church might make in that direction today would surely be regarded as hypocritical.

When will Negro members be ordained to the priesthood? I think the answer is in the hands — and hearts — of the membership of the Church. The pioneers on this frontier will be Mormon men and women who have taken to heart the Savior's injunction to love their neighbors as themselves; their leader will be a bishop whose courage to face social pressures will be comparable to the physical courage inherent in the Mormon exodus of the past century.

Harold W. Simons
Mission Hills, California

Dear Sirs:

The article by Mr. Armand L. Mauss in the Winter, 1968, issue of *Dialogue* is almost irrelevant, inconsequential, and quite immaterial in the present social, political, economic and religious setting of America and the world. It presents nothing new, really. The studies or feelings of certain groups; the T.V. or radio interviews shed little or no additional light on the problem, nor do they point with surety to a solution of the Negro question in the Mormon Church.

The references to statements of past Church leaders or the warmed over feelings of early Church members of a hundred years ago, more or less, befog the issue today. We live in a different world of thought and action, of belief and opinion, especially in this important area of human relationships. Knowledge and information have largely replaced superstition, ignorance and fear.

Mr. Mauss's article does not take this into consideration. He seems to follow the time-worn excuse: "now is not the time" or "when God wants the Negro to receive the Priesthood, He will reveal it to our President." And so, Mr. Mauss offers nothing new and certainly he does not give any greater

hope now than before that the "curse" will be taken away.

We cannot follow Mr. Mauss's argument that the guarantees provided by the Constitution to all citizens of the United States of America in political and civil affairs; equal citizenship; equal opportunities, and "with liberty and justice for all" in the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, do not apply to spiritual and religious freedom and opportunity in a Church. Especially so when that Church receives its very freedom to worship under the guarantees of that same Constitution. Consistency where art thou?

In another indefensible statement Mr. Mauss seems to justify the withholding of the Priesthood from the Negro by saying that Mormon women do not hold it either. Mr. Mauss knows very well that worthy Mormon women go to the temple, do work for the dead, marry their husbands, receive their endowments and participate in all ceremonies which promise exaltation in the Celestial Kingdom in the resurrection. No Negro man or woman can even be baptized in the temple, let alone participate in the saving and exalting rites and ceremonies that lead to the highest degree in the Celestial Glory.

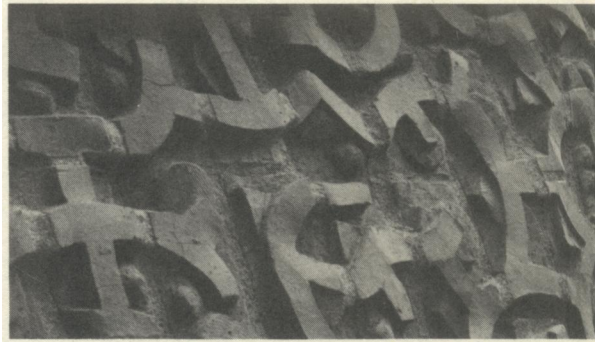
We are glad that Mr. Mauss "feels uncomfortable" with the present dogma and practice, but we do question his statement that his commitment to the religion (LDS) "is much too broadly based to become disaffected over what is, after all, a peripheral problem by comparison with the more fundamental tenets of the faith." Please reconsider, Mr. Mauss, "for the worth of souls, each individual soul (person) is great in the sight of God." The worth and dignity of each one cannot be measured. When the happiness and progress and eternal salvation of not one but millions of souls is denied along with the privileges and opportunities that all other men are invited to enjoy here and now, and on such tenuous and uncertain grounds, your "peripheral" excuse becomes the very center of the entire problem.

We wonder, bringing the case on a person to person basis, what Mr. Mauss would say or how he would feel if he were a Negro and were "spiritually taxed" without any knowledge of the "taxation" and without his being really represented by anyone of his choice. Perhaps he would wonder just

what kind of a "deal" he had become party to without his consent.

Perhaps Elbert Hubbard's paraphrasing of the Golden Rule says it clearly: "Do unto others as though you were the others." This statement may be the best answer to those who support the dogma and practice of discrimination.

It is better to err on the side of charity than to stubbornly resist change when it harms, hurts, and does damage to a Church, a Nation, and a World crying for help, love, and understanding.



Mr. Mauss's statement: "Get off our backs," causes us to ponder the question: What if the forces that brought about the freedom of the Negro over 100 years ago had ceased their agitation, had "gotten off the backs" of the slave-holders? Many of these same slave-holders believed that God had cursed the black people and that they were created to be servants to the white man forever. Even Brigham Young, during the Civil War, said "Will the present conflict free the slaves? No!" (*Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 10, p. 250). Of course, he was wrong.

We hope and believe the leaders of the LDS Church have enough revelation now to dissolve the dogma and practice against the Negro. We hope and believe they "want to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly" with God and their fellow men. We believe and hope that they will show their desires by emancipating the Negro and by liberating him from the spiritual jail in which, we believe, he has been incarcerated so unjustly for so long.

John W. Fitzgerald
LaMar Petersen
Holladay, Utah

Dear Sirs:

I am willing to accept Armand L. Mauss's report of his findings in the *Dialogue* article. . . . However, I regard the social manifestations of the doctrine as irrelevant to the central issue. . . .

What really troubles so many people like Stewart Udall is the ecclesiastical second-class citizenship which the doctrine assigns the Negro — a much more serious matter than the denial of civil rights.

Dr. Mauss and others decry the open, public discussion and criticism of the policy. I do not agree with this point of view. Mormons are told that revelations come through and as a result of the prayers of the people. While it may not correspond to the conventional concept of prayer, I would argue that sincere discussion of such issues constitutes a form of "prayer," and one that rests on the conviction that God can see and read as well as hear.

Lowry Nelson
Coral Gables, Fla.

Dear Sirs:

I was deeply touched by Armand Mauss's moving plea to our critics to "get off our backs!" It is most unfair of them, merely because we claim to be the true church of Christ to expect us to "Go . . . into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

How prejudiced of them to expect us to recognize the universality of the gospel of Christ, a mere "peripheral problem" in any case, merely because we claim to be led by men who are living apostles and prophets in the same sense as he who said, "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons. But in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him."

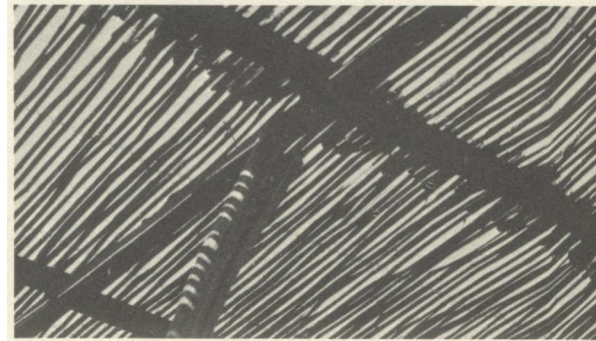
How short-sighted of the N.A.A.C.P. not to have recognized that merely because we treat the Negro as a second class citizen in the Kingdom of God, that it doesn't necessarily mean that we think that they are not as good as anyone else. Particularly so, when one of our leaders, "has gone to some length," way back in 1965 to point out that the Church does not believe in denying civil rights to any person on grounds of race or color.

How can they doubt the love of the members of the Church for the Negro in the light of the fact that two Mormons, Karl Keller and Governor Romney, have participated in some civil rights marches?

Armand Mauss has proven that we are no more racially prejudiced than the rest. Merely because we claim to be His church, "the salt of the earth," "the light of the world," doesn't mean that we are supposed to be better than anyone else.

Christ said, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Maybe if our critics knew about our good health and educational achievements, they would be more impressed and would stop persecuting us.

Joseph C. Smith
Vancouver, B. C.



Dear Sirs:

Armand L. Mauss attempts to show the tenuousness of the scriptural evidence connecting the curse placed upon Cain with a black skin and a black skin with ineligibility to hold the Priesthood. He may well be right in all of his allegations, but we must always remember that the prophets are not limited in their understanding of God's economy to just what they can wring out of an obscure passage here or there. Since we believe in continuous revelation and a progressive unfolding of God's secrets, we are not book-bound like other sectarians. We could think as we do without benefit of any written scripture. The fact that a given scripture or couplet of scriptures does not prove conclusively that there is a connection between Cain's curse, a black skin, and a proscription against bestowal of the Priesthood, is almost beside the point. If it is the consensus of the presiding prophets of God that these bits and snatches of scripture do bear on

the reason why we withhold the Priesthood from the Negroes, then perhaps we should take their word for it.

In like manner, it is not our prerogative to lambaste the authorities, as some have done, for permitting the Fiji Islanders (who look Negroid) to hold the Priesthood while we withhold it from African Negroids. After all, the prophets may have more insight into racial makeup and "spiritual genetics" than our wisest anthropologists do. Why else would missionaries have been sent to the wild and woolly islands of Polynesia so early in the Church's history? Who but a prophet would have known that there was an Israelitish element in these South Sea peoples?

I was also a bit miffed by Brother Mauss's mild castigation of John Stewart's and John Lund's mini-books about Mormonism and the Negro. True, there is always the danger that anything written by any Mormon, as well as many things written by our detractors, will be taken as Church doctrine when, in fact, it is more or less private opinion. Nevertheless, I see no irreparable harm in speculating about the possible reasons for our Church's practice of denying the Priesthood to Negroes. (It is human nature to seek justification for puzzling edicts.) All such speculation must, however, be prefaced by a strong and sincere disclaimer of official sanction. Since this is a very touchy subject and one where little has been revealed, it is not only possible but likely that "reasonable men may reasonably disagree" as to the divinity of the practice without relegating each other to the bottomless pit for holding an opposite view.

If there were those in the pre-existence who forfeited their right to hold the Priesthood when they came to Earth, what more convenient vehicle could the Lord utilize to carry out His purposes with regard to these self-limited spirits than the vehicle of race? After all, race is a biological reality. No amount of sophistry bemoaning the "myth of race" can erase this reality. It is just as logical to believe that God would send the self-limited spirits to Earth through one lineage as it is to believe that He would send those fore-ordained to hold the Priesthood to Earth through another lineage. Do we not believe that the lineal descendants of Israel have a positive obligation to hold and

honor the Priesthood in order to be a blessing to all other peoples? In between the two extremes are the Gentiles, who may be adopted into the House of Israel and thereby qualify for the Priesthood. These doctrines may not appeal to the modern secular mind. But when has the Kingdom of God, with its admittedly elitist overtones, ever made sense to the worldly wise?

Lehi's teaching that "there must needs be an opposition in all things" might have bearing on the plight of the Negro race vis-a-vis the Priesthood. When one starts thinking about this principle of opposition one is struck by the fact that it is virtually impossible to think of anything which does not have a contradictory counterpart: night and day, good and bad, rich and poor, healthy and ill, smart and dumb, up and down, in and out, yes and no, and so forth.

Whatever prompted the Lord to make us so unequal? Is it not that we would not learn to appreciate and use fully our faculties if it never occurred to us what it would be like to be without them? If all men could see, would we not take sight for granted and learn very little about sight? The same query applies to hearing. If all women could have children, one of the surpassing challenges of medical science would be obviated. Finally, if all men could hold the Priesthood, could we truly appreciate what it would be like to be without this gift?

It is, of course, risky and somewhat fallacious to compare physical and spiritual handicaps. My main point is, however, that life is a great laboratory and there must necessarily be a full spectrum of human conditions and aptitudes, an opposition in all things.

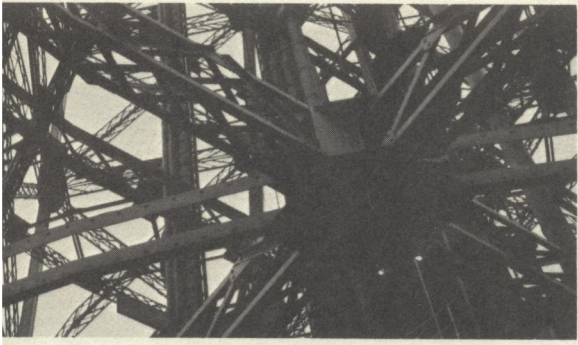
Charles L. Sellers
Salisbury, N. C.

Dear Sirs:

Armand L. Mauss's "Faith and Folklore" thesis suggests a dichotomy unacceptable to me, and one which I hope *Dialogue's* readers will not fail to note: The principle of continued revelation is here being brought into inexorable conflict with the L.D.S. Standard Works.

I have to wonder whether or not the words "Standard Works" should not be substituted for "Bible" in the oft-cited passage in 2nd Nephi (" . . . A Bible! A Bible! We

have got a Bible, and there cannot be any more Bible”) when a Latter-day Saint suggests that, while a Prophet has the *right* to give authoritative and binding interpretations of the Standard Works, yet these interpretations are by definition “Folklore” if they fail to meet an undefined standard which itself would inevitably involve *interpretation!* Almost as if the Standard Works exist in a sort of vacuum devoid of the need for explanation, a self-explanatory all-sufficient deposit of the faith whose interpretation even by the Prophet binds no one unless even “in formal and unanimous concert” with his Counsellors or the Twelve. In footnote 18 Dr. Mauss refers to the widely-published “subjective test” offered by President J. Reuben Clark in 1954 as a determinant for inspired interpretations: The body of the Saints will know when the Prophet is “moved upon by the Holy Ghost” only when they themselves are so moved upon. While Mauss admits this test represents “helpful counsel,” his “folklore” premise clearly suggests that neither the prophets nor the body of the saints *have* ever been so moved upon as regards the oft-repeated and widely-accepted interpretations which he regards as “popular myths.”



Having admitted that formal pronouncements of the First Presidency *are* regarded as official doctrine, Mauss rejects as “folklore” any scriptural interpretation “which ties denial of priesthood to skin color.” Yet in their formal statement on the Negro Question (which Mauss cites in footnote 3) the First Presidency, in 1951, apparently made *that very connection* by citing President Brigham Young’s statement tying “the curse of a skin of blackness” to rejection of the priesthood and the law of God; then

further declaring that only when that curse is removed will those so cursed possess the priesthood.

One probably need not inquire of Brother Mauss’s judgment of other statements by President Young touching upon the “official doctrine” question: In October Conference, 1897, President Woodruff quoted the Prophet as having laid each of the Standard Works upon the pulpit during an earlier conference and declaring:

There is the written word of God to us. . . . And now, when compared to living oracles, those books are nothing to me; those books do not convey the word of God direct to us now, as do the words of a Prophet . . . in our day and generation. I would rather have living oracles than all the writing in the books.

That President Young would not shrink from J. Reuben Clark’s “subjective” test seems implicit in his later remark:

In my doctrinal teachings I have taught many things not written in any book, ancient or modern; and yet, notwithstanding the many things I have told the people, I have never looked into the Bible, Book of Mormon, or the Doctrine & Covenants . . . to see whether they agreed with them or not. When I have spoken by the power of God and the Holy Ghost, it is truth, it is scripture, and I have no fears but that it will agree with all that has been revealed in every particular. (*Deseret News*, June 6, 1877)

As for his statement (p. 27) that no scriptural grounds exist for supposing “that the ‘curse’ or ‘mark’ should apply to any of Cain’s descendants,” the reader is referred to verse 30 of Genesis 9 in the Inspired Version: “And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant, and a *veil of darkness shall cover him*, that he shall be known among all men.”

While many a Latter-day Saint, both layman and sociologist, may heartily agree with Mauss’s objective and provocative approach; in view of the Ninth Article of Faith it is hoped they will not fail to see the inexorable conclusion to which his “folklore” premise leads.

Robert M. Frame
Camarillo, California

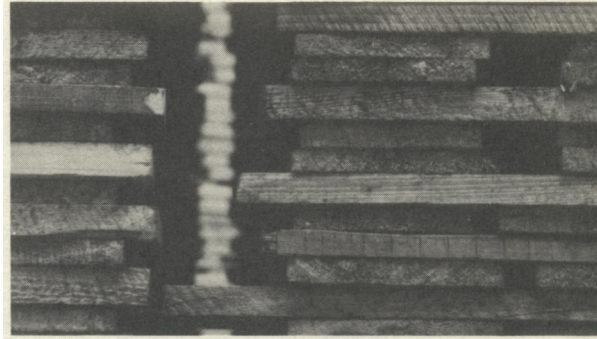
Armand L. Mauss replies to the above letters:

As I expected, my article has been criticised from two sides: because I refused to elevate all apostolic speculations to scripture (Frame and Sellers), and because I refused to join the clamor demanding that the prophets get an immediate revelation to bring the church "up to date" on the Negro issue (Nelson, Simons, Fitzgerald and Peterson). I shall reply first to the former.

I can understand why many church members try to undergird cherished myths and "explanations" with "authoritative" statements, however tenuous these may be (as Sellers remarks, "It is human nature to seek justification for puzzling edicts"). However, I am arguing for a kind of "law of parsimony" in determining what is of scriptural or canonical stature and what is not; i.e. if it is not in one of the four Standard Works, then it seems to me that the burden of proof is upon the person who claims that a certain doctrine is the revealed work of God. I know, of course, that there are doctrines and practices binding upon the Church which are not found in the Standard Works, but I am not always sure what these are, and I am not willing to accept the judgment of Sunday School teachers (or even Stake Presidents) as to what extra-scriptural dicta I must regard as the word of God. In footnote eighteen I suggested that *one* criterion that would impress me (but *not* necessarily the *only* one) would be a statement from the First Presidency speaking "in formal and unanimous concert." For that matter, I think highly enough of the integrity, caution, and humility of our prophets and apostles that *if any one of them* who has spoken or written on the role of the Negro *would declare that his views were received by revelation* from the Lord, then I would accept those views as true doctrines; but I think it is significant that none of these brethren has so declared, or even implied. I suspect, indeed, that they are far more cautious about the prophetic authenticity of what they say than are the Saints at large.

And why should it be otherwise? One has only to consider the numerous instances of conflict and contradiction between the private opinions of the Presiding Brethren to realize how ridiculous it is to insist that

everything any of them ever says in a discourse or treatise must be regarded as a prophetic utterance. Historian Richard Poll of Brigham Young University has cited, for example, the differences of opinion between President McKay and President Smith on the process of creation (*Dialogue*, Winter, 1967, p. 111), and between Heber J. Grant and Reed Smoot on the League of Nations (*Dialogue*, Winter, 1967, p. 111). Are we all to accept the political opinions of Elder



Benson, or of President Brown? If John A. Widtsoe writes a book saying that drinking chocolate is a violation of the Word of Wisdom, must we all abstain from chocolate? And even on the so-called "Negro issue," one can scarcely speak of a "consensus of the presiding prophets of God," as Sellers has done, for only a handful of them, in all of Church history, have ever spoken on the issue at all; and President McKay, who has given us the longest single statement on the matter, manages to discuss it for some 1500 words without ever once mentioning Cain, Ham, black skins, marks, or curses (Llewelyn McKay's *Home Memories*, pp. 226-231).

The references I have cited in footnote eighteen place Sellers and Frame in a logical dilemma. Doctrine and Covenants 68:4, in adding the qualifying phrase, "when moved upon by the Holy Ghost," clearly implies that a prophet may speak sometimes when he is *not* so moved (the same qualifying phrase is found in Frame's quotation from Brigham Young); furthermore, the Prophet Joseph Smith himself is quoted as saying that a prophet does not always speak as a prophet, a contention put forth at some length by J. Reuben Clark in my citation. Now Frame and Sellers either accept all the

public pronouncements of the prophets as true doctrine, or they do not. If they do not, then they agree with me; on the other hand, if they do, then they must also accept the pronouncements of the Prophets Joseph Smith and J. Reuben Clark, who say that *a prophet does not always speak as a prophet*, and thus they still have to agree with me.

To Frame I might say two additional things: (1) In the 1951 letter of the First Presidency to which you refer, I do not find in the reference from Brigham Young the explicit tie which you seem to see between skin color and denial of the priesthood *today*; furthermore, it is not clear to me whether the First Presidency is endorsing the literal phraseology of Brigham Young (which would seem to fly in the face of the second Article of Faith), or whether they are concerned with showing the historical background of "the operation of the principle," as they say. (2) In your "proof-text" quotation of the phrase *veil of darkness* from Genesis 30:9 of the Inspired Version, you are simply snatching a scriptural straw (without establishing any connection between Cain and Canaan) and giving it an interpretation based upon an *a priori* conception. Such logic would require us also to read Isaiah 60:2 ("darkness shall cover the earth and gross darkness the people") as a prophecy that the skins of all men would someday be turned black.

Now for a few words to the other group of my critics. The reformer in our society often demands the conformity of each and every person, each and every social institution to a particular notion of what is Right or Historically Necessary at a certain point in time. Those who raise any doubts about the cogency or justice of any one of the reformer's demands (though they may accept his ultimate goals) are likely to be dealt with caustically as hypocrites (Smith's letter), or find their evidence dismissed as "irrelevant, inconsequential, and quite immaterial in the present . . . setting of America and the world" (Fitzgerald and Petersen). . . . Convinced that God's will and the scriptures are on his side, the reformer insists that we not only sympathize with his basic philosophical premise, but also agree to every specific policy change he proposes, for all "barriers" to Progress must be struck down immediately; nor is any

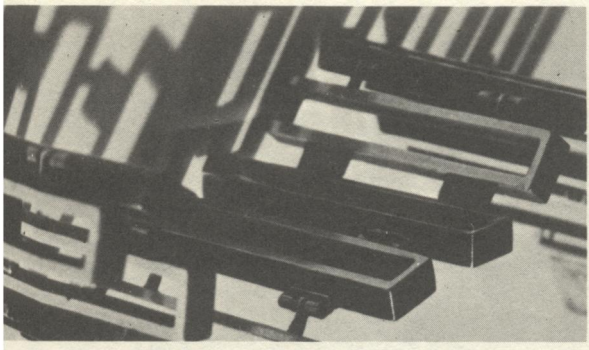
private organization like a church exempt from his zeal. There is a special paradox in all this for the *Mormon* reformer, who is presumably committed to a belief in the authenticity of the modern prophets; for although he has no hesitation whatever in assuring the prophets that *they* have lost touch with God's will in the matter of the Negroes, he apparently entertains few doubts about *his own* rapport with God on this matter, thus arrogating to himself a prophetic insight which he denies even to the prophets. Or, in the spirit of Smith's letter, one might say, "How narrow and old-fashioned of the prophets not to have recognized that in the modern world they should look to the NAACP and to liberal academicians for guidance in such ecclesiastical questions as who gets the priesthood. Surely the prophets should have figured out that 'preach the gospel to every creature' means preach it to everyone *right now*"; and that 'he that . . . worketh righteousness is *accepted* with Him' *must* mean that all good men and women should be given the priesthood. It is neither my intention nor my place to "justify" or "excuse" any official "dogma and practice" which to Fitzgerald and Petersen may seem "indefensible"; my purpose in referring to the parallel practice of denying the priesthood to women was only to show that such a practice is no more "defensible" from a secular point of view than the one under criticism, though the critics, curiously, have shown no outrage about *that*.

In response to Nelson, I would say two things: (1) It is true that from a sociological point of view, the Negro's standing in the LDS Church is that of a "second-class citizen" (a point made also by Fitzgerald and Petersen), but the difficult question here is whether the *sociological* point of view is the *Lord's* point of view; and in trying to understand the Lord's own moral framework (which must be regarded as independent of that of any mortal time or place), why should we rely on sociologists rather than prophets? (2) I would hope that the very appearance of my article, particularly my statements about the "communication gap," would convince you that I am *not* among those who "decry the open, public discussion" of the Negro issue; what I *do* decry is the tendency of Mormon liberals to tie

the church problem to the civil rights problem, and thus make things worse for the Church than necessary.

Simons seems to have suggested a different connotation for the phrase "continuous revelation" from that which it has in the Church generally; and his rather engaging alternate solution to the problem of ordaining Negroes, through the existing "mechanics of priesthood ordination," is an approach which we shall be watching for him to try when he becomes a bishop. But let me warn that not all "instructions" are in the *Handbook* (which does not, by the way, explicitly exclude women from the priesthood either).

Armand L. Mauss
Utah State University
Logan, Utah



Letters received too late for reply from Mr. Mauss:

Dear Sirs:

We felt sorry for Mr. Mauss in the 1967 Winter *Dialogue* as he attempted to rationalize his biases and "make us feel a little less uncomfortable" about his Mormon Negro problem. In place of proving his contrary views he dismisses scriptural inferences by name calling: "fundamentalist, unfortunate, folklore, private or non-prophetic, orthodox, dubious, speculative, far-fetched, extra-scriptural, extra-doctrinal, superstition and bigotry." Those supporting his views are called "thoughtful," "equalitarian," "thinking," etc. When he finally discovers a TRUE verse (President Brown's statement) he calls it "unequivocal, clear, fundamental and elementary."

How could Mr. Mauss even pretend to discuss the subject of "civil rights" and seg-

regation without rationalizing the human rights to property that they destroy and without referring to Alma 3:4-19? The dark skin (v. 6) was a curse by God (v. 8) that their seed might be distinguished (discriminated) that they might not mix (integrate) (v. 8). Separation (segregation) should be forever except they repent (v. 14). Every man that is cursed brings upon himself his own condemnation (v. 19).

Cursed be he that mixeth (integrates) (2 Nephi 5:23). The black skin made them loathsome (inferior in looks) (v. 22). A white skin is delightful (v. 21). Other areas of inferiority were idleness, mischievousness and subtleness (cunning, insidious and treacherous beyond skin depth) (v. 24) as compared with industriousness of the good guys (v. 17).

Some repented and their skin became white again (3 Nephi 2:15). Now in the name of scholarship, how could Mr. Mauss discuss "civil rights" and color segregation and avoid these two dozen verses in the Book of Mormon?

Thus, at least three evils of the so-called "civil rights" movement come to light. (1) The violation of basic human rights — a portion of property rights. The non-owner has no rights on the property of an owner. The owner can never take away rights of an intruder by refusing sale or rental because the non-owner never had any rights on another's land to begin with. (2) The execution of "civil rights" by force, the principle of the Devil. And (3) the violation of God's purpose of making color differences for discrimination to promote segregation. In opposition to God, Satan's forces are trying to color and race mix by forcing social mixing in housing and in business.

Three positions are noted: (1) compulsory integration (RFK, LBJ, Satan, etc.), (2) segregation promoted by threat of a curse (God), and (3) individual freedom to choose segregation or integration in any situation (Goldwater, Wallace, etc.). Where do you stand?

And in further contrast to Mr. Mauss, we would hope that there would be a great deal of carry over of the good example set in modern Church policy and in the revelations and the word of God into the every day "civil" life of the average Mormon. Mr. Mauss' three ward data base is challenged

in a related subject by our own three ward "sample": Canoga Park Ward, Canoga Park Stake is about 75% Republican, Northridge 2nd Ward, Reseda Stake 75%, and Media Branch, Philadelphia Stake 65%. We remember an Elders Quorum party in 1964 where we discussed how many dollars, hours and books (*None Dare Call It Treason* and *A Texan Looks at Lyndon*) we had each donated to Goldwater's cause. Contrast this spirit with the percentage of 1964 LBJ stickers in Catholic, Lutheran and Unitarian parking lots of corresponding cultural level. The difference between the influence of the Church of the Lamb of God and the Churches of the Devil is evident.

Unless the entire color, race, lineage and property rights question is opened up for discussion along with the many verses by the Prophets as they were inspired by the Creator of color and race, your "dialogue" will degenerate to a narrow monologue of one-sided bias and speculation.

Robert L. Hamson
Gloria V. Hamson
Malvern, Pa.

Dear Sirs:

Rather than be forced to the conclusion that Mormons are no worse off than their Protestant neighbors, which, without too much provocation could develop into a new criterion for righteousness, I'd prefer to see Mormons, with their ready access to the will of God, mend the attitudes that have for so long robbed black people of justice and dignity. Mormons in the East Bay Area may be no more guilty than their neighbors, but it's a shoo-in that the "Negro Policy" does not minimize prejudice. In the South, where I had a chance to observe for six years, prejudice is less subtle than it is in the Bay Area. One man, currently in the Bishopric of a large, middle-class ward, rather looked for approval after telling me of placing a loaded shotgun in each bedroom of his house and instructing his sons and wife to "shoot to kill any nigger" setting foot on his property.

I agree with Mauss that as long as Church policy fails to off-set the total impact of Mormonism, faithful Mormons have no choice but to remain true to their faith. But I, and thousands of others, hope to

see this particular policy repealed . . . and, speaking for myself, my hope is not directed *against* the Church but *toward* providing that setting wherein all humans, with equal opportunity, may strive for self respect, pride and the optimism reserved for men, all of whom, Mormons believe, are the spiritual offspring of God.

Val Woodward
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sirs:

Mauss insists that "no matter how much racism you think you see in Utah, you can't be sure it has anything to do with Mormonism." What Mauss seems to imply is that since the roots of the prejudice are not theological the Mormon church and the Mormon people are therefore absolved from any guilt in its continuance, and have no significant responsibility to help cut the loathsome cancer from our midst. It is a happy rationalization which he offers us, but not very satisfactory.

Can Mr. Mauss show any substantial evidence that our bishops, stake presidents and general authorities have made any concerted effort to fight the race hatred that breeds among us? Are there not sins of omission as well as commission for which we are morally responsible? I suspect that those who have been critical of the Church will conclude that there are and that brother Mauss's argument will not serve to brighten the Mormon image abroad on this urgent issue.

Marvin S. Hill
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah

Dear Sirs:

By the adoption of his Iron Rod — Liahona dichotomy, I think Richard Poll ("What the Church Means to People Like Me," Winter, 1967) was led into inevitable errors of magnitude. The most serious of these was the imposition of his dichotomy upon the scripture in such a way as to blur the scriptural metaphor and disrupt the harmony therein.

The Iron Rod and the Liahona are *not* dichotomous symbols. They are, in fact, representations to the mind of the selfsame spiritual reality. Poll has stated that the

Iron Rod and the Liahona are both “approaches to the word of God and to the Kingdom of God.” He asserts further that they are different approaches in character. And from these two assumptions he draws his dichotomy of the Church members. However, these symbols are not, in fact, approaches to the word of God, but rather, both the Iron Rod and the Liahona *are* the word of God (symbolically represented) which leads to the Kingdom of God — a very significant distinction. Nephi states:

And it came to pass that I beheld that the rod of iron, which my father had seen, was the word of God, which led to the fountain of living waters, or to the tree of life. (1 Ne. 11:25; see also 1 Ne. 15:23-24).

Likewise, Alma explains to Helaman that the Liahona is a representation of the “word of Christ”:

. . . these things are not without a shadow; for as our fathers were slothful to give heed to this compass (now these things were temporal) they did not prosper; even so it is with things which are spiritual. For behold, it is as easy to give heed to the word of Christ, which will point to you a straight course to eternal bliss, as it was for our fathers to give heed to this compass, which would point unto them a straight course to the promised land. And now I say, is there not a type in this thing? (Alma 37:43-45)

It is evident that the “word of God” and the “word of Christ” are identical. Therefore, the symbols of the Iron Rod and Liahona represent the same thing: the “word of God.”

This leads to the inquiry, What is the “word of God” represented by these two symbols? Consulting the 84th Section of the Doctrine and Covenants, we read that “the word of the Lord is truth, and whatsoever is truth is light, and whatsoever is light is Spirit, even the Spirit of Jesus Christ.” The “word of God” and the “word of the Lord” are identical. The “word of the Lord” is the “Spirit of Jesus Christ.” Therefore, “the word of God” is the “Spirit of Jesus Christ.” Further, consulting Moroni 10 we find that the Spirit of Jesus Christ is the Spirit of revelation: “And again, I exhort you, my brethren, that ye deny not the gifts of God, for they are many And all these gifts come by the Spirit of Christ” (Moroni 10:8-16). Therefore, the word of God, as represented by the Iron Rod and the Liahona,

is the Spirit of revelation. No dichotomy can be made. By using both symbols in harmony, one sees more clearly into the selfsame Spirit of Christ. Thus all of the distinctions made by Poll between the Iron Rod and the Liahona are spurious and imposed upon the scripture. The scripture permits of no such distinctions as the Liahona being by contrast to the Iron Rod “no infallible deline-



ator of their course.” Alma tells us that the Liahona indeed “would point to you a straight course to eternal bliss” and do it “surely” (Al. 37:40-5). One is as sure as the other. In either symbol, it is those who do not heed who are lost and wandering from the goal. Summarily, there is no principle associated with one that is not just as associated with the other, since they are both a type of that same Spirit.

The true meaning and significance, then, of Poll’s article is what is left after the dichotomy is removed — as it must be. What remains is Poll’s “concept of the relation of man to the ‘word of God.’” It is an inescapable conclusion to me that Poll has in his life taken the values in the Church — of being reminded that his influence matters, being given guidelines for the use of freedom, and of belonging to a folk and/or tradition — to have ascendancy over that which is typified by the Iron Rod and Liahona — the spirit of revelation. He indicates that he finds the Spirit to be largely inaccessible, and concludes that it *should* be inaccessible, for various reasons enumerated in his article. He fears he may lose his freedom if he has the Iron Rod always in his grasp. He fears that he may lose his faith if he exerts it enough to ask God to “break the causal chain” and then God chooses not to. He thinks that prayer is

"rarely for miracles, or even for new answers," but more for an aid to reflection. He interprets much of what is seen by some as miracle to be "coincidence, or psychosomatic manifestation, or inaccurately remembered or reported events." He wonders about the adequacy of the Standard Works, Latter-day prophets, and the Spirit as sources. He sees God as in "apparent remoteness from many aspects of the human predicament — my predicament." All of which, he says, leaves him with a "somewhat tenuous connection with the Holy Spirit." I believe him, and I'm sympathetic to the fact that we have people among us who have those kinds of statements to make. However, I am not sympathetic nor am I satisfied with Poll's solutions to the situation.

Is the answer to say, "It doesn't work very well for me, therefore my position must have other values of equal worth"? Is the answer to a tenuous relationship with the Spirit to set up a dichotomy, and dignify that position with a label? Is it the answer to suppose that one's being "in that classification" may have something to do with the pre-existence? Is the answer to a tenuous relationship to the Spirit to question the sources of the Spirit? Or to say that that's the way God is? Is this a position to be accepted as it is, or as "the way it is," or are we deceiving ourselves by doing so? Every man must judge for himself, of course. I think it will help to judge in the light of Joseph's teachings on man's relation to the word of God — the Spirit of revelation:

Every man lives for himself . . . but he can never come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels; to the general assembly and Church of the Firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, unless he becomes as a little child, and is taught by the Spirit of God. Wherefore, we

again say, search the revelations of God; study the prophecies, and rejoice that God grants unto the world Seers and Prophets. They are they who say the mysteries of godliness . . . And, fellow sojourners upon earth, it is your privilege to purify yourselves and come up to the same glory, and see for yourselves, and know for yourselves. Ask, and it shall be given you; seek and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. (*Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, pp. 12-13)

Are any of Poll's solutions to a tenuous relationship with the Spirit calculated to satisfy this marvelous capacity within us; or to provide for us this opportunity to be taught by the Spirit; or to see for ourselves? Or shall we take Joseph's solution, and purify ourselves?

Edward J. McCormack
Brigham Young University

Dear Sirs:

Surely *Dialogue* is getting hard up for material; otherwise, a publication dedicated to Mormon culture and the relevance of religion to secular life should not have wanted to get involved in a discussion on sexual behavior. (Letter, Paul F. Moore, Spring, 1968.) Mormons, particularly, have shied away from such subjects in the interest of character and morality, feeling that the least said on the matter the better.

Surely *Dialogue* would not want to broadcast to teenagers the conclusions of Mr. Moore on his quote from the professionals in the field of Behavioral Sciences. Regardless of their findings I feel we should leave the discussions on this subject in the hands of the Parent-Teachers' Assn.; and as for that issue of *Dialogue*, at least, let us thank Heaven it is not a preferred paper-back for teenagers.

J. W. (Bill) Christensen
Provo, Utah



ON MORMON MUSIC AND MUSICIANS

Lowell M. Durham

In this essay, a continuation of DIALOGUE's assessment of Mormon culture, Lowell M. Durham surveys the development and prospects of music in the Church. Currently Professor of Music and formerly Dean of the College of Fine Arts at the University of Utah, the author writes from long experience as a composer and music critic.

In the interest of broadening (and corroborating) my thinking about Mormon music, I recently contacted fifty Mormon musicians in an admittedly non-scientific survey. The survey sampled the obvious Church music hierarchy: the General Music Committee, the Tabernacle Choir staff, auxiliary General Board music committees, Mormon university and college music faculty members, and leading Mormon concert artists.

Obviously many significant Church musicians were not included. Another writer, compiling his own list, might well come up with different results. An unusually high (ninety) per cent of those contacted completed and returned the questionnaire, an indication of keen interest.

IS THERE A "MORMON" MUSIC?

To the broad question "Is there a Mormon music?" only twenty-eight per cent answered "Yes." Sample responses:

"No. There are *Mormon* texts set to music, but no peculiar Mormon music as such would be comparable to Gregorian chant or Lutheran Chorale."

"I don't think so. Mormon words, yes, but no music that couldn't belong to several religious groups."

"Our liturgy does not admit of special forms. Therefore, we have not produced a 'Mormon' music as such."

"Yes, but the answer may depend on what is meant by *Mormon* music It is the text and the *Mormon* composer which make them *Mormon* music *Mormon* music would consist of any music composed by Mormon composers, that is also accompanied by *specifically Mormon-doctrined texts*."

"There is a Mormon Hymnody derived from music of Protestant revival sources of American nineteenth century, from English anthem, and to lesser degree from Lutheran chorale. Usage and unique texts have over a century given many of them a 'Mormon flavor.' Some hymn tunes have been borrowed directly from these sources, others composed in a similar style by Mormon composers. But there is not yet a unique Mormon art music."

MORMON MUSICAL SCHOLARSHIP

Musical scholarship is relatively new to Mormonism, although John Tulidge cut quite a swath a century ago. In 1943 at the University of Maryland the late Sterling Wheelwright¹ filed his doctoral dissertation, first of a distinguished series of Mormon music studies. He was the fourth Mormon musician to earn the Ph.D.; his brother, Lorin, and John Halliday preceding him in 1938 and 1941, respectively. There followed a flood.² The river is still cresting.

Prior to World War II academic degrees, particularly graduate, were not the "musician's route." Conservatory training, European-style, was the vogue. Mormon musicians in those days beat a path to Boston's New England Conservatory,³ and later to Juilliard, Curtis Institute, and (more recently) Eastman-Rochester School of Music, University of Utah, University of Southern California, and Columbia, Indiana, Oregon, and Illinois universities.

Most Mormon doctorates since World War II have been in Composition, a few (too few) in Musicology, some in Theory, many in Music Education. And within the past decade numbers have turned to the new Doctor of Musical Arts (D.M.A.) degree. A "professional" doctorate, essentially in Performance, the D.M.A. has attracted many of the Church's young and middle-aged musicians.⁴

Relatively few dissertations by Mormon musicians deal with Mormon music. Four, in particular, complement one another to form a comprehensive,

¹See Appendix III.

²See Appendix I.

³During this century's first three decades many Mormon musicians attended the New England Conservatory of Music. Shepherd and Robertson — and, earlier, Evan Stephens — studied there with George Chadwick. Others included Franklin and Florence J. Madsen, George Durham, Richard Condie, Louis Booth, Margaret Summerhays, Lydia White Boothby.

⁴See Appendices I and II.

objective study of Mormon hymnody. The survey indicated strongly that if there is a Mormon music, it is to be found in the Church's hymnody, and I therefore examined these documents.

The four dissertations are: Wheelwright's "The Role of Hymnody in the Development of the Latter-day Saint Movement," William Wilkes's "Borrowed Music in the Mormon Hymnals" (University of Southern California, 1957), Helen Macare's "The Singing Saints" (University of California at Los Angeles, 1961), and Newell Weight's "An Historical Study of the Origin and Character of Indigenous Hymn Tunes of the Latter-day Saints" (University of Southern California, 1961). Wheelwright's is essentially a sociological study. Wilkes's work deals chiefly with borrowed music, while Weight's treats indigenous Mormon tunes and composers. Macare is concerned solely with *texts*, indigenous and borrowed, her major being English.

SOME SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS

Wheelwright's approach is broad, general, historical; its purpose, "to identify the factors which produced a distinctive body of song, to disclose the varying roles played by music in succeeding periods. . . ." He maintains that "the distinctive hymnody of the Mormon Church was established by 1841."

During Brigham Young's colonization period, hymnody's role expanded. "Music was the constant companion of the people through their heroic trek across the plains, through the crisis of the Utah War and a Mormon-Gentile conflict symbolized by polygamy Goals and rewards were sung over and over. . . ." Wheelwright writes in glowing terms of a mature flowering of Mormon music during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. The focal point was the publication of the first Mormon *tune* book, the *Psalmody* (1889). "Into this endeavor and into the development of fine choirs were poured the talents and training of a score of English-born converts who became a *musical hierarchy*. . . . The dynamic Sunday School Union . . . soared on wings of song, and the M.I.A. strode to eminence in recreational and cultural leadership."

Of twentieth century Mormon music Wheelwright takes a dim view: After the turn of the century, the hymnody of the Church faltered as Mormonism faced both its distinguished but completed past, and its challenging new future

In [the] welter of economic, intellectual, and social readjustments, the hymnody was seen to have lost its original vigor and purpose. It appeared practically frozen by tradition and hard-bound cover; it was accepted as a symbol of the past rather than as an essential need of the present.

Wheelwright ponders the apparent imbalance between Church music and other Church emphases: "While the ideals and ambitions of vigorous health, moral control, and economic welfare, for instance, were re-emphasized by the Church, the voices of social communication were heard in pleas, pamphlets, and pulpits — but rarely in song."

BORROWED MUSIC

Is *Come, Come, Ye Saints* “Mormon”? Most Mormons hope so. Certainly William Clayton’s text is. Yet the tune, *All Is Well*, is from an anonymous English source, handed down for generations by oral tradition. It derived from the folk song *Good Morning, Gossip Joan*, which still exists in Virginia as *Good Morning, Neighbor Jones*. In 1844, J. T. White of Georgia revised it into a more vigorous version whose text dealt with death, ending in *All Is Well!* “No doubt it was from this that William Clayton got the tune and ‘Mormonized’ it to fit *Come, Come, Ye Saints*,” according to Pyper.⁵

Most Mormons would be chagrined to learn that the “Mrs. Norton” of *We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet* had no connection with the Church. This borrowed tune was originally written by Mrs. Caroline Elizabeth Sarah Sheridan Norton, granddaughter of a British actor-playwright and member of Parliament, for her own three-stanza text, *The Officer’s Funeral March*. Pyper suggests that could Mrs. Norton “enter a Latter-day Saint chapel today she would be astonished to learn that the music which she dedicated to a fallen soldier of war is now frequently sung to a new song of praise in honor of a modern prophet of peace.”

The same can be said of *O My Father* (first sung to *Gentle Annie* and later *Harwell*). The Eliza R. Snow text has been set to music by at least a dozen Mormon composers. But the current popular favorite is non-Mormon James McGranahan’s *My Redeemer*, arranged by Evan Stephens.

The original music of *O Ye Mountains High* was *O Minnie, O Minnie, Come O’er the Sea*, a popular tune of Charles Penrose’s day; today we sing it to Thompson’s *Lilly Dale*. *Do What Is Right* is, of course, *The Old Oaken Bucket*. *Guide Us, O Thou Great Jehovah* is sung to *In The Gloaming*, and *Drink To Me Only With Thine Eyes* was the tune for *There Is a Green Hill Far Away* — until 1948.

The Spirit of God Like a Fire Is Burning is still sung to a Mormon tune unknown to researchers. *Redeemer of Israel*, *Praise to the Man*, *Oh Say, What is Truth*, *Come, O Thou King of Kings*, *Now Let Us Rejoice*, and other “Mormon” favorites all are sung to non-Mormon music.

Wilkes notes, “The close similarity of early Mormon hymnody to that of its neighbor sects was observed in the first hymnal of the Church (1835) . . . Hymn tunes commonly known and collected in the various tunebooks of the day were supplemented with popular and traditional melodies adapted by Mormon poets for their new religious verse.”

Wilkes discovered that sources of borrowed tunes ranged in time from the Reformation to the present, “bulking large in the middle and late nineteenth century.” Geographically, British and American sources dominated all others, there being a minor representation from Austro-German sources. Classified as to source *genre* Wilkes found the largest portion in the “hymn tunes borrowed from established hymnodies” (German chorale, English-American hymn-tunes

⁵George D. Pyper, *Stories of L.D.S. Hymns* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1939), pp. 24-25.

of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries). Gospel songs made sizeable inroads (*Put Your Shoulder to the Wheel, Memories of Galilee, Behold a Royal Army, Oh, It Is Wonderful*, etc.).

The serious art music of Europe is represented (Mendelssohn's *Cast Thy Burden* and *Lift Thine Eyes*, Verdi's *Pilgrim Chorus*, Handel's *Good Tidings*, plus Mozart, Rossini and others) but as Wilkes points out this source *genre* is relatively small in Mormon hymnody: "A larger group came from the contra-facture of secular songs. Parlor songs of the 'genteel tradition,' sailing, military, and patriotic airs provided a significant portion of borrowed melodies, such as *Cheer Boys, Cheer, Life on the Ocean Wave, Juanita, Home, Sweet Home*." The final source *genre* is folklore. It was limited, however, to about one-eighth of the total borrowed repertory.

Wilkes shares Wheelwright's conclusion with respect to the decline of Mormon hymnody at the turn of the century and beyond: "The 1889 and 1927 collections were more backward than forward-looking. *Gospel* hymnody invaded Mormon hymn books at the turn of the century. The popularity of the Sunday School songs outdistanced the slow progress of the adult hymnody and found favor with all ages and in all Church meetings."

INDIGENOUS MUSIC

Wheelwright had suggested that there were no composers of Mormon hymn tunes during the Church's first half-century. Weight's research, however, showed that John Tullidge's *Psalmody for the Latter-day Saints*, published in Liverpool in 1857, was thirty-two years ahead of its time. For it was not until 1889 in Salt Lake City that the first official Church hymnal with *printed music* was published (*The L.D.S. Psalmody*). Three from Tullidge's book (the *first* Mormon hymnal to contain actual music) have endured through the current *Hymns* (1950). Tullidge's *Psalmody*, writes Weight, is the "earliest known printing of originally composed hymn-tunes as settings for indigenous hymn-texts."

Twenty-four years earlier, Emma Smith's 1835 hymn book⁶ contained no titles or authors or music. It consisted solely of texts, ninety in all. Of these, fifty-three were by Mormon authors: Phelps, thirty; Parley P. Pratt, five; Eliza R. Snow, two; and others. Phelps, of course, had worked closely with Emma. Leading non-Mormon authors were Watts, fourteen; Wesley, two; and twenty who were anonymous.

In 1840 *A Collection of Sacred Hymns* was printed in England for the saints in Europe. It followed the pattern of Emma's hymnal but was expanded to 271 hymns. Parley P. Pratt's importance as hymn-text writer is evident; thirty-six of his texts appeared. The English hymnal subsequently went through thirteen editions with minor changes. The thirteenth contained 330 hymns and was printed in Liverpool in 1869.

Emma's book was eventually superseded by the English version. There was

⁶The "Emma Smith hymnal" (1835) was compiled in compliance with Section 25 of the Doctrine and Covenants — the only Latter-day revelation dealing with the arts.

also considerable publishing of hymns in Nauvoo periodicals, particularly the *Times and Seasons* and *The Nauvoo Neighbor*, from 1840 to 1845.

In 1871 a new edition was printed in Salt Lake City. Known as the fourteenth, it contained 345 hymns. The old hymn book subsequently went through twenty-five editions before going out of print in 1912. Its English counterpart continued through several printings, concluding with the twentieth in 1890.

Meanwhile, in 1882, the Deseret Sunday School Union printed a volume which was to exert tremendous influence in Church music during the next sixty years. *The Deseret Sunday School Union Music Book* contained eighty-nine hymns with tunes and four without. "Nearly all," writes Weight, "were originally composed by Mormon composers represented in the later Psalmody of 1889."

Printed Church music during the Utah period up until the *Psalmody* (1889) also appeared from time to time in *The Juvenile Instructor*, the *Contributor*, and *Utah Magazine*. Most selections were composed by the British "establishment": Griggs, Thomas, Careless, Tullidge, Smithies, and Beesley. These selections, however, were for choirs rather than congregation, which emphasis, Weight indicates, may be a "weakness in early Mormon hymn settings."

The Latter-day Saint's Psalmody (1889) was the first official Church music volume containing printed music. For the most part it was choir-centered. However, representation of Mormon composers reached a degree never again attained in subsequent hymnals. Of 330 hymns three-fourths contained music by Mormon composers. One-fourth were borrowed, essentially from sources dealt with by Wilkes. The *Psalmody* was a principal cornerstone of Mormon Hymnody, the first major advancement since Emma's 1835 hymn book.

Twentieth century Mormon hymnody saw the publication of the most popular music book in Church history: *The Deseret Sunday School Songs* (1909). Whatever else it did, it superseded the *Psalmody* among congregations and became the dominant force in Church music in the twentieth century. The selections were "light and unpretentious. Many were reminiscent of the so-called 'gospel songs' in rhythmic movement."

Another "standard work," musically, was *The Songs of Zion*, with red cover and reproduction of familiar Tabernacle organ pipes. Printed in 1908 it contained 246 hymns, *all but five of which had Mormon-composed tunes*. According to Weight, "In quality and style the hymns and tunes of *The Songs of Zion* and *Deseret Sunday School Song Book* were similar. The major difference was simply that the *Songs of Zion* included hymns more appropriate to missionary work (the volume was printed in the mission field for mission use) as contrasted with *Deseret Sunday School Songs* which included hymns more appropriate for Sunday School gatherings."

Both books played important roles in the Church for over four decades, until the most recent major hymnal upheaval of 1948-50. Prior to that time, however, President Heber J. Grant appointed a Church Music Committee to advise the Presidency. Its assignment was to provide a new hymn book to replace both *Psalmody* and *Songs of Zion*. The result was the dark-green-covered

Latter-day Saints Hymns of 1927. It reflected, as had its predecessors, its Committee make-up. Gone were the Psalmody composers — save for Evan Stephens. This new book contained more congregational hymns than the *Psalmody*. Yet, it, too, was a choir book. The *Deseret Sunday School Songs* (essentially non-Mormon tunes being most popular) remained the congregations' favorite. The new 1927 hymnal contained 421 hymns, 308 by Mormon composers. Approximately three-fourths had indigenous Mormon tunes.

In Utah's 1947 Centennial year, the General Music Committee was assigned by the first Presidency to "compile three books for general Church use: (1) a hymn book for adult gatherings, (2) a recreational song book, and (3) a children's song book. These were to replace all others. The result of the committee's efforts were *Hymns* (1948), *Recreational Songs*, and *The Children Sing*."

Weight expresses some disappointment at the selection of the 311 hymns (counting the seventy-six duplicates in special sections): "The Music Committee included many 'favorite' hymns . . . as well as a number of new songs, both words and music. . . . The new musical settings did not suggest a *new era* in hymn tune composition. Rather, they were similar to tunes of past generations. . . ." Of the total 311, *Hymns* (1948) included 172 Mormon-composed hymns. Fifty of the 311 were new — a majority by the General Music Committee.⁷ This had also been the case with the *Psalmody*.

Because of mechanical and editorial problems a revised edition was published two years later. Known as *Hymns* (1950), it is in current use. There were eleven deletions and fourteen additions from the 1948 edition. Of the deletions, one was Mormon-composed; of the additions, seven were Mormon tunes. Concerning these seven, Weight expresses some concern: "Most of these additions to the 1950 edition were reminiscent of the old *gospel* songs rather than being *progressive* in style."

Hymns (1948 and 1950) is generally conceded to be an improvement over previous Mormon hymnals, "although lacking in qualities of design and content." As a reaction against the "bouncing rhythms and trite melodies" of the popular *Deseret Sunday School Songs*, *Hymns* (1948) "dropped many of the outmoded gospel songs as well as a number of the harmonically colorful choir-centered tunes." Weight notes that "through authoritarian influence a number of hymn tunes left out of the 1948 edition were reinstated in the 1950 revision." "Approximately three-fourths of the hymn tunes in the *Psalmody* editions were by Mormon composers; . . . about two-thirds of the tunes in the *Songs of Zion* (1908), three-fourths of the tunes in the *Latter-day Saint Hymns* (1927), and one-half of those in the present *Hymns* (1950) are indigenous."

A Weight survey maintains that "The leading musicians of the Church are not content with the conservative Mormon hymnody as it now stands. Beginning with a few borrowed hymns, Mormon hymnology has developed to its present status. It is evident that the gospel song era has lost its impact in

⁷See Appendix IV. Members of the committee for the 1948-50 hymnals were Tracy Y. Cannon, chairman, Leroy Robertson, Spencer Cornwall, Alexander Schreiner, Frank Asper, and Lorenzo Mitchell. Also associated with the overall project were several specialists working exclusively on *The Children Sing* and *Recreational Songs*.

Mormondom, and that the extreme, harmonically colorful tunes of past decades have been relegated to secondary status. Mormon hymnody will continue to reflect this past conservatism until a *new creativity* is given expression." This, it will be recalled, was also Wheelwright's conclusion — two decades earlier.

HYMN TEXTS

Although limited to texts of Mormon hymns, Macare's "The Singing Saints" (University of California at Los Angeles, 1961) contains the saltiest writing and most outspoken observations on Mormon hymnody of any of the dissertations examined. While praising the hymnal as a "lusty and vigorous history of a vocal and notorious American minority. . . ." She points out that, like its music, its texts, too, are a combination of borrowed and indigenous, roughly one-third Mormon and the remainder borrowed. In spite of its British influences, the hymnal remains nonetheless an American document, in her view.

Macare, trained in English, is understandably critical of the hymnal's editorial policies. She cites, particularly, the 1948 Committee who "proved they were like former editors in their amateur status." She chronicles errors of author-composer listings and numerous editorial mistakes. One noteworthy suggestion: the hymnal should indicate which texts and musical settings are Mormon and non-Mormon. Otherwise, "a member grows up with the notion that the Mormons wrote their own hymns [and] he can conceivably go through his life thinking Isaac Watts was a good Mormon for all the information the hymnal gives him."

She also bemoans "the apparent editorial decision in 1948-50 to minimize certain doctrines or historical references expressed in hymns, coupled with the necessity to continue the beloved old favorites. . . ."

LEADING COMPOSERS

Although the four leading Mormon scholars on hymnody are agreed that there is a Mormon music consisting of some good, bad, and mediocre hymn-tunes, most Church musicians hold that there is little or no room for "art" music in the Sacramental Service. There have been attempts at art music, particularly in the anthems and cantatas of the 1889 and 1927 hymnal composers. Few such compositions have withstood the passage of time or the performance standards of most ward and stake choirs. Most were composed by conductors of the Tabernacle Choir *for* the Tabernacle Choir. All but a handful have disappeared.

This is not to say there are no Mormon composers of art music. True, during its first century the Church produced no musicians of national or international rank. Yet it attracted or produced a number of good regional composers: Thomas, Careless, Stephens, Beesley, Daynes, and, later, B. Cecil Gates.

During the second century two significant Mormon composers emerged. Arthur Shepherd (1880-1958) played a prominent role in the establishment of a professional symphony orchestra in Salt Lake City during his early years. Later life centered in Cleveland where he served, for a time, as assistant con-

ductor of the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra and chairman of Western Reserve University's Music Department. His compositions received major performances at home and abroad. Some Mormon musicians surveyed in this study objected to his inclusion because of Church inactivity, a view which I do not share.

Better known in Mormondom is Leroy Robertson (1897-), head of Brigham Young University's Music Department until 1948, when he accepted the same position at the University of Utah — remaining until retirement in 1966. He has been chairman of the Church General Music Committee since 1962. Robertson has been performed in America and Europe consistently for the past thirty years. Performances snowballed when his *Trilogy* received the Reichhold Award in 1947.

In addition to his major orchestral and chamber works — all art music by a Mormon composer — he completed in 1947 his *Book of Mormon Oratorio*. Of all his output it has the greatest probability of survival, particularly choral selections which had a life of their own before the oratorio was finished and which will continue in popularity both within and without the Church: *The Lord's Prayer, How Beautiful Upon the Mountain*, and *Old Things are Done Away*, and the orchestral interlude *Pastorale* which was the principal encore of the Utah Symphony on its 1966 European tour.

It may be that history will record Shepherd as greater on the *national* scene because of logistics. The Church and Mountain West, however, will continue to accord Robertson the distinction of composer-laureate until some new major talent appears. No giant looms on the horizon.

There are, however, a swarm of active, eager, talented, young composers — college-age through middle-age. The survey asked the question: "Excluding yourself, who are the five leading Mormon composers in the Church's history?" The tabulations follow:

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. Leroy Robertson | 6. B. Cecil Gates |
| 2. Crawford Gates | 7. Robert Cundick |
| 3. George Careless | 8. Alexander Schreiner |
| 4. Arthur Shepherd | 9. John Tullidge |
| 5. Evan Stephens | 10. Leon Dallin & Merrill Bradshaw (tied) |

Also mentioned: Ebenezer Beesley, Joseph Daynes, Alfred Durham, George Durham, Gaylen Hatton, Leigh Harline,⁸ Cyril Jenkins, Rowan Taylor, Jay Welch

Except for Shepherd's glaring misplacement (many of those polled may not have been acquainted with Shepherd because of their time-gap), this is a defensible listing.

Gates⁹ ran a close second to Robertson in the anonymous poll. Because

⁸Harline is one of the most widely performed Hollywood composers since 1932. His greatest success was the score to Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, which won an Academy Award.

⁹Gates resigned as Professor and Head of Brigham Young University's Music Department on June 30, 1966, to accept the post of Musical Director and Conductor, Beloit, Wisconsin, Symphony Orchestra, where he has just completed his third successful season, having served as guest conductor 1963-64.

of his sensational youthful success in the Utah Centennial's *Promised Valley*, his personal popularity throughout the Church through M.I.A. activities, and his many years at Brigham Young University, he is probably better known *in the Church*, generally, than any other musician.

LEADING MORMON COMPOSITIONS

Gates's *Hill Cumorah* music – next to Robertson's *Book of Mormon Oratorio* – received most votes answering the survey's question: "Excluding your own, what are the three leading Mormon compositions to date?"

1. *Book of Mormon Oratorio*¹⁰ – Leroy Robertson
2. *Hill Cumorah* (Symphony No. 2)¹¹ – Crawford Gates
3. *Promised Valley* – Crawford Gates
4. *Come, Come Ye Saints* (choral-orchestral) – Leroy Robertson
5. *Song of Nephi* – Robert Cundick

The above all received multiple votes. Robertson's oratorio polled fifty per cent more than *Hill Cumorah*. *Promised Valley* was a surprisingly strong third, considering its *genre*.

Other works nominated included Robertson's *Trilogy* and *Passacaglia*, Crawford Gates's *Sand in Their Shoes*, Shepherd's *Horizons* (like Robertson's orchestral works, it is *not* "Mormon" in extra-musical content), Stephens's *Visions and Martyrs*, B. Cecil Gates's *Vision*, Bradshaw's *Articles of Faith*, the film *Brigham Young's* sound-track (non-Mormon composer), Robertson's *The Lord's Prayer*, the traditional *Come, Come, Ye Saints* and McClelland's *Sweet Is the Work*.

Acknowledging most of these as *Mormon* art music, with *Promised Valley* in a special folk-musical category, I should like to suggest that only the *Book of Mormon Oratorio* and the two familiar hymns are apt to endure. Selections from the Robertson oratorio and Gates's *Cumorah*, rather than the complete works, are likely to continue into the twenty-first century.

Gates's *Hill Cumorah* and *Promised Valley* are special cases and may go on for decades. The former is heard each summer as incidental music to the Church-sponsored Palmyra pageant. The latter was revived in the summer of 1967 and enjoyed a successful two months' outdoor run in a special Church designed downtown Salt Lake City theater as a tourist attraction. It was cut to one-hour length. Previously it was witnessed by 180,000 during the 1947 Centennial summer and, later, as a repeater on the 1952 University of Utah Summer Festival.

The onrush of bright young Mormon composers leads one to hope that a significant body of Mormon art music may result. Worthwhile musical

¹⁰Premiered in 1952 by Utah Symphony, University of Utah Choruses, and soloists under Maurice Abravanel. *Vanguard's* recording was reviewed by the writer in *Dialogue*, Autumn 1967.

¹¹Crawford Gates's Second Symphony (*Scenes from the Book of Mormon*), premiered in 1960 by Utah Symphony members, Brigham Young University A Cappella Choir, and narrator, under the composer's direction. This score is heard annually as incidental music to the Hill Cumorah Pageant.

expressions dealing with the following have yet to be penned: The First Vision, the Moroni story, The Trek, choral settings from the Doctrine and Covenants, and the dramatic Liberty Jail writings. Also, possible oratorios from The Pearl of Great Price. The list is endless.

LEADING MORMON PERFORMING ARTISTS

Has the Church produced its share of significant concert artists? In answer to the survey's question, "Excluding yourself, who are the five leading Mormon performing artists?" came the following:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Grant Johannesen | 5. Glade Peterson |
| 2. Emma Lucy Gates Bowen | 6. Robert Cundick |
| 3. Alexander Schreiner | 7. John J. McClelland |
| 4. Reid Nibley | 8. Margaret Tout Browning |

Also mentioned: Clynn Barrus, Art Lund, Albert Shepherd, Ewan Harbrecht, John Summerhays, Ardean Watts, Roy Samuelson, Irene Kelly Williams, Charles Shepherd

Johannesen, "Emma Lucy," and Schreiner clearly ran far ahead of the field, winding up in a photo-finish. Only two votes separated them. The late Mrs. Bowen was the first Mormon artist to hit the "big time," performing throughout Europe and America and appearing with the Berlin State Opera. With her brother, B. Cecil, she organized the Emma Lucy Gates Opera Company, which performed several seasons in the old Salt Lake Theater.

Dr. Schreiner may be the most significant performer in Church history. Exponent of the "forgotten" instrument in the twentieth century, he might have out-distanced all competitors in an earlier era. Fastidious technician, keen musician, and gifted composer, he ranks among the western world's top organists. Some purists in the Church's organ ranks objected in the survey to what they termed his "romanticizing of the Baroque composers," but none of the objectors has dislocated him from his lofty perch. He enjoyed artistic and critical success in an extended European tour during the fall and winter of 1967-68. More than any other, he has influenced Church music in this century. He was the dominant force in *Hymns* (1948-50). He has had the ear and the respect of the First Presidency for four decades. His voice has long been the "strong" one of the General Music Committee, and his influence has been widespread through the vast Sunday School organization, whose Music Committee he has chaired for over twenty years.

Some respondents objected to Johannesen's being listed, the implication being that, although Mormon-born, he should no longer be considered. Again, I do not share that view. In spite of this dissenting minority, Johannesen gained top ranking in the survey. His youth was spent in Salt Lake City. Deciding on a concert career, he tackled New York in his early twenties. His career did not gain momentum until the New York *Herald Tribune's* Virgil Thomson orbited him with a "rave" review following a major Carnegie Hall solo appearance in the mid-fifties. Since then he has been one of the "elite"

and is firmly entrenched in the upper echelon of keyboard artists. He married Zara Nelsova, the world's greatest woman cellist two years ago. Mormons would honor themselves by claiming her — by adoption!

Though lacking Johannesen's "grand manner" and magical stage presence, Reid Nibley could have succeeded in the concert world had he so set his compass after his New York Town Hall recital in the mid-forties. He chose, instead, the academic-performance combination and has enriched many college and metropolitan communities: Brigham Young University, University of Utah, University of Southern California, and — now — the University of Michigan. Few artists play Mozart and the early Romantics — particularly Schumann — as well as Reid Nibley.

Most underrated in the survey was what may be Mormondom's greatest vocal product to date — Glade Peterson. His tenor has thrilled European opera audiences, where he has been the Zurich Opera's leading tenor for nearly ten years. He has sung in most major European opera houses, San Francisco Opera, University of Utah Summer Festival operas, the Salzburg



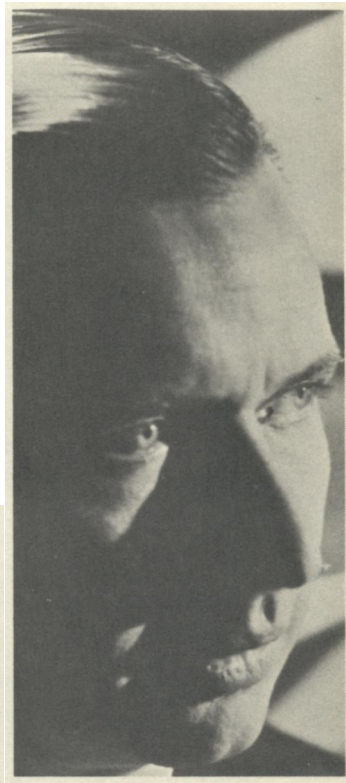
SEATED LEFT TO RIGHT: *P. Melvin Peterson, bass; Emma Lucy Gates Bowen, soprano; John J. McClellan, Tabernacle organist.*

STANDING LEFT TO RIGHT: *Wallace F. Bennett, bass; Anthony C. Lund, conductor Tabernacle Choir; John Summerhays, tenor; B. Cecil Gates, asst. Conductor, Tabernacle Choir.*

Taken around 1915



George Careless

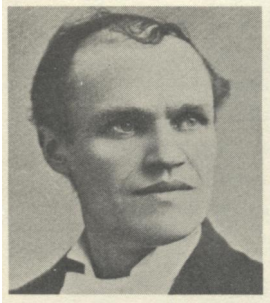


Grant Johannesen

festival, and — last summer — at Santa Fe's prestigious season. Glade is the Church's male counterpart to Emma Lucy Gates. His career is still in its early stages, and his best years are ahead. He recently starred at La Scala — something no other Mormon has done. A week later he sang in the new Munich Opera House, thought by many critics to be the world's most exciting opera center.

Robert Cundick is heir-apparent to Schreiner's throne. The latter was king-maker. The mantle fell when Cundick was in his teens. Lightning struck two decades later. A sensitive musician, good technician, and perhaps the Church's most gifted living composer after Robertson and Gates, his influence in Church music circles is only beginning to be felt. His will be a strong, articulate, idealistic voice in the next quarter-century.

Roy Samuelson is certainly Peterson's match, vocally. However, like Nibley, he chose the American-academia route at Indiana University's enviable opera center. His reputation will likely be regional and, possibly, national. He has the finest baritone voice in Church history.



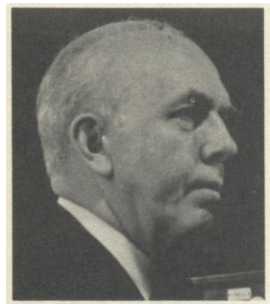
Evan Stephans



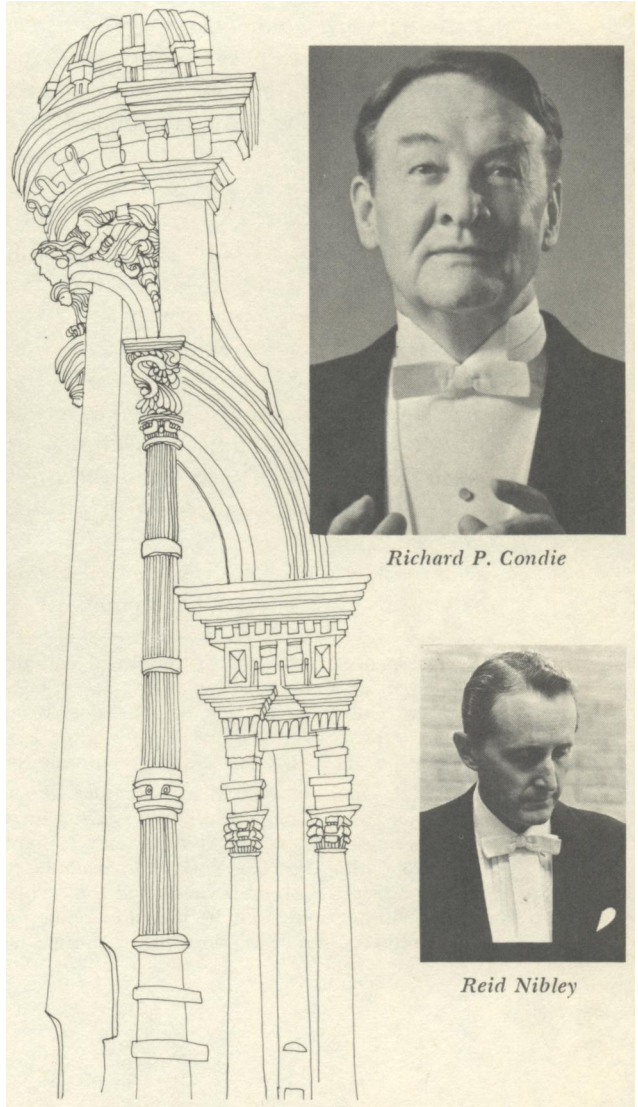
Leroy J. Robertson



Crawford Gates



Alexander Schreiner



Richard P. Condie

Reid Nibley

THE TABERNACLE CHOIR

The Tabernacle Choir is a story unique in itself, interestingly told in J. Spencer Cornwall's¹² *A Century of Singing* and in a number of master's theses. There is little doubt that the Choir supersedes all artists I have listed in total audience, range of audience, and total "good" accruing to the Church. This distinguished volunteer ensemble's missionary role — so designated by successive First Presidencies — is frequently caught in a pincer-movement — proselyting vs. musicality. This has been the principal problem of every conductor of the Choir. But it has been keener since the Choir became a radio "personality." For, in order to attract and hold a mass audience through the years there has had to be some compromise where programming is concerned. While such compromise detracted from the Choir as a "musical" organization, it enhanced its missionary role. The Choir's weekly broadcast is now in its thirty-ninth year of continuous airing and is "the oldest sustaining program in American radio history."

This enviable association with the Columbia Broadcasting System led directly to the Choir's successful ventures with Columbia Records, an affiliate of the network, commencing about fifteen years ago. The Choir soon became one of the most valuable "properties" in the recording industry. To its credit are two precedent-breaking "golden" records, symbols of over one million albums sold. Though this is common in the pops field, classical albums rarely reach that mark. In fact, the *only* two to my knowledge are those by the Choir — Columbia's *The Lord's Prayer* and *The Messiah*. Both passed the magic number over a year ago and are moving toward their second million. The Choir recorded with the Philadelphia Orchestra, whose conductor, Eugene Ormandy, terms the Choir "my favorite."¹³ Without precedent was the "No. 1 Hit Parade" pops rating of *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* in autumn, 1959, which brought the Choir the recording industry's Grammy Award.

On the flip-side of the *Battle-Hymn* single was Robertson's album title-song, *The Lord's Prayer*. It was interesting or annoying, depending on one's esthetic outlook, to hamburger-munch in an off-campus beanery — with Robertson's *The Lord's Prayer* from the *Book of Mormon* oratorio as background. I sat with the composer on such an occasion. He seemed both pleased and bemused.

The Messiah recording, under Ormandy's baton, finds the Choir among the world's most select artistic company: Eileen Farrell, Martha Lipton, David

¹²J. Spencer Cornwall, distinguished conductor of the Tabernacle Choir 1935-57, is a General Music Committee member. He led the Choir on its far-reaching Summer 1955 European Tour. In addition to the Tabernacle Choir volume he authored *Stories of Our Mormon Hymns*, which is the other side of Pyper's coin. Together with Weight's detailed examination, they form an excellent composite of Mormon Hymnody.

¹³RCA-Victor announced in December 1967 that it had lured the Philadelphia Ormandy team away from a long-standing marriage with Columbia Records. Also a Columbia artist, the Tabernacle Choir must record with Columbia orchestras and conductors. This leaves them alone with the New York Philharmonic, with whom happy marriages have been historically difficult. Columbia could pull the "coup" of the industry's history by signing the Los Angeles Philharmonic and its dynamic young conductor, Zubin Mehta. Logistics and compatible philosophies could work to the mutual advantage of the Choir and Philharmonic.

Cunningham, and William Warfield, soloists. The same is true of Brahms' *Requiem*, with Phyllis Curtin and Jerome Hines. The fourth major monument recorded by joint Philadelphia-Tabernacle Choir forces, Beethoven's *Ninth*, is second on the industry's best-seller charts at this writing.

Ormandy rates high critically on the international scene, although individual reviewers question his Handel and Beethoven — while applauding his Brahms. The Choir makes its greatest *musical* contribution in this literature, well-rehearsed and performed with a major orchestra.

The bulk of the Choir's albums, capably conducted by Richard P. Condie¹⁴ with Dr. Schreiner or Dr. Frank W. Asper at the console, are variety-type programs aimed at the mass radio audience. They are well done, for the most part. Some are religious, some patriotic — and a recent one was folk, which caused one venerable General Authority to question future directions of Choir recording during a televised interview.

If the Choir is to reach its potential as a *musical* organization (and, admittedly, its prime missionary function *alone* is a full-time calling), it might hopefully continue to record choral-orchestral masterworks with a *variety* of orchestras and conductors. No single conductor is master of the kaleidoscopic literature. A future recording schedule might include Verdi's *Requiem*, which Ormandy was most anxious to do on the heels of the *Ninth*. But that was before he left Columbia for RCA-Victor.

And doctrinal problems arise. Although many early pioneer choirs sang excerpts from Mozart and Haydn masses in Latin, its subsequent use gradually came under a shadow in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Understandably, the words *mass* and *requiem* bother some Church leaders and laity. However, the First Presidency approved Brahms' *Requiem*, both for Columbia recording and for Easter performances with Tabernacle Choir-Brigham Young University Symphony forces under J. Spencer Cornwall. Of course, the Brahms is written in German and was sung in English at these Tabernacle performances (as well as on the Columbia disc). The problem with the Verdi is that, unlike the Brahms, it contains the Roman Catholic mass's *Credo*.

If *Credo*-type masses are ruled unsuitable, there will never be a Tabernacle Choir recording of Bach's *B Minor Mass* or Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*. "Why not a revival of Latin occasionally in Ward Choirs now that the Catholic service has reverted to the vernacular?" is the current shibboleth among many Mormon musicians.

In addition to Latin works, there are the Handel and Mendelssohn oratorios, Haydn's *The Creation*, Bach oratorios and cantatas and, greater still, *Passions*, which the Choir may yet consider for recording. But, once again, the word *passion* seems offensive to some — but for indefensible reasons.

Better still, why not a Tabernacle Choir Columbia recording of Robertson's *Book of Mormon* oratorio? This is yet to be done and appears inevitable

¹⁴During his tenure (1957-present), Dr. Condie has attracted and developed quality voices through his vocal expertise — the Choir's "sound" is the richest in its history. No Tabernacle Choir conductor has faced the multiple demands of radio, concert, General Conference, recording. Under his aegis the Choir has become one of the recording industry's leading "properties."

to Church-recording-watchers. It seems natural and would combine the Choir's missionary-musical functions as no other panned work could do. The problem here is convincing Columbia Records and the Choir's public relations wing.

The Choir's musical staff, business management, and 375 volunteer members render unique service to the Church, community, state, and nation. They were the only musical organization to participate in President Lyndon Johnson's Inauguration, January, 1965. In the summer of 1967 they completed a successful Eastern America-Expo '67 Tour, as well as their swan-song recordings with Ormandy-Philadelphia.

Theirs is a distinguished history, a promising future. Largely a "prophet without honor," they receive greater acclaim outside the Church, state, and community than within. Critics from within the Church, sincere and idealistic, are unaware of the Choir's full-scale practical problems and assignments. Regular network commitments and General Conference assignments (including national television) would tax a paid, professional ensemble. Add to this the strenuous, pressure-packed recording sessions with truly professional orchestras and soloists, plus periodic major concert tours throughout the world, and one appreciates more fully the problems of the Choir's split personality — missionary-artist.

Some observers suggest the creation of a large choir to carry on the primary Church functions of weekly broadcasts and General Conference and a more select group to hone down essentially *musical* projects such as commercial recording, concert tours, etc. To date, duality of purpose remains the policy. Pressure from visual communications and recording media will come in a constant crescendo for Choir and Church leadership to ponder.

OTHER CHURCH CHOIRS

There are few other first-rate choirs in the Church. They inevitably are located where there is (1) a capable professional Church musician and (2) a bishop or stake president sensitive to good music and its maximum Church role. This combination is rare.

Unusual is the Mormon Choir of Southern California, headed by H. Frederick Davis, one of the Church's most distinguished musicians. His ensemble concertizes in major literature mostly in the Southern California area and has recorded commercially for Capitol Records. Deserving of the opportunity to appear at General Conference, they have yet to sing in the Tabernacle.

Other "good" choirs are found in select, well-endowed stakes where stake choirs assemble with too-little rehearsal solely to furnish music for stake conferences. The recent Church policy ruling which eliminates the afternoon session of stake conference will further dilute stake choirs, as they compete with existing stake singing mothers groups for the lone morning-session showcase.

Ward choirs — with few exceptions — simply do not have the numbers to make a pleasant sound, vocally. Absence from rehearsal or Sacrament service of a key member or two results in panic, frustration — and poor performance. One reason for the decline of ward choirs since World War II and *Hymns*

(1948-50) is an apparent policy division among leading members of the Church General Music Committee. This has been coupled with a lack of positive, definitive general Church policy. The entire hymnal philosophy had been geared to ward choirs from earliest days. Later, both *Songs of Zion* (1908) and *L.D.S. Hymns* (1927) were *choir* books. *Congregations* sang from the *Deseret Sunday School Song Book* in Sunday School — and in Sacrament meeting. *Hymns* (1948-50), good in most respects, nonetheless struck a psychological blow at choirs. The book's choir section had only seventy-six hymns compared with *L.D.S. Hymns'* 421 and *Songs of Zion's* 246.

Something happened two decades ago — and gone are the “choir practice” nights of my childhood. Gone forever. Most ward choirs now rehearse just prior to Sacrament meeting, and wisely so. But they are gradually disappearing, even as the Church doubles its membership every few years. It is safe to assume that unless Church music policy is drastically modified — with bold, imaginative leadership and direct-felt support from the First Presidency — there will be only congregational singing within twenty years. This may please some members of the General Music Committee who have long favored the Protestant-type unison-singing congregational music “conducted” from the console by the organist.

Church musicians polled in the survey favored *both choir and congregational* singing in Sacrament meetings. Particularly were they eager (94 per cent to 6 per cent) for a renaissance in ward choirs.

LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS

The principal problem in Church music is lack of competent leadership. This means conductors and organists. The General Music Committee has striven for over thirty years to alleviate this problem through Church-wide choristers' and organists' classes. More could be done. The Committee might consider formulating a Church-wide extension program in cooperation with Brigham Young University. Majors in Church Music are being established in many universities. One of the fifty Mormon doctorates in Appendix I falls in this category. Short of this, a concentrated program to prepare Mormon organists and choir conductors in technique, musicianship, and appropriate literature is overdue.

President E. L. Wilkinson expressed concern at a faculty meeting in September, 1965: “I think it is only fair to say that *over the past century the Church has not produced the number or quality of outstanding artists in the field of music or art or theater or . . . allied fields. . .*” (Italics added). The *Deseret News* report of the Wilkinson statement continued: “Talented young people who belong to the Church . . . have had to go to New York or other large urban centers and many have apostatized from the faith” (not direct quotes). “It is the hope of the administration and the B.Y.U. Board of Trustees that hundreds of young men and women will now be trained in the new . . . Harris Fine Arts Center in an atmosphere where they will not be poisoned with agnostic or atheistic or “Jack Mormon” philosophy and go on to

gain national and international reputations in the arts," President Wilkinson added.

Despite President Wilkinson's solicitous concern, a steady stream of the Church's most distinguished musicians has departed from the Provo campus, beginning with Louis W. Booth (1947) and Leroy Robertson (1948). Others soon followed: Leon Dallin, Newell Weight, Robert Cundick, Reid Nibley, Crawford Gates, Norman Hunt, William Wilkes, Daniel Martino, Norman Gulbrandsen, and others. They left for a variety of reasons: professional advancement, personal reasons, one to become a Tabernacle organist. Most were loyal to the Church but nevertheless were attracted away from its university.

MUSIC'S ROLE IN THE SACRAMENT SERVICE

Mormon music should play its most significant role in Sacrament meetings. Anything detracting from the service's sacred nature should be eliminated; that which enhances should be cherished, nurtured, and encouraged.

In May, 1946, the use of music during the preparation and administration of the sacrament was discontinued.¹⁵ Problems of order and lack of reverence were immediate causes. It was not that the music was necessarily inappropriate but, rather, that ward officials could not cope with congregational noise, and the music was being used to cover up whispering and shuffling about.

Needless to say, deportment improved with the First Presidency's letter. Musicians, admittedly, were not blameless: poorly trained organists, particularly in Sunday Schools, lacked both technique and musical taste. In my own youthful Sacrament Meeting days I actually heard *The Rosary*, *White Christmas*, *I'll Be Home for Christmas* (all on organ), and — as a missionary farewell "request" number — *The Beer Barrel Polka* (Accordion!). Given competent organists and ward choirs, the Sacrament Service *could* be heightened by effective music dramatizing the Lord's suffering and atonement.

The Sacrament was introduced as part of the Sunday School service relatively recently in Church history, in order to make it available to youngsters not returning for evening Sacrament meeting. When Junior Sunday Schools officially became part of the Sunday School *modus operandi* in 1949, I vividly recall the lengthy General Board discussions by some who advocated discontinuing the Sacrament in Senior Sunday Schools while continuing it in Junior Sunday Schools. This minority group felt that a single Sacrament Service each Sunday might help restore its central role by making it less common. Such a move was also discussed early in the life of the Correlation Committee.

Appropriate music well-performed *could* also help highlight this lone

¹⁵In a letter to presidents of stakes and bishops of wards, dated May 2, 1946, The First Presidency (George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and David O. McKay) altered the existing music pattern in Sunday School and Sacrament Meeting by affirming that "the ideal condition is to have absolute quiet during the passing of the sacrament, and that we look with disfavor upon vocal solos, duets, group singing, or instrumental music during the administration of this sacred ordinance. There is no objection to having appropriate music during the preparation of the emblems, but after the prayer is offered, perfect silence should prevail until the bread and the water have been partaken of by the full congregation."

Sacrament Service ritual. Among those surveyed in the questionnaire there was sharp division on questions dealing with sacramental music:

"I think *silence* during the Sacrament itself is appropriate."

"Silence is highly preferable."

"No! No! Our sacrament service is effective and free from what *someone* might *think* is appropriate music."

"Long before the First Presidency announced that there should not be any music during the Sacramental service, I had a clear feeling that music was a deterrent to pious contemplation. I am firm in the opinion that we should never have had any music, no matter how good it might be, to distract people from this sacred moment. Silence here is truly golden."

THE MORMON "POPULAR RELIGIOUS SONG"

A survey question which brought near-unanimity dealt with the "popular religious song," which plagues all Protestant¹⁶ services, particularly evangelical. In addition to *I Believe, He, Someone Up There Loves Me, The Bible Tells Me So, I'll Walk With God, I'm On a Honeymoon With Jesus, The Bells of Hell Go Ting-a-ling — Where, O Death, Is Thy Sting-a-ling?* and *My Cup Runneth Over* now running rampant throughout Christianity, Mormons themselves have a growing pops library.

Composed by what one leading Mormon musician terms "devoted, sincere, Latter-day Saints worthy of our affection and brotherhood," Mormon pop music has mushroomed since World War II, spreading throughout the Church *far more quickly and widely than Robertson anthems*. The poetry is generally poor to mediocre — however "sincere." But the music is most objectionable. Romantic melodies are chorded, printed, and published like tin-pan-alley hits. Sacrament meetings often feature a McGuire Sisters-type arrangement of an M.I.A.-approved-and-printed song. Recently, a girls'-close-harmony quartet rendered a romantic ballad, *In the Temple By the River (We will go there, you and I)*, apparently a reference to the Idaho Falls Temple. A more recent one with a Southern California setting is *The Temple By the Sea*.

Use of this *genre* may be questionable even as Mormon recreational pieces for M.I.A. and firesides. But they have *no place* in a Sacrament meeting or during the Sabbath day.

The survey's most vitriolic retorts ricocheted from the question: "What is your view on the 'popular religious song' written by devoted Church members?"

"Whether by Mormons or anyone else, it is all romantic trash with sacred text which does not add to the *spirit* of our meeting . . ."

"Pretty trite stuff, sentimental, sweet, and loaded with the 'popular twang' — ooohh!"

"Horrible — corny 'singing mothers' songs are even worse."

¹⁶Catholics have problems, too, with the folk, rock, and jazz masses. Just released at this writing is an Ed Ames pops vocal, *Who Will Answer?* It is Gregorian chant, pure and simple. Actually, not so pure and simple but with a rock-beat, saccharine pop harmonies, and "message" lyrics.

"I detest with a passion the intrusion of such music, regardless of composer!"

On the other hand, representing a two-person minority, one respondent maintained that this *genre* "Helps some people. *All* are not musicologists."

And Alexander Schreiner, knowing of my research, forwarded a carbon-copy of his reply to a typical inquirer. In the Good Shepherd tradition Dr. Schreiner wrote: ". . . I agree with you wholeheartedly, only my temperature is not so high as yours I suppose the texts of the items you refer to are really not sinful or in wrong doctrine. Therefore, may I advise you in the kindest way that you be gentle . . . this gives you an opportunity to exercise your forbearance The Gospel is for rich and poor, for young and old, and for the cultured and uncultured. . . ."

Specific, official Church policy is unlikely. The battle will continue in the trenches.

APPENDIX I.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF MORMON MUSICIANS' DOCTORATES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Degree</i>	<i>Major Field</i>	<i>Conferring Institution</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Present Location</i>
1. Wheelwright, Lorin F.	Ph.D.	Music Ed.	Columbia	1938	Brigham Young U.
2. Halliday, John R.	Ph.D.	Theory	Eastman-Roch.	1941	Brigham Young U.
3. Folland, Helen B.	Ph.D.	Theory	Columbia	1942	University of Utah
4. Wheelwright, D. Sterl.	Ph.D.	Sociology	Uni. of Maryland	1943	Deceased
5. Durham, Lowell M.	Ph.D.	Composition	Univ. of Iowa	1945	University of Utah
6. Shand, David A.	Ph.D.	Musicology	Boston Univ.	1946	University of Utah
7. Johnson, Clair	Ph.D.	Composition	Univ. of So. Calif.	1947	Weber State College
8. Keddington, John B.	Ph.D.	Composition	Univ. of Iowa	1947	SLC Private Practice
9. Dallin, Leon	Ph.D.	Composition	Univ. of So. Calif.	1949	Long Beach State C.
10. Dittmer, Alma	Ph.D.	Theory	Eastman-Roch.	1950	Utah State Univ.
11. Maxwell, W. Legrand	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	Columbia Teach.	1951	Upper Iowa College
12. Earl, Don L.	Ph.D.	Musicology	Univ. of Indiana	1952	Brigham Young U.
13. Davis Donald Evan	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	Univ. of Oregon	1954	Brigham Young U.
14. Gates, Crawford	Ph.D.	Composition	Eastman-Roch.	1954	Cond., Beloit Symph.
15. Robertson, Leroy J.	Ph.D.	Composition	Univ. of So. Calif.	1954	U. of Utah(emeritus)
16. Schreiner, Alexander	Ph.D.	Composition	Univ. of Utah	1954	Tabernacle Org.-UU
17. Cundick, Robert M.	Ph.D.	Composition	Univ. of Utah	1955	Tabernacle Organist
18. Hill, Chester W.	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	Columbia Teach.	1956	Ricks College
19. Johnson, Blaine H.	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	Columbia Teach.	1956	College of So. Utah
20. Madsen, Farrel D.	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	Univ. of Oregon	1957	Chico State College
21. Wilkes, William L.	Ph.D.	Musicology	Univ. of So. Calif.	1957	Tampa University
22. Dalby, John Phillip	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	Univ. of Oregon	1958	Cuyahoga Com. Col.
23. Campbell, Jay J.	Ed.D.	Ed. Admin.	Univ. of Utah	1958	Ut. State Off. Educ.
24. Galos, Andrew J.	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	Columbia Teach.	1958	Akron University
25. Peterson, Abel John	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	Univ. of Oregon	1958	Concord College

DURHAM: Mormon Music and Musicians/39

<i>Name</i>	<i>Degree</i>	<i>Major Field</i>	<i>Conferring Institution</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Present Location</i>
26. Seach, Eugene J.	Ph.D.	Musicology	Univ. of Utah	1958	Registered Pharm.
27. Welch, Jay E.	Ph.D.	Composition	Univ. of Utah	1959	University of Utah
28. Goodman, A. Harold	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	Univ. of So. Calif.	1960	Brigham Young U.
29. Purdy, William E.	Ph.D.	Musicology	Northwestern U.	1960	Dixie College
30. Dalby, Max	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	Utah State Univ.	1961	Utah State Univ.
31. Hales, Bernell	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	Univ. of Oregon	1961	University of Utah
32. Laycock, Harold R.	D.M.A.	Performance	Univ. of So. Calif.	1961	Brigham Young U.
33. Weight, Newell B.	D.M.A.	Church Music	Univ. of So. Calif.	1961	University of Utah
34. Bradshaw, Merrill K.	D.M.A.	Composition	Univ. of Illinois	1962	Brigham Young U.
35. Wallace, William	Ph.D.	Composition	Univ. of Utah	1962	Rutgers University
36. Garner, Ronald	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	Univ. of Oregon	1963	Dixie College
37. Hatton, Gaylen	Ph.D.	Composition	Univ. of Utah	1963	Sacramento State C.
38. Edlefsen, Blaine	D.M.A.	Performance	Eastman-Roch.	1964	University of Illinois
39. Lyon, Laury	Ph.D.	Composition	Eastman-Roch.	1964	Oregon Col. of Ed.
40. Nibley, Reid N.	D.M.A.	Performance	U. of Michigan	1964	Univ. of Michigan
41. Woodward, Ralph	D.M.A.	Choral Music	Univ. of Illinois	1964	Brigham Young U.
42. Perkins, Leeman L.	Ph.D.	Musicology	Yale University	1965	Yale University
43. Slaughter, Jay L.	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	Univ. of Indiana	1965	Ricks College
44. Barnes, Clifford R.	Ph.D.	Musicology	Univ. of So. Calif.	1965	<i>Christian Sci. Mon.</i>
45. Hunt, Norman J.	Ed.D.	Music Ed.	U. of California	1966	Sacramento State C.
46. Brown, Newell K.	Ph.D.	Composition	Eastman-Roch.	1967	Henderson State C.
47. Manookin, Robert P.	Ph.D.	Composition	Univ. of Utah	1967	Brigham Young U.
48. Stubbs, Darrell W.	D.M.A.	Performance	Univ. of So. Calif.	1967	Brigham Young U.
49. Tall, Robert	Ph.D.	Composition	Univ. of Utah	1967	Free-lance, Los Ang.
50. Wolford, Darwin	Ph.D.	Composition	Univ. of Utah	1967	Ricks College

Also the following known honorary degrees:

1. Madsen, Florence J.	Doctor of Music	Boguslawski Col.	1932	Retired
2. Madsen, Franklin	Doctor of Music Ed.	Boguslawski Col.	1932	Retired
3. Asper, Frank W.	Music D.	Bates College	1938	Tab. Org. emeritus
4. Condie, Richard P.	Doctor of Music	B.Y.U.	1963	Conductor, Tab. Ch.

APPENDIX II.

DISTRIBUTION OF MORMON MUSICIANS' DOCTORATES

<i>Major Field</i>	<i>Type Degree</i>	<i>Conferring Institution</i>	<i>Most Degrees/Year</i>
Composition	17	Ph.D.	28
Music Ed.	15	Ed.D.	15
Musicology	7	D.M.A.	7
Performance	5		
Theory	3		
Church Music	1		
Ed. Admin.	1		
Sociology*	1		
		University of So. Calif.	9
		University of Utah	9
		University of Oregon	7
		Eastman-Rochester	6
		Columbia Teachers Coll.	4
		University of Illinois	2
		University of Indiana	2
		University of Iowa	2
		University of Maryland	1
		University of Michigan	1
		University of California	1
		Yale University	1
TOTALS	50		50
			22 in 5 years

APPENDIX III.

PRESENT LOCATION OF MORMON MUSIC DOCTORATES

1. Brigham Young University	10		
2. University of Utah	8	13. College of Southern Utah	1
3. Private business†	4	14. Cuyahoga Community College	1
4. Utah State University	2	15. Rutgers University	1
5. Tabernacle organists‡	2	16. University of Illinois	1
6. Ricks College	2	17. University of Michigan	1
7. State School Offices	2	18. Yale University	1
8. Dixie College	2	19. Chico State College	1
9. Sacramento State College	2	20. University of Tampa	1
10. Weber State College	1	21. University of Akron	1
11. Long Beach State College	1	22. Concord College	1
12. College of Upper Iowa	1	23. Deceased*	1
		TOTAL	50

†In Autumn 1967 Lorin F. Wheelwright was named Dean of the College of Fine Arts at Brigham Young University. Prior to that time he was owner of Wheelwright Lithographing Company. This survey lists him at Brigham Young University rather than in private business.

‡Alexander Schreiner and Robert Cundick received their doctorates in composition under Leroy Robertson at the University of Utah in 1954, and 1955, respectively.

*The late D. Sterling Wheelwright took his degree in Sociology, the Ph.D. not being offered in Music at the University of Maryland during his tenure as Washington, D.C., L.D.S. Chapel Director and organist. He was assistant Tabernacle Choir conductor 1936-37. At the time of his death in 1965 he was Professor of Music and Humanities at San Francisco State College.

APPENDIX IV.

COMPARATIVE REPRESENTATION OF SELECTED COMPOSERS IN MORMON HYMNALS*

Name	Number of Hymns in 1889 Psalmody	1927 L.D.S. Hymns	Hymns 1950
Stephens, Evan	38	84	26
Careless, George	66	63	19
Robertson, Leroy	....	4	12
Shepherd, Arthur	....	1	....
Schreiner, Alexander	....	....	10
Cannon, Tracy Y.	....	5	7
Asper, Frank W.	....	4	9

*Excerpted from Newell Weight's superb dissertation's exhaustive, revealing hymnody tabulations. He has analyzed every Mormon-composed hymn and tabulated each hymn's appearance in the eight major hymnal publications, beginning with the *Psalmody* in 1889 and continuing with 1896, 1906, 1908, 1912, 1927, 1948 and 1950. It records graphically the rise and fall in favor of Mormon composers. The rise is usually attributable to membership on major hymnal-revision committees.

JOSEPH SMITH AS A STUDENT OF HEBREW

Louis C. Zucker

Louis C. Zucker, Professor Emeritus of English and Lecturer in Hebrew at the University of Utah, has long been interested in Mormon-Jewish relations. He is a member of Temple B'nai Israel in Salt Lake City.

During the winter of 1835-1836, the Mormon leaders in Kirtland — and none more diligently than Joseph Smith — devoted much of their attention to the formal study of Hebrew, under a competent scholar who was also an impressive teacher. They sat in a schoolroom and did their homework. This brief association with Professor Seixas had effects, immediate and permanent, which are to be seen, or may be conjectured, in places in the Mormon Scriptures and in at least one memorable apologia for a Mormon doctrine.

The fall and winter of 1835-1836 were a plateau of pleasantness and peace at the center of the Church. In a kind of symmetry, accomplishment and tribulation were intertwined before, and harder times would be intertwined with accomplishment on the farther side. By the summer of 1835, the Church was founded, several general Church conferences had been held, and the Church had its permanent name. The Church had acquired its own Scriptures, virtually full rounded now; its theology had found its main directions; a new ecclesiastical polity was slowly growing into its permanent form — Joseph

Smith, the creator and architect, revelation in constant attendance on him. A mission to Canada was fruitful; converts, as has been said, were streaming into Kirtland; men of stature, of varied gifts, diverted their lives to Joseph Smith's service. A Temple was building in Kirtland, and Zion was preparing in Missouri. Such were the accomplishments of this young man of thirty, in his imagination but the beginnings. Tribulation, too, he had experienced in plenty. But, for the present, Church finance seemed to be well in hand, and the United Orders were a dead issue; in Missouri, Zion's Camp had been a forlorn hope, but the Mormons who survived the frontier programs had taken refuge on Zion's border. Internal discord was dormant. Joseph was staying home, and so were the leading brethren. A deceptive tranquillity, but tranquillity.

The sun that shone on the pleasant and peaceful plateau rose to its zenith with the dedication of the Kirtland Temple early in 1836. Then, from June, 1836, for three years, the American frontier in both Ohio and Missouri would permit Joseph no peace, menacing the very existence of the Mormon Church and of Joseph himself. Mormon Kirtland, except for the admirable Temple, would be wiped out. The rejection of the Mormons from Missouri would be inhumanly consummated; in a few short months, Far West would fall from grandeur to misery; Carthage jail would be foreshadowed in Liberty jail. Internal dissension would reach enormous proportions. Then, resurrection from the ashes, Nauvoo would be built up, only to fit ultimately into a general doom: "Every Zion that Joseph planted was rooted up before it flowered" (Fawn Brodie). More than once, to the end, Joseph Smith and his work seemed to be "through."

But, on the plateau was there a prescience that the troubles known before would return? By dint of his genius, Joseph had gained the preeminence in his Church: he reigned *primus supra pares*, and was sure of his powers and his destiny. He was now, in every historical sense of the Hebrew word, a *nabi*. In keeping with revelations in December, 1832, and after (Doctrine and Covenants 88-97), the School of the Prophets was established in Kirtland early in 1833, eventually to be housed in the Temple; it was to be a holy place for teaching doctrine and principle "by study, and also by faith." The next year, Joseph was studying English grammar, avidly and ably, and was teaching it at the School. Early in 1835, he superimposed on the non-rational spiritual exercises the formal teaching of theology in his series of seven Lectures on Faith. This was not just Joseph Smith's theology, but the principles which an orthodox Christian would derive from the Bible. So this was a genuine effort. His mind was now free and ripe for sustained intellectual activity. As an obligation upon the Church, it was seen as essential for the fulfillment of the divine purpose; and, to the leadership, it offered besides a retreat enticing and delightful. Such seem to have been the beginnings of intellectualism as "a personal ideal" of Joseph and as a force in the Mormon Church. Had Mormon theology been open to the place of reason and learning as adjuncts to revelation before 1833-1834?

An interested person may wonder how it happened that, for that one all-

too-brief interval when those first Church leaders pursued formal academic studies, the Hebrew language became the subject studied. Then, how much did they accomplish that winter? And to what use in the Church did they put the Hebrew they learned? Did the Hebrew he had newly acquired enter into Joseph's reading of the hieroglyphics out of which arose the Book of Abraham?

THE CHOICE OF HEBREW

Until 1835, Joseph had been content to translate by transcendental intuition. The Book of Mormon was translated from an ancient Oriental language "through the mercy of God, by the power of God" (D. & C. 1:29, November 1, 1831). In June, 1830, came The Book of Moses, revelation which Joseph wrote down. On the wings of this momentum, Joseph then desired to translate the Bible. From late 1830, he tried to arrange his affairs so as to make oases of time for this work. From April, 1831, on into the winter of 1832-1833, Joseph persevered, translating and "reviewing" — "with laborious care" (B. H. Roberts). The "New Translation" of the New Testament was finished in February, 1833, and, five months later, the Old Testament also.

Joseph never laid claim to having in those years a knowledge of Hebrew or Greek. His translation purported to be no other than a "revision": "What he did was to revise the English text of the Bible under the inspiration of God" (B. H. Roberts). However, if he altered the reading in numerous places and, in the Bible as well as in the new Mormon Scriptures, restored, as Joseph himself said, "many important points touching the salvation of man which had been taken from the Bible or lost before it was compiled," this was partial translation certainly. In doing this, and in supplying missing ancient books supplementary to the Bible, Joseph seems to have kept a paramount object before him, namely, to provide the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times with a Word of God complete and harmoniously one. In carrying out this grand design, he obtained from the Holy Ghost the necessary power. For skill in the school-learned languages he had no need. So he was content to believe at that time.

But, in November, 1835, the Mormon high Elders were determined to study Hebrew in the coming months. Why was it Hebrew and not Greek? No revelation had chosen Hebrew, and a knowledge of Greek was required to translate the New Testament correctly by learned means. Is not Mormonism, above all, a Christ-centered religion? Was it the lucky chance that, on November 2, 1835 — just as he was reorganizing the School — Joseph, with Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon and others drove over to the infant Willoughby University, four miles from Kirtland, to hear "Dr. Piexotto" lecture at the medical college and that, in talking with the Jewish physician, they learned that he could and would teach them Hebrew in Kirtland? Apparently, when Oliver Cowdery left for New York, within days of that encounter, he was charged to purchase the best textbooks he could find for the coming winter's study of Hebrew. When he returned to Kirtland on November 20, he brought home, Joseph Smith tells in his Journal, "a quantity of Hebrew books, for the benefit of the school," which included a Hebrew Bible, Lexicon and Grammar — and,

let us notice, a Greek Lexicon (so they were not unaware of the importance of Greek) and Webster's English Dictionary; all of which he presented to Joseph. In New York, seeking help in selecting the best books for Hebrew, Oliver had made the acquaintance of a "learned Jew," to whom the bookseller had referred him. The "learned Jew" and he became "intimately acquainted," he wrote his brother Warren.

Very likely, it was the availability of a Jewish teacher that inclined the choice of languages, or even of studies, to Hebrew. A Jew was exceedingly rare in northeastern Ohio in those days; before November 9, 1835, few of the Mormons had ever knowingly beheld a Jew. A teacher of Hebrew who was a Jew was what the Mormons came to want — Dr. Peixotto or another Jew, even if they had to send, over 600 miles, to New York for one. Providentially, the teacher they desired appeared at the right time, in their neighborhood.

For some days the Mormon leaders were happy at the prospect of having Dr. Peixotto for their Hebrew teacher. And indeed, Daniel Levy Madura Peixotto, M.D., was no ordinary person. The family were Spanish-Dutch Jews; his father Moses, formerly of Curaçao, was a Jewishly learned merchant. Daniel was graduated from Columbia College and Medical School. Becoming a medical lecturer and editor, he helped found the Academy of Medicine and (1830-1832) was President of the New York County Medical Society. The Mormons found him teaching at the Willoughby College (John C. Bennett was the Dean). After two years there, Dr. Peixotto returned to New York.

OBTAINING A TEACHER

The Mormons were counting on Dr. Peixotto, but the Professor had an infant medical school on the frontier to strengthen, and the roads were muddy in the rainy season. Although by November 21 the wearied Elders voted to seek another teacher of Hebrew in New York, they were still looking for him to begin teaching on January 4. Only when he disappointed them yet again did they notify him, sharply, that his services were not wanted. They were, nevertheless, resolved to stay with the Hebrew. It was clear that only a resident, full time teacher would do. Providence had placed such a teacher and a Jew before their eyes, at not far distant Hudson Seminary. This was Professor Seixas. On January 6 he was interviewed and "hired" for a term of seven weeks, to teach "forty scholars," beginning in about fifteen days. He proposed, it was reported, "to give us sufficient knowledge during this term to start us in reading and translating the language." He did not actually arrive from Hudson until January 26, fully two months after the first encounter with Dr. Peixotto at the college.

Joshua Seixas (and it seems probable that the "James Seixas" of the 1833 edition of the *Manual Hebrew Grammar for the Use of Beginners* and the "J. Seixas" of the 1834 edition of this book were Joshua Seixas) bore another of the proud names of American Jewry. The Seixas family were Portuguese-English Jews. The most illustrious American Seixas was Rabbi Gershom Mendez Seixas, the minister of Shearith Israel (the Remnant of Israel) in New York, the first Jewish congregation in North America, traditionalist to this

day, the one with which the Peixotto family also were affiliated. The "patriot Rabbi of the American Revolution," one of the thirteen clergymen to participate in the inauguration of Washington as President in 1789, a charter Board member of Columbia College, etc., he was for forty years the outstanding Jew in the nation. He was a good Hebraist. He died in 1816.

The term before the Mormons found Joshua Seixas at Hudson Seminary he had been for a short time the first teacher of Hebrew at Oberlin College, where Lorenzo Snow was one of his students. From Kirtland he disappears into the mists. What was he doing in northern Ohio teaching his Hebrew Manual at these various Christian schools in his own early thirties? Was it because he and his wife, who came of a good Jewish family in Richmond, Virginia, had apostatized to Christianity? He does not act like a new convert, self-assertively. Apparently, during 1835-1836, he never identified himself with Christianity in public, and Joseph Smith's not modest Mormon hintings he met with a graciously polite reserve. Of his vocation as Hebrew teacher he only said, "I humbly hope, through divine favor, that the time devoted to preparing this Manual [several year's labor] will not prove to have been spent in vain. A desire to benefit others and promote the best of all studies, the study of the Bible, has been my strongest inducement to undertake it." He was genuinely a devout man, who shunned all theological controversy. He prepared himself for his work by "carefully and frequently reading the Bible," critically studying the Hebrew Grammar of Moses Stuart and learning Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic. Moses Stuart, his friendly correspondent, was Professor of Sacred Literature at the Theological Seminary in Andover, Congregationalist, and the first great modern-type Christian Hebraist to arise in America.

Whether Joshua Seixas returned to Shearith Israel and taught Hebrew to Christian clergy there remains uncertain. Pretty certain it is that, although his Manual was printed in Andover, he was never on the faculty of the Seminary there. Even so, there is little doubt that Joshua Seixas was the ablest Hebraist, Jew or no, whom Kirtland could have hoped to attract in the 1830's. The rekindled high hopes of the men of Kirtland would not be disappointed.

THE WINTER'S WORK

During the two months they were waiting for a teacher, was the Hebrew left waiting, too? On Friday night, November 20, Oliver Cowdery presented to Joseph the Hebrew and other textbooks he had selected in New York. The next day, Joseph spent at home in a Jewish-Sabbath way, "examining my books and studying the Hebrew alphabet." That evening the Hebrew circle met and decided to send for a teacher in New York. Frequent entries in his Journal tell us that Joseph studied Hebrew whether well or ill, at home or at the council room, alone or in the company of others (Warren Parrish his scribe, Hyrum his brother, Oliver Cowdery, Frederick G. Williams, Orson Pratt). On January 5, the day after Dr. Peixotto's "dismissal," Joseph divided the Hebrew students into classes and got into a heated argument with Orson Pratt "over the sounding of a Hebrew letter." On January 13, a solemn assembly was held, which he felt was "one of the best days that I ever spent."

The next day he conferred with the students at the schoolroom about the coming of Professor Seixas. After a month of study, Joseph prays: "O may God give me learning, even language; and endow me with qualifications to magnify His name while I live." During the latter part of January, ecclesiastical business and sacramental occasions are constantly taking Joseph's time, but he manages to keep the school running. On the 19th, in the schoolroom, in the Temple which is being finished, the students commence "reading in our Hebrew Bibles with much success." "It seems," writes Joseph, "as if the Lord opens our minds in a marvelous manner, to understand His word in the original language; and my prayer is that God will speedily endow us with a knowledge of all languages . . . , that His servants may go forth for the last time the better prepared to bind up the law, and seal up the testimony." No wonder he breaks away from a visitor when the hour for school has arrived. The moving ardor is obviously Joseph's.

At last, on January 26, "Mr. Joshua Seixas, of Hudson, Ohio" arrived, and, at his first meeting with the students, Joseph helped him to organize the school. There were to be hour-long sessions at 10 and at 2, five days a week for the seven weeks. Pleased and optimistic from the first, Joseph attended the sessions faithfully, although his duties in the Church did not diminish and spiritual and other preparations were in progress for "the solemn assembly which is to be called when the house of the Lord is finished." He mentions the "continual anxiety and labor [of] putting all the authorities in order and [of] striving to purify them for the solemn assembly" At the end of the first week, thirty more students wished to form a class. By mid-February, Professor Seixas was teaching four classes. Consequently, the shortage of books became serious. They were forced to divide a Bible into many parts. Already on February 4, Joseph writes in his Journal: "We have a great want of books, but are determined to do the best we can. May the Lord help us to obtain this language, that we may read the Scriptures in the language in which they were given." On the 13th, the Professor, going home for a week-end visit, took to his wife a letter signed by Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Frederick Williams, and Oliver Cowdery, appealing to her, for the love of God and Righteousness, to sell them a Lexicon of hers which was sorely needed by "this Institution in our present and future studies." From the Journal her answer is not clear; but, on the 29th, Professor Seixas brought with him from Hudson a few more Bibles and another copy of his Manual, "second edition enlarged and improved" (Andover, 1834).

Despite the difficulties, on February 15 — not yet three weeks — Joseph's section began to translate from the Hebrew Bible; the Professor was gratified with their progress. They continued to translate, "[Joseph's] soul delighting in reading the word of the Lord in the original." On the 19th, ten men, including Joseph Smith, Orson Hyde, Sidney Rigdon, and Orson Pratt, were promoted above the rest — "the first class" the Journal names them. One blizzardy March night, Joseph, who was working diligently on the Hebrew daily and frequently in the evening, went alone to the Professor's room for instruction in Hebrew. He returned the next night, March 7, to the meeting of

the first class. There was a lesson, and then the students talked with the Professor about extending the term and bringing his family to live in Kirtland. Joseph had been lending him his own horse and sleigh to visit his family fortnightly.

We reach now the climax of the holiday with Hebrew and the beginning of the end. They translated Genesis 17 that night. The next day, they translated most of Genesis 22; then Joseph, alone in the printing office, did ten verses of Exodus 3, which, with Psalms 1 and 2, was the next lesson. The Professor had agreed to extend the seven weeks to ten. So, the next weekend, he went home to Hudson and returned with his family and possessions. Professor Seixas continued to teach and Joseph to attend class up to the last day before Sunday, March 27, 1836, the day of the solemn assembly for the dedication of the Temple. This was a full day for body and spirit — from the point of view of the Mormons, it could not have been more wondrously complete; and, of similar degree of heaven and earth communion were the Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday which followed. And yet, on Monday and early Tuesday morning, teacher and students went right on. Then, all at once, silence about the Seixas family and silence about Hebrew. Hebrew was never taught again to the Mormons in Kirtland. Joseph had an opportunity to refresh his knowledge of Hebrew when Alexander Neibaur, the first Jewish convert to Mormonism, remembered for his Jewish-Mormon hymn “Come, Thou Glorious Day,” settled in Nauvoo in April, 1841, and they became friends. Only in his early thirties at the time, Neibaur probably retained much of the Jewish learning he acquired as a youth in Germany, when he prepared for rabbinical seminary. *Times and Seasons* (June, 1843) carried an article by him on the Resurrection, in which he quotes from the medieval Jewish philosophers and commentators and the Zohar. From him Joseph learned some German.

In the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania there is a letter written by Orson Hyde on Thursday, March 31, 1836, to “Professor J. Seixas” thanking him for the skillful and wholehearted teaching which “advanced us in the knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures” even beyond “our expectations.” A century later, Leroi C. Snow and Joseph Fielding Smith paid tribute to the Seixas school in Kirtland, as an auxiliary to divine illumination. At all events, Joseph Smith and his fellow students did not (until the latter were at home in Utah) study any subject as long and as hard as they did Hebrew.

THE RESULTS

How did the study of Hebrew affect Joseph Smith as leader and as theologian of the Mormon Church? In attitude, Joseph Smith remained unchanged by Joshua Seixas, assuming that when Seixas commented on the Bible he did so according to Judaism. Joseph did not look kindlier on the Abolition movement nor did he bring his conception of Zion Redeemed closer to the Jewish, by taking his Messianic vision back to the Old Testament vision of an ultimate Golden Age on this earth. Nor did Seixas teach him where not to take the society of the Patriarchs of Israel as a pattern for the nineteenth century, or to Judaize his conception of the Ten Lost Tribes or of the place of the New

Jerusalem. In theology, Mormonism, like Christianity, derives in part from the Jewish Apocalyptic literature; but apocalypse is a fitful, minor force in normative Judaism. The apocalyptic Christianizing of the early chapters of Genesis in the Book of Moses (1830) was a habitual direction of interpretation by 1835-1836. Indeed, Joseph's theology was too fruitfully self-realized by now to be alterable even by a more outspoken Professor Seixas. On the other hand, the precisely scholarly Professor did not, as we shall see, confirm Joseph Smith in the ways of scholarship.

In Joseph's use of Hebrew outside of the Mormon Scriptures, we find a tiny, little sentence, like those in Seixas's Manual (1834, pp. 87 ff.) but simpler — *Ahtau ail rauey, Thou O God seest [me]* — and the name "Nauvoo." Now, in April, 1839, Joseph Smith, surveying from a hill the wild prospect around Commerce, imagining what he could do with it, thought, "It is a beautiful site, and it shall be called Nauvoo, which means in Hebrew a beautiful plantation." B. H. Roberts comments: "The word Nauvoo comes from the Hebrew, and signifies beautiful location: 'carrying with it also,' says Joseph Smith, 'the idea of rest.'" Many have scoffed at the assertion that the name is Hebrew, but it is. In Seixas's Manual (1834, p. 111), in a List of Peculiar and Anomalous Forms Found in the Hebrew Bible, the first words under the letter Nun are *na-avauh* and *nauvoo* — verb forms whose anomalous "voice" is designated, without translation. The first word the Authorized Version renders "becometh" (Psalms 93:5), and the word *nauvoo* is rendered "are beautiful" (Isaiah 52:7), "are comely" (Song of Solomon 1:10). This verb may be used of person, thing, or place. The idea of rest may have stolen in from idyllic verse two of the Twenty-Third Psalm, where a homonymous root is used meaning "pastures" (ne-ot or ne-oth).

We come now to our main subject: the use made of Hebrew — Hebrew from the Bible, of course — within the Mormon Scriptures and in authoritative statements by Joseph Smith and Orson Pratt. I say "Hebrew of the Bible"; Joseph had no idea of post-biblical Hebrew literature: so far as he was aware, the Hebrew of the Jewish Scriptures was all the Hebrew there was. The Book of Moses, in existence five years before the Elders turned to Hebrew, does not show any knowledge of the sacred tongue. The true biblical names it employs, and the off-biblical names like Mahujah and Mahijah (which resemble "Mehujael" in Genesis 4:18), were available to Joseph in his English Bible. The personal names Kainan (from Cainan), Hananiah, and Shem become the names of lands, as, in the Book of Mormon, the place name Lehi (Le-khee) was made a personal name. How does "Adam" come to mean "many" (Moses 1:34)? This is an interpretation which may be a subconscious reflection of Moses 4:26b: "for thus have I, the Lord God, called the first of all women, which are many."

The Doctrine and Covenants, first edition (1835), carried some new off-biblical names, like Shalemanasseh (section 82), Shederlaomach (112 and 104), and Tahhanhes (104) — names which have a familiar ring, sounding like Shalmaneser and Manasseh, Chedorlaomer and Tahpanhes. "Ahman," part of the name Adam-ondi-Ahman, closely resembles in sound and idea the name

Amen in Revelation 3:14 (“These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God”). Other invented names found in 82 and 104, such as Shinehah and Laneshine house and Olihah, Pelagoram, and Gazelam, are hardly biblical in sound. When Joseph had reason to use pseudonyms, he could have borrowed from the Bible names like Hananeel, Hadoram, Ahiman, Aholiab, Argob, Tirzah. He uses the biblical “Mahalaleel” both as a real name and as an oblique name. “Cainhannoch” for “New York” is a linkage of Cain and Hanoch (the “Hanoch” of Genesis 4, not the good Jaredite Enoch of Genesis 5) which is both closely biblical and strangely different. All this assorted invention might spring from the exercise of the restored gift of tongues and a related taste for the tonality of the “pure Adamic language.” A note (1914 ed.) on “Ahman” in 78:20, “your Redeemer, even the Son Ahman,” says the name signifies God “in the pure language.” Also a taste for florid romance could have entered in. At all events, dependent on a knowledge of Hebrew this invention is not.

But, in the 1844 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, two revelations (1914: 103 and 105) appeared for the first time, containing invented names which did require a knowledge of Hebrew. And this despite the fact that they are concerned with Zion’s Camp and are dated April and June, 1834! In 103, Joseph obtains another pseudonym besides “Gazelam”: namely, Baurak Ale, repeated in 105:16 and 27. Orson Pratt translates Baurak Ale: “God bless you,” and “The Lord blesses.” The form “baurak” is not actually found in the Bible but is a perfectly valid hypothetical form; Seixas gives it as one of the Roots “of common occurrence” and meaning “he blessed, knelt down” (Manual, p. 77). The Bible prefers, for “he blessed,” another form: ba- (like “bay”) rak (Manual, p. 29). Either form could say, “having blessed from aforetime, He continues to do so.” “Ale” or El is more fittingly a part of the name than “Jehovah” would be because 103 is the Lord’s proclamation, to “the strength of my house,” of His purpose now to join forces with them as they go up to possess Zion in Missouri, even as He supported the Israelites at the time of the Exodus. Zion’s Camp was to redeem Zion chiefly by divine power, and El, like Elohim, means God as power. 105:27, acknowledging the failure of Zion’s Camp for the present, reaffirms the appointment of Baurak Ale and Baneemy as the keepers of “the strength of my house.” The personal name Berechiah or Berachiah — “The Lord blesses” — appears several times in the late historical books of the Bible.

In 105:27, Baurak Ale is to be assisted by Baneemy, identified as “mine elders.” The form “Baneemy,” not valid even hypothetically, is unknown to the Bible. It resembles a word contained in Psalms 16:6 (A. V. “in pleasant places”) and in Job 36:11 (A. V. “in pleasures”) — the word, as pronounced the academic way, bon-ne-eemeem, but, in Seixas’s Sephardic or Spanish-Portuguese way, bon-ne-gneemeem (gn sounded like the n in “senior”). The first syllable says “in”; the word itself is, let us say, ne-eemeem, and “my” pleasant places or fortunes would be ne-eemai; with the “in” syllable retained, this virtually becomes “Baneemy.” Or, could this name have been invented by giving the suffix for “my” which goes with a noun in the singular — ee — to

bau-neem, sons or faithful servants (the Book of Moses: "my son, Enoch")? This would make Bau-neem-ee, or almost "Baneemy."

HEBREW IN THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM

Joseph's most ambitious use of Hebrew is found in the Book of Abraham and in the King Follett Discourse. We look first into the Book of Abraham. From July, 1835, into the winter of 1836, the Journal keeps referring to Egyptian mummies and papyri. The full story of how Michael Chandler's Egyptian mummies, rolls, and papyri came into the possession of the Mormons is related by Oliver Cowdery in the *Messenger and Advocate* for December, 1835, in an article entitled "Egyptian Mummies," and in the Journal (II:235, 348-351). Suffice it to say here that, according to these accounts, when Joseph Smith identified some of the symbols at sight, Mr. Chandler was satisfied that he had at last come to the one person able to decipher, translate, and interpret his hieroglyphics. The Saints, for their part, were happy to purchase "the mummies and papyrus." "With W. W. Phelps and Oliver Cowdery as scribes," Joseph writes, "I commenced the translation of some of the characters or hieroglyphics, and much to our joy, found that one of the scrolls contained the writings of Abraham, another the writings of Joseph of Egypt, etc. . . . Truly we can say, the Lord is beginning to reveal the abundance of peace and truth." So, from October, 1835, through the winter of 1835-1836, while diligently studying Hebrew, as we have seen, Joseph was also working on these papyri. On January 30, 1836, Joseph notes in his Journal: "Mr. Seixas, our Hebrew teacher, examined the record, and pronounced it to be original beyond all doubt." Finally, in the spring of 1842, in *Times and Seasons*, appeared the Book of Abraham. In Cowdery's words, it utters knowledge about "the history of the creation, the fall of man, and more or less the correct ideas of the Deity."

When Joseph Smith was educating the Book of Abraham from the papyri, he could not possibly have made use of Jean Champollion's *Précis* (1823, 1828), and there was no other comparable teacher of Egyptology in print in 1835-1836. Accordingly, Robert C. Webb, in his book *Joseph Smith as a Translator* (1936), attributes Joseph's Book to divine illumination and postulates the infallibility of Joseph's knowledge of "reformed Egyptian" and of Hebrew in this Book as well as in the Book of Mormon. "Reformed Egyptian," Webb is sure, is later Egyptian written by an Israelite who, while writing in it, "must have been thinking in the forms of a language purely Semitic, and using Egyptian words precisely as he would have used corresponding words in his own vernacular" (p. 79). And by ingenious zigzag from form to form, Webb unfailingly attains the preestablished outcome. Unprecedented words and idioms, however linguistically dubious, are shown to be linguistically authentic, in the very nature of things. The particular assumption *a priori* behind Webb's method, I think, is clear. Is it obligatory for the faithful to validate every writing which Joseph Smith presented to them *ex cathedra*? Today, learned specialists in the Church are confidently employing their science to verify the far reaches of Joseph's revelations in the eyes of the world's science.

Now I don't know anything about Egyptology; but, when I think of how much preparation it took for Champollion to come the short distance he did with all his perceptiveness, I am skeptical, *a priori*, of Joseph's competence in it. Perhaps, it all comes down finally to one *a priori* thesis and its train of consequences as against another. At all events, frankly, I am thinking about Joseph Smith from the point of view of one who regards him with respect and admiration as a genius, but as one inspired only as all geniuses of the spirit are. I wish not to be dogmatic — candidly surmising where I can't be certain.

We continue with the search for effects of Joseph's Hebrew study discernible in astronomical and cosmological names, names of "strange gods" and Facsimiles 1 and 2, all of which are found in the first three chapters of the Book of Abraham. As we know, this Book, in Webb's opinion "is an actual translation from the Egyptian as written by an Israelite" (pp. 75-76); and he moves the Hyksos rule higher, to 2250-1750, so as to place Abraham in the middle of it. Names like Korash, Mahmackrah, and Shagreel, he states, are Hebrew. Of the three, only Korash sounds Hebrewish. The "Hebrew" which Webb transliterates as "Shagreel," a pupil of Seixas would transliterate as "Sha-gna-ra (ray)-el"; "el," of course, is Hebrew. Webb asserts, too, that Shinehah, Olea, and Kolob are Hebrew as truly as are Kokaubeam, Hah-ko-kau-beam, Kokob, and Raukeeyang. Three of these last four words are transliterated virtually in the Seixas way. All four are given their Hebrew meanings: stars, the stars, a star, firmament or expanse. Another such word is Shaumayeem (exactly the Seixas pronunciation), heavens, in the sense of Genesis I; Shaumau is an invented singular, unknown to the Bible. Kolob, the name of the greatest of all the Kokaubeam, may be a variant of Kokob. Olea, a name for the moon, may be an invented variant for a Hebrew word for "moon," yau-ra-akh, the same as the vowels of Adonai were transposed into the word Jehovah. The more poetical word for "moon," le-vanah, the White One, turns into the name Libnah for one of the idolatrous gods. The name Jah-oh-eh for the earth ("Explanation," Facsimile 2), which applies literally the time-idea of Psalm 90:4, could be an inversion of the vowels of Ye-ho-vau (Jehovah) in Seixas' translation (p. 15). This inversion has theological significance. One word remains: gnolaum (3:18) — "Yet these two spirits . . . shall have no beginning . . . no end, for they are gnolaum, or eternal." This, again, is an exact Seixas transliteration; however, the Hebrew word is not an adjective but a noun, which in the plural may act as an adverb. The phrase "an everlasting covenant" (Doctrine and Covenants 45:9) is taken from Genesis 17:13, where gnolaum, in the English idiom "everlasting," is, in the Hebrew idiom, a noun, "eternity."

How does Joseph use the Hebrew term-name Elohim or Eloheem, God? In translating "Elohim" in Exodus 22:28, he changed the King James "the gods" to "God." The Revised Version (R. V.), followed by the standard Jewish translation of 1917, changed "the gods" to "the judges." Joseph was a strict monotheist then. Likewise, in the Book of Moses, he positively, militantly makes "God" singular in recounting the creation of the universe and does not at all depart from monotheism in the first three chapters of the Book of

Abraham nor in the Explanations of the three Facsimiles. But, in the fourth and fifth chapters of this later book, Joseph is triumphantly positive that Eloheem means "the Gods." "The Gods organized the lights in the expanse of the heaven"; "the Gods took counsel among themselves and said, Let us go down and form man in our image." Now, in the Hebrew we find: "And God said [singular], Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. . . . And God created [singular] man in His image." With the exception of "let us make," the verbs which go with "God" (Eloheem) are singular throughout Genesis 1. The same is the situation in Genesis 3:22: "And the Lord God said [singular], Behold the man is become as one of us . . ."; and in Genesis 11:6-8: "Go to, let us go down," says the Lord (singular). "The gods" (plural) in Genesis 35:7 (A. V. "God") are the same as "the angels of God" (so A. V.) in 28:12. Seixas's Manual invariably treats the Eloheem of the Israelites as singular, although the word is plural in form; and he explains the plural form as "a pluralis excellentiae, used by way of eminence" (pp. 85, 94). Professor Seixas was not to blame if, on learning that Eloheem is plural, Joseph "concluded that the Bible had been carelessly translated," even though Parley Pratt thought so. It is also doubtful that the Professor led Joseph to "conclude that God must have made the heavens and the earth out of materials He had on hand." (See Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, p. 171.)

USING HEBREW AS AN ARTIST

At the Annual Conference of the Church held in Nauvoo in early April, 1844, Joseph once more theologized with Hebrew, in the funeral sermon famous as the King Follett Discourse. In hindsight, this sermon is seen to have been his own last testament as *nabi*, earnestly and triumphantly spoken to 20,000 followers in the shadow of his own cross. The sermon was taken down by four faithful and trained reporters, but their composite record was not free from errors. Ira N. Hayward has pointed out that the recorded statement "The mind or intelligence which man possesses is coequal with God himself" should probably read ". . . coeval with God himself." For the purpose of the observations which follow, however we may take the text as we have it, on the authority of B. H. Roberts. He was speaking, he told the assembled multitude, with infallibility, by virtue of book-learning but more by virtue of transcendental intuition, of immediate illumination by the Holy Ghost. "I have got the oldest book in the world; but I have got the oldest book in my heart, even the gift of the Holy Ghost." The basis of his argument would be the Bible, strictly, he said. Arguing for the eternity of the human spirit, soul, or mind and for the eternal progression to which the human spirit is summoned, Joseph makes the first three words of Genesis 1:1 into statements as follows: "The head one of the Gods brought forth the Gods"; in other words, "The head God brought forth the Gods in the Grand Council." Seixas's Manual (p. 85) translates the whole verse, word for word: "In the beginning, he created, God [God created], the heavens, and the earth," But Joseph, with audacious independence, changes the meaning of the first word, and takes the third word "Eloheem" as literally plural. He ignores the rest of the verse, and the syntax

he imposes on his artificial three-word statement is impossible. The second word, the verb, could mean “to form or constitute beings from pre-existent materials” as a strikingly new event — Joseph will let it mean only this; it could also mean “to create something out of nothing.” Jewish thought favors the latter view; Maimonides in his Creed and “Guide” allows the verb to remain ambiguous.

In his peroration, Joseph said, “Those who commit the unpardonable sin are doomed to Gnomol — to dwell in hell, worlds without end.” This Hebrew word from the Book of Abraham is still made to mean “eternal,” but now in order to inspire the fear of hellfire.

It has not been my intention to imply that Joseph Smith’s free-handling of Hebrew grammar and the language of the Hebrew Bible shows ineptitude. Professor Seixas was undoubtedly well pleased with him as a Hebrew student. I simply do not think he cared to appear before the world as a meticulous Hebraist. He used the Hebrew as he chose, as an artist, inside his frame of reference, in accordance with his taste, according to the effect he wanted to produce, as a foundation for theological innovations. Take, as final illustrations, Joseph’s use of “Zion” and “the Lord of Sabaoth.” The Hebrew word for “Zion” is believed to have signified “stronghold, citadel”; in particular, it became a synonym not merely for “the City of David” but for the city of Jerusalem as a whole; in the course of time, in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Psalms especially, it was used poetically to mean the Kingdom of Judah, the land, the nation, the Temple Mount. In the early 1830’s before he studied Hebrew, Joseph made “Zion” mean “the Pure in Heart” and “the City of Holiness.” “The Lord of Sabaoth,” in earlier biblical usage, meant “the Lord of Armies,” “the Lord who assures our forces Victory.” Later, the sun, moon and stars were thought of as the “hosts” of the heavens, and “the Lord of Hosts” became a poetic name for the Creator and Ruler of the magnificent, orderly universe. Joseph interprets the name as meaning “the Creator of the first day, the beginning and the end, the Alpha and Omega.” In both instances, Joseph starts from the connotation, because it, and not the denotation, is useful to him.

Joseph’s freedom was extended to ignoble purpose by Charles B. Thompson, author in 1841 of one of the first books to defend the divine inspiration of the Book of Mormon, although a dissident in 1838. After Joseph’s death, he joined James Strang, and in 1848 announced his own divinely authorized cult. When he founded Preparation in Iowa, he declared himself “Baneemy, Patriarch of Zion” (Baurak Ale’s rightful successor, obviously). His several hundred followers were the “Baneemyites.” As Mormonism was Joseph Smith’s revision of the Bible and Christianity, so Thompson’s theology, ecclesiastical order, and ritual were a revision of Mormonism, at the stage to which Joseph Smith had brought it at his death. On the eve of the Civil War, having been expelled as a tyrant from his Eden, Thompson hoped to recapture authority with a tract, “The Nachash Origin of the Black and Mixed Races.” The Hebrew word “nachash” (Genesis 3), he says, does not mean “serpent” but “Cush,” Hebrew for Ethiopian or Negro. The Negroes are not children of Adam. In his ideal community or Zion, the Negroes, indeed all the colored races,

will be slaves. "Ha-nachash" (The Black Man) appears in Hebrew letters at the top of the title page. There is a bit more Hebrew in this 84-page book. Apparently, "Baneemy-Ephraim" was the only would-be heir of Joseph Smith who employed Hebrew, hanging on words from Genesis 1-3 his own far from Old Testament theology. (Genesis 1:1: "With the first begotten Elohim was the heavens and the earth.") Perhaps, this involvement of Hebrew was another way of trying to measure up to Joseph Smith. Did he begin Hebrew study with Joshua Seixas or with Alexander Neibaur? His pronunciation is the academic, not the Sefhardic.

USING HEBREW TO DEFEND THE FAITH

Orson Pratt was different in both mentality and purpose from Joseph Smith and Joseph's imitator, Baneemy Thompson. Pratt, as annotator of Mormon Scripture, never questions the interpretations which were taught him of "Zion" or "the God of Sabaoth" or any other point of doctrine. However, he was also the polymath of the Mormon Church in the nineteenth century, an exact scientist where he thought it proper to be one. So when the need arose to employ Hebrew grammar with technical rigor, he, a member of Professor Seixas's "First Class," could do it. This was thirty-four years later, in 1870, when he made a triumphant application of the relevant fundamentals in his public debate with Dr. John P. Newman, the formidable chaplain of the United States Senate.

Newman came self-invited to Salt Lake City, sure he could bait Brigham Young into joining with him in debate before the world on the question, Does the Bible sanction Polygamy? It was finally agreed that the Church would meet the challenger, but in person of the erudite, adroit, and eloquent Orson Pratt. Orson Whitney (*History of Utah*, Vol. 2) presents a full, factual, dramatic account of this tournament. It was held in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, during three days of August. The attendance increased from 3,000 to 11,000. The *New York Herald* published a verbatim report of each day's discussion. Many other journals printed a daily summary. It was an international drama. To Orson Pratt the palm of victory was almost universally accorded.

The three days' debate narrowed down to the question of how Leviticus 18:18 should be understood. Should the Hebrew clause, *Ve-ishah el ahotah lo tikkah* (Seixas: *akhotah, tikkakh*), be translated, "Neither shalt thou take one wife to another, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, besides the other in her lifetime" and, accordingly, be understood as removing polygamy from biblical permission? Or should this Hebrew clause be translated the way it is in the King James Bible: "Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her" and so forth, and, accordingly, be understood as prohibiting the marriage of two sisters at the same time — otherwise leaving polygamy permissible? The standard modern Jewish and Christian translators and commentators — such as the Revised Standard Version, Isaac Leeser, Joseph H. Hertz, the *New Commentary on Holy Scripture* by Gore, Goudge, and Guillaume (1926) — agree with the King James Bible and with Orson Pratt on the sense and intent of the Hebrew. He did not, of course, prove that Leviticus

18:18 commands polygamy. (In fact, no rabbi of the Talmud is known to have had more than one wife, and polygamy had ceased in Israel centuries before. Formally and forever, polygamy was prohibited by a decree of Rabbi Gershom, Light of the Exile, about 1000 A. D.) No more could Dr. Newman establish that the Pentateuch never, in the legislation, accepts it. But Pratt did demonstrate the correctness of his interpretation of the Hebrew clause in question beyond a doubt with logical analysis and massive comparison, done carefully, of all the syntactic parallels in the Old Testament. He proved that the marginal reading on which Dr. Newman relied was superimposed on the Hebrew, in violation of Hebrew grammar. It had been put there by someone who placed his aversion to polygamy above fidelity to the Hebrew text.

If Joseph Smith had been alive and well in 1870, in what style and with what method would he have defended his doctrine against the prince of the church from Washington? No, for that challenge, First Classman Orson Pratt was the preordained man. First Classman Joseph Smith was the artist-creator of a new religion.

If there has been another artist of religion in modern times who, excepting his blatant imitator "Baneemy," transformed the Hebrew of the Bible to suit his own purposes as freely as did Joseph Smith, who would he be?

THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH AND MEANING IN MORMON HISTORY

Leonard J. Arrington

Leonard J. Arrington is Professor of Economics at Utah State University and an Advisory Editor to DIALOGUE. He was the first president of the Mormon History Association and is the author of GREAT BASIN KINGDOM, as well as numerous other books and articles. Professor Arrington presented this paper at the third annual DIALOGUE Board of Editors dinner in Salt Lake City on April 5th.

The philosopher Plato, to whom dialogue was the highest expression of intellectuality, defined thought as "the dialogue of the soul with itself." It is thus altogether fitting that the editors of *Dialogue* should encourage Mormon scholars to conduct periodic soul-searchings in regard to the relevance of their studies to the Gospel. I am grateful for this opportunity of reappraising Mormon history and of relating historical studies to the Church and its historic mission of building the Kingdom of God on earth.

I

From its very inception The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints sought to leave an accurate and complete record of its history. On April 6, 1830, the date of the organization of the Church, a revelation was given to

Joseph Smith which began "Behold, there shall be a record kept among you" ¹ To accomplish this purpose the Second Elder of the Church, Oliver Cowdery, was selected to serve as Church Recorder. When Elder Cowdery was transferred to other work a year later, John Whitmer was appointed, by revelation, to "write and keep a regular history." ² Whitmer served in this capacity until 1835, and wrote a brief manuscript narrative, which is now in the possession of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. ³

Thus, from the earliest years the Church designated an official to record its story and preserve its records. Twenty-five men have been sustained during the years 1830 to 1968 as Church Historians and Recorders. (The list of those who have served in these capacities is given at the end of this essay.) In addition to the records kept by these men, each of the organizations of the Church has kept minutes of its meetings and other documents, individuals have kept diaries and journals, and newspapers and magazines have published items of contemporary and earlier history. Thus, a surprisingly complete record of the Church and its instrumentalities, from 1830 to the present, can be found in the Church Historian's Library and Archives, in Salt Lake City. The records in the Church Archives appear to be "honest," in the sense of presenting the facts as nearly as the designated historians could determine them, and there does not appear to have been any destruction of or tampering with the records or the evidence.

The second phase of official Church historiography began in 1838 when Joseph Smith and his associates began the preparation of a documentary record entitled "History of Joseph Smith." This detailed chronology, written as an official diary of the Prophet, appeared in serial form in the *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Illinois), beginning in 1842. When that publication was discontinued in 1846, the remainder of the "History" was published in issues of the *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (Liverpool), during the years 1853-1863. A follow-up "History of Brigham Young" and other Church officials covered the years to 1844, and was published in the *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City) and *Millennial Star*, 1863-1865. In subsequent years Church Historians and Assistant Church Historians worked through these manuscripts, corrected errors, added corroborative material, and "improved" the narrative. The result was the seven-volume *History of the Church*, edited and annotated by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City, 1902-1912), which is still the standard "documentary history" of the Church.

A third stage of the recording of the history of the Church was initiated by Andrew Jenson at the turn of the century, when he commenced three important projects: (1) the preparation and accumulation of biographies of the founders and subsequent officers of the Church, many of which even-

¹Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City, 1935), section 21, verse 1.

²*Ibid.*, section 47, verse 1.

³*John Whitmer's History* (Salt Lake City, 1966), 24 pp. A similar history, overlapping the Whitmer account, is the "Far West Record," in the L.D.S. Church Historian's Library and Archives, Salt Lake City. Parts of it have been published in Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, B. H. Roberts, ed. (6 vols., Salt Lake City, 1902-1912).

tually found an outlet in the *L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia* (4 vols., Salt Lake City, 1901-1936). Unfortunately, subsequent volumes have not been issued with information on Church officials of the past thirty years. (2) The preparation of an encyclopedia of Church history, subsequently published as *Encyclopedic History of the Church* (Salt Lake City, 1941). (3) The preparation of a massive multi-volume scrapbook record of the day-to-day activities of the Church, with excerpts from available sources, both published and unpublished. This "Journal History of the Church" now comprises more than 1,300 legal-size scrapbooks, from three to five inches thick; it is being extended daily by the addition of clippings from Salt Lake City and other newspapers. Happily there is an index to this mammoth collection so that one is able to trace references to individuals and organizations with considerable ease.

A fourth stage in the setting down of Mormon history was the preparation of synthesis histories. Overlooking the fragmentary histories of Elders Cowdery, Whitmer, and Corril,⁴ and the publication of various missionary tracts with historical sections, the first attempt of Mormon historians to set down a synthesis history was that of Edward Tullidge, who was granted access to materials in the Church Archives for the preparation of his *Life of Brigham Young; or Utah and Her Founders* (New York, 1876), *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1886), and *History of Northern Utah and Southern Idaho* (Salt Lake City 1889). Hubert Howe Bancroft also received extensive materials from the Historian's Office, and had the personal help of Orson Pratt, Franklin D. Richards, John Taylor, and Wilford Woodruff in the preparation of his *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1889), which might be said to contain the first "professional" history of the Mormons. Bancroft's one-volume history was followed by Orson F. Whitney's four-volume *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1898-1904), which was written almost exclusively from Mormon sources. The next history was B. H. Roberts' "History of the Mormon Church," which appeared in serialized form in *Americana* (New York), 1909-1915. With some additions and changes it reappeared in *A Comprehensive History of the Church: Century I* (6 vols., Salt Lake City, 1930). A one-volume synthesis history, originally prepared as a manual for Priesthood classes and since reissued many times with additional material is Joseph Fielding Smith's, *Essentials of Church History* (Salt Lake City, 1922).

With the exception of the Bancroft volume and some sections of Roberts's *Comprehensive History*, most of our Latter-day Saint histories and the monographs which have been written from them, represent what might be called "documentary histories." They attempt to give an account of the important events of the past without critical analysis or interpretation. They depend, essentially, on the statements of participants and observers, whose testimonies have been excerpted and combined, with due regard for their trustworthiness, and "compiled" into a narrative. Some of the histories have been written to prove a theological thesis, such as that the Lord looked after the Saints, pun-

⁴A series of letters by Oliver Cowdery and W. W. Phelps in the *Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland, Ohio, 1834-1837) contain much history. John Corril published *A Brief History of the Church* (St. Louis, 1839).

ished them when disobedient, and frustrated their enemies. They have dealt primarily with the externals of the events which transpired, and have not concerned themselves with the internals — the underlying motives or thoughts of those who made the actions happen. Above all, our historians were perhaps unduly respectful of certain authorities, placing credence in accounts that should have been subjected to critical analysis.

This tradition of unquestioning “compiled external history” presented not only an authoritative narration of the succession of events, but also set the tone for a large proportion of the subsequent studies in Mormon history. These have dealt primarily with changes in the institutional structure of the Church — with the development of its doctrine, program, and organization. Particularly popular objects of study have been histories of the missions, wards and stakes, auxiliaries, educational and cultural institutions and programs, and economic enterprises. One reason for the popularity of such studies is the survival and availability of the records of the organizations and programs. Personal records were hardly available to anyone outside of given families, and these were widely scattered. There was always a problem about family records because every family organization had at least *one* person who did not want anyone to know that grandpa once shared a bottle of wine with his Battalion buddies, or that Aunt Jane once served tea to an officer of the Relief Society. Thus, using organizational records rather than family records, scholars tended to describe the “outside” of the events.

There is, of course, another kind of history — the type which the British historian and philosopher, R. G. Collingwood, has called the history of the inside of the event. This history seeks to determine and expose the thoughts in the minds of the persons “by whose agency the events came about.”⁵ The historian does this by creatively re-thinking the thoughts of the participants in the context of his knowledge, analyzing them and forming his own judgment of the validity of their explanations. He invests the narrative with meaning by consciously selecting from the sources what he thinks important, by interpolating in the reports of the participants and observers things which they do not explicitly say, and by rejecting or amending what he regards as due to misinformation or mendacity. Above all, he puts his sources in the witness-box, and by cross-examination extorts from them information which in their original statements they withheld, either because they did not wish to give it or because they did not realize they possessed it. In other words, the Mormon historian, like other historians, must read contemporary accounts with a question in his mind, and seek to find out, by inference and otherwise, what he wants to find out from them. Every step in his research depends on asking a question — not so much whether the statement is true or false, but what the statement means. Obviously, since his informants, by and large, are dead, the historian must put the questions to himself.⁶ The historian, as with

⁵R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (New York, 1956), p. 215. The first English edition was 1946.

⁶Compare Collingwood, pp. 235-237, 269, 273-275. This paragraph is very close to a paraphrase of Collingwood.

scholars in other disciplines, must engage in the continuous Socratic questioning that Plato described so well (in the quotation used at the beginning of the article) as “a dialogue of the soul with itself.”

This kind of history, which we may call Socratic or interpretive history, must by its very nature be a private and not a Church venture. Although this history is intended to imbue the written record with meaning and significance, the Church cannot afford to place its official stamp of approval on any “private” interpretation of its past. Interpretations are influenced by styles and ideas of the times, not to say the personalities and experiences of historians, and the Church itself ought not to be burdened with the responsibility of weighing the worth of one interpretation as against another. Contrariwise, the historian ought to be free to suggest interpretations without placing his faith and loyalty on the line.

Fortunately, the Church Historian’s Library and Archives is now admirably arranged to permit responsible historians to get at the “inside” of the events in our history.⁷ Materials are filed in three separate sections, each of which has its own card catalogues and indexes:

1. **Library Section.** This includes a nearly-complete library of books, pamphlets, tracts, and periodicals published by and about the Church, including “Anti-Mormon” works. There are also newspapers and maps, films and filmstrips.
2. **Manuscript Section.** In addition to the “Journal History of the Church” initiated by Andrew Jenson, there are similar journal or manuscript histories of each of the wards, stakes, and missions; Name Files of several thousand church officials and members (and some non-members as well); and the diaries and journals of several hundred persons.
3. **Written Records Section.** This section features tens of thousands of minute books and other records of wards, stakes, Priesthood quorums, auxiliary organizations, and missions, as well as emigration records.

The alphabetically-arranged Name Files in the Manuscript Section, which are now in the process of being indexed, are of particular value in the re-writing of our history. Typically, they include autobiographical sketches, newspaper clippings, letters to and from the person, and other personal records and documents. Thus, these files permit us to look at the record from the standpoint of many individual participants. These records must be examined with care, and because of the intimate family information which they contain can often be made available only to professional historians who are accustomed to handling confidential data.

After working through several hundred of these Name Files, I do not see any major revisions of our history — that is, revisions of conclusions to which sophisticated historians have come in years past. Indeed, on some of the con-

⁷Certain materials are not in the Church Historian’s Library and Archives; for example, minutes of meetings of the First Presidency, certain diaries of members of the First Presidency, certain financial records, etc., are in the vault of the First Presidency.

clusions reached long ago by our historians but doubted by some recent historians, there is a wealth of material, heretofore unused, which corroborates the "official" point of view. For this reason, it is fortunate that this material is now more generally available. The records contain numerous accounts and evidences of individual greatness, heroism, and sacrifice. My own impression is that an intensive study of Church history, while it will dispel certain myths or half-myths sometimes perpetuated in Sunday School (and other) classes, will *build* testimonies rather than weaken them.

II

The more one works with the materials of Mormon history the more one becomes aware of certain built-in biases which have influenced our impressions of Church history. Let me suggest five of these:

1. *The theological marionette bias.* One gets the impression from some of our literature and sermons that the Prophets and their associates in the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve were pious personages who responded somewhat mechanically, as if by conditioned reflex, to explicit instructions from On High, and that God manipulated the leaders much as marionettes in a puppet show — that Church leaders themselves were not significant as agents of history. While this may very well have been the case in some instances, all developments did not come about "naturally" or even "supernaturally," nor can we describe innovations naively as "expedients necessitated by the times." The introduction of theological and organizational changes is done by people — by learned scripturists, talented organizers, and energetic innovators. They may have operated individually or in groups; they may have been motivated by ambition, prestige, or the good of the Church. In any event, they introduced new programs and organizational instrumentalities, and assumed the responsibility for the adjustment to external circumstances without which the programs would not work. To study the mentality, personality, and character of our leaders is to study the activators of history. Biographical and psychological studies are an indispensable but little-used vehicle for the study and comprehension of our history.

2. *The male bias.* This is the notion that men hold all the important policy-making positions, therefore they are the ones who determine the course of events. The Priesthood holds the key leadership offices, we reason, so the Priesthood is responsible for everything that happens. We are inclined toward a male interpretation of Mormon history. A few years ago, the Gospel Doctrine classes studied a manual prepared by Dr. Thomas C. Romney entitled *The Gospel In Action* (Salt Lake City, 1949). Each week we studied the life of one historic Latter-day Saint — and we discussed some truly interesting and inspiring lives. Forty-five biographies were given in the manual; and while half of the persons attending Gospel Doctrine classes were presumably women, forty-two of the biographies were of men, and only three were of women. We studied the life of Angus M. Cannon, who was a long-time president of Salt Lake Stake;

but we did not study his fascinating wife, Martha Hughes Cannon, who was the first woman state senator in the United States. (As a matter of fact, when the Republican Party nominated her husband for the State Senate, the Democratic Party had no one who thought it worthwhile to run against him — that is, until some party member conceived the idea of running Sister Cannon. She won against her husband, served two terms, and proved a brilliant and resourceful senator.) We studied Orson Spencer, the president of the University of Nauvoo; but we did not study his equally intelligent and fascinating daughter, Aurelia Spencer Rogers, the founder of the Primary Association of the Church. This pattern of assumed male dominance is characteristic of all our histories. Edward Tullidge gave biographies of thirty persons in his *Life of Brigham Young*; all of the thirty were men. The fourth volume of Orson F. Whitney's monumental *History of Utah* contains the biographies of 351 persons, only twenty-nine of which were women. One section entitled "First Immigrants," presents biographies of thirty persons, in only two of which was any attempt made to recognize the fact that women also came to Utah. (As a matter of fact, eighty-three women had arrived in the Salt Lake Valley by the end of July 1847, three from the original "pioneer" company, sixty from the Mormon Battalion, and twenty with the "Mississippi Saints.")

Another category in the Whitney biographies is entitled "Farmers and Stockraisers." Sixty-two biographies are presented, but in only two instances does the biography make any attempt to identify and describe the history of the wife or wives, along with that of the husband. This, despite the fact that the men were away on missions so often that in many cases the women were the effective farmers of the family. This was even more true in the case of polygamous households where the husband could not possibly manage on a day-to-day basis the farms of his various families. It may well be true, as some historians have asserted, that the Mormons were the best farmers in the West, but very often Mormon farms were managed by women, not men.

In any event, anyone who spends a substantial amount of time going through the materials in the Church Archives must gain a new appreciation of the important and indispensable role of women in the history of the Church — not to mention new insights into Church history resulting from viewing it through the eyes of women.⁸

3. *The solid achievement bias*, with emphasis on the word "solid." We have tended to remember the tangible, the material, the visible, simply because these have had greater survival value. We have tended to measure the accomplishments of the pioneers by such *durable* achievements as the construction of canals and dams, temples and meetinghouses, houses and cooperative stores. We have forgotten that the pioneers also made contributions in thought, in

⁸A good example of the "new look" at the inside of Church history by viewing it through the life of a woman is K. K. Thurston, *The Winds of Doctrine: The Story of the Life of Mary Lockwood Kemp in Mormon Utah During the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1952). An interesting recent essay emphasizing the role of women is Kenneth Godfrey, "Feminine-flavored Church History," *The Improvement Era*, January 1968, p. 52.

human relations, in education. From the evidence of pioneer life still surviving, we are led to conclude that the Mormons were good farmers and engineers, but poor poets and philosophers. By thus giving emphasis to the achievements of the more active members of the community, we have overlooked the quiet and immeasurable achievements of the reflective and contemplative. An extended experience among the Name Files has convinced this historian that the role of the writer and the intellectual was greater than we have ever acknowledged. These contributions are more subtle — more difficult to discover and to trace — but they are nevertheless there.

4. *The centrifugal bias* — the notion that the important influences and forces in Mormon history originated in the center and moved outward from there. This bias, which results partly from the greater survival value of materials collected and protected by the central Church, has had a discernible effect on our attitudes. Some Latter-day Saints have seemed to think that their primary task is to sit down and wait for instructions from 47 E. South Temple Street, Salt Lake City. This was clearly not the attitude of earlier generations, who were told by revelation that they were personally invested with the responsibility of contributing toward the building of the Kingdom and did not wait on anybody to tell them when to start.

For behold, it is not meet that I should command in all things; for he that is compelled in all things, the same is a slothful and not a wise servant; wherefore he receiveth no reward.

Verily I say, men should be anxiously engaged in a good cause, and do many things of their own free will, and bring to pass much righteousness;

For the power is in them, wherein they are agents unto themselves. And inasmuch as men do good they shall in nowise lose their reward.

But he that doeth not anything until he is commanded . . . , the same is damned.⁹

Clearly that revelation had an impact, for a large share of the creativity in thought and practice in the Church came from what might be called the “private sector,” or from the geographical and organizational periphery, and moved centripetally toward the center and universal adoption. To give some examples, the Relief Society originated as a voluntary ladies’ aid society in Nauvoo, and was quickly reconstituted by the Prophet Joseph Smith as an official organization. The *Woman’s Exponent*, first magazine for women west of the Mississippi (with one fly-by-night exception) originated as a semi-private venture in which the leading part was played by a twenty-two-year-old girl journalist from Smithfield, Utah. After many years of splendid service, it came to be recognized as the official organ of the Relief Societies. The *Contributor* and the *Young Woman’s Journal*, the two periodicals which later formed *The Improvement Era*, were both initiated by the altruistic desire on the part of young men and young women writers to make a literary contribution to the

⁹Doctrine and Covenants, section 58, verses 26-29.

Church. The United Order, as established by the Church in 1874, was modeled along the lines of cooperative general stores established in Brigham City, Utah, in 1864, and in Lehi, Utah, in 1868. The Welfare Plan, as introduced in 1936, was built on experiences in St. George Stake, in southern Utah, and Liberty Stake, in Salt Lake City. All missionaries know of “good ideas” which were tried in one mission and quickly spread to others. All of this is quite “natural,” and, upon reflection, is what we would expect; an examination of the Archives helps to demonstrate its validity. Brigham Young used to say that more testimonies were obtained on the feet than on the knees. What he obviously meant was that we must all be “about our Father’s business.”

5. *The unanimity bias.* This is the notion that Mormon society has, from the earliest years, been characterized by concert in thought and behavior — by cooperation, concord, and consensus. In this respect, our historians have been so charmed with the unity of the Saints after they have decided on a course of action, that they have neglected to inquire into the process by which they made up their minds what to do. As with other peoples, the Saints have had their controversies, conflicts, and questionings. The substantial disagreement on doctrine, practice, and collective policy becomes evident when one leaves the “official” sources to focus on the minds and careers of individuals. While the records of the Church emphasize the triumphs of union and accord, individual diaries often dwell on the difficulties of resolving differences. When one intensively studies certain controversies — whether they be doctrinal, economic, or political — one occasionally uncovers widely disparate positions, both among general authorities and among the “lay” members of the Church. The Saints were not without opportunities for criticism and the free expression of opinion — in general Priesthood meetings, in quorum meetings, and in other encounters; and sometimes opinions were articulated with considerable vigor and determination. Then, just as the divisiveness was threatening the unity of the Saints, the Prophet spoke, conflicts were resolved, and the Saints closed ranks to get the job done. There was apparently such debate over proper policy preceding the exodus from Nauvoo, before the coming of the railroad to Utah, and during the antipolygamy “Raid” of the 1880’s and the Depression of the 1930’s. In each instance, there were a few “die-hards” who could not reconcile themselves to the “final” solution and left the Church.

III

It is with respect to the last bias, perhaps, that the historian can make his greatest contribution to the Church today. There is now, as in early epochs, a certain amount of dissent. Some of it has to do with the Church’s role in politics, some with the Church’s business operations, and some with the emphasis on certain doctrines and practices such as “the Negro question” and the Word of Wisdom. We cannot deny the uneasiness which these strains and conflicts produce. But anxiety seems so much easier to bear when we understand the magnitude of the tensions and challenges of earlier generations. Indeed, one might make out a very good case for the fact that the Church has grown and

prospered precisely *because* of the dissent and discord, the obstacles and difficulties. Just as the Book of Mormon peoples seemed closest to God when they were meeting the greatest trials, the Saints of the latter-day also felt His presence most intimately when their individual and collective problems seemed so insurmountable that they were forced to call upon Him for help. For our pioneer ancestors, worship was not a running away or withdrawal from the battles of the world; neither was it an ostrich-like refusal to look problems in the face. They could not, even if they had wished, gloss over their many obstacles, physical and human, external and internal.

In his autobiographical recollections and reflections, *Little Did I Know* (New York, 1963), the great Jewish novelist and Zionist, Maurice Samuel, asserts that the "authentic Jew" is "the one who understands and is faithful to his own personal and social identity. One who, in short, accepts his history."¹⁰ May we not make an analogous definition of the Latter-day Saint? Are we authentic Latter-day Saints (i.e., real Mormons) unless we receive messages from our collective past? And who but the historian is prepared to relay authentic messages from the past? Our individual and collective authenticity as Latter-day Saints depends on the historians telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about our past. This includes the failures as well as the achievements, the weaknesses as well as the strengths, the individual derelictions as well as the heroism and self-sacrifice.

History can give meaning and purpose to life; it can help to formulate attitudes and policies for the future. As we prepare to celebrate the sesquicentennial anniversary of the Church in 1980, we must intensify our historical inquiries. May the images conveyed by our historians help us to continue the restoration of the Gospel of the Master, and may they assist us in building the Kingdom of God on earth.

¹⁰See the review by Daniel Stern in *Saturday Review*, January 25, 1964, p. 35.

LIST OF L.D.S. CHURCH HISTORIANS AND GENERAL
CHURCH RECORDERS, 1830-1968

1. Oliver Cowdery Church Recorder, 1830-31, 1835-37
2. John Whitmer Church Recorder, 1831-35
3. George W. Robinson General Church Recorder, 1837-41
4. John Corrill Church Historian, 1838-39
5. Elias Higbee Church Historian, 1838-43
6. Robert B. Thompson General Church Clerk, 1840-41
7. James Sloan General Church Clerk, 1841-43
8. Willard Richards Church Historian, 1842-43
General Church Recorder, 1843-45
Church Historian and General Church Recorder, 1845-54
9. George A. Smith Church Historian and General Church Recorder, 1854-71
10. Wilford Woodruff Assistant Church Historian, 1856-83
Church Historian and General Church Recorder, 1883-89
11. Albert Carrington Church Historian and General Church Recorder, 1871-74
12. Orson Pratt Church Historian and General Church Recorder, 1874-81
13. Franklin D. Richards Assistant Church Historian, 1884-89
Church Historian and General Church Recorder, 1889-99
14. John Jaques Assistant Church Historian, 1889-1900
15. Charles W. Penrose Assistant Church Historian, 1896-98
16. Andrew Jenson Assistant Church Historian, 1897-1941
17. Anthon H. Lund Church Historian and General Church Recorder, 1900-21
18. Orson F. Whitney Assistant Church Historian, 1902-06
19. A. Milton Musser Assistant Church Historian, 1902-09
20. B. H. Roberts Assistant Church Historian, 1902-33
21. Joseph Fielding Smith Assistant Church Historian, 1906-21
Church Historian and General Church Recorder, 1921-date
22. A. William Lund Assistant Church Historian, 1911-date
23. Junius F. Wells Assistant Church Historian, 1921-30
24. Preston Nibley Assistant Church Historian, 1957-63
25. Earl E. Olson Assistant Church Historian, 1965-date

THE JOSEPH SMITH EGYPTIAN PAPYRI

TRANSLATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

On November 27, 1967, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York presented the L.D.S. Church eleven papyrus fragments, which were once in the possession of Joseph Smith and some of which were apparently used by the Prophet in preparing the text of one of the Church's scriptures, the Book of Abraham. DIALOGUE has been able to obtain translations and identifications of these papyrus fragments (and one additional one recently discovered at the Church Historian's office) by distinguished American Egyptologists; we present them here together with various assessments that have been submitted concerning the significance of the fragments and their translations.

A SUMMARY REPORT

John A. Wilson

John A. Wilson is the Andrew MacLeish Distinguished Service Professor of Egyptology at the University of Chicago, a teacher of ancient Egyptian language and history. When the Editors of DIALOGUE asked Dr. Wilson to make a translation of the eleven pieces recently turned over by the Metropolitan Museum of Art to the L.D.S. Church, he agreed to make a preliminary study and report. He expressed the opinion that a full scholarly translation might take as much as a year's time and would require full access to the manuscripts, with the opportunity of examining them minutely and of sorting out and relocating misplaced fragments.

THE DIFFERENT MANUSCRIPTS

The Joseph Smith Egyptian papyri once consisted of at least six separate documents, possibly eight or more. That count may be checked through the

eleven pieces recently transferred from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York to the Church of the Latter-day Saints in November, 1967; from the "fragment" preserved in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City from the early days (*Brigham Young University Studies*, VIII, No. 2, 191-94; *The Improvement Era*, Feb. 1968, 40 A-H); from the illustrations in the Pearl of Great Price; and from copies and mounted pieces of papyrus in a notebook which Joseph Smith labeled, "Valuable Discovery of hidden records" (known to me from the publication, "Joseph Smith's Egyptian Grammar and Alphabet," Modern Microfilm Co., Salt Lake City, 1966). Certainly there were once six different documents. Two other pieces may be additional, or may belong to one or another of the six.

What I shall call Document A is the papyrus fragment which is illustration No. 1 in the Pearl of Great Price and is Photo 1 of the present eleven pieces. That shows a scene of a man lying upon a bed, while another figure leans over him. Beside the scene there are vertical lines of hieroglyphs.

Document B was once the longest papyrus in the collection. It is represented by Photos 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 and 9 in the present collection, by the mounted piece preserved in the Church Historian's Office, and by the same mounted piece and two pages of copies in "Valuable Discovery." As we shall see, there were many columns of hieratic writing, all once the property of the same Egyptian lady. Their intermittent character suggests that many columns of writing are now missing, and that they probably were missing when the document was sold to the Church in the 1830's. In its present state the manuscript is exasperatingly jumbled. Apparently it had been cut up and faultily mounted before it was brought to Kirtland, Ohio. Dealers have always known that a number of small pieces bring in more money than a single large piece. We shall study Document B in greater detail below.

Document C consists of a single scene, showing another Egyptian lady in the presence of the god of the dead, Osiris. This appears in Photos 5 and 6 of the present collection.

Egyptologists describe Documents A, B, C, F, and G as copies of the Book of the Dead. Document D is a related mortuary text of late times, the so-called Book of the Breathing, in a hieratic hand coarser than that of Document B. It appears in Photos 10 and 11.

Document E is the hypocephalus which was reproduced as Facsimile No. 2 in the Pearl of Great Price. Another copy is on p. 13 of "Valuable Discovery." A hypocephalus was a cartonnage disk which was placed under the head of a mummy toward the end of ancient Egyptian history. I think that the name of the owner appears as Sheshonk.

Document F is the scene shown as Facsimile No. 3 in the Pearl of Great Price. It shows an Egyptian standing in the presence of Osiris.

Document G is a Book of the Dead carrying the name of its owner as Amenhotep. It appears in copy on pp. 2, 3, and 6 of "Valuable Discovery." Possibly it comes from the same manuscript as F.

Document H is mounted on p. 10 of "Valuable Discovery." It is a papyrus which shows Arabic writing. Of course that writing is much later than the

ancient Egyptian texts, and the handwriting seems to be of a much later type than the last use of papyrus in Egypt. It seems reasonable, then, that a piece of ancient papyrus was used perhaps 150 to 200 years ago to make some jottings. If so, Document H may have been part of one of the other manuscripts. I think that I can detect that the fiber of the papyrus runs vertically, which would make it the back side of a document.

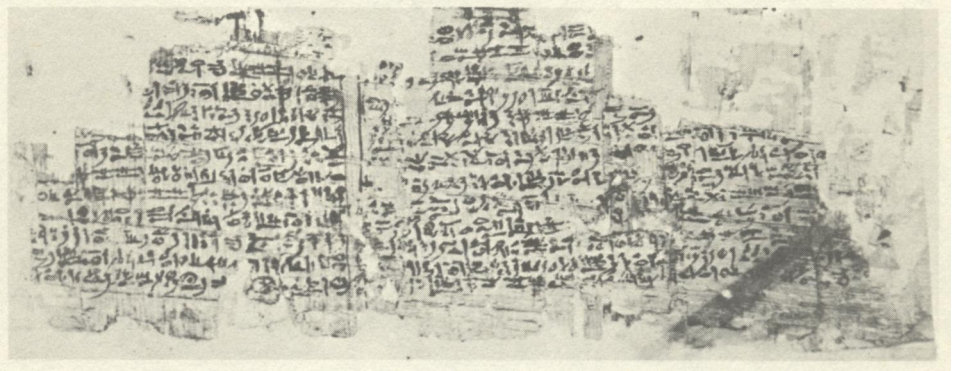


PHOTO 10

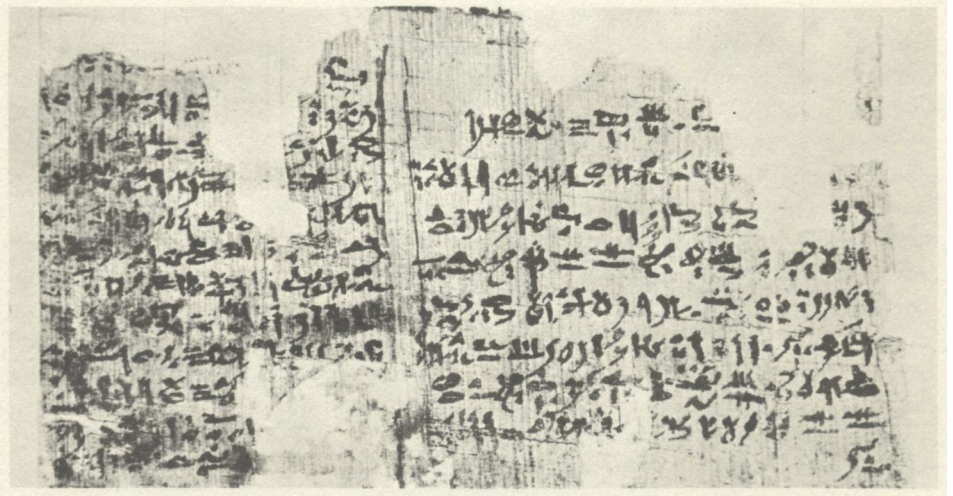


PHOTO 11

No Egyptologist is happy at studying either photographs or copies made by someone else. He wants to see the original. The present photographs are not particularly good: they are small scale and blurred around the margin. Further, although they pick up the black ink, they often fail completely on the red ink (the "rubrics"). The sections of Document B have been mounted with a brusque disregard for handwriting, continuity, or the grain of the papyrus. Pieces of the same manuscript have been wrongly moved in, to fill holes, sometimes upside down, and there is at least one patch from another document.

Papyrus is a water reed, with a long and sturdy stem. The stalk was sliced into strips, which were then laid together with an overlap, to build up a sheet. The front side of a document would have these strips running horizontally, the back vertically, to make a strong bonding. It was the natural juice of the papyrus which provided the adhesive for each sheet of this manufactured "paper." Then these single sheets could be gummed together with a paste, to make a scroll. A Book of the Dead manuscript might be a single sheet, or it may have been made up into a roll ten or fifteen feet long.

There are a few experts in the world who operate, not in terms of the written text, as I do, but in terms of the fabric of the papyrus. The fibers show an individual pattern, so that isolated scraps may be mounted into place on the basis of the continuity of grain. Ideally these documents might have been studied by such an objective authority.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

With the exception of D and E, all these documents show the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead. We continue to use that term, despite its inappropriateness. In contrast to other religions, the Egyptians had no one sacred book, a consistent text, which had become so thoroughly the guiding principle that it became fixed against change. Hardly any manuscript of the Book of the Dead is exactly like any other. They picked and chose their "chapters" — that is another misnomer — as the particular priestly composer pleased. One document might confine itself to chapters 15, 17, 125, and a few others; another manuscript might abbreviate longer chapters down, to squeeze in more than 150 chapters. We continue to use the term Book of the Dead, because it is understood, and because it is clumsy pedantry to be more specific: an unrelated collection of magical spells and religious hymns, intended to promote the welfare of a deceased Egyptian.

The ancestors of the Book of the Dead go back into prehistoric times, and were written down about 2350 B.C. In papyrus form the Book of the Dead begins about 1500 B.C. and continues to the beginning of the Christian Era. At first the writing was a sketchy form of the picture writing, hieroglyphic; increasingly later it was in the more flowing style called hieratic. Since handwriting changes from century to century, manuscripts of the Book of the Dead can be dated by the forms of individual signs or groups. Since the chapters showed changes in content and language as time went on, they may also be dated in terms of substance. All of the manuscripts here are of late times. That clearly means after 500 B.C., and for Document B after 300 B.C.

The Book of the Dead carried illustrations — called "vignettes" in the trade — which were attached to individual chapters. Usually we can see how these vignettes applied to the text. For example, chapter 63 carries the title, "the speech for drinking water and not being parched by fire." The vignette for earlier times shows the dead man receiving water; the vignette for later times, like our Document B, shows him pouring out water beside a fire. Such changes are also a limited criterion for dating.

The vignettes for Documents A and C are a little crude in drawing, as though they had been dashed off by an unskilled artist. However, the little sketches on Document B have a certain abstract elegance. The little lady with the pinched face and skeleton arms emerges as feminine and dignified.

There are two standard publications for the Book of the Dead: E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead. The Chapters of Coming forth by Day*, 3 vols., London, 1898; and T. George Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead, Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago*, Chicago, 1960. For our purposes, not only is Allen more recent, but the manuscripts he studies are much closer in time to the Joseph Smith papyri than most of those in Budge. In particular, Allen's Document R is very close to our Document B.

It is fairly easy to translate the Book of the Dead, and the renderings of two practiced Egyptologists will agree very well. It is another matter to understand the terms, allusions, and psychology of another religion. We might try to think of some of our modern hymns if the Old and New Testaments were unknown. An Eskimo might grasp the individual meanings of all the words in "Jerusalem the golden, with milk and honey blest, beneath thy contemplation sink heart and voice oppressed," but he would still be puzzled by the allusions. If your city is of gold, why gum it up with milk and honey? Why have such a city, if it is just going to oppress its inhabitants? We have similar troubles in trying to apply our understanding to the religion of the ancient Egyptians, which dropped out of human ken for more than 1500 years.

Here I limit my preliminary report to Document B, in the hope that the study of that manuscript in relation to other known Books of the Dead will give it a setting and history.

DOCUMENT B — GENERAL

Document B is a Book of the Dead composed for a lady named Ta-shere-Min ("the Daughter of the god Min"), born to the lady Nes-Khonsu ("She Belongs to the god Khonsu"). In the translation we shall abbreviate the "Ta-shere-Min, triumphant, born to Nes-Khonsu, triumphant," down to T-N. If she had any titles which might have given her setting in society, I have not detected them in the extant pieces. She is simply called "the Osiris," that is, in death she has become undying, like the god of the dead. "Triumphant" means that she has been vindicated by the afterlife judgment. Her name and her mother's name are very common in late times. The Greeks heard them as something like Semminis and Eskhonsis. The inclusion in these names of the gods Min and Khonsu might limit the locality to the general area of Thebes, but that cannot be certain.

Because the owner of this scroll was a woman, the vignettes show a female, rather than the usual male dead person.

Document B was once of a handsome length, possibly as long as the twelve feet of Allen's R. We can identify many chapters. On the assumption that there may have been more than one hundred chapters, the nine extant pieces might be only about a third or a quarter of the original roll. Taking

Translations of the listed chapters may be found in Budge and Allen. What follow are my own. If Allen's translation appears too literally narrow, it is closer to our text, while Budge's rendering is out-of-date and over-free. Because I always want to see with my own eyes, I shall limit myself to the six photos and the Historian's fragment, omitting comment on the copied texts which are i and ii above.

In the translations, square brackets inclose what is restored from other manuscripts, to fill out what we see in our pieces. Parentheses inclose my restoration or explanation.

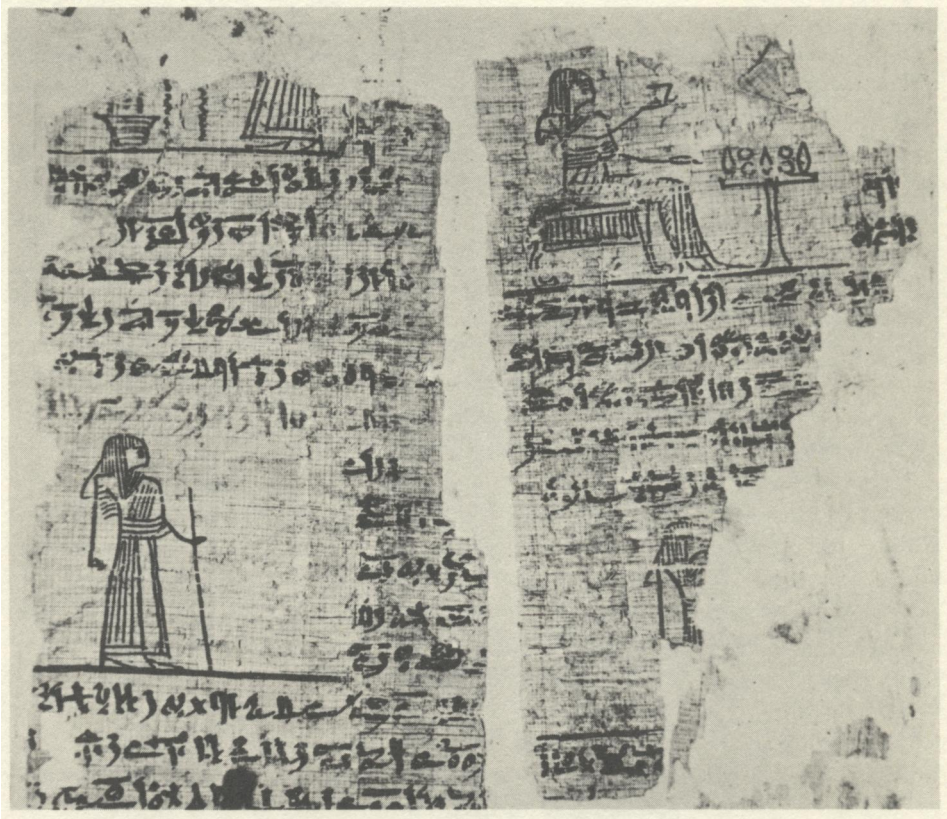


PHOTO 7

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY ON DOCUMENT B

Photo 7

Although photo 7 shows two apparently separate pieces, they seem to be roughly in the right relation to each other. On the right hand side there is a vignette showing Ta-shere-Min seated beside a table holding offerings. She has a cup in her hand. Budge states that in the vignette for chapter 53, "the deceased is seated on a chair with a table of offerings before him, and his left hand, with a bowl therein, is stretched out over it." If we change the sex and

the arm, that fits our vignette. I regret that the first chapter to be translated, 53, has a distasteful subject.

“[The speech for not eating dung or drinking urine in the necropolis. Words to be spoken by the Osiris T-N: ‘I am the sharp-horned bull, the guide of the sky, the lord of festivals of the sky, the great] illu[minator, who went forth as a flame,] who honors [length of years, the lion who gave the earth, so that the sun’s rays go.] Dung is my abomination. I will not drink [urine. I will not walk upside-down. I am] a possessor of bread in Heliopolis. My bread is at the sky with [Re. My bread is at the earth with Geb. It is the evening-barque (of the sun) which] brings (it) to me from the house of the great god in Heliopolis. I ad[orn my intestines at the landing of the ferryboat. I cross] to the east of heaven. I eat of [that which they eat; I live on that (on which) they live. I have eaten] bread in the room of the possessor of offerings.’”

The newcomer to Egyptology probably reads that text with some sense of affront. The oldcomer is only a little better informed. The Egyptians were buried on the desert margin, which was devoid of life or water and which probably served as a public latrine. They wished assurance that they would eat and drink properly in the afterlife. The magical promise of this text was that they would eat and drink as the gods did.

The lower right corner is broken. However, the few signs below the vignette do fit chapter 54 of the Book of the Dead. Normally the vignette for this chapter shows a person standing and holding a small sail, which was the hieroglyph for air or breath. Probably our broken scene also showed that.

“[The speech for giving breath to a man in the necropolis. Words to be spoken by the Osiris T-N: ‘O Atum, give me the sweet breath of your nostrils! I am that egg of the great honker. I guarded that] great [egg] which separated Geb [from earth. If I live, it lives, and vice versa. . . .]’”

This again is a little baffling. One might suggest that the mummy case inside the coffin might be stifling. Magic then related the buried man to the unhatched goose inside some mythical egg. As it was able to breathe, so also the dead man.

In the upper left of photo 7 we have the end of chapter 63. For this the normal vignette showed the dead person pouring out two streams of water, as he stands beside a pot containing fire. Our remains fit that scene.

“[The speech for drinking water and not being parched by fire. . . . ‘I shall not be parched; I shall not be baked. I am Ba]bi, [the first son of Osiris, who united to himself every god within] his eye in Heliopolis. I am the first heir [of the great unwrapped one, the weary one.] Osiris and his name have flourished. He has rescued your life by it.’

“[Another version. ‘I am that decorated oar] with which Re [rows] and the elders row who lift up [the decay of Osiris,] . . . when he has rowed his marooned one, who has not [become parched. I have climbed the sun’s rays. O you who preside over] the sanctuary, seize and behead what is seized, [travelling along this road on which I have gone forth.]’”

The best that can be said for that is that the western desert burial ground

was hot and dry. The magical spell somehow related the dead person to mythological forces who could not be burned up by dryness.

Next comes chapter 65, for which the standard vignette in late times was simply a person walking and holding a staff. On my photograph the title occurs as a rubric over her head, but the red ink does not come out clearly. Enough can be seen to make sure that it corresponds to its wording elsewhere.

“The speech for coming forth by day and having power over one’s enemies. Words to be spoken [by the Osiris T-N: ‘O you who rise as the moon and shine as the moon,] when you go forth [in your throng,] may you release me. [You who are in the sun’s rays,] open up the underworld. [See, I have gone forth on] this [day,] being blessed. [My blessed (relatives) grant to me that I live.] My enemies are brought to me, tied up, in the council. [The spirit of my mother is satisfied with] it, when (she) sees me standing on my two feet, with my staff in (my) hand, of [gold. I cut off] the body of a living one at the thighs of Sothis, a child by [their graciousness.]’ ”

Photo 9

Little remains of the right column on photo 9. However, remains of chapter 57 can be identified. Elsewhere this shows the title, “the speech for breathing air and having control of water in the necropolis,” with a vignette showing both water and air (a sail). More than half of our text is lost. Then comes:

“[A mouth belongs to the Osiris] T-[N. His is a nose which is open in Busiris.] He rests in Heliopolis, [his house which Seshat built for him, and whose wall Khnum set up for him.] If the sky comes [with north winds, he sits in the south. If the sky comes with south winds,] he sits in the north. [If the sky comes with west winds, he sits in the east. If the sky comes] with east winds, [he] sits [in the west. His eyebrows are knitted over his nose, the Osiris] T-[N. He has freedom for] any [place where] she wishes [to sit.]” That “she” where the text previously carried “he” is the scribe’s belated recognition that the scroll was made for a woman.

That is the end of chapter 57. It seems to say that the deceased might breathe freely, sheltered from hot or cold winds. Traces of another chapter are visible below this, but I have not been able to identify it.

The left column starts with chapter 67. The simple vignette of a walking person seems to be normal in the late manuscripts for this chapter.

“[The speech for going outside. Words to be spoken by] the Osiris T-N: ‘The cavern is opened for those who are in the abysmal waters, freed for those who are in the sun’s rays. The cavern is opened (for) Shu, and I have gone out-of-doors. I have been sent in the boat of Re.’ ” The dead person is not to be pent up in the tomb, but is to have free movement in the open.

The title for chapter 70, which follows, is abbreviated because it continues the series of spells allowing free movement. Here, as elsewhere, it has no vignette.

“Another speech. Words to be spoken by the Osiris T-N: ‘I shall not come to rest, one who is over an abscess, a scribe sound of heart. (Osiris) is satisfied, as he rules Busiris, when I am on his bank. I breathe the east wind

by its head; I grasp the north wind by its hair; I have grasped the west wind by its skin. I have encircled the sky by its shoulder, and the south wind by (its) eyelashes. I (give) breath to the revered ones among the eaters of bread.'

"As for the one who knows this speech, he may go forth by day, while he walks among the living on earth, without his perishing forever."

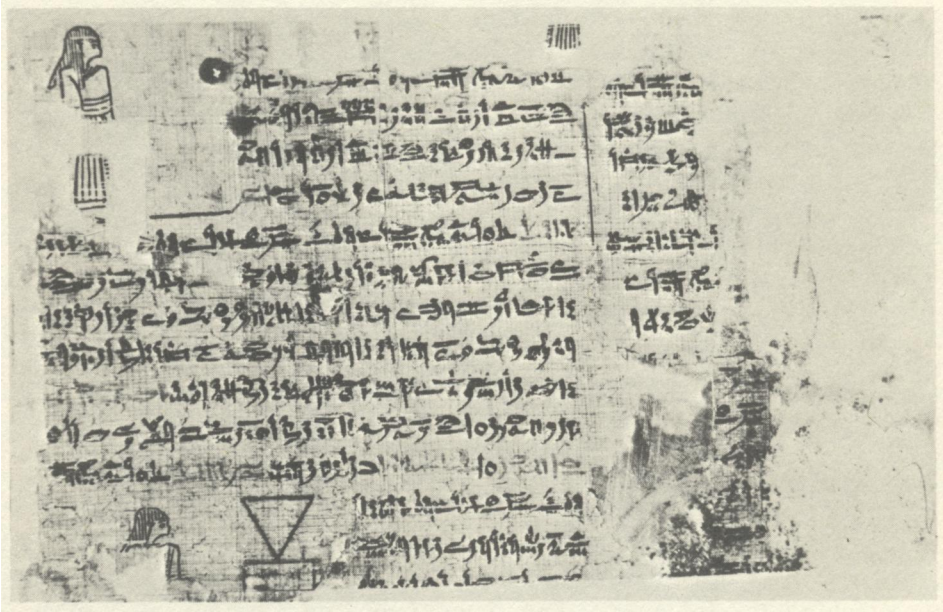


PHOTO 9

That has a number of corruptions in the text: "abscess" for "court," "head" for "hair," and probably "shoulder." The little commercial tacked on at the end appears, with varying words, after a number of other chapters.

Chapter 72 follows. The accompanying vignette is puzzling. The dead woman should be facing either a funeral chest or a table upon which two gods sit. The chest or table seems to be present, but I cannot make head or tail out of the triangle perched on it.

"The speech for going forth by day and opening up the underworld in the west. Words to be spoken by the Osiris T-N: 'Hail to you, those lords of truth, free from falsehood, who remain alive forever, (to) the limits [of eternity]! . . .'"

The end of chapter 72 appears on photo 2.

Photo 2

The upper part and lower corners of photo 2 are torn and badly photographed. Where the right column is clear, the lines are nearly complete, lacking only a half dozen signs at the outer margin. The first visible text shows the continuation of chapter 72. Careful study of the original would extract more of this than my photograph shows.

“ . . . [I go upstream or downstream as I wish.] I go downstream to the Field [of Reeds. I go upstream to the Field of Offerings.] I have joi[ned] the Two Truths. [I am the Double-lion god.]’

“[If] this scroll is [put on earth] for him, or is set in writing upon his coffin, [it is a speech] (whereby) he goes forth by day in any form [which he wishes,] as well as entering his house without being checked. [There are given] to him bread, beer, and a large piece of [meat from] the altar of Osiris. He [goes forth to] the Field of Reeds. [There are given to him] barley and wheat there. So [he continues to thrive as] he did on earth, [and he does all that he wants] like those gods who are therein. (A charm) with true value a million times.”



PHOTO 2

The lengthy commercial guarantees both mobility and a full belly.

Chapter 74 follows. The vignette is the usual one of late times: the dead woman stands beside a two-legged serpent, a symbol of earth, since snakes live underground.

“The speech for stretching the legs [and going forth from earth. Words to be spoken] by the Osiris T-N: ‘You will do what you should do [against him,] O Sokar, Sokar, who is in his cave, who is the obstructor in the necropolis. I shine as the one who is over this district of heaven. I climb upon the sun’s rays, being weary, weary. I have gone, being weary, weary in the necropolis, upon the banks of taking away their speech in the necropolis. My soul is triumphant in the house of Atum, lord of Heliopolis.’”

Thus it seems that even Sokar, god of the necropolis, cannot restrain Tashere-Min from free movement outside of the tomb.

Chapter 75 follows. The vignette shows the dead person standing beside a column, which is the hieroglyph for Heliopolis (the On of the Bible).

“The speech for going forth to Heliopolis and taking a place there. Words to be spoken by the Osiris T-N: ‘I have gone forth from the underworld. I have come from the limits of the earth. I shine upon the water. I understand about the entrails of a baboon. I have taken the ways to the holy gates. I occupy the places [of the pure ones] who are in [shrouds.] I break into the houses of Remrem. I have reached the seat of Ikhsefi. I have penetrated the sacred areas upon which Thoth stepped in pacifying the two warriors. I go, I go to Pe; I come to Dep.’ ”

Certainly the magic for enabling the deceased to have a place in the sacred city Heliopolis seems reasonable. His ending up in Pe and Dep, two parts of the sacred city Buto, can only be explained on the assumption that he has the freedom to go anywhere.

The next spell is chapter 76, for which the normal vignette is simply a walking person. Chapter 76 is the first of a baker’s dozen of spells for transformations. It would have been intolerable that the dead person should be forced to remain an inert mummy throughout eternity; he should be enabled to assume any temporary form he pleased — a falcon, a lotus, a snake, a swallow, or a crocodile. This was not transmigration of souls; this was the power to make powerful or pleasing transformations.

“The speech for going into [any] form [that he wishes. Words to be spoken by] the Osiris T-[N]: ‘I have passed] by the palace. It was the fowler [who brought me]. Hail to you who flies to heaven, [who illuminates the] stars, the protected white crown. He is in you, united [to you. O great god], make a way for me, so that I may pass by you.’ ”

I should be happy if I could explain how this spell gave the deceased the power of infinite transformation.

Chapter 77 follows, with its customary vignette of a falcon holding a scepter, the symbol of rule.

“The speech for taking the form of a falcon [of gold. Words to be spoken] by the Osiris T-[N]: ‘I have appeared as [a great] falcon which came forth from his egg. I have flown as a falcon [of four cubits across] his back, while the wings were of greenstone [of Upper Egypt, who came forth from the hold of the] evening-barque. (My) heart has been brought to me [from the eastern mountain.] I have trodden in the [morning]-barque. There come to me those who are among the prime [val beings of them, bowing down] and kissing the ground. They give me praise [as I] appear . . .’ ” The rest is lost at the bottom of the column. A falcon was a god of rule in ancient Egypt, and the king was the falcon-god Horus. This then was a transformation for power.

Photos 2 and 4

Whoever cut this papyrus up into sections ignored the columns of writing and the empty margins between columns. Here we have connected text running from the left side of photo 2 onto the right side of photo 4. Then somebody mounted an intrusive fragment of text upside down in the upper right corner of photo 4. Its handwriting is the same as the rest of Document B. I have not identified it. We lack clear context for about three lines from the

top. Then we begin to see chapter 83, one of the spells for transformations. Its normal vignette would have shown a crested heron, serving as the phoenix.

“[The speech for taking the form of a phoenix. . . ‘ . . . I am the fruit of every god, who knows the requirements of] their bodies. I am [this yesterday of] these [four uraeus-serpents,] as a form [in the earth, the elder Horus, who illuminates within his body,] as this god Se[th, Thoth being between them in the trial of him who] presides over Letopolis, [together with the Souls of Heliopolis, water being between] them, as I come [today, having appeared among the gods. I am Khon]su.’”

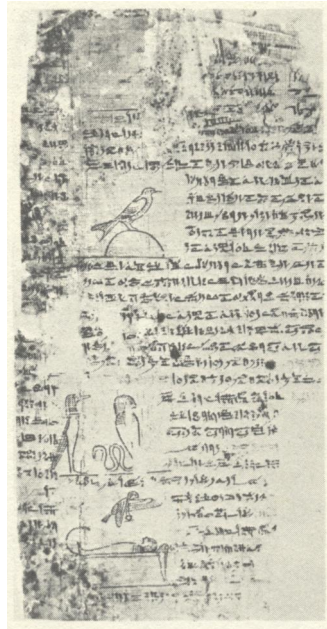


PHOTO 4

Out of that tangle of myth, I can only say that the deceased became very flexible in form, just as the phoenix was supposed to change.

Next comes chapter 86, for which we have more visible text. It shows its normal vignette of a swallow perched upon some object.

“The speech for taking the form of [a swallow. Words to be spoken by the Osiris T-]N: ‘I am a swallow; I am a swallow. I am really a scorpion, the daughter of Re. O gods, how sweet is the fragrance [of you, the fire] which went up from the horizon. O you who are in the city, I bring him who guards his district. Give me your hand, as I spend the day in the Island of Flaring-up. I went on an errand; I returned with a report. Open for me, so that I might tell what I have seen. Horus is the controller of barques. The throne of his father has been given to him. That Seth, the son of Nut, is in fetters, when he would act against me. I have taken stock of what is in Letopolis. I have folded my arms for Osiris. I went on an errand; I returned to tell. Let me pass so that I may report the errand. I am one who goes in accounted and numbered by that gate of the Supreme Lord. I have become pure in that

great district. I have driven away my evils. I know no falsehood. I have completely dispelled my evils which were on me. O doorkeepers, make a way for me. I am indeed one like unto you. I come and go [on foot, having] control of the course of the sun's rays. I know the secret ways and the gates of the Field of Reeds, so that I may be there. See, I have come. I have completely overthrown my enemies. My corpse is buried.'

"As for the one who knows this scroll, he may go forth by day in the necropolis and go back in after he has gone forth. If this speech is not known, he will not go back in after he has gone forth, being unable to go forth by day."

It seems as though a swallow might be a messenger of the gods, being released from sin for his services.

Chapter 87 and then chapter 88 follow. The vignette has combined the illustrations for these two into a single picture, with a human-headed snake and a crocodile-headed human. As we noted above, the serpent slept underground. Thus he is here called "son of earth," written with the picture of a snake following those words.

"The speech for taking the form of a son of earth. Words to be spoken by the Osiris T-N: '[I am a son of earth,] long of years, who sleeps and is reborn every day. I am a son of earth [at the ends of the earth,] as I sleep, am reborn, become new, and become young [every day.]' "

Then comes chapter 88. Sobek was the crocodile-god.

"[The speech for] taking the form of a crocodile. Words to be spoken by [the Osiris] T-N: 'I am Sobek [in the middle of his terror.] I am a crocodile, when his soul returns from his people. I am Sobek who carries off by robbery. I am [the fish of Horus] here in Egypt. I am the possessor of obeisance in Letopolis.' " That confers awesome power.

Chapter 89 then abandons the series of transformations and seeks to empower the dead man's soul to attend his corpse. The Egyptians pictured the soul as a bird, sometimes with a human head as in the vignette here, sometimes as a bird only, as on photo 1.

"[The speech for causing that] the soul of a man join his corpse in the necropolis. [Words] to be spoken [by the Osiris] T-N: '[O you who bring, O] runner who is in his hall, O great god, may you let [my soul come to me from any place where it may be.] If there be delay in your bringing [me my] soul [from any place where it may be, you will find the (sacred) Eye standing against you like those watchers over the sleeper in Heliopolis. Land] by the thousands belongs to the one who joins [to him.] . . .'" No more is visible in this column.

Photos 4 and 3

The continuity of photos 4 and 3 is marred by some of those disorders about which I have expressed such annoyance. The vignette of the little bird seems to be out of place. Above it is a piece upside down. In the upper left corner of photo 3 a piece upside down seems to be in a different handwriting, possibly that of photos 10 and 11. The center of 3 and its lower left are mere mishmash. Nevertheless, one can establish the continuity.

What we see first belongs to chapter 99, elsewhere entitled: “the speech for fetching a ferryboat in the necropolis.” Its normal vignette would show the deceased in a boat, lacking here. The picture of the fluttering bird-soul might appropriately be a vignette for chapter 91 or 92, not otherwise visible in our document. Before we can read context we are well along in chapter 99.

“[. . . Hail to you, good of person, lords of truth, who continue to live forever to the limits] of eternity! I have access [to you.] . . .’” After that one sees scattered traces, but it is difficult to fit them into the text as known from other papyri.

Book of the Dead chapter 100 follows. Its vignette normally shows the deceased poling a boat, with or without gods as passengers. In our case the passenger is the sun-god Re, while the god Ptah watches from the shore.

“The speech for [causing that the soul of a blessed one be satisfied and for causing] that he go down into the barque of Re, together with his retinue. [Words to be spoken by the Osiris T-N]: ‘I have ferried the phoenix over to Abydos, Osiris to Mendes. . . . [I have joined those who are among] the worshipping baboons. It is I, one of them. I have formed [the companion of Isis. . . . As I am strong] the Sacred Eye is strong [and vice versa. As] for him who keeps me away [from the barque of Re, the egg and the *abdu*-fish] are (thus) kept away.’

“[Words to be spoken over] a sheet [of papyrus,] upon which this speech [is written, together with a picture of this god, which has been drawn] with the powder of green fayence, mixed [with myrrh, and placed on this blessed one at his feet, without letting it come near his body. Ennobled is] this blessed one over his breast, and caused to join the gods who are in the retinue [of Re, when he has illuminated the Two Lands in the presence of] them. He goes up into the barque of Re each and every day. [Thoth takes account of him. With] true value a million times.”

Here the deceased is empowered to join the never-dying boat of the sun, as it sweeps the sky day after day. The instructions at the end give the ritual for the dead woman’s priest, telling him where he is to place the written spell with its vignette, before he recites the charm.

Next comes chapter 101, for which our vignette corresponds to the standard scene: the sun-god Re in his barque.

“The speech for [protecting] the barque of Re. Words to be spoken [by the Osiris T-N]: ‘O stri [der over the water, who comes forth] from the floods [and sits on the stern of this barque, go to your position of yesterday. . . . O Re, in this your name of Re,] if you pass by the Sacred Eye [of seven cubits, its pupil of three and a half cubits, then you shall make me sound. I am a blessed one,] excellent . . .’” The vignette shows the Sacred Eye twice, although it hardly seems to match its claimed length of twelve feet. That is all I can identify in this column.

Photo 3

One would like to work at the left hand column of photo 3 with a pair of tweezers, to remove the intrusive pieces. Meanwhile, a lot can be gained in identifying the text which is in place.

I do not know whether the traces partly visible at the top show the end of a preceding chapter or the beginning of 103. At any rate, when we do have visible context, the chapter is 103. The usual vignette, the deceased before the goddess Hathor, is not visible.

“[The speech for being beside Hathor. Words to be spoken by the] Osiris T-N: ‘I am the one who passed by, pure. O Ihi, Ihi, [I shall be in] the retinue of Hathor.’” Ihi was the music-playing son of Hathor.

Chapter 104 shows a normal vignette of the deceased sitting with the gods.

“[The speech for sitting among] the great gods. Words to be spoken [by the Osiris] T-[N: ‘I sit among] the great gods. [I] have passed [by] the house of the evening-barque. It is a butler, the porter of Horus, son of Isis, who comes to me on business of Re. Food and sustenance are at the proper place, to provision the offering-bread for the great gods. It is a fowler whom he has brought.’



PHOTO 3

“As for the one who knows this speech, he sits among the [great] gods.”

Chapter 105 is unfortunately much obliterated. The vignette is clear, Ta-shere-Min standing in adoration beside a table heaped with offerings, which are framed by upraised arms, the hieroglyph for the *ka* or guiding spirit.

“[The speech for satisfying the spirit of a man] in the nec[ropolis]. Words] to be spoken by [the Osiris T-N: ‘Hail to you, my spirit, my lifetime! See, I have come to you. . . . I have brought to you natron and] incense, so that (I) might purify you with them, and purify [your spittle with them.] Overlook that evil arguing and the evil [speech] which I have spoken and this evil arrogance which I have shown, without giving me over to them. I am really this green papyrus-amulet which is at the throat of [Re, which was

given to those who are in the horizon. As they flourish] I flourish. As they flourish my spirit flourishes. As they flourish my lifetime flourishes, like unto them. The provisioning of my spirit is like unto theirs. O weigher of the scales, truth is as high as the nose of Re by day. O my spirit, you should not make a head which you weigh in yourself(?). Mine is an eye that sees, my ear hears. I am not really a bull of the sacrifices. From me there will be no mortuary offerings to those who are over Nut.' ”

There Ta-shere-min makes offerings to her own guiding spirit, in the expectation that she will thereby live and not become a sacrifice herself. The text was enlivened by ancient Egyptian puns: *ka*, “spirit,” *ka*, “bull,” and implicitly *kau*, “food”; *wadj*, “green,” *wadj*, “amulet,” and *wadj*, “to flourish.”

Then comes chapter 106. In late times its vignette shows the deceased offering to the god of Ptah. Here she extends the hieroglyphs for “offering” to that god.

“[The speech for giving offerings] in Memphis. [Words] to be spoken [by] the Osiris T-N: ‘O great one and elder, lord of provisions, O great one presiding over the upper houses, may you give me bread and beer! My breakfast [is a joint of meat, together with cakes. O ferryman of the Osiris T-N] in the Field of Reeds, [bring me these loaves of bread to your district, as to] your father, the great one who went [away in the ship of the god, going forth by day after coming to rest.]’ ”

No more is visible on photo 3.

Photo 8

Some chapters of the Book of the Dead have larger vignettes, which may occupy two or more columns all by themselves. Chapter 125 usually has the major scene of the dead person being introduced into the presence of Osiris — like Document C — while his heart is being weighed in the balances against the symbol for truth. The vignette for chapter 110 is also a large one, depicting “the Field of Reeds,” their Fields of Paradise. These happy areas are

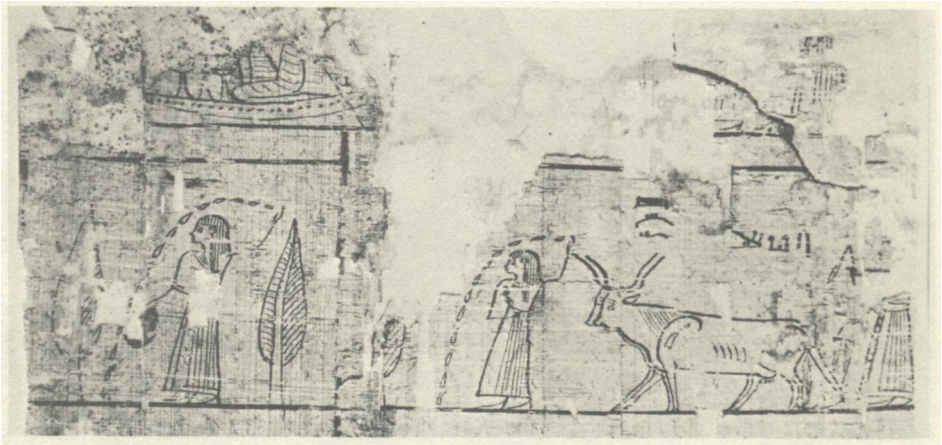


PHOTO 8

divided into three or four horizontal zones by channels of water. Thus in the early Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum, the top register shows Ani making offerings to various gods and poling a boat; the second register shows him reaping grain and driving the cattle who are treading out the grain; the third register shows him plowing; and the bottom register has simply watery convolutions through the Field of Reeds. In the top register of Allen's Document M the deceased makes an offering; in the second register he plows and reaps; in the third register his cattle tread out the grain; and the bottom register shows him poling a boat along twisted channels. Allen's Document R has only three registers: making offerings and poling a boat; offering, treading out, reaping, sowing, and plowing; and watery convolutions. These scenes are accompanied by hieroglyphic texts, which tell us that the barley of these fields is seven cubits high — about twelve feet. So the labor of cultivating is richly rewarded.

Our fragment shows the lower part of one register and most of another. It probably is only about a third of the total scene. Above, Ta-shere-min is poling a boat and standing beside something which may be a pile of offerings. Below, she is twice shown sowing grain and once plowing. Over the cattle are two legends. One simply says "Plowing"; the other says of the Fields of Paradise: "The sky is its length." Within these activities the little lady is as coolly erect as she appears elsewhere.

An illustration of our photo 3 appearing in *The Improvement Era*, Feb. 1968, page 50-D, shows more of its left margin than visible elsewhere. It makes it clear that the left side of photo 3 joined the right side of photo 8.

THE CHURCH HISTORIAN'S FRAGMENT

This is not one of the eleven pieces recently returned to the Church, but apparently has been in the archives indefinitely. It appeared as a page in "Valuable Discovery." It is a hodge-podge of unrelated scraps, but the names of Ta-shere-Min and of her mother Nes-Khonsu are visible.

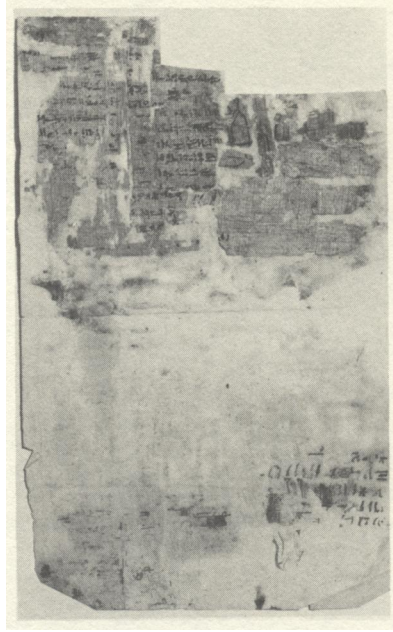
Near the top one scrap shows two consecutive statements from the so-called Negative Confession in chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead. As the dead person stood before his judges in the court of the dead, he made a formal denial of any wrongdoing in his lifetime, addressing about forty disavowals to an equal number of divine jurors. We see here pieces of his eighth and ninth "negative confessions."

"[O Fiery-of-Face, who came forth from Heliopolis, I have not] stolen the property of a god! "

"[O Breaker-of-Bones, who came forth from Heracleopolis, I have not told] a lie! "

Below that another piece shows parts of chapters 4 and 5. From chapter 4 one sees the words: "[I am one . . . who judged] the two [companions.] I have come that I might give the fields [to Osiris]." Under that, from chapter 5, one sees: "[I am the seeker of the weary one, who came forth from] Hermopolis, who lives on the entrails [of baboons.]" I can determine the relation of this scrap to what I listed above as piece ii.

Probably more exhaustive — and exhausting — research would identify further pieces of the Church Historian's fragment.



CHURCH HISTORIAN'S FRAGMENT

That is what a preliminary study shows for Document B. The lengthy chapter 125 is represented by only two phrases. The lengthy chapter 15 is indicated only by part of a vignette showing worshipping apes. The lengthy chapter 17 does not appear at all. Further, there are more gaps in the series of chapters than we should expect in a late Book of the Dead. Probably there is more missing than is present — much more. One sincerely hopes that some of the missing pieces may return to Mormon possession.

As for little Ta-shere-Min, we may know something about the terrors which she felt for the next world and about the great dreams which she had for eternal life. In the course of several weeks one has become quite fond of her. She had a manuscript which once showed careful craftsmanship and which presented her as a person of cool distinction. The Church may well be proud to have such a text.

THE JOSEPH SMITH PAPYRI: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

Richard A. Parker

Richard A. Parker is the Wilbour Professor of Egyptology and Chairman of the Department of Egyptology at Brown University. His primary interest is in the later stages of Egyptian language and history. He remarks that the BOOK OF BREATHINGS is a late (Ptolemaic and Roman periods) and greatly reduced version of the BOOK OF THE DEAD. No comprehensive study of it has yet been undertaken and no manuscript has yet been published adequately. He would provisionally date the two BOOK OF BREATHINGS fragments in the Church's possession to the last century before or the first century of the Christian era; his translation of one of these fragments, the important "sensen" text, begins on page 98.

Photo (1). This is a well-known scene from the Osiris mysteries, with Anubis, the jackal-headed god, on the left ministering to the dead Osiris on the bier. The pencilled(?) restoration is incorrect. Anubis should be jackal-headed. The left arm of Osiris is in reality lying at his side under him. The apparent upper hand is part of the wing of a second bird which is hovering over the erect phallus of Osiris (now broken away). The second bird is Isis

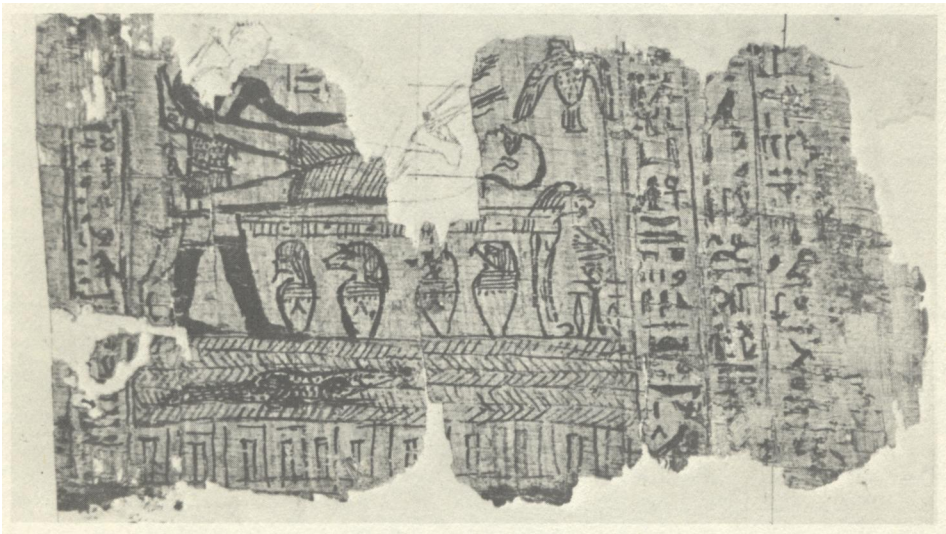


PHOTO 1

and she is magically impregnated by the dead Osiris and then later gives birth to Horus who avenges his father and takes over his inheritance. The complete bird represents Nephthys, sister to Osiris and Isis. Beneath the bier are the four canopic jars with heads representative of the four sons of Horus, human-headed Imseti, baboon-headed Hapy, jackal-headed Duamutef and falcon-headed Kebehsenuf. The hieroglyphs refer to burial, etc., but I have found no exact parallel in the time at my disposal and the poor photography precludes easy reading of the whole. I see no obvious personal name.

(2 to 9). These are all fragments of the Book of the Dead belonging to the woman Ta-sherit-Min, daughter of Neskhnons. Some of the fragments actually join and could be so mounted when the papyrus is prepared properly. The order of the photographs is as follows:

(7). Right fragment has the vignettes and parts of Spells 53 and 54 of the Book of the Dead. The left fragment has parts of the vignettes and Spells 63 and 65. The titles are 53, Spell for not eating dung or drinking urine in the god's domain; 54, Spell for giving breath to a man in the god's domain; 63, Spell for drinking water and not becoming parched by fire; 65, Spell for going forth by day and overcoming one's enemies.

(9). Right column, an unidentified spell. Left column, upper vignette for Spells 67 and 70, lower for Spell 72. 67, Spell for going out; 70, Another spell; 72, Spell for going forth by day and opening the underworld of the west.

(2). Either fits under (9). or joins at the side since the top continues Spell 72. Then follow Spells 74, 75, 76 and 77 with vignettes. 74, Spell for opening the feet and ascending from the earth; 75, Spell for going to Heliopolis and taking a seat there; 76, Spell for assuming any form one wishes; 77, Spell for assuming the form of a falcon of gold.

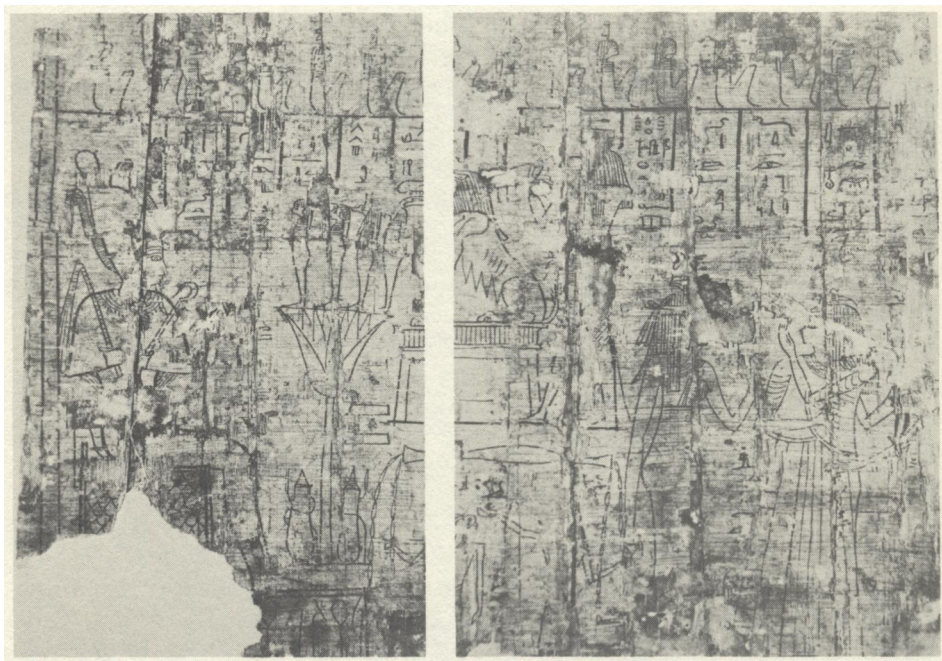
(4). This joins directly to (2) and I would judge was once cut off rather than broken away. The base line under the legged serpent in the top vignette points to the fourth line above the base of the swallow. The papyrus in (4) needs arrangement at the top. There is the end of an unidentified spell and then Spells 86, 87, 88 and 89 with vignettes, the middle of which is for 87 and 88. 86, Spell for assuming the form of a swallow; 87, Spell for assuming the form of a son of earth (a snake); 88, Spell for assuming the form of a crocodile; 89, Spell for causing that a man's soul attach itself to his corpse in the god's domain.

(3). This joins directly to (4). The baseline under the middle vignette of (2) points to the line immediately above the lower vignette on the right in (3). The upper part of (3) is badly arranged. Some fragments are upside down, and the middle needs to be straightened as well. On the right the top vignette is for either Spell 91 or 92. The middle is for Spell 100 and the lower for 101. 91, Spell for not letting a man's soul be confined in the god's domain; 100, Spell for making content the soul of a blessed one and causing that he ascend to the bark of Re and his retinue; 101, Spell for protecting the bark of Re. On the left at top Spell 103 and then vignettes for Spells 104, 105 and 106. 103, Spell for opening beside Hathor; 104, Spell for sitting among the great gods; 105, Spell for making a man's spirit content in the god's domain; 106, Spell for giving offerings in Memphis.

(8). This is part of the vignette of Spell 110, portraying the deceased in the other world.

(5 and 6). These join directly and together compose the well-known Spell 125 judgment scene. Osiris is on the left. The four sons of Horus stand

on the lotus before him. Behind him is the Devourer who eats the condemned hearts. Below is the scales on which the heart of the deceased is weighed against the feather of truth. Behind the Devourer is Thoth who records the verdict, and on the right Ma'at, goddess of truth, leads in the deceased. Above is a row of assessors.



PHOTOS 5 AND 6

The titles I have quoted above are without strict regard to the preserved writing.

The papyri need to be carefully cleaned and straightened and then re-photographed with care to illuminate the under side somewhat to eliminate all shadows in cracks and breaks, which can frequently look just like writing.

A TENTATIVE APPROACH TO THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM

*Richard P. Howard, Church Historian
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*

During the 1830's John Whitmer wrote, in connection with the ancient Egyptian records purchased by the church in July 1835 from Michael H. Chandler,

. . . Joseph the Seer saw these records and by the revelation of Jesus Christ could translate these records which gave an account of our forefathers. Much of which was written by Joseph of Egypt who was sold by his brethren. Which when all translated will be a pleasing history and of great value to the Saints.¹

Oliver Cowdery described the papyri as “the Egyptian records, or rather the writings of Abraham and Joseph. . . .” He further observed:

The evidence is apparent upon the face, that they were written by persons acquainted with the history of the creation, the fall of man, and more or less of the correct ideas of notions of the Deity. The representations of the god-head — three, yet in one, is curiously drawn to give simply, though impressively, the writers views of that exalted personage. . . . The inner end of the same roll, (Joseph’s record,) presents a representation of the judgment: At one view you behold the Savior seated upon his throne, crowned, and holding the sceptres of righteousness and power, before whom also, are assembled the twelve tribes of Israel, the nations, languages and tongues of the earth, the kingdoms of the world over which satan is represented as reigning, . . . Be there little or much it must be an inestimable acquisition to our present scriptures, fulfilling, in a small degree the word of the prophet: For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.²

Joseph Smith, Jr., concurred in Cowdery’s estimate of the great spiritual value of these ancient documents, and of their direct relationship to both Abraham and Joseph.

I . . . commenced the translation of some of the characters or hieroglyphics, and much to our joy found that one of the rolls contained the writings of Abraham, another the writings of Joseph of Egypt, etc., — a more full account of which will appear in their place, as I proceed to examine or unfold them. Truly we can say, the Lord is beginning to reveal the abundance of peace and truth.³

Nearly seven years later, in 1842, Joseph Smith, Jr., published the result of his “translation” activity in these papyri, but in his introduction to the text he more conservatively cited the material as “*purporting to be the writings of Abraham*” (italics mine).⁴

In July 1862 the Reorganized Church published the Book of Abraham in its monthly periodical with no editorial comment and without the introduction given it in 1842 by Joseph Smith.⁵ Twenty-one months later that same issue of the *True Latter Day Saints’ Herald* was reprinted, along with other

¹John Whitmer, “The Book of John Whitmer Kept by Commandment.” MS, p. 76. In The Archives, Department of History, The Auditorium, Independence, Missouri.

²Oliver Cowdery, Kirtland, Ohio, to William Frye, Gilead, Illinois, letter dated December 22, 1835, published in *Latter Day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate*, Vol. II, No. 3, December, 1835, pp. 234-237.

³“History of Joseph Smith,” *Millennial Star*, Vol. XV, No. 19, May 7, 1853, p. 296.

⁴*Times and Seasons*, Vol. 3, Nos. 9, 10 and 14, March 1, March 15 and May 16, 1842, pp. 703-706; 719-722; 783-784.

⁵*The True Latter Day Saints’ Herald*, Vol. 3, No. 1, July, 1862, pp. 1-10.

back issues, and the publishers ran a small notice concerning the availability of the Book of Abraham by this means:

The Book of Abraham was published in the *Herald*, in No. 1 of Vol. 3. That number has been republished, and is now for sale. Price 10 cents.⁶

Thirty-two years later two officials of the Reorganized Church published the following observation on the Book of Abraham:

The church has never to our knowledge taken any action on this work, either to indorse or condemn; so it cannot be said to be a church publication; nor can the church be held to answer for the correctness of its teaching. Joseph Smith, as the translator, is committed of course to the correctness of the translation, but not necessarily to the indorsement of its historical or doctrinal contents.⁷

This conservative position stemmed from a knowledge of the doctrinal content and implications of same in the Book of Abraham, and has generally represented the sentiment of the church leaders and membership since that time.

However, several developments since 1896 indicate the need for a more definite, if tentative, statement on the part of the Reorganized Church. These developments seem to require forthright clarity in the direction of questioning the 1835-1842 linguistic skill of Joseph Smith, Jr., as a translator of ancient Egyptian symbols. This is true especially in the light of the fact that the contributions of the great pioneer Jean François Champollion (1790-1832), relating to the deciphering of the inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone and to ancient Egyptian philology generally, were not known in the western hemisphere sufficiently by 1842 so as to have helped Joseph Smith, or any other American, develop proficiency in this field. And while Joseph Smith's history mentions his 1836 classwork in Hebrew, he makes no mention of formal instruction in Egyptian, and alludes in this connection only to his preparation of an Egyptian alphabet and grammar. The basis for this work is not specified.

The first development was the publication of a pamphlet by the Episcopal Bishop of Utah in 1912,⁸ based on the work of eight prominent Egyptologists, scattered from Chicago to Munich. Spalding had sent them copies of the three well-known facsimiles published along with the Book of Abraham by Joseph Smith in *Times and Seasons* in 1842. Spalding had requested each to interpret the symbols and comment upon the accuracy of the interpretations of them offered by Joseph Smith. The Egyptologists complied with Spalding's request and submitted their interpretations and appraisals. While they did not agree in every minute detail with each other they were nonetheless unanimously at sharp variance with each of the twenty-five interpre-

⁶*The True Latter Day Saints' Herald*, Vol. 5, No. 7, April 1, 1864, p. 112.

⁷Joseph Smith III, and Herman C. Smith. *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*. Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House, 1896. Vol. II, p. 569.

⁸F. S. Spalding, *Joseph Smith as a Translator*, Salt Lake City, Utah: Arrow Press, 1912. 31 pp.

tations of the facsimiles published by Joseph Smith, Jr. Therefore, since 1912 serious students of this subject have had to consider the probability that Joseph Smith had erred at many significant points in his interpretations of the drawings on the papyri, from part of which the text of the Book of Abraham itself was apparently derived. The implication of this is that if Joseph Smith erred in assessing the meanings of the papyri drawings, there is a strong likelihood that his interpretations of the ancient Egyptian language symbols on the papyri were inaccurate also.

A second development underscores this possibility: the publication in 1966 of a reproduction of a document known as Joseph Smith's "Grammar and Alphabet of the Egyptian Language." Until recently this document was available to only a few scholars at the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. However, Jerald Tanner of Salt Lake City managed to obtain a microfilm of this document and published enlarged prints from this film.⁹ This reproduction, *if of an authentic original*, demonstrates significant connections between some words in it and identical words used by Joseph Smith in his interpretations accompanying the three facsimiles as published in 1842. It follows that if modern Egyptologists have or might yet clearly establish the inaccuracy of Joseph's interpretations of the three facsimiles, and if further research confirms the link already observed between Joseph's facsimile interpretations and his "Grammar and Alphabet of the Egyptian Language," then the reliability of the Book of Abraham as a translation of ancient records could no longer safely be maintained.

The third development has implications largely for the future. This is the widespread dissemination of splendid reproductions of the recently discovered eleven Egyptian papyri. At least two of these clearly relate to the Book of Abraham facsimiles first published by Joseph Smith. This relationship is all the more firmly established by the presence, among the papyri, of a certificate of sale of the papyri to Mr. A. Combs by L. C. Bidamon, Emma Smith Bidamon and Joseph Smith III, dated May 26, 1856.¹⁰ This certificate, both in content and in signatures, appears to be authentic. The significance of the distribution of these documents is that now, more information than ever is available for Egyptologists' translation and further comparison with Joseph Smith's facsimiles and his "Egyptian Grammar and Alphabet." Should this occur, and should their translations of these ancient papyri be published, evidence of great consequence would then bear upon a fuller assessment of the relative merits of the Book of Abraham as representative of either his (Abraham's) writings or of writings about him.

If the present-day Egyptologists' work on these ancient papyri tends to confirm the conclusions of their 1912 predecessors, proponents of the Book of Abraham will be drawn to a revision of their present estimate of the meaning

⁹Modern Microfilm Company, *Joseph Smith's Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar*. Salt Lake City, 1966.

¹⁰The full text of this certificate was published in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Vol. 2, No. 4, Winter, 1967, p. 52n.

and nature of Joseph Smith's work on this publication. Indeed, one real possibility in that case would be that the Book of Abraham is not a translation at all, in the sense of transferring ideas from the Egyptian to the English language.

In the light of the findings of the 1912 Egyptologists, and depending upon whether their present-day successors will substantiate their conclusions, one may be confronted with the evidence that the Book of Abraham was rather the product of a highly intuitive mind, stimulated at least in part by an earlier work of revising the creation accounts of the Authorized Version of the Bible, 1830-1835. Textual comparisons between Joseph Smith's "New Translation of the Bible" (or, "Inspired Version," as published by the Reorganized Church) and the Book of Abraham (Genesis 1 and 2: Abraham 4 and 5) show a remarkable degree of parallelism of subject materials, language style and content. The major difference is the monotheism of the former and the polytheism of the latter. It should be recalled also that in 1842 when Joseph Smith published the Book of Abraham his work of biblical revision had not yet been published.

There will be a natural tendency for some who are dogmatically committed to the Book of Abraham and/or to an image of Joseph Smith as an infallible living oracle to minimize or even to rule out completely the possibility of any relationship existing between the recently discovered papyri and the Book of Abraham as published. However, the unmistakable connection between these recently discovered papyri and the facsimiles published by Joseph Smith in 1842 leaves little room for such maneuvering, and leads the open-minded observer away from such an alternative.

It appears that in time the mystery of the Book of Abraham will be unveiled. Meanwhile, it is significant for the Reorganized Church that undue haste and overzealous faith did not move it in the nineteenth century to canonize this work of Joseph Smith, Jr., primarily on the basis that it was accomplished by Joseph Smith, Jr.

THE SOURCE OF THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM IDENTIFIED

Grant S. Heward and Jerald Tanner

The following evidence that one specific fragment, the "sensen" text, was used by Joseph Smith in obtaining the Book of Abraham was submitted by Grant Heward (who has studied Egyptian on his own and reports that he was recently excommunicated for his views on Joseph Smith's ability to translate Egyptian) and Jerald Tanner (who heads Modern Microfilm, Co., a professedly anti-Mormon publishing house). Their work is followed by translation of the sensen text by Professor Richard Parker and finally by a discussion of the present state and best future direction of studies of Joseph Smith's work with Egyptian by professor Hugh Nibley (scholarly defender of the Mormon faith whose continuing argument for the divine origin of the Book of Abraham based on external evidences in the Abrahamic tradition is appearing serially in the IMPROVEMENT ERA).

It now appears that the papyrus fragments recently recovered by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints include the text used by Joseph Smith in his efforts to translate the Book of Abraham. The fragment in question (see illustration No. 1) was identified in the February, 1968, *Improvement Era* (bottom of p. 40-1) as "XI. Small 'Sensen' text (unillustrated)." It would

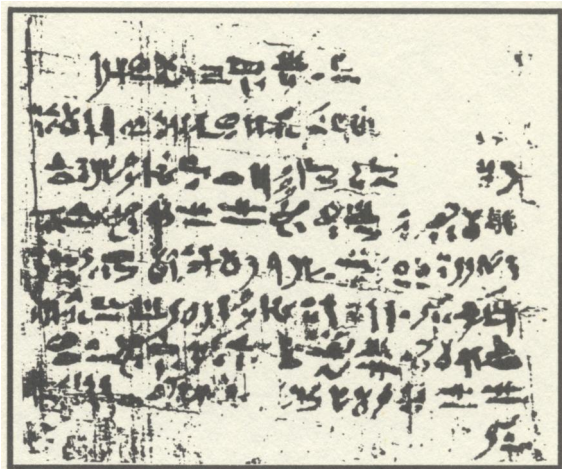


ILLUSTRATION NO. 1

A photograph of the right side of the papyrus fragment identified in the *IMPROVEMENT ERA*, Feb. 1968, as "XI. Small 'Sensen' text (unillustrated)." Joseph Smith used this as the basis for the Book of Abraham.

seem that Joseph Smith studied this fragment and concluded that it was written by Abraham. Then Joseph, or his scribes, copied down a character or two at a time and to the right of each character rendered a translation of its meaning. These translations comprise the original manuscript version of the Book of Abraham. (See illustrations Nos. 2 and 3.)

Dr. James R. Clark of Brigham Young University provides this description of the manuscripts:

As a matter of fact there are in existence today in the Church Historian's office what seem to be two separate manuscripts of Joseph Smith's translations from the papyrus rolls, presumably in the hand writing of Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery; neither manuscript contains the complete text of the Book of Abraham as we have it now. One manuscript is the Alphabet and Grammar. . . . Within this Alphabet and Grammar there is a copy of the characters, together with their translation of Abraham 1:4-28 only. The second and separate of the two manuscripts contains none of the Alphabet and Grammar but is a manuscript of the text of the Book of Abraham as published in the first installment of the *Times and Seasons*, March 1, 1842.¹

All of the characters in the first two rows on the papyrus fragment shown in illustration No. 1 can be found attached to the portion of the Book of Abraham

¹James R. Clark, *The Story of the Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City, 1962), pp. 172-173.

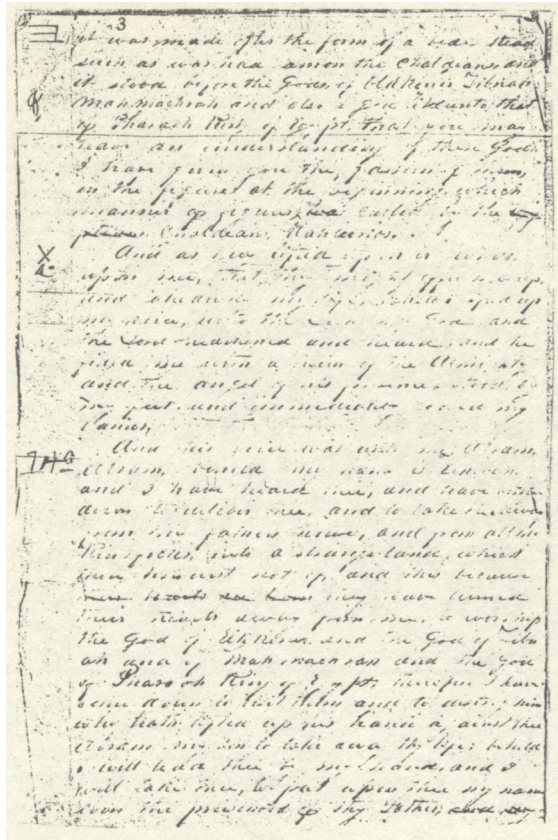


ILLUSTRATION NO. 2
 A photograph of page q of the "Book of Abraham" manuscript. This portion is found in the Pearl of Great Price, Abraham 1:13-18.

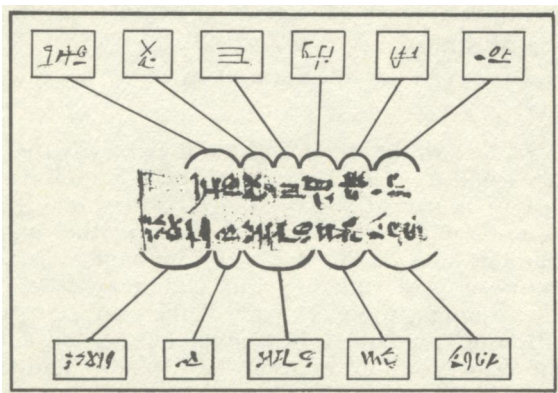


ILLUSTRATION NO. 3
 A comparison of the characters that were photographed from one of the handwritten manuscripts of Joseph Smith's "Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar" (in rectangles around border) with the characters as they appear on the first two lines of the papyrus shown in Illustration No. 1 (material in center of illustration).

in Joseph Smith's "Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar." Illustration No. 3 provides a comparison of characters from one of the handwritten manuscripts with the characters as they appear on the original papyrus.

A photograph of the first page of the second manuscript of the Book of Abraham is found on page 179 of James R. Clark's *Story of the Pearl of Great Price*. Dr. Clark writes,

I have in my possession a photostatic copy of the manuscript of the Prophet Joseph Smith's translation of Abraham 1:1 to 2:18. This manuscript was bought by Wilford Wood in 1945 from Charles Bidamon, son of the man who married Emma after the death of the Prophet. The original of this manuscript is in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City. The characters from which our present Book of Abraham was translated are down the left-hand column and Joseph Smith's translation opposite, so we know approximately how much material was translated from each character.²

This manuscript begins with the statement, "Translation of the Book of Abraham written by his own hand upon papyrus and found in the catacomb[s] of Egypt." This manuscript is more extensive than that in the "Alphabet and Grammar." Illustration No. 4 compares characters from this manuscript with those in the third line of the papyrus fragment.

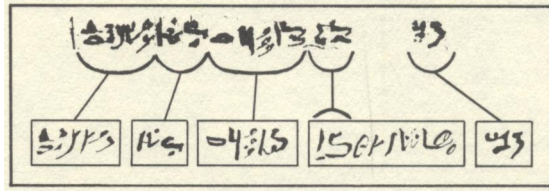


ILLUSTRATION NO. 4

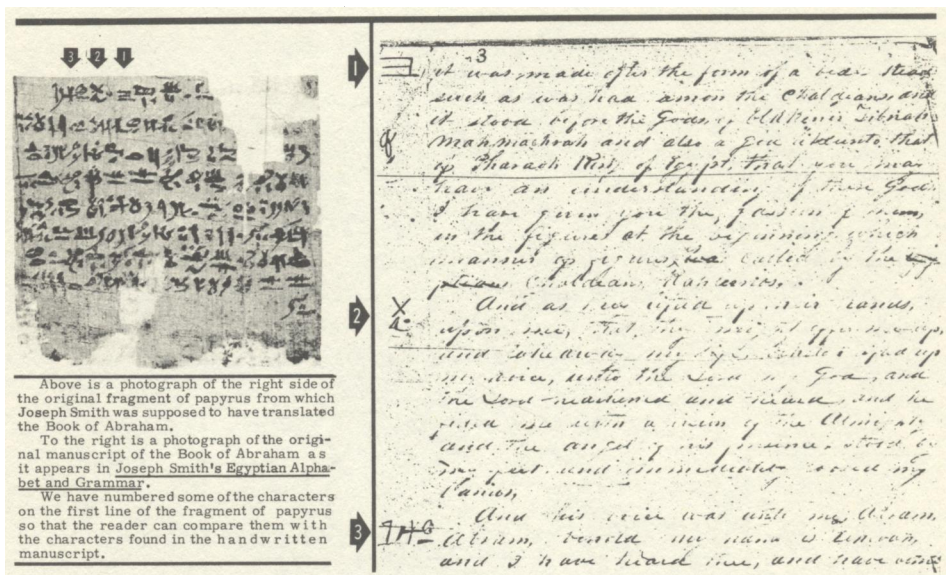
The third line of the papyrus fragment (above) compared with the characters traced from the longer Book of Abraham manuscript (below), located in the LDS Church Historian's Office.

Joseph Smith apparently translated many English words from each Egyptian character. The characters from fewer than four lines of the papyrus make up forty-nine verses of the Book of Abraham, containing more than two thousand words. If Joseph Smith continued to translate the same number of English words from each Egyptian character, this one small fragment would complete the entire text of the Book of Abraham. In other words, the small piece of papyrus pictured in illustration No. 1 appears to be the whole Book of Abraham!

This evidence raises several problems. One is that the Egyptian characters cannot conceivably have enough information channels (component parts) to convey the amount of material translated from them. Another is that the papyrus fragment in question dates from long after Abraham's time, much

²James R. Clark in *Pearl of Great Price Conference, December 10, 1960* (Brigham Young University, Extension Publications, 1964 Edition), pp. 60-61.

nearer, in fact, to the time of Christ. But most important, the Egyptian has been translated, and it has no recognizable connection with the subject matter of the Book of Abraham. The February, 1968, *Improvement Era* identifies the fragment as a small, unillustrated "Sensen" text. *Sensen* means "breathings," and the papyrus fragment has been identified by reputable Egyptologists as a portion of the "Book of Breathings," a funerary text of the late Egyptian period.



It is interesting to note that not only the manuscripts of the Book of Abraham but also Facsimile No. 2 includes portions of this "Book of Breathings." Evidently the original of Facsimile No. 2 was damaged. That portions of it were unreadable or had fallen away is evident from a drawing found in Joseph Smith's "Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar" (see illustration No. 5A). The missing areas on this drawing have been filled in with insertions from other documents to make Facsimile No. 2 as it now exists (see illustration No. 5B for a photograph of Facsimile No. 2 as it was published in the *Times and Seasons* in 1842; notice that the missing areas have been filled in). The area at the top showing a god in a boat was evidently copied from the fragment of papyrus labeled in the February, 1968, *Improvement Era* (p. 40-D) as "IV. Framed ("Trinity") papyrus."

The Egyptian words meaning "Book of Breathings" have been inserted into other blank areas shown in illustration 5A. These words come from line four of the same fragment of papyrus which Joseph Smith used as a basis for the text of the Book of Abraham. Illustration 5B shows that characters have been copied from lines two and three of the same papyrus fragment. One group of characters from line two was copied twice along the edge of Facsimile No. 2. The characters which follow around the edge were taken from line three.

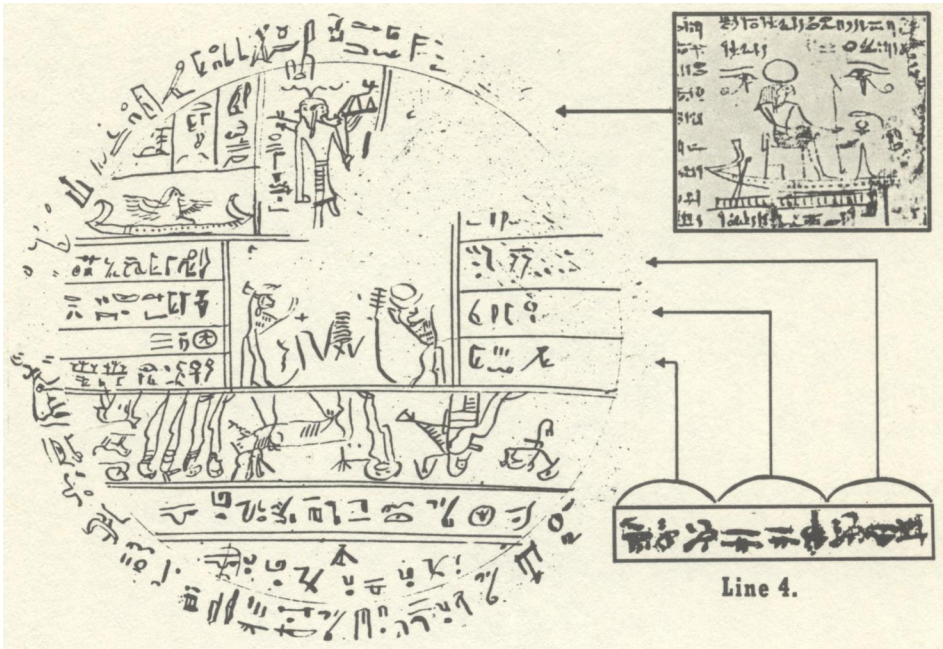


ILLUSTRATION NO. 5A

A drawing of Facsimile No. 2 as it appears in Joseph Smith's "Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar." The missing areas would seem to indicate that portions of the original of Facsimile No. 2 were either unreadable or had fallen away. When Facsimile No. 2 was first printed the blank areas were filled in from portions of the other documents. Notice that line 4 of Illustration No. 1 was added in up-side-down.

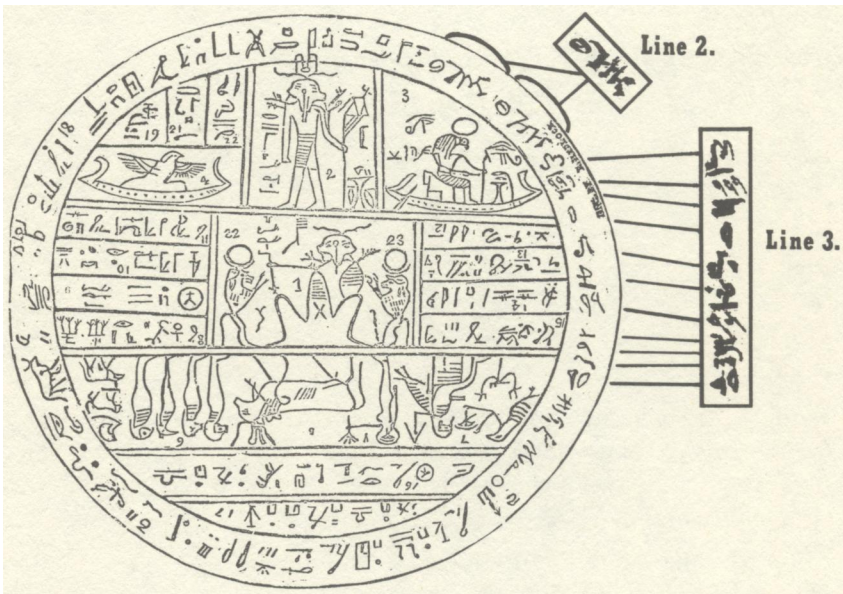


ILLUSTRATION NO. 5B

Facsimile No. 2 as it was first printed in the *TIMES AND SEASONS*, Vol. 3, March 13, 1842. Notice that the characters along the right hand edge have been filled in up-side-down from the same papyrus Joseph Smith used for the text of the Book of Abraham. See Illustration No. 1, lines 2 and 3.

Facsimile No. 2 seems to have been reconstructed in a peculiar way. First, areas that are blank in the “Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar” have been filled in with characters from other documents. Second, lines of hieratic and hieroglyphic writing are joined together in a strange way — introducing foreign and unrelated thoughts. Third, to add to the confusion, the hieratic writing is inserted upside-down in relation to the hieroglyphic text on the same lines.

THE BOOK OF BREATHINGS
(FRAGMENT 1, THE “SENSEN” TEXT, WITH
RESTORATIONS FROM LOUVRE PAPYRUS 3284)

translated by Richard A. Parker

COLUMN I

1. [.] this great pool of Khonsu
2. [Osiris Hor, justified], born of Taykhebyt, a man likewise.
3. After (his) two arms are [fast]ened to his breast, one wraps the Book of Breathings, which is
4. with writing both inside and outside of it, with royal linen, it being placed (at) his left arm
5. near his heart, this having been done at his
6. wrapping and outside it. If this book be recited for him, then
7. he will breath like the soul[s of the gods] for ever and
8. ever.

COLUMN II

1. The beginning [of the Book of Breathings made by Isis for her brother Osiris, to make his soul live, to make his body live, to make young his members]
2. again, [so that he may attain the] horizon with his father Re' (the sun), [so that his soul may appear in glory in the sky in the disk of Yah (the moon), so that his body may shine as Sah (Orion) on the body of Nut (the sky), and to]
3. cause [the like of th]is to happen to the Osiris Hor, justified, [born of Taykhebyt Hide (it), hide (it)!]
4. Don't [allow] any man to read it. [It] is profitable [for a man in the necropolis. He truly lives anew millions of times. Words to be recited]:

5. Hail, [Osiris H]or, justified, born of Tay[khebyt You are pure; your heart is pure, your front is purified; your back is]
6. cleansed; your middle is in *bd*-natron [and *ḥsmn*-natron. There is no bad member of yours. Purified is the Osiris Hor, justified, born of Taykhebyt, engendered by]
7. Remenykay, justified, with the *šdyt*-water [of the Field of Offerings, north of the Field of Locusts. Have purified you Edjo and]
8. Nekhbet at the fourth hour of the night and the fourth hour [of the day. Come thou, Osiris Hor, justified, born of Taykhebyt, that you may enter the Broad Hall of the]
9. Two Goddesses of Righteousness, you being purified from [all] baseness [and all wrongdoing. Stone of Righteousness is your name. Hail, Osiris Hor, justified, born of Taykhebyt! You enter]
10. [the Otherworld] very pure. Have purified you [the Two Goddesses of Righteousness in the great Broad Hall. A cleansing has been made for you in the Broad Hall of Geb and your members have been purified in]
11. [the Broad Hall of Shu. You] see Re' when he sets [as Atum in the evening. Amon is with you, giving you well-being and Ptah]
12. [fashions your limbs]. You enter into the horizon with Re' [.

(At most one line is lost between the end of this fragment and the top of the right-hand column of the second fragment.)

PHASE ONE

Hugh Nibley, Professor of Religious History, Brigham Young University

The investigation of the Book of Abraham has still far to go before we can start drawing significant conclusions. Even the first preliminary stage of the operation is by no means completed, for we still have to determine exactly what the relationship was supposed to be between the official text and the Egyptian papyri in the possession of Joseph Smith, and how Smith treated the papyri. The problem of Joseph Smith as an inspired prophet never enters into the discussion at all, since that lies entirely beyond the province of scholarship: the experts must judge him as a translator or not at all. But translator of what? While he freely circulated reproductions of the three Facsimiles with *his* interpretation of them, inviting comment from one and all, he never specified from what particular papyri he was translating the text proper or by what process.

Unlike the Book of Mormon, the Pearl of Great Price is a work in progress, a selection made after the Prophet's death of writings that do not make up a single connected or completed work. There are two known manuscripts

of the Book of Abraham and there may be yet other undiscovered. One of them, a study of visible symbols, is not the sort of thing that anyone would dictate to another, everything being addressed to the eye; but is it in the handwriting of Joseph Smith? It is certainly not his spelling. There is a lot we would like to know about these strange texts. There are signs of experimenting here, and the writer feels free to make alterations as he goes. We must not forget that Joseph Smith was not only permitted but commanded to cast about in his own mind for the answers to things before asking for revelation (DC 9:7-8), just as the Nephites were commanded to "ponder upon the things" they wished to understand and so to "prepare your minds" for revelation (3 Ne. 17:3), and as the Brother of Jared, when he asked the Lord how he should light his ships was told to solve the problem for himself as best he might *before* appealing for supernatural aid (Ether 3-4). If we do not have an official Urtext of the Pearl of Great Price we do have some manuscripts which indicate independent thinking and speculation.

Under this heading we would certainly place the *Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar*, which is no more fantastic than the Egyptological gymnastics of such a great thinker as Leibniz — there seems to be something about Egyptian which brings out the latent crack-pot in many of us. The *Alphabet and Grammar* consists of two quite different documents. One is the list of signs, each accompanied by a short phonetic rendering and a brief interpretation; here there is nothing extraordinary about the *length* of each "translation," whatever one might think of its content. But it is a wholly different story when we come to the second document, where one brief symbol may be followed not by a corresponding transliteration and translation but by a whole page or more of history or commentary. Either we have here a totally different language from that in the sign-lists, which show a quite rational sense of proportion between Egyptian symbols and English sentences, or else this is a "translation" in an entirely different sense.

If the few symbols here given, which are taken from the brief Sen-Sen fragment, are the Egyptian source of the Book of Abraham, why were they never given out as such to the public? Because it was Smith's secret source of information? It could not have been that unless he was actually translating it. At best the symbols on the left would seem to indicate section-headings. To see in them the whole book of Abraham is to fly in the face of reason and attribute our insanity to Joseph Smith. Any thought of a *literal* translation is of course out of the question, but to identify the symbols in the Sen-Sen papyrus with the text of the entire book of Abraham we must assume that the sly Joseph Smith and his competent co-workers remained blissfully unaware of a discrepancy so gross that a cretin could not miss it. In the absence of any explanation by its writer, the very arrangement of the texts, while indicating a definite connection, whatever it might be, between the symbols and the English text, strikes one forcefully at first glance as a clear indication that the person who wrote it could not possibly have intended the one text to pass as a translation of the other, especially since he has already demonstrated a sane sense of proportion in the preceding sign-lists.

Those who insist that “the Egyptian characters cannot conceivably have enough information . . . to convey the amount of material translated from them,” are the very parties who do conceive of just that, and insist that Joseph Smith actually did derive all that stuff from them. They can’t have it both ways. If nobody could possibly get the Book of Abraham out of the Sen-Sen papyrus, then we can be quite sure that nobody did — nobody including Joseph Smith. But in that case what is the charge against him — that he *pretended* to be translating the Sen-Sen papyrus? Then why did he keep it a secret? Since the Sen-Sen business makes very little sense to anybody, while the Book of Abraham makes very good sense, one might suppose that Smith could have produced the latter without any reference to the former — that he could have written the Book of Abraham more easily, in fact, without having to bother himself with those meaningless squiggles. But if the Sen-Sen symbols are expendable, why does he use them at all? His only purpose would have been to impress others, but he keeps the whole operation strictly to himself and never circulates the Sen-Sen papyrus as he did the Facsimiles. And why on earth would he fasten on this particularly ugly little piece and completely bypass the whole collection of handsome illustrated documents at his disposal? Did he really think he was translating? If so he was acting in good faith. But *was* he really translating? If so, it was by a process which quite escapes the understanding of the specialists and lies in the realm of the imponderable.

No one has begun to look into the Sen-Sen problem seriously. In the sign-lists, for example, there are many corrections and alterations in the English translation and the handwriting is interrupted and hesitant. But in the text that accompanies the Sen-Sen signs there are no deletions, additions or corrections, the spelling is perfect, and the handwriting is flowing and unflinching. The English text then is plainly not being composed for the first time in this manuscript, which is being copied from an already complete English text. Is somebody trying to match up the already available text with the Sen-Sen symbols? Whatever is happening, the finished and almost flawless manuscript is not being derived from the symbols placed to the left of it. The connection between the two remains a mystery.

Today nobody claims that Joseph Smith got his information through ordinary scholarly channels. In that case one wonders how any amount of checking along ordinary scholarly channels is going to get us very far. But that does not excuse us from going as far as we can. Many questions are still to be answered concerning the whole bulk of the Egyptian manuscripts possessed by Joseph Smith. Were important parts missing in 1830? Was the jumbling and cutting done “before it was brought to Kirtland?” Who pasted the things together? Who cut them up? We are told that the papyri were in beautiful condition when Joseph Smith got them, and that one of them when unrolled on the floor extended through two rooms of the Mansion House. Those we have today are mounted on paper showing maps of the Kirtland area, but that suggests that the mounting took place only after the Kirtland period, when all thought of returning to Kirtland was given up and the precious maps had

become waste-paper. Such questions are interesting and relevant, but for the study of the Book of Abraham their interest is only secondary since none of the Book of the Dead papyri were consulted in the composing of that book, any more than the Arabic Mss were.

When I first saw photos of the papyri I made myself disagreeable by throwing a great deal of cold water around. For publicity they were great, and as far as I can see their main value is still in calling the attention of Latter-day Saints to the existence of scriptures which they have studiously ignored through the years. But after all, what do the papyri tell us? That Joseph Smith had them, that he studied them, and that the smallest and most insignificant-looking of them is connected in some mysterious way to the Pearl of Great Price. There is really very little new here to shed light on the Book of Abraham. We must look elsewhere for further light and knowledge. For after all, the Book of Abraham does have something to say, and that should be the point of departure in any serious investigation of its authenticity. Here we have an instructive parallel with the Book of Mormon.

There is nothing in the circumstances surrounding the production of the Book of Mormon to give one the least confidence in the authenticity of the book. But what a book! Without the book anyone would be justified in labelling the whole story of its coming forth as utterly fantastic and impossible. But having the book changes everything. Critics have claimed to find all sorts of things wrong with it, but we can allow for such things since 1) our own ignorance is a very real quantity, and 2) the Book of Mormon itself makes due allowance for "the mistakes of men" in its production. The real problem is not to account for the times the Book of Mormon is or seems to be mistaken, but for the times it is right. Within the past year, for example, we have discovered and published a brief and all too inadequate resumé of a military section of the Book of Mormon which displays an absolutely staggering knowledge of strategy and tactics. Well, this sort of thing has to be accounted for, and it is only by going from the known to the unknown that we can eventually test those things which in our present ignorance seem utterly absurd but make perfectly good sense once we know what is going on.

So it is also with the Pearl of Great Price. We are completely in the dark as to how it was produced, but we are anything but helpless with the wealth of detailed material it offers us to test it by. The strange history, the strange rites, the strange doctrines all meet us again and again in ancient sources far removed from Egypt but all connected with the name of Abraham. The great mass of Abraham legends preserved in Jewish, Moslem, Christian, and even Classical sources are known to few Egyptologists, but as we read through them we find Egypt coming into the picture again and again in new and strange relationships. True, the soil of Egypt has given us absolutely nothing on the subject of Abraham in Egypt, but for that matter S. Herrmann is now maintaining that there is not the slightest scrap of evidence that Israel itself was ever in Egypt. No Egyptian evidence, perhaps, but then Egyptian sources are not the only sources, and it is folly to come out with a verdict about the Book of Abraham until we have studied fully and carefully the great and

growing corpus of ancient Abrahamic literature, even if it takes us years to get through it.

For after all, the Book of Abraham itself is a book of legends about Abraham which can only be tested in the light of other such legends, which can at least give us hints as to whether Joseph Smith was making it all up or not. And here we can announce in advance that the evidence that Smith's stories are not original is quite overwhelming. This of course raises the question whether Joseph Smith could have had access to any of our non-biblical sources, and if so to which and how. Those are things that need looking into, though it is only fair to point out that if those scholars of the 20th century who have unanimously condemned Joseph Smith for his total ignorance of all things ancient and oriental, themselves know nothing about these things, the chances that Smith could have known anything at all about them are, to say the least, not brilliant. The one scholar who did know something about those other sources was, as might be expected, the omniscient Budge, and he more than hinted that Joseph Smith was bringing such sources under contribution. Was then the youthful rustic from upstate New York another Budge?

Now the Abraham literature is of course a great hodge-podge of stuff coming from many different sources and many different centuries. But because of the ways in which legends and traditions were swapped around anciently, with very ancient and authentic bits sometimes turning up in the most unlikely places, often buried in bushels of nonsense, we cannot escape the obligation of reading everything. In the process one is constantly coming upon odd and disconnected details that bring one up with a start, and it is these that provide the great interest and challenge in the game. Take the Sen-Sen papyrus itself, for instance. Messrs Heward and Tanner raise three objections to it while completely overlooking their significance. The first is the comical disproportion between the Egyptian symbols and the English text which they suppose to be derived from them. They have left the phenomenon completely unexplained. The second is that the papyrus is too late to belong to Abraham, but we have already shown that the expression "by his own Hand" was understood to mean that Abraham and no other wrote the book, and cannot serve as a criterion for dating the papyrus (*Era* 71, 20f); incidentally, there is no question in ancient history more perplexing and fascinating than that of the chronology of Abraham. But the main point the critics wish to make is that, "most important, the Egyptian has been translated, and it has no recognizable connection with the subject matter of the Book of Abraham." With what subject matter *does* it have recognizable connection, bearing in mind that ". . . the underlying mythology [as T. G. Allen writes of far less mysterious texts] must be largely inferred"? (e.g. B.D., p. 6.). Even the casual reader can see that there is cosmological matter here, with the owner of the papyrus longing to shine in the heavens as some sort of physical entity along with the sun, moon and Orion; also he places great importance on his patriarchal lineage and wants to be pure, nay baptized, so as to enter a higher kingdom, to achieve, in fact, resurrection and eternal life. And these teachings and expressions are secret, to be kept scrupulously out of the hands of the uninitiated.

And all these things have nothing to do with the subject matter of the Pearl of Great Price? What else, then?

And here, right in the Sen-Sen papyrus we come upon one of these odd and disconnected details we just talked about. For we find here a quite typical identification of some person “born of Tayhebty” with Osiris, Horus, and a Stone of Righteousness, whatever that is — “Stone of Righteousness is your name.” Now in the Mormon scriptures we have the same sort of puzzling identities: Abraham, according to the Book of Abraham (3:1) possessed the mysterious Urim and Thummin (I ask myself if these can represent *Wr* and *Tm* of Heliopolis, where there were two important stones — but let it pass, things are confusing enough as it is); by these stones the Lord spoke to Abraham (why is the ideogram for the Great Seer of On written with two stones?) and showed him the starry heavens (vv. 2, 4 — don’t tell me we have here the field-lens and ocular of a telescope). In Alma 37:23 Urim and Thummin is called “a stone” the function of which is to distinguish the righteous from the wicked (“Stone of Righteousness”? — oops, sorry!), and the person who possesses it goes by the code-name of Gazelem; so that in the D.C. 78:9, Gazelem is said to be Enoch, though here identified with Joseph Smith. In some of our old “Abraham” literature Enoch, usually as Idrisi, is identified with *both* Abraham and Osiris. It is so easy to make and establish such identifications, one might think, that they can have no great significance. But that is just what remains to be seen — let’s not get ahead of the game, or overlook any possibility that there might be something there after all — “If it looks like an elephant,” Professor Popper used to say, “*call it an elephant!*”

Or take another case, equally odd. In Spell 31 of the Book of the Dead in that same MS (R) in which Professor Wilson detects the closest resemblances to the Joseph Smith Book of the Dead papyrus, occurs the statement, “I am truly Osiris, to whom his Father Geb and his Mother Nut were sealed . . .” To this Professor Allen appends a footnote, advising the reader to “Cf. Mormon rite of sealing children to parents.” Why do that if there can be no possible connection between them? It so happens that there are extensive passages in the *Coffin Texts* (from Spell 131 on) in which the sealing of one’s family to one in the next world is treated in exactly the same sense and the same terms as those familiar to Mormons but utterly foreign to outsiders. A coincidence, to be sure, but there are altogether too many such coincidences. No non-Mormon can be criticized for being ignorant of Mormonism — after all, there is no end to what people have been willing to believe. But if all this to-do is to pass as a critique of Joseph Smith and Mormonism, it is well that the critics know what they are criticizing. And that is just where the whole business breaks down. If the verdict of the learned has failed hitherto to have any telling effect on the prestige of Joseph Smith save on those giddy Mormons who wish to be thought intellectual, it is because the experts have passed judgment on a thing they do not understand; in the most literal sense of the word *they do not know what they are talking about*, because they do not know what Joseph Smith actually taught.

So far everything that has appeared in print about the newly found papyri

has been written either by hysterical opponents of everything Mormon or by people innocent of any bias in favor of Joseph Smith, (our own efforts have until now been confined to the affair of 1912, which many people are still persuaded settled the hash of the Book of Abraham for all time). Which means that we have now heard the worst. And it is surprisingly feeble: We have learned that Joseph Smith experimented — but we already knew that; we have learned that the papyri are of relatively late date — but the Mormons have always known that; we have seen some of the papyri that were in Smith's possession, but there is no evidence that we have seen them all, and it is apparent that only one small piece among them has any direct bearing on the Book of Abraham — and what the connection is remains a complete mystery. The Egyptologists — and we can be everlastingly grateful that they are among the ablest and most honorable scholars who ever lived — have supplied some interesting footnotes to the text, but these offer poor enough pickings for anyone seeking occasion against the Prophet.

So now it is time to hear the other side of the story, for after all it is just possible that there are things that might be said in favor of the Book of Abraham. So far no one has asked how Smith came to produce a history of Abraham which can be matched at every point from a wealth of ancient sources — Jewish and Christian apocrypha, Talmud, Mishna, even Gnostic, Hasidic and Cabbalistic writings, Moslem commentators, sectaries of the desert such as Mandaeans and Qumran people, even the church Fathers and Classical writers. Even a casual reading of the Book of Abraham shows that the story refers not so much to unique historic events as to ritual forms and traditions — all these must be checked. So far we have heard what is wrong or at least suspect about the Book of Abraham, but as yet nobody has cared to report on the other side of the picture. It is for that we are saving our footnotes.

Roundtable

THE CHURCH AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

*Participants: Garth L. Mangum
Vernon H. Jensen
H. George Frederickson and Alden J. Stevens
Richard B. Wirthlin and Bruce D. Merrill*

This Roundtable explores certain aspects of the relationship between the Church and the labor movement, together with some political effects of that relationship. Garth L. Mangum, a member of DIALOGUE's Board of Editors, was formerly executive secretary of the National Commission of Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, and is currently Research Professor of Economics and Director, Manpower Policy Evaluation Project, at George Washington University. Vernon H. Jensen is Professor and Associate Dean of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University. H. George Frederickson is an Assistant Professor of Political Science in the Maxwell Graduate School of Syracuse University. Alden Jay Stevens is working on a Ph.D. in political science at the University of Maryland and has been a National Science Foundation Trainee in Government and Politics. Richard B. Wirthlin and Bruce D. Merrill, an economist and a political scientist are both members of the faculty at Arizona State University at Tempe.

THE CHURCH AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

Garth L. Mangum

The attempt to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act was overshadowed nationally by other issues of the 1965 legislative session, but many Latter-day Saints were intensely interested. The reason was the unusual action of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in regard to it.

On June 22, 1965, the following letter was addressed to all Mormon members of the Senate and House of Representatives, seven Democrats and four Republicans from Utah, Idaho, Nevada, and California:

ROUNDTABLE: The Church and Collective Bargaining/107

Dear Senators and Representatives:

We are informed that the Congress of the United States is seriously considering introducing legislation which, if passed, would result in the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Law, thus making it compulsory throughout the states of the Union that persons remain or become members of a labor union as a condition of employment or continuation of employment where an organized union is recognized as the bargaining agent.

That you may be informed of our attitude regarding this matter we reiterate a statement heretofore made by President McKay and published at his request to the following effect:

“We stand for the Constitution of the United States, and for all rights secured thereby to both sovereign states of the Union and to the individual citizen.

We believe it is fundamental that the right to voluntary unionism should once again be reestablished in this nation and that State Right-to-Work laws should be maintained inviolate. At the very basis of all of our doctrine stands the right to the free agency of man. We are in favor of maintaining this free agency to the greatest extent possible. We look adversely upon any infringement thereof not essential to the proper exercise of police power of the state.”

We respectfully express the hope that no action will be taken by the Congress of the United States that would in any way interfere with the God-given rights of men to exercise free agency in seeking and maintaining work privileges.

Sincerely yours,
David O. McKay
Hugh B. Brown
N. Eldon Tanner

A brief history of the legislation and the “Right-to-Work” controversy which it involves is necessary background for a Roundtable on some of the economic and political issues raised by the letter.

THE UNION SECURITY ISSUE

The repeal of 14(b) is but the latest round in one of the oldest controversies in American industrial relations. Historically, U.S. employers have fought unionism more consistently and more violently than the employers of any other nation. The resulting concern for union security is peculiar to labor-management relations in this country. The first concession sought by U.S. unions is recognition; the recognition by the employer of the union as representative of his employees and the willingness of the employer to negotiate with the union over the rules of the workplace. The second is closely allied: some guarantee of permanence for collective bargaining and for the union as agent of the employees. Since the ultimate weapon of the employer

against unionism is to replace union with non-union employees, the guarantee at its strongest consists of limiting employment to union members.

The employer, in turn, has reacted to the search for union security with opposition to compulsory unionism. The names have changed but the goal is the same: the Open Shop campaign prior to the First World War, the American Plan between the wars, and the Right-to-Work movement after World War II. Though each has promised to protect the right not to join unions, simple opposition to the concept of collective bargaining has always been involved.

Gradually, the country as a whole has adopted the philosophy that, in an industrial society, democracy requires broad participation in making the rules of the workplace as well as the rules of the political government. But this doctrine of industrial democracy still clashes with the opposing right of the property owner to unhampered freedom in decisions regarding his property. The advent of the corporation, with its separation of ownership and control, has challenged the realism but not the attractiveness of this concept. Adherents of the Right-to-Work movement are not necessarily partisans of untrammelled property rights; they are unlikely to be strongly devoted to industrial democracy.

TAFT-HARTLEY AND THE RIGHT TO WORK

It was the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (better known as the Wagner Act) which declared it to be public policy of the United States to guarantee to employees the right to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. More than anything else it was World War II labor shortages which made the policy into reality. During this period the stronger forms of union security became widespread. Craft unions in industries where the relationship between the employee and any particular employer tended to be of short duration won "closed shops." Only members of the union could be hired. In industrial plants where the employment relationship was more permanent, the prevailing practice was the "union shop." The employer controlled hiring but agreed to require the employee to join the union as a condition of continued employment.

The Taft-Hartley Act (The Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947) resulted from the widespread feeling that the Wagner Act had tipped the balance too far in the unions' favor. One effort at redress was to outlaw the closed shop but retain the union shop under prescribed conditions. In addition to elections to choose an authorized bargaining agent, an employee could vote for or against the union shop. Only when a majority had voted for it could a union include the union shop among its bargaining demands. The employer was still free to refuse that, like any other demand. If the employer agreed, and his agreement became part of the contractual relationship, employees could be required to become union members within thirty days after the date of employment.

The union shop election requirement remained in the law only four years. When employees voted for the union shop in ninety-seven percent of the

cases (ninety-one percent of all votes cast were pro-union shop), the requirement was removed by amendment. Elections supervised by the National Labor Relations Board remain the usual means by which a collective bargaining representative, if any, is certified. This collective bargaining representative can demand of the employer that he agree to a union shop. The employer can agree or refuse but he must bargain over this issue just as he must on other conditions of employment. But any union membership requirement which results is a product of collective bargaining, not of law.¹

The union shop remains the strongest union security (or compulsory unionism) provision admissible under federal law. However, as the result of the language of the Taft-Hartley Act and subsequent judicial decisions, the form of union membership which can be required under a union shop agreement, and the degree of internal discipline and control a union can exercise over its members, is considerably restricted. The majority can vote to decertify a union as bargaining agent just as they voted to certify it; dues and initiation fees must be "reasonable" in the eyes of the courts; membership must be available to any particular employee on the same basis as to all other members of the union. Most important, the prospective member can be required only to tender his initiation fee and dues. He cannot be required to take an oath of membership, submit to an initiation ceremony, attend a meeting, pay a fine or assessment, or in any other way participate in the union, contribute to it, or submit to union discipline. The allegiance required is strictly monetary.

The Taft-Hartley Act contained another unusual provision and this was the focus of the 1965 controversy. Typically, when Congress chooses to regulate matters related to interstate commerce, federal law supersedes state law. Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act provides that, in regard to union security, state law shall supersede federal law, as long as the state law imposes greater restrictions on the union. In other words, whenever a state legislature passes a law making the union shop inadmissible in that state, the union shop becomes inadmissible in interstate as well as intrastate commerce.

On the basis of this provision, nineteen states have anti-union security or "Right-to-Work" laws. Others have passed Right-to-Work laws and later rescinded them. Right-to-Work legislation has been actively promoted throughout the country by the National Right-to-Work Committee, of whom Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson, President of Brigham Young University, is best-known to Mormon readers.

OBJECTIVES OF THE ROUNDTABLE

Opposition to Right-to-Work laws has been focused within the AFL-CIO but with allegiance from other politically liberal groups. In 1965, the issue was brought to a head by a concerted attempt, with the blessing of the President of the United States, to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

¹The First Presidency's letter contains a legal inaccuracy upon this point. Repeal of 14(b) would *allow* an employer and a union to negotiate a contract requiring union membership as a condition of employment in the nineteen Right-to-Work states, just as is presently the case in all other states.

Three years later, the Congressional decision against repeal appears to have been accepted by the country in general and the issue has been dethroned from any important place in political discussions. Interest has remained high in Mormon circles, however, probably because of all the numerous political issues of the past few years, no other has merited such specific attention from the First Presidency. Having figured in subsequent "Mormon country" political campaigns, the issue also serves as an interesting case study for Mormon political scientists.

In this Roundtable, Professor Vernon H. Jensen, a prominent labor economist and industrial relations expert provides a political and philosophical background for the issue. Like most students of the labor market, he considers Section 14(b) and the Right-to-Work laws which rest upon it to be of minor importance substantively. Instead, to him, they indicate misunderstanding of the institution of collective bargaining which he considers a basic philosophical underpinning of "Capitalism." Political scientists George Frederickson and Alden J. Stevens assess the reactions of the recipients of the First Presidency's letter and explore the implications for Church-State relations. Professors Richard B. Wirthlin and Bruce D. Merrill, an economist and a political scientist, respectively, and partners in a political polling firm, report on the impact of the First Presidency's position on the political decisions of a sample of Utah voters.

This Roundtable has two serious limitations. First, it should have included a staunch defense of Right-to-Work legislation, but efforts to solicit such a paper were unsuccessful. Secondly, it ignores, except by implication, the most interesting questions of all. Mormons have tended to look upon a letter signed by the full First Presidency as the equivalent of "thus saith the Lord." There are few if any precedents to such a declaration of position on a particular political issue, let alone one addressed to specific legislators. Why that time and that issue as an exception to the long-standing policy of rather remarkable restraint?

Momentous decisions were made in the United States in 1965. It was the year of the largest commitment of federal aid to education in history. The issue of civil rights and race relations permeated almost every legislative question. The year-old antipoverty program was reconsidered and expanded. Most crucial of all, 1965 was the year our Vietnam involvement crossed the divide from economic and advisory support to a full-blown Americanized war.

The 14(b) repeal effort received national attention, not so much as a substantive issue, but because the prestige of the President of the United States and the political power of the AFL-CIO were on the line. Even within the latter there was strong opposition, led by the federation's second in command, to expending the labor movement's waning political capital upon what many union leaders considered a minor, primarily emotional, issue.

The extent to which, in their busy ecclesiastical lives, the First Presidency are able to keep abreast of current political issues, what the processes are, including revelation and inspiration, which identify one issue to be of crucial moral significance and label another minor, what the provisions are for ex-

pert briefings on national affairs, why the letter was apparently never exposed in advance to the critical scrutiny of experts in labor law — these are fascinating questions which cannot be answered from the outside. One who has written letters for the signatures of Senators, Cabinet members and Presidents — some of which they probably signed without careful reading, on subjects upon which they could only trust the expertise and judgment of their staffs — cannot help being curious about the role of staff, friendships, and influence in the making of Church policy. But an exploration of these questions would be purely speculative. The best this Roundtable can do is to describe the exterior setting for this unusual incident.

PHILOSOPHICAL, LEGAL, AND PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN AN ENTERPRISE SOCIETY

Vernon H. Jensen

It seems strange to a student of the economic, political, and legal development of our society and its philosophical underpinnings that, in the middle of the twentieth century, so little is understood generally about the institution called collective bargaining. The failure to appreciate its values implies that people may not understand the elements which make up our society, because collective bargaining is integral to the critical tenets and factors basic to an enterprise society.

A serious look at capitalism, or enterprise society, is a necessary prelude to a consideration of collective bargaining. Fully developed capitalism, flowering in mid-nineteenth century, can be conveniently presented by listing a number of its basic characteristics. High on such a list will be *private property* and its corollary the *profit motive*; *commercialization of economic life* under a system of prices; a *free market*; development of *speculation*, or roundaboutness in production; establishment of *predicable law*; acceptance of *rational technology*; the device of *calculation in accounting terms*; and finally, but not least in importance, *freedom of capital* and *freedom of labor*.¹

Property was not always privately owned. It took centuries for fee simple ownership to evolve and for property to become rid of encumbrances which restricted free use for private gain. It is obvious that ownership on a private basis without encumbrances was essential to the growth of enterprise. Associated with the development are some significant changes in economic and social relationships. It was an agricultural phenomenon no less than a commercial

¹It is not assumed that these factors or characteristics are exclusively capitalistic, that is, unique to a capitalistic society, but they are all essential, and taken in conjunction with each other, provide a realistic description and analysis of the essential characteristics of a capitalistic society. It should be acknowledged that I am indebted to Professor Melvin M. Knight for giving me this approach to the analysis of capitalism. Economic historians will recognize that it comes, in large part, from Werner Sombart, Max Weber, and Henri See.

and industrial one. For example, the enclosure movement in England, and the accompanying rise of capitalistic agriculture, was highly significant and helped provide a labor force for the new industrial towns and urban centers.

The revolution in industrial production, often called the "Industrial Revolution" and commonly associated with changes which took place in the nineteenth century, has often been given so much emphasis that people neglect, or are unaware of, the vast changes which took place in commerce, dating significantly from the fifteenth century and even earlier, which paved the way for and created the possibility of the changes in production. The commercialization of economic life – the organization and sale of goods and services under a system of prices – was a development of no mean significance. Associated with it, in fact a natural evolution of liberty to carry on in the field of commerce and along non-traditional lines, was the freeing of the market.

It is difficult for some people in the twentieth century to realize that the market was not always free, that it was highly organized and administered on the basis of privilege until relatively recent times. Outsiders were excluded from choice mercantile activities. Privilege was gradually broken down, in part, by interlopers who helped create and form a "middle class" – a bourgeoisie, capitalistic in origin and spirit.

Although the point is seldom made, even in American history books, it is nevertheless a salient truth that the American Revolutionary War, particularly insofar as New England shippers were concerned, was a struggle to free the market of arbitrary governmental restraints. It is an oversimplification to explain or describe the American Revolutionary War solely in these terms, but it is a serious neglect not to emphasize this central aspect. It may be true that the British were unable to win the war because there were many "revolutionists" in England who sought the same objective that the colonists had in mind, to free the market for enterprising merchants. The overall struggle was won when the laissez-faire philosophy was accepted. It may be a "happenstance" that Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and the American Declaration of Independence are both dated 1776, but it is not simply a coincidence that they both sought, in part, to establish a free market. The demand for a free market caused a revolutionary change which helped set the stage for free enterprise in all economic affairs.

Less spectacular, but not less decisive for the growth of capitalism, was the development of a system of commerce and production which involved long-range investment. First in commerce, and then in industrial production, investment came to be more and more roundabout. The development of an enterprise required a considerable outlay of capital and long use before it was certain that the activity would pay off. A willingness to invest and to forego immediate returns in the hope of larger future returns had to be developed.

These things were utterly dependent upon the establishment of stable central governments with determination to make law a constant, predictable thing. The expression "Capitalism and the rise of the national state were Siamese Twins" is a reflection of the importance of predicable law to the rise of capi-

talism. Businessmen had to have assurance of stability in the law as a condition for projecting activities.

Of central importance, too, was the rise of rational technology. Conscious search for better methods of production had difficulty gaining acceptance. Pre-capitalistic economy frowned upon change. Innovation could not be introduced easily. Besides institutional blocks to development of new methods, there was human fear of change or, more accurately, the fear of failure and inevitable hunger if the customary methods of production were tinkered with. Old methods had been tested for generations; innovations were unsettling and unsure. People who feared disastrous consequences of innovations resisted and, in extreme cases, rioted. Eventually obstructions were overcome and the relatively unencumbered pursuit of a rational technology carried the day. So commonplace nowadays is the acceptance of invention and the conscious search for efficiency that it is hard to realize how relatively recent is the development and how long and difficult was the struggle to clear the field.

Calculation of profit and loss are essential to the efficiency of production. It may seem humdrum, but calculation in accounting terms was an invention which contributed to the rise of capitalism. Double entry bookkeeping, in place of the notarial register or continuous entry bookkeeping, gave a method for continuously determining profitability of the enterprise.

Not least, yet coming to fruition relatively later than some of the other factors, were *freedom of capital* and *freedom of labor*. They were parallel developments.

Freeing of capital is not unrelated to the development of private property (although one can easily realize that private property might exist without unrestricted freedom in its use) and freeing of the market. It is not amiss to trace the freeing of capital to the rise of the corporation. Capitalistic production required that capital be allowed to combine. Large family fortunes could be tapped only to a limited extent to carry the burden of investment. The partnership arrangement had its place, but a more satisfactory arrangement was needed. Incorporation and limited liability were the inventions, but they had to achieve acceptance and legality. An interesting, but intense, struggle to legalize free incorporation can be traced in British history (the nature of the struggle and its importance may be less clear in American history). Development of the law of incorporation came slowly to a summit in the middle of the nineteenth century when, for the first time, any individuals who had the means could combine their capital through incorporation equally with all others and without restraint. For the first time capital was really free. It stimulated the growth of enterprise perhaps as nothing else could. Its rise coincides with the beginnings of really modern large-scale enterprises.

Freedom of labor is sometimes thought of as release of workers from customary and traditional obligations. It was a long and often painful process by which the rights of workers to seek new employment were achieved.

To recount it would involve a discussion of legislation governing apprenticeship, of laws relating to settlement and relief for unemployed or destitute persons, and of systems of poor relief. It would involve the story of the

gradual process of elimination of restrictions on relocation of workers. It would include the story of conflict about freedom of individuals to seek the best employment and roles of local authorities and administration of the laws. The process of change which brought freedom for the worker gained momentum in the late eighteenth century, but it was not until the nineteenth century that a worker really became free to seek any job whatsoever. It was often by ugly means that the labor force of rising industrialism was mobilized; yet, produced in the process was the development of a legal freedom not previously known.

Another way of looking at freedom of labor is found in the legislation of concerted action, that is, the right of workers to form and join unions and to seek collectively for protection and improvement of their working conditions. It is in respect to this concept of freedom of labor that the legalization of collective action among workers runs parallel to the legalization of capital to incorporate. Both involve unions, the one of capital and the other of labor. Both may have been an affront to the nineteenth century liberal who opposed any combination whatsoever. The fact remains, however, that combination was inevitable under capitalism and the corporation and the labor union are integral parts of its development.

The freeing of workers to organize came in Great Britain only with legislation from 1869 to 1875. In the United States, while there was an earlier formal discarding of the doctrine of criminal conspiracy, organized labor did not obtain freedom to pursue its interests as early as did labor in England (that is, freedom to pursue any objective not unlawful when pursued by an individual and by any means not unlawful to the individual).

These remarks, as well as showing the substance of capitalistic development, indicate also the variety and fluidity of institutional adjustment. The detailed history is long and full of heroic struggles to achieve freedom and liberty. Throughout, when stripped of surface manifestations and self-rationalizations of interest groups, the common denominator, the essence of the whole, is a basic struggle for sufficient power to pursue economic self-interest.

The rise of labor unions and collective bargaining must be viewed in this context. They are a phase of universal struggle for power in the pursuit of economic self-interest. This was not necessarily the power to dominate; but it was fortunate in the British and American economies that there was a multitude of separate, pluralistic forces and an early development of a large and well established middle class. Many different groups have always been involved in the struggle. Because of them and the large middle class whose individual members had a multiplicity of interests, an important stability was created. As a result, large masses of people seldom, if ever, took polar positions. Countervailing forces checked development of power. Progress was made as institutional adjustments gradually worked out accommodations. Hence, although progress was piecemeal, it was solid. Democracy had a safe climate within which to function.

Trade unionism and collective bargaining had to make their way and establish themselves in this teeming context of pluralism. It is little wonder that both were simultaneously criticized by opponents and praised by pro-

ponents. Confusion and misunderstanding could, and did, prevail, apart from the direct conflicts of interest which were sometimes colored by militance before being soothed by compromise and accommodation.

If one still questions whether collective bargaining is a basic institution of an enterprise society, it need only be said that it is found in no other. Something basic in our enterprise system gives rise to it, accommodates it, and justifies it. The justification is found in the very thing that justifies competition. But what justifies competition? Sometimes we say that it is because competition makes for the greatest efficiency and highest standards of living. This is only a materialistic, economic justification, whereas, there is an important complementary legal justification. We did not enact a law to create or justify competition, although we have enacted laws to protect it or to sharpen it. The justification evolved in a principle of the common law and we must look to it for understanding.

The justification of competition is found in the "prima facie theory of torts" or the "just cause" doctrine. If you are asked whether you agree with the principle that says "the intentional infliction of harm is actionable," your answer will most likely be "yes." For example, if someone decides to go out and do harm to someone else and perpetrates the harm, the injured person should be permitted to sue for damages. But, let us ask, "How, then, do we justify competition?" Surely, when one enterpriser decides to establish a business where one is already flourishing, the gain which is made by the new enterpriser may be at the expense of the enterpriser who is already in business. Why is that not a cause for an action to recover damages?

The full statement of the "prima facie theory of torts" is: "the intentional infliction of harm is actionable, unless justified." The real question hinges on justification. In business competition the justification is found in the general good enjoyed from competition, that is, we believe free pursuit of economic self-interest produces the best for society as well as the individual. When economic self-interest is the objective, and harm to others is incidental, the infliction of harm is privileged. The harm is not inflicted for its own sake but is incidental to "the battle for trade," to the free pursuit of economic self-interest.

We emphasize that free pursuit of economic self-interest is conducive to the most efficient and productive ordering of society. If it is based upon survival of the fittest, if it has its harsh side, it is, nevertheless, the motive force of our enterprise system.

From this certain things follow. In such a society, one's pursuit of economic self-interest may run into conflict with another's pursuit. Also, one who does not have the power to pursue his economic self-interest effectively is, for all practical purposes, hardly in the system. Unless submerged by economic, political, social, or psychological conditions, the human spirit will try to improve its position. At least we believe an individual, or a group, should strive to assert itself and should have equal freedom to do so.

Therefore, it must be said that one is in an enterprise society in a meaningful way only when one has the ability and power to function in it. His-

torically, under the impact of industrialization and the remorseless working of the market, workers, for the want of power to protect their interests, found themselves, as a practical matter, outside the system; and they wanted to get in to enjoy their fair share of the fruits. At an earlier time would-be merchants and capitalists wanted to get into the system — to gain freedom of the market and freedom of capital — and they gathered power and used it to get in, but they had to challenge entrenched power — in England the landed Tories — to succeed. Similarly, workers had to struggle through organization and economic action to get into the system effectively.

We must underscore the fact that unions in our society, like corporations, are bargaining institutions and that because competition is basically a power process so is collective bargaining. Our enterprise society is, in reality, a bargaining society. All the important transactions in the economic world are negotiated, or are bargained. It is a simple fact, worth reiterating, that unless one has the power to bargain, one must stand aside or be pushed aside or ignored. Hence, the genesis of unionism was a struggle to get into the society in meaningful pursuit of economic self-interest; a struggle to get power in the interest of gaining manhood and self-respect, as well as economic improvement.

Militancy, though necessary, was sometimes misinterpreted and characterized as revolution, socialism, and the like. Unions appeared to challenge the basic institution of private property, but fundamentally they were not doing so. Unionists, except for extremists on the fringes, have always accepted the system. Once in, their true conservatism came forward. Unions in the United States are not revolutionary. They necessarily are militant, however, until they gain security, until they become reasonably free from institutional assault.

While unions were originally opposed because they were considered to infringe upon rights of property, today the argument has shifted to the newer theme. They are often considered an encroachment upon management functions.

Do unions challenge management control? Of course they do under some circumstances. Collective bargaining entails a "sharing of management." It produces a bilateral rule-making process in the place of a unilateral one with respect to the subjects which fall within its scope. However, although the right to manage is challenged when the union appears, does this mean that management need lose control? Experience in labor and management relations says "no." One would be hard pressed to identify what management control General Motors has lost because of the presence of unions, although the Company does share some of its decision making and it must conform to negotiated rules.

A common misunderstanding about union challenge to management control rests on the mistaken belief that complete managerial control was exercised prior to the appearance of unions, that there was an array, or "lump," of management decisions which added up to complete management. Hence, when unions demanded collective bargaining, it was argued that management control was threatened. Each time the scope of issues under collective bargaining was enlarged — the customary historical experience whether achieved by the increasing power of the new union or by directive of the National Labor

Relations Board — it was lamented that unions were engrossing a larger and larger share of the managerial field.

Many students and practitioners of industrial relations and personnel administration argue, to the contrary, that management has improved in quality and become more efficient under the pressure of unionism.² It is also generally recognized that unions have no interest in taking over management. Unions want to share, and as well as they can, in the proceeds of industry, but they do not want responsibilities of management. This is not because they are irresponsible but simply because it would divert them from the reason for their being. Unions are foremost, and primarily, protest organizations. They exist to protect the interests of workers. They protest and protect against unfairness and insecurities. They need, and they want, no other functions.

Without revolutionary aims, which have been of minor and relatively insignificant importance among unions in this country, militancy has often been misunderstood. It is mostly a product of institutional insecurity and is directed to achievement of a viable organization. Once such organization is achieved and accommodated, militancy subsides. This is not to say that unions do not exert power to achieve their ends, because they do. Collective bargaining, as we have already stated, is a power process, in which both parties use power to achieve or protect their goals.

Although institutional accommodation has long since settled the controversy over union security in many quarters, the struggle continues in others. The political controversy over repeal of "14(b)" is, in part, a phase of this continuing conflict.

Arguments marshalled for and against "union security" often are largely self-serving and emotional. Unions fight to survive in the name of freedom while the bitter opponents of unions justify their position in the name of freedom also. Institutional security, both for management and for labor, is a prerequisite to successful collective bargaining.

It is paradoxical that in those situations where the union least needs special mechanisms for security, the employer is least adverse to granting them. The question of freedom is not a burning issue because each party, in fact, enjoys freedom from institutional assault. Such situations are sometimes characterized as mature relationships. Opposite this, where an employer will not accept a union, the union will most likely be pressing vigorously for security. Though the employer often clouds the basic issue by arguing that he is protecting the individual worker's freedom, he is obviously arguing for liberty to conduct his business by his own rules and without restraints. The latter is a legitimate objective. If the controversy is fought out at this level, no one should complain. But, in the name of fairness, the issue should not be confused by claiming loftily that the only desire is to protect the individual worker's right to freedom of employment, his right to work. Yet unions similarly use clichés to bolster their objective of freedom from institutional assault.

One need not argue the question of the legality of either union security

²M. Ways, "Labor Unions are Worth the Price," *Fortune*, May 1963.

measures or their Right-to-Work antitheses. The government is entitled to set the rules for a fair fight — by defining unfair practices of employers and unions. But it might be argued that the government should leave the field open as much as possible for the exercise of freedom in the market place, that is, at the bargaining table. In theory and practice, the government went beyond protection of the process of collective bargaining when it enacted the Taft-Hartley Act and set up proscriptions and prescriptions about the process of negotiations. The irony is that those who sponsored government intervention in the substance of collective agreements and the procedures of negotiation were those who, philosophically, desire to keep the role of government otherwise to a minimum. In sending the government down a new road of intervention into the substance and procedures of collective bargaining, they restricted freedom by government fiat.

But what of the worker's freedom to join or not join a union? If a union and an employer agree across the collective bargaining table to a "union shop" as a condition of employment, it is hard to make this control different from a variety of other sanctions that confront workers. The people who rail against a "union shop" are seldom heard to say much about seniority agreements; but a seniority agreement may have a greater compulsive restraint and economic impact upon a worker than the payment of union dues. It sets up a system of personal priorities to jobs and forces workers to comply with it. The worker is compelled to accept employment under its terms. The only choice is not to accept employment with that employer; the same choice afforded when there is a "union shop." How is the one more or less an infringement upon freedom than the other? Furthermore, the seniority principle was not a creation of unions although it was widely adopted by them. Many employers had imposed such a principle in work assignments before they dealt with unions. Many employers who do not deal with unions unilaterally adopt seniority or other rules governing the employment relationship. Workers have to accept them to retain their employment. How is it different in impact upon the individual when rules are imposed by an employer from the situation where rules are imposed through collective bargaining?

Some unions have gained security through control of work assignments under seniority rules. Employers — before the arrival of unions and sometimes to avoid having unions — imposed (some offered rather than imposed) pension and welfare plans, and bonus and profit sharing plans, upon their workers. No one objected about denial of freedom; the employers were being humanitarian. But the simple fact is that employers were imposing their notions and requirements upon their employees without giving them a choice except to reject the employment under the terms dictated by the employer. An individual worker might have preferred to have included in his current wages the money which was utilized to support these various programs. He might have thought of himself as an individualist, able to take care of himself, and have been resentful of the inroads upon his freedom. What choice did the worker have? When these things are established through collective bargaining, the result is similar, except that as a member of a union there is a procedure for participa-

tion (often exercised in the breach) and of representation under the "majority rule" principle which runs through our democratic, constitutional government.

Although some unions could not exist effectively if denied the legal contractual right to security, it must be conceded that there is an argument for non-compulsory unionism. It is not always good for a union when it gains its members through compulsion. Unwilling members are not good members. As a matter of fact it might be good for some unions to have to sell themselves. Non-compulsory unionism might keep some union leaders on their toes. Also, there is a widespread rejection of compulsion in our social order, and, when compulsions occur, they must be justifiable in order to prevail. The issue, of course, is always one of degree. Compulsions we will always have. They are inherent in a pluralistic, enterprise society. We can strive only to avoid the most distasteful ones.

Problems of protection of the individual from abuse in the union are not to be minimized either, but, like poor conduct in business, poor union conduct is a spotty matter. Most unions do serve their members in a representative way. Those which offend rights of individuals need to be subject to controls. The problem is a difficult one because of the long-standing respect that has been given to the internal processes of private organizations — emanating from our conception of freedom and long antedating unions. However, standards of acceptable performance can be imposed and efforts to impose them have already been made.

To round out other dimensions of the field of controversy it must be noted that once unions have gained institutional security and employers no longer seek to oppose them, other problems may arise. In fact, in the dynamism of our society new problems are always arising. But once unions are accepted, problems of collusion with employers may emerge where the two parties enter into a conspiracy against consumers, or where, without conspiracy, the parties by virtue of their positions can exert a monopolistic power over the market. In the field of labor and management relations, this is as yet an unresolved problem where suggested remedies often would produce results worse than the disease.

Unions and collective bargaining have to be accommodated in an enterprise society. Otherwise, the principle of freedom would be whittled into — to the detriment of the principle of competition. This, of course, leaves power as the arbiter. However, as long as we believe in free enterprise we have to accept the power factors inherent in it. We should not seek for the government to tamper with the process nor to involve itself in settling disputes, except as a mediator. It is a mistake to propose compulsory arbitration as a peaceable way of avoiding open conflict and work stoppages. It would destroy too much of the principle of freedom. Nor should we expect the parties to collective bargaining not to use their power. It is of the essence of our society that they do so. We should not yearn for a dispassionate laying of the facts on the table for analysis. Our economic society is not structured to work that way. Business is not carried on that way, but by negotiating.

Persons with strong religious convictions about the importance of humility

and brotherliness may be confronted with a paradox when they strive to accommodate their religious views with the realities of our economic system. It is a curious thing that the factors which make western society different from other societies are the principles of competition and enterprise, on the one hand, and the religious conceptions of humility and brotherliness on the other. Take either away and our society would be different. The question is whether they continuously can be kept compatible. They have existed side by side for some time, with all sorts of rationalizations and accommodations having been devised to keep harmony. If they do not come from the same roots, and this may be the case, and if they are basically incompatible, we are confronted with an ultimate paradox. Meanwhile, as long as we accept the principle of competition we must accept power — not brotherliness or humility — as the arbiter of economic differences. It is the people who have the power to compete and who use their power who are materially successful.

If we really want freedom of enterprise, we must accept it universally. We cannot be consistent if we preserve it for some and deny it to others. Labor unions have their place in our society. Collective bargaining will last as long as the enterprise principle prevails. We are entitled, of course, to have rules but the rules should be fair and, hopefully, based upon intelligent understanding of our society. If they can be tempered by good will, so much the better.

It is in this context that the “14(b)” issue can best be understood. Its supporters as well as its opponents have varying agendas. Most students of labor market institutions endorse collective bargaining as a desirable and even necessary mechanism for making and administering the rules required for fair and stable employer-employee relations in an enterprise society. They view “14(b)” not as a threat to collective bargaining but as a symptom of lack of understanding and acceptance of the institution (Right-to-Work laws appear to exist where the general environment is unfavorable to unions rather than being responsible for their weakness). Most American employers appear to agree in principle, as much as they object to specific union demands. Many of the supporters of “14 (b)” and the Right-to-Work laws which rest upon it, though they stress freedom for the worker, are really more interested in rendering unions ineffective in pursuing the economic self-interest of workers. Those who support Right-to-Work laws on honest philosophical grounds, as many do, are unlikely to be either students of or participants in the workings of the labor market. Such a position is perfectly respectable but the one who holds it should be extremely careful to be clear as to the issues and his own motives.

THE MORMON CONGRESSMAN AND THE LINE BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

H. George Frederickson and Alden J. Stevens

We gratefully acknowledge the skillful editing of Mary Frederickson and the assistance of Georgia B. Smith, Garth L. Mangum, and Dean E. Mann who kindly read and commented on the manuscript.

We are in an era of significant problems relative to Church-State relations. Federal aid to education, civil rights legislation, prayer in public schools, and a host of other contemporary issues are closely connected with both religious philosophy and the practice of organized religion. This is especially true of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints because it has a comparatively well-developed body of doctrine, some of which has to do with secular and semi-secular matters, and because of its long tradition of both self-government and involvement in general government. Because recent Congressional consideration of legislation regarding Federal aid to education, civil rights, prayer in public schools, and labor legislation has concerned Church leadership, the whole issue of Church-State relations is of immense current importance.

L.D.S. Church members tend to have strong views about a host of government programs and questions. The strength of their views of government sometimes approaches the strength of their testimony of the Gospel. While there is generally agreement between members on basic Gospel doctrine, there is frequently pronounced disagreement regarding the "goodness" or "badness" of government programs and legislation. And, not infrequently, one's testimony of the Gospel and one's views of government activity are equated, with resulting passionate disagreement between Church members on secular questions. In the words of Dallin Oaks, with respect to Church-State relations, "We need more dialogue, less diatribe."¹

In an effort to increase dialogue on this important subject, we think that much could be gained by a consideration of those persons who are most critically affected by questions of Church-State relations — the Mormon members of Congress. We begin with a general description of L.D.S. senators and representatives, followed by a report on the results of interviews with these men which attempted to get their views on a series of questions relative to Church-State relations. Particular emphasis is placed on Taft-Hartley 14 (b) because that is the most recent public policy question about which the issue of Church-State relations has been raised. We conclude by presenting our views on this subject in the form of recommendations regarding the stance of the Church on questions of public policy.²

¹Dallin H. Oaks, ed., *The Wall Between Church and State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 1.

²This essay is not seen as a definitive discussion of all the theory and philosophy connected with the question of Church-State relations. It is, rather, a focused consideration of some Church State relations issues coupled with our personal views and those of the L.D.S. members of Congress on this subject. All of the L.D.S. members of Congress were personally interviewed in the summer of 1966 except Sherman P. Lloyd, who was seen in the summer of 1967.

THE MORMON CONGRESSMEN

The 89th Congress (1964-66) included three L.D.S. senators and eight L.D.S. representatives and the 90th Congress (1966-68) three senators and seven representatives:

<i>name (party and state)</i>	<i>year of birth</i>	<i>term</i>	<i>education</i>	<i>occupation</i>	<i>per cent of constituents who are L.D.S.*</i>
<i>Senators</i>					
Wallace F. Bennett (R-Ut.)	1889	3rd	U. of Utah	Business	75-80
Howard Cannon (D-Nev.)	1912	2nd	Ariz. and Ariz. St.	Attorney	20
Frank E. Moss (D-Ut.)	1911	2nd	U. of Utah G. Washington	Attorney	65-70
<i>Representatives</i>					
Laurence J. Burton (R-Ut.)	1926	3rd	Weber U. of Utah Utah St.	Educator	60-65
Delwin M. Clawson (R-Cal.)	1914	3rd	Gila Col.	Business	3-5
Kenneth W. Dyal** (D-Cal.)	1910	1st		Business	very small
Richard T. Hanna (D-Cal.)	1914	3rd	UCLA	Attorney	3-5
George V. Hansen (R-Ida.)	1930	2nd	Ricks	Business	50 or more
David S. King*** (D-Ut.)	1917	3rd	U. of Utah Georgetown	Attorney	50 or more
Sherman P. Lloyd (R-Ut.)	1914	2nd	Utah St. G. Washington	Attorney	50 or more
John E. Moss (D-Cal.)	1913	8th	Sacramento	Business	no idea
Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.)	1922	4th	U. of Ariz.	Attorney	20-30

*Legislators' own estimates.

**Defeated in his try for reelection to the 90th Congress.

***Defeated by Sherman P. Lloyd in his try for reelection to the 90th Congress.

From this table of the Mormon Congressmen who were interviewed several observations can be made. First, on a party basis the L.D.S. Congressmen are divided fairly evenly between Democrats and Republicans. This fact flies in the face of the generally Republican stereotype non-Mormons tend to have of Mormons.³ In addition, this fact stands in rather sharp contrast to the contention of some Latter-day Saints that Mormon theology is more akin to Republican ideology than it is to Democratic ideology. If such is the case it certainly is not reflected in the ratio of Mormon Democrats to Republicans in Congress.

Second, the Latter-day Saints in Congress are rather young, the oldest being 78, and the youngest 37. The average age is 52. They are all well educated. This suggests the possibility that the views and attitudes of most of these men are more compatible with younger rather than older generations of the Church.

Third, it is most interesting that in the 89th Congress four of the eight representatives were from California. Three of these four are Democrats and they are all rather young. This clearly is an indication of the contemporary

³See the *Wall Street Journal*, August 8, 1966, pp. 1 and 12.

character of the Church member: being geographically dispersed; being only a small segment of a generally non-Mormon environment, and with strong feelings of attachment to *their* state, although they all have ties with the predominantly Mormon sections of Utah, Idaho, and Arizona.

Fourth, only five of the ten Mormons now in Congress represent constituencies that are predominantly L.D.S. Two represent districts in which there are substantial Mormon populations, but by no means forming the majority. Three represent constituencies in which the Mormon population is negligible. It is interesting that there is a generally even distribution of political party affiliation, with Utah having one Democrat and three Republicans, Arizona, Nevada, and Idaho having two Democrats and a Republican, and California having three Democrats and one Republican.

L.D.S. members of Congress also show great diversity in political opinions. Several organizations rank legislators according to their votes on legislation before the House and Senate, the two most notable being the Americans for Democratic Action and the Americans for Constitutional Action. The former is generally liberal and the latter conservative. Therefore, the ADA ranks highly those legislators who most frequently vote liberally, while the ACA ranks these same legislators low. The following list presents the ADA "liberal quotient" and the "ACA index" for the L.D.S. legislators:⁴

		ADA	ACA
Representative Dyal	(D.—Calif.)	1.00	.00
Senator Frank Moss	(D.—Utah)	.88	.18
Representative John Moss	(D.—Calif.)	.84	.00
Representative Hanna	(D.—Calif.)	.84	.05
Representative King	(D.—Utah)	.84	.11
Representative Udall	(D.—Ariz.)	.74	.12
Senator Cannon	(D.—Nev.)	.59	.42
Senator Bennett	(R.—Utah)	.12	.74
Representative Burton	(R.—Utah)	.11	.71
Representative Lloyd	(R.—Utah)	.08	.83
Representative Hansen	(R.—Idaho)	.05	1.00
Representative Clawson	(R.—Calif.)	.00	.95

From this ranking it appears that L.D.S. legislators range all the way from very liberal to very conservative. It also appears that there is a rather close relationship between the legislator's party identification and his liberal or conservative voting pattern. All of the Mormon Republicans rank from .12 to .00 on the ADA scale and from .71 to 1.00 on the ACA scale, and could safely be categorized as having conservative voting records in Congress. All the Mormon Democrats, save two, rank from .84 to 1.00 on the ADA scale and all but one rank from .18 to .00 on the ACA scale, and can be fairly categorized as liberal in their voting records. Two, Senator Cannon and Representative Udall, appear to be "less liberal," or "more moderate" Democrats, judged on the basis of their voting records. The voting records of these men

⁴The ADA ratings are taken from the *ADA World*, XX (November 1965), No. 7. The ACA ratings are taken from the *ACA Index, First Session, 89th Congress* (1965), pp. 7-35.

indicate that the Church encompasses all political ideologies ranging from the very liberal to the very conservative, and that it is therefore inaccurate to categorize the Church as one or the other — at least on the basis of its members who are in Congress.

THE QUESTION OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS AND 14(b)

The Church has taken a stance on certain questions of public policy. On civil rights the First Presidency has said:

We would like it to be known that there is in this Church no doctrine, belief or practice that is intended to deny the enjoyment of full civil rights by any person, regardless of race, color or creed.

We say again, as we have said many times before, that we believe that all men are the children of the same God and that it is a moral evil for any person to deny any human being the right to gainful employment, to full educational opportunity and to every privilege of citizenship⁵

The 1965 Voting Rights Bill was legislation designed to enhance the civil rights of Negroes in certain parts of the United States. On this bill all L.D.S. legislators, except Congressman Hansen of Idaho, voted yes. Here we see strong agreement between the position taken by the First Presidency (their position was stated generally and not specifically tied to the Voting Rights Bill) and the voting patterns of L.D.S. legislators.

On the 14(b) matter, the Mormon legislators were split, with Congressmen King, Hanna, Moss, and Dyal favoring repeal. In the Senate, Moss favored a cloture on a filibuster being conducted to prevent voting on the bill, while Cannon and Bennett were opposed to cloture.⁶ There was, then, substantial disagreement among L.D.S. legislators on this subject. They tended to vote in accord with their political ideologies and their party affiliations — those being Republicans voting for retention of that section of the law. (Morris Udall is an exception, as he explains below.) From this it is apparent that on some issues Mormon legislators will follow their own political beliefs even if the Church has taken a stance which is contrary to theirs.

The effect of the First Presidency's letter was twofold: (1) it caused a great deal of concern among the L.D.S. members of Congress, and (2) it has reopened in the national press the general question of the Mormon Church's relationship to the State.⁷

The reaction of the Mormons in Congress to the First Presidency's letter on repeal of 14 (b) was strictly partisan. The Republicans did not see the

⁵See *The Deseret News*, editorial page, March 9, 1965; and Hugh B. Brown, "October Conference Address," *The Improvement Era*, LXVI (December 1963), 1058.

⁶Senator Cannon stated that he voted against cloture because he was opposed to stopping debate as a principle, not because he was opposed to the repeal of 14 (b).

⁷See specifically "The Right To Vote," *Newsweek Magazine* (July 26, 1965); "House Liberals Win First Round in Fight to Repeal 'Right-to-Work'," *The Washington Post* (July 27, 1965); and Robert L. Morlan, "Separation of Church and State: The Mormon Congressmen and 14(b)," *Frontier Magazine* (July 1966).

letter as an attempt to influence their votes but rather as a simple statement of the First Presidency's position. They described the communication as "a tempered letter," "certainly appropriate," "most kind, prudent, and reasonable." Representative Clawson said, "the letter was not telling me how to vote." Laurence Burton's reply was similar: "It did not tell me how to vote!" Senator Bennett indicated that "the letter didn't bother me, but it probably bothered the Democrats."

Both of them it did. The Democrats^s replied to the First Presidency with the following letter (June 29, 1965):

Dear Brethren:

We endorse with enthusiasm the statement by President McKay "we stand for the Constitution of the United States, and for all rights secured thereby to both sovereign states of the Union and to the individual citizen." In consonance with our commitment to that principle, we have determined that re-establishment of Federal dominance in the area of labor relations legislation is in the interest of the people who work for wages.

A doctrine long revered in our Federal system, commonly known as the doctrine of pre-emption, holds that wherever the Federal Government enters into an area of legislation, it pre-empts that area and the states may not again act contrary to Federal law. Section 14(b) of the national Labor Relations Act constituted a unique exemption from the working of that doctrine. It is our opinion that justification for such an exemption has never been shown.

We yield to none of our brothers in our dedication to the protection of the God-given rights of our fellow citizens. Our entry into public office was predicated upon a desire to better serve them. Our judgement, thoughtfully arrived at, is contrary to that expressed by you in your letter to us of June 22, 1965.

While we respect and revere the offices held by the members of the First Presidency of the Church, we cannot yield to others our responsibilities to our constituency, nor can we delegate our own free agency to any but ourselves. We know that each of you will agree that in this instance we act in conformity with the highest principles of our church in declining to be swayed by the view expressed in the communication of June 22nd under the signatures of the First Presidency.

We hasten to assure you that we stand ready at any time to receive your views, that they will be considered and evaluated as the good faith expression of men of high purpose, but we cannot accept them as binding upon us.

Sincerely,

/s/ Frank E. Moss, U.S.S.

/s/ John E. Moss, M.C.

/s/ Richard T. Hanna, M.C.

/s/ Ken W. Dyal, M.C.

Addendum: On three occasions the electorate of Arizona has voted by large margins in favor of the principle of so-called right-to-work laws. I have publicly stated at several times that I deem myself bound by these referenda to vote against repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Law, though I have serious personal reservations about its wisdom and effectiveness.

Along with many L.D.S. members I have been sharply critical of Catholic and other religious leaders on occasions when they have ad-

vised legislators of their faiths on pending secular legislations. Many of these legislators have complained privately that such actions have a tendency to place in doubt the basis of their official votes. I fear that publication of your June 22nd communication may cause such doubts among my non-Mormon constituents who disagree with my position.

For the above reasons I cannot join my colleagues in the second and fifth sentences of the above letter, but I do vigorously endorse and join in the remainder.

Sincerely,

/s/ Morris K. Udall, M.C.

Two Congressmen stated flatly that the letter was “an attempt to influence my vote.” Another member of the House said, “The letter was totally inappropriate. It should not have been sent.” Another commented that “the letter was out of order.” Another said that he “felt agitated and offended when I received the letter. I felt it would reflect [unfavorably on the Church].”

In defending the First Presidency’s letter, the Republican Congressmen quickly pointed out that the Seventh Day Adventist Church as well as the National Council of Churches had communicated with them on this same issue. Senator Moss pointed out, however, that “the letter purportedly⁹ from the First Presidency was *only* to L.D.S. members of Congress. It was the First Presidency speaking *only* to Mormons.” The question here, then, is not should the First Presidency speak, but should ecclesiastical leaders bring pressure *only* upon legislators who are dependent upon them for spiritual guidance.

It was universally agreed, on *both* sides of the aisle, that there is nothing wrong or inappropriate about religious leaders giving guidance on moral questions. John E. Moss pointed out that “throughout the history of the western world religious leaders have given leadership to promote human rights and dignity. They should continue to do so.” George V. Hansen referred to Dante — “the hottest place in hell is reserved for those who don’t take a stand.” He concluded that the Church should definitely “take a stand on issues of freedom and relations of men with their fellow men.” David S. King agreed that the “Church has every right to involve itself in issues — what is Christianity for? — the Church should give guidance on broad spiritual issues.”

However, on specific legislation pending before the Congress, both Republicans and Democrats tended to agree that this is where the Church should draw the line. Congressman King stated, “If the Pope had sent such a letter to John F. Kennedy, or even the Catholic Congressmen, there would have been a major crisis.” In a letter Kenneth W. Dyal pointed out:

. . . when President Kennedy was a candidate for the presidency . . . I had a picture of him on my front lawn . . . I remember

⁹Senator Cannon (Nevada) and Congressman King (Utah) sent separate letters to the First Presidency.

⁹In the interviews several members of Congress seriously doubted that the letter originated with the First Presidency or that the entire First Presidency did in fact sign the letter.

how the ward members and others used to stop me and say, "How can you support that man? Don't you know that the Pope will give him orders and we will be under the domination of Rome?" Well, I supported him because he was the best man, but I also know that he was steadfastly his own person, and not under domination of Rome or his party, the unions, or business or any pressure group. He acted as we knew he would. He opposed some of the prelates of his church on the subject of education. He had courage.

. . . what would you have said . . . if an encyclical had been issued by Pope Paul ordering, or requesting (as does the letter of June 22) all of the Catholic members of the Congress to repeal Section 14(b)? What would the people of our nation have said?¹⁰

Most of the Mormons on Capitol Hill, regardless of their partisan affiliation, felt that integrity demands independent judgment on pending legislation. Morris Udall stated, "I represent Arizonians, not just Mormons; therefore I must look at the entire record." Representative Moss of California stated that "legislators do not represent churches and Church pressure should not be used on the legislator. This job is interesting only as long as I can remain independent." Senator Bennett stated that his judgments must remain independent, and he therefore does not go to the Church for advice on pending pieces of legislation. "I must treat the Church like any other constituent," he said. Representative Burton also pointed out that on all legislation "I must follow my own conscience."

The Republican legislators all indicated that had the letter from the First Presidency *supported* repeal of section 14(b) they would still have voted as they did.¹¹ Senator Moss said, "No, I don't think they changed a vote." Representative Burton said, "I would have voted against repeal regardless of the Church's position." Moreover, he indicated that when the question of Federal Aid to Education was before the Congress, he had voted in favor of that legislation because "it was in the best interests of Utah" even though the Church had taken a different position (on the general question).

David S. King indicated "that on all the many occasions in which I have met with the brethren they have always told me, 'Brother King, use *your own* judgment.'" Frank Moss pointed to the many statements of Church leaders indicating that the Church does not take partisan stands but requires its members to exercise their wisdom.¹² Apparently, the General Authorities hope to maintain the American political tradition of separation of Church and State and expect the Mormons in Congress to make independent decisions.

Unfortunately, some members of the Church do not see this independence as desirable and expect Latter-day Saints in Congress to conform to the policy statements of the General Authorities. The Democrats, especially those with a large proportion of Latter-day Saints in their constituencies, reported very

¹⁰From a letter to a constituent, July 26, 1965.

¹¹George Hansen of Idaho was not asked this question.

¹²The latest statement of this nature may be found in *The Improvement Era*, LXIX (June 1966), 477, 580.

violent reactions to their support of the repeal of 14(b). Many Mormons accused them of ignoring Church doctrine. Kenneth W. Dyal indicated that nearly 90 per cent of the mail he received on the 14(b) issue was comprised of "hate letters" from Latter-day Saints. He was accused of apostasy and disloyalty to the Church. Senator Moss and Representative King also received many similar communications. One Democrat even reported receiving a letter from a member of the Council of the Twelve advising him that his upcoming vote on 14(b) was his "opportunity to stand up and be counted." This letter, furthermore, indicated that his loyalty to the *Church* would be judged on this issue. Another Democrat reported similar letters from prominent leaders of the Church.

SOME CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The First Presidency evidently feels strongly about the need for its views to be made known, and in a democratic system such as ours all organizations and individuals are entitled to this right. Churches, however, because of Church-State separation, are in a delicate position with respect to airing their opinions and attempting to secure their points of view. Congressman Sherman P. Lloyd observed that in all his years as a Utah State legislator and a member of the United States House of Representatives, the Church has "always been very restrained in questions of public policy." He noted that the First Presidency's 14(b) letter was the only instance in which the Church formally communicated its position on a specific piece of pending legislation. In doing this, Dr. Robert Morlan of Redlands University contends, the Church "on the 14(b) issue . . . perhaps unknowingly, stepped across this ill-defined boundary [between church and state]."¹⁸ While Mormons recognize the well-meaning and sincere intentions of the First Presidency, many of those outside the Church do not. For this reason it is important for the Church to "play by the rules of the game." We feel the following recommendations will enable the Church to continue its dynamic role in society, and at the same time refrain from even the appearance of breaching the delicate partition separating Church and State:

1. When policy positions are taken by the Church on secular matters it is preferable that they be stated as generally as possible and be focused on broad moral principles or basic social questions. Specific statements by the Church on pending pieces of legislation can be interpreted by non-members as the dictation of votes from Salt Lake City, and by members as the prohibition of L.D.S. legislators' right to take a contrary position.

2. When Church leaders do make statements on secular questions and particularly when these questions relate to pending legislation, distinctions should be made between "opinion" statements and "thus saith the Lord" statements. For instance, during the 14(b) controversy, President Hugh B.

¹⁸Robert L. Morlan, "Separation of Church and State: The Mormon Congressmen and 14(b)," *Frontier Magazine* (July 1966).

Brown was reported to have told the press that the First Presidency's letter reflected only opinion and not "divine revelation to the Church hierarchy."¹⁴ He also advised the press that the Latter-day Saints in Congress could vote on the bill as they saw fit without jeopardizing their Church membership. Many Mormons, however, interpreted the First Presidency's letter as God's word rather than human opinion. If a paragraph containing President Brown's statement had been included in the original letter, much confusion and personal dilemma could have been avoided.

3. When the General Authorities decide to make an authoritative statement on a public issue it would be preferable if this statement received the widest possible distribution. If these statements are dispatched to legislators it is hoped that they would be directed to the entire body, or the relevant committees, not just L.D.S. members.

Adherence to these proposals will enable the Church to conform to well established patterns of Church-State relations plus help secure the positions of L.D.S. legislators. From the evidence reviewed here it is clear that the 14(b) letter had little effect on Mormon legislators' votes. Those opposing repeal continued to vote against the issue, and those favoring repeal did not shift. But the letter initiated an intense personal crisis for some legislators; should they vote in accord with their political ideologies or conform to the ideology presented in the letter? All voted with conviction, and for two it was very costly. Both Kenneth W. Dyal and David S. King were defeated in 1966, after having faced considerable opposition from members of the Church; their votes on 14(b) were doubtless a factor.

¹⁴On this subject see G. Homer Durham's excellent little essay, "Credibility and Gullibility," *The Improvement Era*, LXIX, No. 11 (November 1966), 944-946, 954.

THE L.D.S. CHURCH AS A SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL REFERENCE GROUP IN UTAH: "RIGHT TO WORK"

Richard B. Wirthlin and Bruce D. Merrill

The authors wish to express their grateful appreciation to David K. Elton, University of Calgary, for compiling some of the data used in this paper.

The 14(b) case of 1965 provided an opportunity to consider the question, "Is the Church perceived as a significant political reference group by its members when a clearly defined political position is assumed by the First Presidency?" This question is examined in the narrow context of the specific issue of the right-to-work laws as it was viewed by members of the Church living in six Utah Wasatch Front counties some months after the issuance of the First Presidency's letter to Mormon Congressmen. Any conclusions drawn must be constrained by these limitations.

In the Spring of 1966 we drew a proportionally stratified, multistage, random probability sample of one-thousand registered voters in the above counties, which contain almost eighty-four (84%) percent of Utah's total population. The purpose of our technique of sample selection was to generate a microcosm representative of a much larger population in order that some meaningful generalizations might be made about the larger group.

The total sample group was filtered to eliminate those who could not correctly describe the right-to-work law, and from those remaining we identified Mormons and non-Mormons. It is this dichotomous group which forms the basis of our analysis. By eliminating those who could not correctly describe right-to-work legislation we obtained a measure of Mormon and non-Mormon knowledge of the law. In response to the questions, "Can you tell me what the right-to-work laws are?" and "To what church do you belong?" it was found that fifty-seven (57%) percent of the Mormons interviewed and fifty-five (55%) percent of the non-Mormons could, in a general sense, correctly indentify right-to-work laws. There is no significant difference between the two groups based on their knowledge of right-to-work laws. That is, the differences observed could quite probably have occurred by pure chance.¹

To determine whether or not Utah Mormons held different attitudes on right-to-work legislation than Utah non-Mormons, and thus gain some insight *ex post facto* into the possible impact of the First Presidency's statement, we asked the following question of those who knew what right-to-work laws are: "Generally speaking, are you for or against right-to-work laws?"

While Mormons were *not* more knowledgeable about right-to-work laws than non-Mormons, they were considerably more strongly in favor of them. Eighty-three (83%) percent of the Mormons and only sixty-nine (68.8%) of the non-Mormons favored right-to-work laws. This difference could have occurred by pure chance *less than* one time out of a thousand.² Hence, we conclude initially that there is considerable reason to believe that political stance on the right-to-work issue is related to membership in the Mormon Church. This conclusion must, however, be examined critically in the light of three qualifications.

First, of those Mormons who were knowledgeable about the right-to-work issue, we must determine how many were also aware of the Church's position, and if this awareness is related to support of right-to-work laws. We cannot expect Mormons to have been swayed by the First Presidency's letter if they did not perceive the Church's stand. If those who are unaware of the stand still favor right-to-work laws in about the same proportion as those who recognize its stand, then we must look elsewhere for an explanation of the observed differences between Mormons and non-Mormons on this question.

¹Specifically, the calculated chi-square value (X^2) is .34. The hypothesis of independence is accepted, or, in other words, we do not have sufficient reason to say that a person's knowledge of right-to-work laws is dependent on his religion. The probability that they are not associated is greater than fifty times out of a hundred. These statistics will be annotated in the footnotes henceforth as $X^2 = .34$ and $P < .50$, where P is the probability of association.

² $X^2 = 21.84$, $P < .001$

The second qualification is related to but not synonymous with the first. We would expect that if Mormons in fact take the Church as a significant political reference group, then those who identify themselves most closely with the Church in terms of their activity would also, as a group, conform most closely with the Church's right-to-work position.

The third qualification lies in the fact that those interviewed were not only Mormons, but also had political, union, and non-union affiliations. They were of differing income and educational groups. Could not the difference in attitude of Mormons and non-Mormons on the right-to-work issue be "explained" without reference to the Church's influence if sufficient difference in membership in these various groups were found and if it could be shown that Mormons more consistently as a group had associations which tended to be pro-right-to-work? Each of these qualifications will be considered in turn.

L.D.S. PERCEPTION OF CHURCH'S RIGHT-TO-WORK POSITION

Those Mormons who could identify right-to-work laws were divided into two groupings — those who knew the Church's position and those who did not. As is clear from Table I, the recognition of the Church's stand made considerable difference in support of right-to-work legislation.

TABLE I.

MORMON KNOWLEDGE OF CHURCH'S RIGHT-TO-WORK STAND
AND ATTITUDE TOWARD RIGHT TO WORK

	Know Church Position		Don't Know Church Position	
	N	%	N	%
For RTW	268	89	64	67
Against RTW	34	11	32	23
TOTALS	302	100	96	100

This difference could have been observed by chance less than one time in a thousand.³

It is of considerable interest to note in regard to the above table that while Mormons who did not know the Church's position support right-to-work laws (sixty-seven percent favorable), this was slightly less than the support of non-Mormons (sixty-nine percent favorable).

It is clear that those who were knowledgeable about both the right-to-work issue and the Church's position more closely conformed to a favorable grouping than those members of the Church who were not aware of it.

CHURCH ACTIVITY AND SUPPORT OF RIGHT-TO-WORK

Does activity in the Church, as self-identified, tend to influence support of right-to-work laws? Mormons who were both knowledgeable about the issue

³X² = 24.3, P < .001

and the Church's position were asked, "With respect to your membership in the L.D.S. Church, (generally speaking) do you consider yourself: very active, moderately active, somewhat active, somewhat inactive or inactive?" These responses were then cross-tabulated against each subclass's support of the right-to-work law, and the following results obtained.

TABLE II.
CHURCH ACTIVITY AND KNOWLEDGE TOWARD RIGHT TO WORK

	For RTW		Against RTW	
	N	%	N	%
Very Active	162	64	10	31
Moderately Active	47	18	10	31
Somewhat Active	15	6	3	9
Somewhat Inactive	12	5	5	16
Inactive	17	7	4	13
TOTALS	253	100	32	100

Seventeen of the interviewees did not desire to respond to this question.

As is clear from Table II, those who favored right-to-work laws were, by their own judgment, much more active as a group than those who opposed them. The difference observed between these two groups could have occurred by chance about five times out of a thousand.⁴

The preceding analysis affords strong evidence that Utah members of the Church generally, but especially those who can recognize a Church "position" and those who are active, view the Church as a significant political reference group as reflected in their favorable support of the right-to-work laws.

NON-CHURCH GROUPS WHICH ALSO FAVOR RIGHT-TO-WORK

However, this conclusion must be tempered by the determination also made in the study that Mormons in Utah tend to be as a group less Democratic, less unionized, and slightly better educated than non-Mormons. All of these factors tend to be associated with a pro-right-to-work stance.⁵

An interesting example of selective misperception emerged from the analysis of the interrelation of these factors which also gives some additional but tenuous support to the conclusion above — that the Church is a political reference group of significance for Mormons. Of the 418 interviewees who were L.D.S. and said they "knew" of the Church's position, twenty-nine fell in the category less likely than any other to support right to work. They belonged to unions, had less than a high school education and affiliated politically with the

⁴X² = 14.80, P = .005. This result must be interpreted with care because of the small frequencies in the "against RTW" column.

⁵The authors will publish an in-depth analysis of these factors as they interrelate to Church affiliation and position on right-to-work laws in the near future.

ROUNDTABLE: The Church and Collective Bargaining/133

Democratic Party. All listed themselves as "somewhat active in the Church." Fifty-five (55%) per cent of this group said that the Church *opposed* right to work.

TABLE III.

GROUP AFFILIATION/EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	Mormons		Non-Mormons	
	N	%	N	%
PARTY ID				
Republican	289	39.0	79	32.6
Democrat	238	32.1	111	45.9
Independent	213	28.7	52	21.5
UNION MEMBERSHIP				
Belong to union	148	20.1	58	24.4
Do not belong to union	587	79.9	179	75.6
EDUCATION				
Less than high school	116	15.6	55	23.1
High School	292	39.2	72	30.1
Part College	186	24.9	73	30.5
College graduate	95	12.7	22	9.2
Post graduate	57	7.6	17	7.1

CONCLUSION

While we cannot on the basis of the evidence presented state that Church membership caused strong support of right-to-work legislation and conclude therefrom that the Church must represent a significant political reference group for its members, we can make certain factual assertions, with determined probabilities, about the interaction of the Church's position on right-to-work with attitudes held by its members.

There is little difference between Mormons and non-Mormons judged on their knowledge of right-to-work laws.

Great difference, statistically, is found, however, in the overwhelming support Mormons give right-to-work laws, as compared to non-Mormons.

Those Mormons who are aware of the Church's position are significantly more favorable to right-to-work laws than Mormons unaware of the Church position. Activity, as self-identified, in the Church is also positively related to a favorable right-to-work position.

From these assertions in this particular case of the right-to-work law, when the First Presidency of the Church made its position known, those members who recognized that stand and those who rated themselves more active than the polar groups in these same categories also tended to conform as a group more closely to the Church's position, and, in this sense, the Church appears to be a significant political reference group in Utah.

Reviews

Edited by Richard L. Bushman

THE DIVINITY IN HUMANITY

Louis Midgley

You Shall Be as Gods: A Radical Interpretation of the Old Testament and Its Tradition. By Erich Fromm. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966. 240 pp., \$4.95. Louis Midgley is Associate Professor of Political Science at Brigham Young University.

Erich Fromm has a large international reputation as a psychologist and social critic; his numerous writings treat various aspects of psychology (particularly psychotherapy), sociology, politics, philosophy, and religion. Some may feel that his wide ranging interests have made of him something of an intellectual carpetbagger and interloper. However, he always manages to uncover vital issues, which he tackles with passion, sensitivity, and insight. (*You Shall Be As Gods* is not his first book on religion; it is an elaboration of ideas found in a number of other places.¹)

Reviewing *You Shall Be As Gods* presents something of a problem. Should one call attention to items like Fromm's notorious lack of concern for evidence, to the curious way in which he maneuvers his way around, over, and through difficulties that might have blocked his path, to his unconcern about other work that often duplicates and transcends his own presumably new and radical contributions, to his failure to mention whole bodies of material that present views quite different from those he advances, such as the recent manuscript finds that reveal the theological involvements of Jewish sectaries? I have chosen to ignore all these matters and, instead, to examine the central themes of the book and thus to comment on issues of more genuine concern to the Mormons who have become acquainted with Fromm's writings.

¹See especially his *Psychoanalysis and Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), and other essays, for example, *The Dogma of Christ, and Other Essays on Religion, Psychology and Culture* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963).

You Shall Be As Gods, though subtitled "a radical interpretation of the Old Testament and its tradition," is not really intended to be a serious piece of scholarship on the Old Testament. Instead, the book offers Fromm the opportunity of presenting his religious views to a new audience. He has simply cast his humanist religious commitments in the form of an "interpretation" of the Bible, which he has then supported by numerous quotations from that side of Jewish literature that seems to express similar sentiments. Though his views are sometimes novel, his point of view is quite typical of what he calls "the humanist wing of the Jewish tradition."

Though some may look upon Fromm as half Freud (because of his reputation as a "Freudian revisionist") and half fraud (for the same or perhaps different reasons), his religious humanism is clearly dependent upon another intellectual source as well — he is also half Marx. And it is this second element in Fromm's amalgam that is almost never noticed by his Mormon admirers. The Marx that influences Fromm is little known by Americans; he is the young Marx who, under the influences of Hegel and Feuerbach, is now thought to have been primarily interested in protesting against the dehumanizing forces in industrial capitalism — estrangement, alienation, and the transformation of man into a "thing." This Marx, partly the creation of Fromm, bears little resemblance to the later dogmatic Marx of "scientific socialism."²

Building on insights found in Marx's early work, Fromm would agree with B. H. Roberts that the Serpent was telling the truth — man can become as the Gods. His argument, however, differs radically from the Mormon doctrine in that he assumes that there is an "essential human nature" from which man is somehow alienated or estranged. This entails the belief that there is a single, common or universal essence of man. Man's essential nature is a kind of "cookie cutter," a Platonic form, from which the more or less human "cookies" get their degree of humanity. To become whole — Godlike — man must become actually what he is potentially (i.e., "naturally" or "essentially"). Mormon theology, on the other hand, clearly rejects the notion of a single, universal, common, essential human nature. Each man is a discrete event, a unique eternal reality, a self-existent being;³ men are not contingent realities and therefore not halting approximations of an essential "humanness." The future condition of man, but not, of course, his reality, is contingent upon his choices and upon God's redemptive acts. Hence it is possible to speak of each man as potentially either demonic or divine. Man is free to put on or take off the role of a "natural man"; he may become a son of God through the atonement of Christ, or he may reject it and thereby get whatever injustice he deserves. Man as a species has no essential nature.

At a superficial level there may appear to be a kind of verbal similarity between certain features of the Mormon doctrine of man and some of the views advanced by Fromm. This can be seen in the main thesis of his book, which is expressed in the title. But his basic views, dependent as they are on

²See Fromm's *Marx's Concept of Man* (New York: Ungar, 1961).

³See Truman Madsen's *Eternal Man* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), for a general treatment of these ideas.

Hegelian and Marxist concepts (and ultimately expressing a kind of Platonism) are radically opposed to those of authentic Mormonism. A good deal of the current talk about "self-realization" (Maslow), "participation in the essential human nature" (Tillich), "becoming fully human" (Fromm), or "realizing man's humanity" (Fromm), has its roots in intellectual traditions entirely foreign to the Gospel. In addition, the views Fromm advances have come under heavy fire from sceptical philosophers, who have subjected his formulations to devastating criticisms. Those Mormons who are attracted to Fromm should look into linguistic analysis, which challenges the meaningfulness of many of his statements.⁴

The primary argument of *You Shall Be as Gods* is that the end product of the evolution of biblical and post-biblical Jewish thought about God provides an answer for the human predicament. Salvation is not to be found by "regressing to the *prehuman* state, but by the full development of [man's] specifically *human* qualities: love and reason. The worship of God is first of all the negation of idolatry." (Italics supplied.) He claims that the Hegelian-Marxian concept of alienation is grounded in the biblical concept of idolatry. "Idolatry is the worship of the alienated, limited qualities of man. The idolater, just as every alienated man, is the poorer the more richly he endows his idol."

Man transfers his own passions and qualities to the idol. The more he impoverishes himself, the greater and stronger becomes the idol. The idol is the alienated form of man's experience of himself. In worshipping the idol, man worships himself. But this self is a partial, limited aspect of man: his intelligence, his physical strength, power, fame, and so on. By identifying himself with a partial aspect of himself, man limits himself to this aspect; he loses his totality as a human being and ceases to grow. He is dependent on the idol, since only in submission to the idol does he find the shadow, although not the substance, of himself.

Fromm often has advanced this same argument with one important change: the word *God* is usually substituted for the word idol.⁵

Man's estrangement from his essential nature is not to be overcome by submitting to some merely human projection like God that bears the infirmities of his alienation. In Fromm's view the genius of the biblical view of God is that it is self-negating. He describes an "evolutionary" process in which the obvious and familiar finite, personalistic, and anthropomorphic features of the biblical God are "progressively" overcome by the later adoption of mysticism, by a doctrine of the double truth (one level for the simple and a deeper one

⁴See, e.g., Kai Nielsen, "On Taking Human Nature as the Basis of Morality," *Social Research*, 29 (1962), 170-6 (and 159). There are now two very excellent book length studies on Fromm's thought. See John H. Schaar, *Escape from Authority; The Perspectives of Erich Fromm* (New York: Basic Books, 1961); and J. Stanley Glen, *Erich Fromm: A Protestant Critique* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966). Mormons who have seen in Fromm some kind of secular expression of the Gospel might benefit from these studies.

⁵See, e.g., Fromm, *Psychoanalysis and Religion* (London: Victor Gollanez, 1951), p. 57; Fromm, *Beyond the Chains of Illusion* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1966), pp. 44f.; cf. his *Marx's Concept of Man*, pp. 41f.

for the wise), by negative theology (based on the position that one can only say what God is not, not what he is), by the biblical tendency to describe God in terms of actions rather than static states of being, and by the reluctance of Moses to name God. God thus "becomes the nameless God, the God about whom no attribute or essence can be predicated."

Fromm makes it clear that for him being nameless is the same as being nothing. What the biblical tradition is really trying to say is that there is no God. It is, of course, still possible and even in a sense proper to speak of God. "'God' is one of many different poetic expressions of the highest value in humanism, not a reality in itself." The word "God" thus becomes what he calls an x that man should approximate in order to be fully man. God is a poetic expression for man's essential nature; God names the human form or "cooky cutter." Elsewhere he has maintained that "in humanistic religion God is the image of man's higher self, a symbol of what man potentially is or ought to become"; "God is a symbol of *man's own powers* which he tries to realize in his life. . . ." (Fromm's italics). Since there is no God as an independent reality, man is God, that is, man's "essential nature" is what the word God points to. Man thus has the capacity to save himself, to become actually what he is essentially or potentially, without the assistance of a redeemer. This is what stands behind Fromm's use of the rubric "you shall be as Gods."

Although he mentions in passing the wanderer theme in Jewish thought, in his enchantment with man alienated from himself, Fromm does not notice that the early Jews and Christians when they spoke of themselves as wandering in a strange land were also expressing a very early and profound form of estrangement. Man certainly is estranged in this world; he does not belong to it but lives here as a kind of displaced person. Fromm similarly disregards the scriptural description of estrangement resulting from rebellion against God. Man, left mostly alone in a strange land, brings upon himself a spiritual death that estranges him from God.

Fromm is anxious to deny that man needs anything like God's loving, merciful forgiveness to heal his "sickness unto death." Thus he traces estrangement to man's alienation from his own essential nature and overlooks more authentic Jewish traditions of estrangement which imply a need for divine help. Fortunately, Mormons have stayed with the scriptures and avoided the misleading talk about "essences" or "natures" or "universals" that has gripped so much of Christian theology in its powerful Platonic hands ever since Christians first started hearing aught of Greek philosophy way back in ancient Alexandria.

Fromm's atheistic, mystical humanism is an impassioned cry of one who desperately wishes the best for man and who, at the same time, struggles to escape from God. He offers pious, sentimental, and often profound insights into the highest aspirations of man alone in this world, of man, to use the words of Herman Melville, "without faith, hopelessly holding up hope in the midst of despair." His hope is that mankind will somehow avoid self-destruct-

⁶Fromm, *Psychoanalysis and Religion*, pp. 56, 45.

tion, that man will prevail, that some measure of peace and justice can come to this troubled world. These, in themselves, are worthy aspirations, but they are not the same thing as the Gospel. Jesus put the matter quite plainly: "In the world you shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world" (John 17:33).



STORYBOOK GRANDMOTHERS

Caroline Addy

Mary Fielding Smith: Daughter of Britain. By Don Cecil Corbett, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1966. xxii, 310 pp., \$4.50.

Life Is a Fulfilling. By Olive Kimball B. Mitchell, with sketches by the author. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1967. 267 pp., \$4.95.

Caroline Addy, a Provo housewife, received her M.A. in history from Brigham Young University, writing her thesis on her pioneer grandfather.

Mormon history is full of tales about formidable women, bearing the stamp of true matriarchs despite petticoats and plural marriage. The present biography of Mary Fielding Smith is written by one of her descendants and is a hagiographic work typical of Mormon biographical writing.

A certain aura surrounds Mary because of her position in Church history as the widow of the martyred Patriarch and because, unlike some of the Smith widows, she chose to cast her lot with Brigham Young and the majority of the Church when they moved West. Moreover, the fact that she was the mother of the sixth president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who remembered her as one of the greatest influences in his life though she died when he was only fourteen, makes the temptation to inquire into her life and personality irresistible. The problem is that it is very difficult to write a biography about one whose distinction is the quality of her inner life when

she has left so little to delineate its scope and depth. Her public life, as is attested by those who knew her and seems proven by the scarcity of sources, was modest and restrained.

Mr. Corbett has tried to make up for this lack by using the testimonials of those who remembered Mary Fielding Smith; by using the journals of Joseph Fielding, her brother, and the memoirs of Mercy Thompson, her sister, in addition to the writings of other members of the Fielding family who remained in England; and by interspersing all with substantial digressions into the Church history that directly or indirectly may have affected Mary. He is thus forced to assume many things about his subject (for example, the intellectual climate of her English home), such assumptions not necessarily being bald fiction but of so general a nature that Mary never really emerges as a whole personality. Her race into Salt Lake valley against the hostile captain of her company comes as a relief, for the single incident reveals that she was capable of spite — a human quality for which Mr. Corbett's previous eulogies have not prepared us.

Many of Mr. Corbett's sources are secondary. He relies considerably upon *Essentials in Church History* and the *Life of Joseph F. Smith* by Joseph Fielding Smith, in addition to a number of short biographical sketches of prominent Latter-day Saints appearing in Church periodicals and other works. His primary sources include the journals and memoirs mentioned above plus a number of letters, only two of which were written by Mary herself. Therefore, unless additional materials can be found by systematic and exhaustive research, it would seem that Mary Fielding Smith must remain an almost legendary heroine.

Mr. Corbett has included an index and pictures in his work. Of special interest are colored portraits of Hyrum Smith, the Patriarch, and Mary, reproduced in print for the first time.

The second work, by Mrs. Olive Kimball B. Mitchell, is also on the theme of the exemplary pioneer woman. Mrs. Mitchell has written the life of her grandmother, Sarah Diantha Gardner Curtis, a task that many of us with a loving, courageous, and virtuous grandmother wish we had the nerve to undertake. Her problem, like Mr. Corbett's, was that of finding sufficient solid information. In order to solve it, Mrs. Mitchell has not only turned to the general history of Utah and of southern Arizona, since the Curtis family pioneered near Tombstone, but has added a fictional dimension that attempts to bridge the gaps in Sarah Diantha's personal story. Conversations, feelings, and possible day-to-day events are imagined and reconstructed. While this is not an entirely unrecognized device in writing biography, it would have been useful if the reader could have been supplied with footnotes and bibliography in order to follow the "live show." Mrs. Mitchell may have felt that the technical apparatus of history writing would detract from her story. Nevertheless the absence of such can only add to the wonder of the reader, since she has named as president of Mexico the governor of the State of Sonora and has made Sonora's capital, Hermosillo, the capital of Mexico. Further, the citation of sources might have helped students of Utah history who will be in-

terested in Mrs. Mitchell's statement that Sarah Diantha was married in "the Endowment House in St. George, . . . January 17, 1870," and that in 1881 her husband took a second wife in the same room. Since the dates for the construction of the St. George Temple are 1871-1877 and since the only Endowment House commonly referred to in L.D.S. history was in Salt Lake City, if Mrs. Mitchell is correct, both assertions should stir further inquiry into the performance of Mormon marriage ceremonies in this period. Generally, the work might have been considerably improved by more careful proofreading and checking of historical sources.

The narrative is somewhat uneven, consisting of chunks of history and folklore alternating with chunks of family anecdote and sentimental reconstructions of the past. The activity of the mining towns of Tombstone and Bisbee and the troubles with Apache Indians and outlaws swirl around the Curtis Ranch but only slightly affect the hard-working, thrifty, and devout Mormons. Elements of real drama emerge in the struggle of the Curtis family against drought, erosion, and the encroachments of the Boquillasey Nogales Water Company — a twenty-five-year battle that ended in defeat for the Curtises. However, this drama is neglected in favor of the sensational events happening around them. It is only in the latter part of the story, when Mrs. Mitchell is obviously relying upon her own memories, that Sarah Diantha begins to shape into a believable woman and the reader shares somewhat in Mrs. Mitchell's deep feeling for her grandmother, for the beautiful and cruel Arizona countryside, and for that other Paradise Lost, the Curtis Ranch. One wonders if fictionalizing does not, after all, do an injustice to the pioneer we wish to honor by imposing modern values on the past.

ON THE MORMON TRAIL

T. Edgar Lyon

Mormon Trail from Vermont to Utah. By Alma P. Burton. Seventh printing, revised and enlarged. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1966. 103 pp., \$1.95.

The Travelers' Guide to Historic Mormon America. By R. Don Oscarson and Stanley B. Kimball. Second printing, revised. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966. 83 pp., \$1.95.

Dr. Lyon is Research Historian for Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, and teaches at the L.D.S. Institute at the University of Utah.

Dr. Alma P. Burton, currently Assistant Administrator of Seminaries and Institutes for the L.D.S. Department of Education, first published his guide in 1952 to satisfy a long-felt want of many people who desired to trace geographically the history of the rise, progress, and migrations of the Mormon movement. He commenced with the birth of Joseph Smith in Vermont in 1805 and ended with the arrival of the Pioneers in Salt Lake Valley in 1847. Burton presented a synopsis of Latter-day Saint history, associating it with specific sites. The booklet, six by nine inches, was stapled on the nine-inch side so that it would lie open for quick scanning while traveling. With a full-page sketch of the Mormon Trail superimposed on an outline map of the United

States, six specially drawn sectional maps and sixty-six illustrations, the booklet proved a helpful guide. Proof of its usefulness is attested by seven printings in fourteen years.

The author, after presenting a short historical treatise concerning each location to be visited, gave general instructions for traveling from one site to the next, followed by detailed directions to houses, farms, monuments, or sites, after reaching the outskirts of a city, a town square, or some easily identifiable landmark.

The 1966 revision of Burton's guide has been enhanced by increasing the number and size of the illustrations and printing many of them in sepia tone. Two sections have been added on Haun's Mill in Missouri and on the Register Cliffs and deep-worn wagon ruts in Wyoming. Corrections have been made to keep the highway identifications current. Otherwise, the guide remains very similar to the earlier printings.

This handy guide is open to criticism primarily for its failure to keep Mormon history up to date. When first written, the author drew his information from the traditional published accounts. He has made no attempt in the revision to include any of the results of the great amount of research on Mormon history in the last fifteen years. This has resulted in the perpetuation of some errors. Examples of these inaccuracies are the number of Mormons in Missouri at the time of the 1838-1839 expulsion, the population of Nauvoo, and the present state of ownership of the Temple Block at Nauvoo. A do-it-yourself map of Nauvoo has been eliminated, but no mention made of Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, as the organization which has taken over the guide service at Nauvoo. The guide also fails to suggest the use of time-saving free-ways and tollroads as one moves from the East to the West.

In 1965, R. Don Oscarson, a member of the St. Louis Stake High Council, and Dr. Stanley B. Kimball, professor of history at Southern Illinois University and also a member of the St. Louis Stake High Council, produced *The Travelers' Guide to Historic Mormon Country*. It is printed in black and brown, which makes its maps much more vivid than those in the Burton guide. It is a presentation of the Mormon Trail in an entirely different format from that of the guide book reviewed above, with a much broader coverage of sites and incidents. The first edition of the Oscarson-Kimball booklet, six by nine inches, had a plastic ring binder on the six-inch edge of the publication, which enabled the booklet to lie flat — a great advantage to a driver who desires to follow the many directional maps. Its authors declare it to be the most complete guide available, and their contention is verified by the inclusion of directions to the Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball homes at Mendon, New York, and by several sections entitled "Non-Church Related" historic sites. These enable the traveler to visit sites and homes of prominent Americans as one journeys between historic Mormon areas.

There are thirty-five strip maps, many patterned after those used by the AAA when plotting tours for its clients, some full-page, others quite small. The highway numerals are in bold-face type, making them discernible at a glance. Another feature is the inclusion of several full-page strip maps, en-

titled "Other Rapid Routes," which provide alternate routes to assist those with limited time to see the major sites and bypass lesser ones. The book is profusely illustrated, and the pictures and maps are, as a rule, printed more distinctly than those in the Burton guide. The historical notes are effectively condensed.

The popularity of this guide, which has been on sale at nearly all the Latter-day Saint historic sites in the East, led to a revised edition the year following its initial appearance. A few minor errors were corrected, but a guide map of Nauvoo, which was borrowed from an old Chamber of Commerce tourist guide and which perpetuates incorrect house and site designations, has been retained. While the authors have made a conscious effort to break away from legendary Mormon history and have used results of recent historical research, some of the time-worn legends and hearsay still crop up. It appears that the publishers were concerned more with saving the expense which a needed revision would have entailed than seeking historical accuracy.

This guide is effective in leading one from site to site, but in some cases is not detailed enough to assist a person in finding the site in a city after arriving there. In one respect the revised edition is less acceptable than the first printing as the ring binding was replaced with a glued back (this same criticism is applicable to the revised Burton guide), which prevents the book from lying flat on a table or car seat.

I have used both guides on two east- and two west-bound crossings of the United States. Each has its merits and demerits. What the Mormon traveling public needs is a guide book combining the merits of each, with a revision of the historical data in light of recent findings.



LEARNING TO LEAD

William G. Dyer

The Church Executive. By Kent Lloyd, Kendall Price, V. Dallas Merrell and Ellsworth Johnson. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc. 1967. Paperback. 90 pp., \$1.90.

The Ten Most Wanted Men. By Paul H. Dunn. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc. 1967. 405 pp., \$3.00.

Dr. Dyer, a former Latter-day Saint bishop, is Professor of Sociology at Brigham Young University and a Fellow and member of the Board of Directors of the National Training Laboratories for Applied Behavioral Sciences, an organization which gives training in the principles of group behavior and leadership.

The Church Executive is a report (also summarized in the Winter 1967 issue of *Dialogue*) of a seminar (workshop training program) conducted by three weeks, they hoped to see the stake presidents achieve the following: 1. dents in that area. Initially sixteen stake presidents began the program, but according to the report four dropped out and "several others" from time to time were unable to be present for various sessions.

The seminar planners had a most ambitious set of goals for the participants. In a program starting with a Friday evening and all day Saturday sessions, followed by four other all day Saturday sessions meeting about once every three weeks, they hoped to see the stake presidents achieve the following: "1. Obtain knowledge about administrative behavior and procedures and applications of behavioral science to management problems facing Church executives. 2. Acquire skills in interpersonal relations, creative use of executive time, reading and learning techniques and scientific research. 3. Build better Church and personal relationships with other stake leaders and Latter-day Saint behavioral scientists. 4. Participate in developing and authoring part of a seminar report analyzing administrative problems facing Church executives." The authors also expected that the seminar would allow the stake presidents to build more effective administrative organizations, profit from more inter-stake cooperation, benefit from discussion between stake and community leaders, and to be stimulated to develop further leadership training of ward and stake officers.

An important part of this report is a presentation of research data, for the authors say that this program is not going to fall short like so many other training programs that have no evaluation research to determine the effects of the program on the participants.

In analyzing this report I find that I have a mixture of reactions. On the one hand, I am in agreement with the authors' feeling that Church leaders could benefit from a wide variety of new concepts, methods, orientations, structures, procedures, personal styles as they have been developed by the behavioral scientists over the past several years. The Church is slow to change, and training methods have been developed for improving personal and organizational performance that could be adapted; much to the benefit of Church leaders. This program is an initial attempt to expose Church leaders, namely stake presidents, to some new ways of thinking and responding to their Church jobs. I think this is a useful and needed activity. On the other hand, I am left with a very uneasy feeling about the adequacy of the design, implementation, and research of this particular program. It is a hodge-podge design, and it is a tribute to the Church leaders if any long-range changes in administrative behavior resulted from the program as outlined here.

In the five days of the program, the stake presidents were exposed to an almost bewildering array of concepts and experiences. There were sessions on creativity, problem solving, rapid reading, counseling, values and ethics, a form of T group experience, guest lecturers, organization theory, community and politics, a visit to skid row, and group reports. Discussions ranged through such

diversified sources as *Black Like Me*, *The Federalist Papers*, Frederick Taylor, Chester Barnard, *Leadership in Action*, Eric Hoffer, Thoreau, and Plato.

All of these certainly represent important orientations, but I find it hard to believe that they could be integrated adequately in such a short time. It seems that the designers of the program wanted to insure that the participants were kept stimulated by a wide variety of new experiences rather than concentrating on a more limited range of concepts and experiences and settling down to the hard discipline of training which really brings some type of behavior change.

My second criticism of the program has to do with the research which was done to insure that the program was adequately tested as to its impact on the participants. Almost none of the goals of the program were tested in the research. The research should have tested to see if indeed the stake presidents gained more knowledge about administration, acquired more skill in interpersonal behavior, built better relations with other Church leaders, etc. These were the goals of the program and the research should tell us if these goals were met and to what degree they were met. When we read the research we find that the research instruments were the Gordon Interpersonal Values scale, a scale examining one's View of Man, and the Authoritarian Personality (F) scale, and similar tests. I am hard put to see the relationship of these scales to the goals of the seminar. Thus while the authors claim to have researched their program, I cannot see that they did a valid evaluation study.

Finally, I have a personal bias against the style of writing of this report. There may be some virtue to such a homely, descriptive style, but I was not enlightened to find out that the participants had Canadian bacon, rolls, and jam for breakfast just as the sun rose over the spire of the L.D.S. Institute building.

I am pleased that behavioral scientists in the Church are making attempts to create new programs for the training of Church leaders. I see this effort as a step in the right direction and perhaps we can learn much from their experience. But in light of current training theory, their program appears to suffer from the following inadequacies: 1. A lack of real commitment to the program on the part of participants. 2. A lack of clearly defined goals, developed by the participants and staff, that have real relevancy to the work in the back-home situation. 3. Inconsistency of design and focus: the program rambled into too many areas. 4. Too little time. 5. No planning for a follow-up program to see that the initial training was tied into the back-home situation and that the learnings were reinforced in the organization.

The Ten Most Wanted Men by Paul Dunn of the First Council of Seventy is one of the first attempts to write a readable discussion of principles of leadership along with a form of programmed learning or do-it-yourself improvement of one's own leadership style. The ten most wanted men really are the ten principles of leadership which the author wishes to emphasize: 1. Spirituality. 2. Ability righteously to influence others. 3. Ability to work effectively with people. 4. Ability to call others to leadership opportunities. 5. Ability to plan, prepare and present. 6. Skill in one's assignment. 7. Ability to counsel others.

8. Ability to delegate. 9. Ability to follow through. 10. Awareness. Brother Dunn does not tell us why these particular attributes are more important than any number of others, and there is no reference at all to any of the multitude of research reports on leadership behavior in organizations conducted by reputable social scientists.

The format of the book is unique among Church books. The narrative of the chapter is carried on each right hand page and on the left hand page is a quote or statement of principle or an illustration or proverb, etc., that parallels the narrative. In each chapter is a set of multiple choice questions. You are asked to select from a set of alternatives the way you would handle a given situation. There is a right alternative and if you select this one you can go on to the next point, but if you select the wrong alternative you are asked to do some re-reading of the text material. For example:

Which of the following illustrates the better procedure in issuing a call to the person selected for the assignment?

1. It is usually best to give the person a call to a job, and then gradually allow him to learn about his new assignment so he will not become discouraged and overwhelmed.
2. It is best to give the person a clear understanding of his assignment and obtain a commitment of his feelings and willingness to do the job before finalizing the call.

Answer number two is the "right" answer.

At the end of each chapter are several questions in a self-test on the material covered in the chapter, e.g.: a) Describe the process of selecting a person for a church assignment. b) How should questions be worded in the interview to make them most effective?



There are some obvious weaknesses in this method of trying to produce leadership behavior. One may select the right answers, but that is a long way from being able actually to behave in appropriate ways. A person may also think his behavior is already consistent with the outlined procedures, but others may experience him quite differently. How does a Church leader find out how he is really doing? We have very inadequate procedures for getting

honest feedback to Church leaders so they can begin a program of improvement from where they really are rather than from where they think they are.

The book is at its best when Brother Dunn draws upon his fine talent for relating an incident or telling a story. I feel more people will be inspired with good feelings from the narrative than ever will honestly try to follow the instruction format and answer the questions. It is not a definitive handbook for leadership training, for it ignores entirely the scientific literature and research findings. It draws upon Church literature and literary sources and is written for popular reader consumption. I am sure that Brother Dunn does not feel that a person can become effective in counseling by reading his chapter on how to counsel others. At best it opens up some new areas the Church leader ought to keep in mind. This volume should be used in connection with some good, on-going, in-service training programs with Church leaders as they work in their Church positions.

SHORT NOTICES

Illustrated Stories from the Book of Mormon. Volume I. Raymond H. Jacobs, Artist; Clinton F. Larson, Narrative and Editing; Joseph N. Revill, Correlator and Writer. Salt Lake City: Promised Land Publications, 1967. 117 pp., \$6.00.

Not knowing just what to expect, as I took the book from its mailing case I exclaimed to myself, "Oh, it's a children's book!" Having read and studied the volume, I have confirmed my initial reaction and could recommend it for children especially.

Volume I is an illustrated "retold" version of I Nephi up to the end of chapter seven. Nearly every page has a full page picture which illustrates a few verses of the Book of Mormon. With each illustration is a minimum of text which tells the story on about an eighth grade level. For example, it begins: "I am Nephi. There are so many things to record about my days! I was born in a land across the sea. It was called Jerusalem. My Father and Mother were kindly and good. They loved God and taught me to love Him. Because I loved God and tried to please Him, He blessed me." Each bit of narration is accompanied by a reference to the original text. I found the most satisfactory way to read the book was, as the publishers suggest, to study it in conjunction with the original text which is printed in full in the back of the book — a method, however, which made me wish the original words had been included with the pictures in the first place. The pictures are pleasantly colorful with a Disney-like quality that makes the characters appear to me like something out of a "storybook" rather than belonging to real flesh-and-blood history.

For reactions other than my own, however, and for my own edification, I asked a family of cousins ages ten to sixteen to evaluate the book. The sixteen-year-old pronounced it "great" and the fifth grader read it with enjoyment and some comprehension. I believe that in our day when the visual aid is stressed in teaching, and children grow up with television, this bright, colorful

volume may indeed be a most attractive way to interest young people in the scriptures. I'm not so sure I would recommend it for adults who, like myself, grew up reading picture-less books whose words stimulated our imaginations into more satisfactory pictures than someone else could create for us.

These volumes would make a worthwhile addition to ward libraries for use in Sunday School and Primary. I feel they may be too expensive for the private libraries of those who would probably benefit most by having them — namely, young families with growing children. The total cost for the projected sixteen volumes is \$96.00, though the publishers suggest an easy payment plan of \$10.00 down and \$3.50 a month for twenty-six months.

I must say, though, that I am impressed and awed by the prodigiousness of the work as I consider this book and its fifteen companion volumes. The authors deserve congratulations for undertaking such a monumental project.

Ruth Silver
Denver, Colorado

The Making of a Prophet. By Dr. Lindsay R. Curtis; illustrated by Paul Farber. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1967. 129 pp., \$2.95.

Dr. Lindsay's book might be appropriately titled *The Wentworth Letter to Children—Illustrated*. It is a brief history of the Church, much like the Prophet's own narrative, only stated in simpler terms. It covers a few of the main events in the history of Joseph Smith from his birth to the organization of the Church (1805-1830). Two qualities make it especially adapted to children: brevity and excellent illustrations. Each page of one or two paragraphs of reading is beautifully illuminated with a full page illustration.

In the main, Paul Farber, the illustrator, has vividly, accurately, and dramatically portrayed the important events in the beginnings of Mormonism. His illustrations are cleverly done and are eye-catching. He has pictured the men in the story as young men, which they were; and he has Moroni appearing in the log cabin instead of the new Smith home. One can see he has done research before he illustrated. I wondered, however, about Joseph Smith being dressed in evening attire so often; or why he accentuated the length of Joseph Smith's nose; or why he made the Urim and Thummim so large they couldn't fit into Joseph's pocket. But a more serious historical problem would be the errors on the map that dresses the inside front and back covers. The eight witnesses did not see the plates at Fayette. The Smiths lived in the Manchester Township, not the Manchester Village. Their home was north of the Hill Cumorah, not south. Harmony, Pennsylvania, was on the north side of the Susquehanna River, not the south. And Colesville was not on the Pennsylvania-New York state line, but several miles north of there. These inaccuracies are unnecessary. They are not so important, however, when seen in the light of the total purpose of the illustrations to the average layman of the Church.

It would seem to this reviewer that Paul Farber should be given credit for the book, with footnotes by Dr. Curtis. The narrative without the illustrations would add little to many other retold stories of Joseph Smith's youth. The

author did express the stories in simple words that would catch the attention of children, but the narrative without the illustrations would be more of the same that has already been written. Dr. Curtis is also guilty of historical inaccuracies, such as making Joseph the fourth instead of the fifth child of Joseph, Sr., and Lucy Mack; having Lucy paint oilcloths after instead of before they purchased a farm; or having Malachi's words quoted "almost exactly" by Moroni instead of the changed version as noted by Joseph Smith. The author was also free with poetic guesses, such as Joseph's knowing because of the first vision that God and Jesus had flesh and bones, or that Joseph prayed in a "small" grove a "short distance" from home, or that it was a "bleak, cold" day on which Joseph was born, or that it was a "bleached-white" stone that covered the box that concealed the plates of the Book of Mormon.

The introduction states that one purpose of the book is to make the narrative more understandable. This goal has been achieved. It is a much needed work, after the hundreds of books about Joseph Smith that have lacked adequate illustrations. This book would be a fine addition to the libraries of Latter-day Saints who have small children in their homes.

LaMar C. Berrett
Provo, Utah

Among the Mormons

A Survey of Current Literature

Edited by Ralph W. Hansen

The difficulty in life is the choice.

George Moore, *Bending of the Bough*

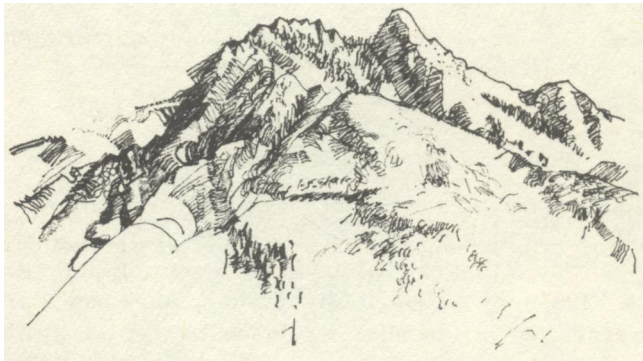
In this year's survey of theses and dissertations on Mormon or Utah subjects the reader's attention is called to the vastly expanded theses listing made possible by the cooperation of Mrs. Ida-Marie Logan of Utah State University, Mrs. Jack M. Yeaman of the University of Utah, and Chad Flake of Brigham Young University. By quadruplicating the sources of items listed, we are in a position to be more selective in what is to be included and excluded under the rubric "Mormon Americana." Selection, even in a highly defined subject, is never perfect. The editor disagrees with the compiler's selections, and out go half a dozen titles. Space must be considered — cut another dozen selections. The compiler has his favorite interests and sneaks ten items back into the bibliography. After a while one gets the impression that the best part of the show is "on the cutting room floor."

To illustrate the problem, let us take the spring commencement of the University of Utah Graduate School of Social Work. By count, eighty master's degrees were awarded, of which sixty-seven theses were on subjects which could qualify them for inclusion in this bibliography. A sampling of subjects are: runaways, Utah State Hospital, working mothers, alcoholism, retardation, marital adjustment, probation and parole, all in the State of Utah. One can justifiably argue that if Utah is predominantly Mormon, then problems of social aberration must, in fact, concern portions of the dominant group, and thus fall under the umbrella "Mormon Americana." Unfortunately, cut we must, and out went social work and most (but not all) of the education theses, especially if they were limited to investigations at a single school or school district. Physical education also fared poorly, as did business theses, but, on the whole, the accompanying list represents a significant scholarly outpouring.

By way of example, a few of the theses not listed are "Student Spending at the University of Utah 1965-1966" (or What Every Parent Already Knows);

“The Nature and Pattern of Skiing Injuries in Utah”; Murderers and Check-writers at the Utah State Prison” (even there?); “An Investigation Into the Home Court Advantage of Utah Class B High School Basketball” (I should hope there is an investigation); and finally the *now* thesis, “Effect of Selected Types of Music and Music Intensity on Basketball Shooting.”

The small number of dissertations presented less of a selection problem. Since there are proportionately fewer, proportionately more are included, and only one, that of Richard D. Alter, needs any justification. The title, “Effects of Own Stand . . .” does not suggest a Mormon relationship and one must turn to the abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts* for further insight into Dr. Alter’s study in social psychology. Even here the sesquipedalian “professional” terminology by which social scientists obfuscate meaning may cause the uninitiated to flounder.



DISSERTATIONS

Alter, Richard David. *Effects of Own Stand, Ego-involvement, Personality, and Information on Item Judgment*. University of Utah, 1967.

220 Mormon students, varying in dogmatism, authoritarianism, concreteness-abstractness, intensity of attitude, involvement, own position, and information, sorted a series of statements about their church on an 11-point favorableness-unfavorableness continuum. Shape of distributions generated in the sorting was best predicted by intensity, followed by concreteness-abstractness, self rating of involvement, self rating of own position, dogmatism, authoritarianism, scaled own position, and information, in that order. Extreme quartiles on the last two of these measures did not differ reliably on the measures of distribution shape, while the remaining comparisons yielded reliable differences on most measures. In terms of item placement and displacement, intensity was the best predictor, followed by scaled own position, involvement rating, and personality. It was concluded that item displacement in Thurstone scales is primarily the result of ego-involved factors, specifically, intensity of belief, with the effects of personality, own stand, and information influencing displacement in decreasing degrees.

Brewer, David Leslie. *Utah Elites and Utah Racial Norms*. University of Utah, 1966.

Cheesman, Paul R. *A Cultural Analysis of the Nephite-Lamanite-Mulekite Civilizations From the Book of Mormon*. Brigham Young University, 1967.

Crampton, Helen Mickelsen. *Acculturation of the Mexican-American in Salt Lake County, Utah*. University of Utah, 1967.

- Dierman, Frederick George. *A Study of Students Enrolled in the Pre-Admission Program of General Studies at the University of Utah*. University of Utah, 1967.
- Fisher, Madison Scott. *Environment, Expectations and the Significance of Disparity Between Actual and Expected Environment at the University of Utah*. University of Utah, 1967.
- Fugal, John Paul. *University-Wide Religious Objectives: Their History and Implementation at Brigham Young University*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Godfrey, Kenneth W. *Causes of Mormon-Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839-1846*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Jones, Hilda Beth. *Assessment of Legal Provisions for the Mentally Retarded in Utah; A Comparison of the State Code with National Criteria*. University of Utah, 1967.
- Lynch, Brent Thatcher, Jr. *A Survey of Adult Criminal Justice in Utah*. University of Utah, 1966.
- Mitten, Robert Moore. *The Chronic Effects of Cigarette Smoking on the Development of Endurance*. Temple University, 1966.
- Pedersen, Lyman Clarence. *History of Fort Douglas, Utah*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Peterson, Dan Willard. *The Local School Board in Utah*. University of Utah, 1966.
- Puckett, Eldon Hardy. *A System of Analysis of the Student Teaching Operation at Brigham Young University, with a Resultant Handbook of Policies and Procedures for Student Teaching at B.Y.U.* Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Smith, Harold Taylor. *An Analysis of Intellectual Factors Bearing on Success in the College of Business, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Stephen, Eric George. *B. H. Roberts: A Rhetorical Study*. University of Utah, 1966.
- Taylor, Eldon R. *The Principles of Election and Predestination in the Teachings of Paul and in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Thorpe, Philip Dayton. *The Brigham Young University Ward Bishops and Professional Counselors as Helping Persons*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Van Wagoner, Ferrin Dean. *A Critical Analysis of the State School Finance Plan*. Brigham Young University, 1967.

THESES

- Allen, Ferrin Leon. *Storytelling: An Art Form in Expression and Interpretation as Taught in Mutual Improvement Association of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Utah State University, 1967.
- Anderson, Judy Butler. *The Beehive House: Its Design, Restoration and Furnishings*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Baum, John Haws. *Geographical Characteristics of Early Mormon Settlements*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Bishop, Clarence R. *A History of the Indian Student Placement Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. University of Utah, 1967.

- Bowman, Anthony Will. *From Silver to Skis: A History of Alta, Utah, and Little Cottonwood Canyon, 1847-1966*. Utah State University, 1967.
- Brewster, Hoyt William, Jr. *A Comparative Study of the Problems and Guidance Resources of Freshmen at Brigham Young University*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Burton, Warren Lindsay. *A Cultural History of Cache Valley*. Utah State University, 1965.
- Cannon, John Q., Jr. *Traditional Family Ideology of Undergraduate University Students*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Capener, Homer Duncan. *An Analysis of Dating Attitudes and Frequency Patterns of Coeds Residing in Helaman Halls, Heritage Halls, and Wymount Terrace of Brigham Young University*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Castleton, Don Bernard. *The Concept of Zion as Reflected in Mormon Song*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Chard, Gary Ray. *A History of the French Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Utah State University, 1965.
- Child, John Kay. *A Study of the Comparisons Between the Academic Achievements in B.Y.U. Religion Courses of L.D.S. Students Who Graduated from L.D.S. Seminaries and L.D.S. Students Who Had Not Attended L.D.S. Seminaries*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Decker, Rodney Dalton. *Senator Wallace Foster Bennett: Political and Legislative Biography*. Utah State University, 1966.
- Dunford, John Parley. *The Students Leave Zion; An Impetus in Twentieth Century Utah*. Utah State University, 1965.
- Dunford, Robert Moroni. *The Relationship Between the Religious Attitudes and Religious Activity of Seminary Students and the Priesthood Activity Status of the Fathers*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Eddins, Boyd Lavell. *The Influence of the Civil War on the Mormons*. Utah State University, 1967.
- Garfield, Gene Jensen. *The Senate Career of Herbert B. Maw*. Utah State University, 1965.
- Garner, Kent Ralph. *An Analysis of the Effect of Seminary Instruction Upon Certain Attitudes of Students Who Enroll for Reasons Other Than Personal Desire*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Gilbert, Byron J. *A Comparative G.P.A. Study of Returned Missionaries on Academic Probation, Academic Suspension or in Good Standing*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Goodrich, Roger Evans. *A Study on the Use of Statistical Methods in Religious Educational Research*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Green, Arnold Harrison. *A Survey of Latter-day Saint Proselyting Efforts to the Jewish People*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Hanna, John Richard. *Use of Alcoholic Beverages Among Selected High School Seniors in Box Elder and Cache Counties, Utah*. Utah State University, 1967.
- Hansen, Dean Maurice. *An Analysis of the 1964 Idaho Second Congressional District Election Campaign*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Hanson, Brooks Kent. *A Geographical Analysis of the Emergence and Subsequent Disappearance of the Cotton Industry in the Virgin River Basin (1856-1910)*. Brigham Young University, 1967.

- Harmon, Alton Mayvard. Attitudes of Young Caucasians Toward Fellow Japanese-Americans Relative to Inter-Racial Friendship, Dating, and Marriage in North Box Elder County, Utah. Utah State University, 1967.
- Hatch, William Whitridge. A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Southern States 1861-1941. Utah State University, 1965.
- Holmes, Robert Devan. Church and Employment Activities of Industrial Arts Teachers in Utah. Utah State University, 1965.
- Hubner, Calvin Wayne. Utah Delegations at the National Nominating Conventions: 1860-1928. Utah State University, 1966.
- Jack, Ronald Collett. Political Participation in Utah Before the Formation of Political Parties, 1847-1869. University of Utah, 1967.
- Jacobs, David Kent. The History of Motion Pictures Produced by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Jenkins, Ronald Wilde. A History of the Grand Opera House and Ogden's Golden Age of Theatre, 1890-1909. Utah State University, 1966.
- Jenson, Sidney Lamarr. Vardis Fisher's Outsiders. Utah State University, 1966.
- Kotter, Richard E. An Examination of Mormon and Non-Mormon Influences in Ogden City Politics, 1847-1896. Utah State University, 1967.
- Larson, Robert Ernest. Factors in the Acceptance and Adoption of Family Home Evenings in the L.D.S. Church: A Study of Planned Change. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- LeBaron, E. Dale. Benjamin Franklin Johnson: Colonizer, Public Servant, and Church Leader. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Lewis, M. Brent. A Comparison of the Established Editorial Policy with Reader Expectations of *The Improvement Era*. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Lingwall, Karl Edward. The History of Educational Administration in Salt Lake City 1890-1901. University of Utah, 1967.
- Lounsbury, Jerry Robert. Acts of Incorporation in Territorial Utah. Utah State University, 1966.
- Lyman, Edward Leo. Heber M. Wells and the Beginnings of Utah's Statehood. University of Utah, 1967.
- Malmgren, Larry H. The History of the WPA in Utah. Utah State University, 1965.
- Marsh, Gary Benjamin. The Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages and Some Related Implications for the People of Utah. University of Utah, 1967.
- Martin, Paul LaMar. A Historical Study of the Religious Education Program of the Episcopal Church in Utah. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Mecham, Delmar Blaine. Attitudes About Cigarette Smoking and Anti-Cigarette Smoking Literature in Selected Social Categories. Utah State University, 1967.
- Mickelsen, Allen Relius. Some Factors of Industrial Development in the State of Utah. University of Utah, 1967.
- Mitchell, Glen Armond. Personality Traits and Skills Considered by Seminary Students To Be Most Essential for a Successful Released-Time Seminary Teacher. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Montague, Wallace Dea. A Proposed Program for Adjusting the Released-Time Seminary Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to Three Major Flexible Schedule Programs. Brigham Young University, 1967.

- Morgan, Dallas Dee. *The Utah Educational Controversy, 1963-1964: A Study in Political Behavior.* University of Utah, 1967.
- Moses, Katie Jeanne. *The Effect of Group Counseling on Probationary Students at Brigham Young University, 1967.* Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Pace, Alfred Lawrence, III. *A Study of the Attitudes of Latter-day Saint Seminary Students Toward Certain Church Standards of Dress and Conduct.* Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Palmer, John Franklin. *Mormon Settlements in the San Juan Basin of Colorado and New Mexico.* Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Payne, William Dennison. *The Relationship Between Expressed Religious Involvement and Some Economic Attitudes of Working Class Mormons.* Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Peterson, Mary Jo Giles. *Non-Academic Factors Related to Academic Performance of Brigham Young University Students.* Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Preece, Eldred Bruce. *A Course of Study for the L.D.S. Indian Seminary Program of Northern America for Junior High School Students.* Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Quinn, Rolfe Thomas. *The Governorship of Henry H. Blood, the Critical Years, 1933-34.* University of Utah, 1967.
- Rasmussen, Jay Lee. *Social Life in Early Utah, 1847-1869.* Utah State University, 1967.
- Robson, Ross Everett. *Major Political Patronage in Utah, 1965.* Utah State University, 1967.
- Romaine, William Darvel. *The Impact of Social and Economic Change on Education in San Juan County.* University of Utah, 1967.
- Romney, Joseph Barnard. *The Exodus of the Mormon Colonists from Mexico, 1912.* University of Utah, 1967.
- Rowley, Orson Grant. *A Study of the Utah School Finance Foundation Program, 1947-1966.* University of Utah, 1967.
- Santiago, Francis. *An Investigation of the Power Structure of the Tooele County School District.* Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Schuster, Stephen William, IV. *The Evolution of Mormon City Planning and Salt Lake City, Utah, 1833-1877.* University of Utah, 1967.
- Simmonds, Andrew Jeffrey. *A History of Cornish, Trenton, Clarkston, Newton and Amalga, Utah.* Utah State University, 1967.
- Slack, Robert A. *A Biographical Study of Isaac Chauncey Haight, Early Religious and Civic Leader of Southern Utah.* Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Smith, Lowell Jay. *A Photographic Essay of Franklin, Idaho.* Utah State University, 1966.
- Smith, Mearle B. *A Study of the Content Suitability of High School Economics-Oriented Courses in the State of Utah.* Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Springer, Jerry Robert. *Economic and Social Influences Upon Educational Attainment in Utah and the Nation.* Utah State University, 1965.
- Steinagel, Verne Orin. *The Relationships (or Association) of Teen-Age Peer Group Membership to the Faithfulness of L.D.S. High School Students.* Brigham Young University, 1967.

- Stewart, Lynn D. Constitutional Rights and the Mormon Appeals for National Redress of the Missouri Grievances. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Stucki, Alfred B. A Historical Study of Silver Reef: Southern Utah Mining Town. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Tanner, Nancy Ann. A Study of the Integration of Economic Concepts and Principles by Teachers Who Participated in the B.Y.U. Economic Education Workshops, 1960-64. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- Warner, Keith Crandall. History of the Netherlands Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1861-1966. Brigham Young University, 1967.
- West, Robert W. A Study of Public Speaking Abilities of L.D.S. Youth. Brigham Young University, 1967.

FOLK ARTS OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN WEST

"Forms Upon the Frontier": a conference on Folk Arts of the Rocky Mountain West will be held at Utah State University on Friday, July 26 and Saturday, July 27. In conjunction with this regional joint meeting of the American Folklore Society and the Folklore Society of Utah, a short course (July 22-27) on "Western Folk Arts" will be taught by Dr. Austin Fife.

Address inquiries to: Dr. Lloyd Drury
Extension Division
Utah State University
Logan, Utah 84321

Notes and Comments

Edited by Joseph H. Jeppson

Our first note is an address delivered to the General Authorities of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints by Professor Robert Flanders of the same church as the second in a series of "Joint Council Seminars." Most of our L.D.S. history crowd know Bob because he visits with us from time to time, and belongs to our history club. Anyway, here is Bob, telling the R.L.D.S. Council of Presidency, Twelve, and Presiding Bishopric that the history lessons which that church has been teaching need some revision. For instance, he points out, temples were important in the Church before Joseph Smith died, and did not originate in Utah; Professor Flanders's giving of this speech indicates not only that he is courageous, but also that the Authorities to whom he spoke were remarkably open-minded.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE KINGDOM AND THE GATHERING IN EARLY MORMON HISTORY

Robert Flanders

Joseph Smith conceived the social and economic plans for the society of Gathered Saints in the "communitarian" terms common in America in his generation. The extent to which Smith and other Mormons may have been specifically influenced by any particular social philosophy — Owenism, Fourierism, Shakerism, the German Pietist communities — is uncertain. The answer may result from careful studies — yet to be made — of the morphology of Mormon thought. Certainly Smith need not have read tracts or listened to lectures of the great propagandists of Christian associationism or communism to know about them. Communitarianism was in the air, a part of the culture of the time and place, exciting causes among a people excited by causes. Smith's central vision seems, originally at least — and perhaps always — essentially spiritual rather than narrowly social and institutional: religiously oriented rather than community or church oriented. It is easy for us to forget

what we might like to forget — that the *temple* was the most important building in Nauvoo, as it was in Kirtland, and was to have been in Independence, Far West, and other proposed centers. To say this is to say that a specific “plan” for Mormon communities — so dear to the hearts of Saints then and still — was secondary in the beginning and thereafter subject to shifting circumstances. When compared with the plans for an Owenite community or a Fourierist Phalanx, for example, the plan for Zion seems general and flexible indeed. But for Latter-day Saints who tend to see the movement as following the plan of God and obeying the words of God quite literally, this has been and still is difficult to understand. (Leonard Arrington’s *Great Basin Kingdom*, which describes so well and so sympathetically the pragmatism, the trials and errors, of kingdom building in the West, is, a decade after its publication, still unknown and perhaps unknowable to the vast majority of Mormons.)

On the basis of very general observation, it may be concluded that while Mormon kingdom building in the 1830’s and ’40’s shared much in common with other communitarian ventures, it also was distinctive — even unique — as a social movement. The extent to which Mormonism was unique as a *religion* is a related but separate question, outside the purview of my discussion.

The purposes of the Gathering of the Saints were to achieve certain spiritual and fraternal benefits, to work out one’s salvation, so to speak, in this life. That Smith saw the Gathering as the fulfillment of the divine will upon a specific stage of time and place in history, should not imply, however, that he intended the Gathering as the achievement of a preconceived and fixed pattern of social, political, or economic organization. Reading the documents of early Mormon history on the face of it suggests exactly the contrary. God had a pattern, God revealed the pattern through the words of the Prophet’s revelations and *ex cathedra* leadership, the Saints built upon the pattern, and when something went wrong — as much did — it was evidence of failure to be faithful to the pattern. As one elder put it after the terrible Far West persecutions, “It might be in consequence of not building according to the pattern, that we had been thus scattered” (Flanders, *Nauvoo*, p. 25).

This tendency of the Saints apparently to seek plans to follow rather than purposes to pursue reflected their theological poverty, the overawing charisma of the Prophet, and their scripture literalism. Both Smith and Young struggled desultorily with the problems created by the trap of revealed leadership doctrine. When a “Thus saith the Lord,” as Smith himself termed his *ex cathedra* pronouncements, got the Saints into trouble, or was forcibly resisted by the brethren, what then? The revealed leadership doctrine is an important subject for Mormon religious history, one facet of which De Pillis has explored in his article (*Dialogue*, Spring, 1966). But the point here is that, although most of the Saints could not reconcile the dilemma in their own minds and hearts, an immutable *doctrine* or *dogma* for social organization simply did not exist. There were many plans, but no one “Plan.”

The doctrine of the Gathering and of the Kingdom were religious principles and imperatives for personal and group salvation, both in this life and

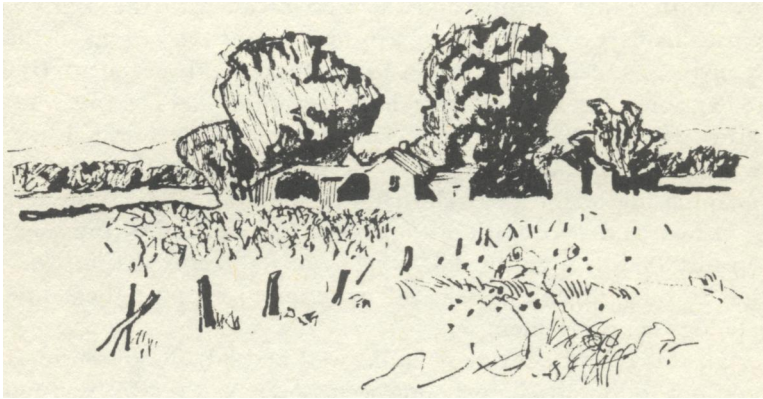
the life to come. They were specifics of the new canon law and prophetic fulfillment of the canon law. In practice, however, due to the burgeoning number of converts, these doctrines resulted in unforeseen and critical demands upon the church institution that strained and even distorted the original conceptions which had been at best simplistic and generalized. (This is one reason for many of the "apostasies" by the literal minded, to whom any adjustments to meet new situations simply meant changing the doctrine, and that implied a fallen prophet).

The actual socio-politico-economic processes that resulted when thousands were gathered suddenly to the new settlements at Kirtland, Independence, Far West, Nauvoo, and finally the Great Basin settlements evidenced a highly pragmatic response on the part of church leaders to a set of rapidly changing situations. Joseph Smith may not have been as pragmatic, say, as John Humphrey Noyes in analogous situations; but then Noyes had neither the advantages nor the disadvantages of being a prophet. Not only was it difficult for the leadership to control and satisfactorily mold the dynamics of the new Mormon group life itself, it was more difficult to counter the persecutions from outside that ripped at the fabric of group life. But Smith (and to a lesser extent Young after him) could not admit that he was experimenting, improvising, learning from experience. The certainty of the Saints that the Prophet not only knew what he was doing, but was implementing the Divine Plan, was at once perhaps the greatest strength and the greatest weakness of the movement. Seen within this frame of reference, the successive crises in Mormon history offer important insights into the unfolding phenomenon of Mormon communitarianism. Independence led to Far West; Far West led to Nauvoo; and Nauvoo led to a great many surprising things.

It will be difficult to assess the degree to which Mormon communities succeeded in bringing to fruition the spiritual and fraternal goals which underlay their founding, because they did not survive their very beginnings, really. They fell before not only vicious persecution, but also internal social, economic, and religious problems.

Latter-day Saints have scarcely been willing to admit the evanescence of the early Zionite towns and the possibility that they really may have failed to achieve anything significant, if judged by their own criteria. To put it perhaps less harshly, was the achievement worth the costs? Non-Mormons have of course tended to ignore the early community experiences in favor of the more permanent and more dramatic Kingdom in the Far West. But De Pillis is right: the early experiences are central to understanding, and if the critical experiences of the founding were frustrations, defeats, disasters, reactions, apostasies — then these need to be analyzed. We assume that the connections between Mormonism as a religion and Mormonism as a social movement were important to each other and that each influenced the other. The social movement suffered disaster, but the religion lived on. Even in Utah this separation may be said to have come to pass. The question that I believe engages us and most Latter-day Saints who today concern themselves with the history of the Kingdom is: to what extent is it legitimate for us to allow the shadow of the

early communitarian experiences to fall across our religion today? Many thoughtful people in both Latter-day Saint churches suspect a time for a re-evaluation of the Kingdom is here. Leonard Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom* perhaps was the opening gun in the fight for major reappraisal, and its influence already is very great in the scholarly community. Arrington portrays a kingdom which reflected strengths and weaknesses, successes and failures, but which was above all susceptible to the frailties of men and the normal processes of history. It was perhaps more human than divine, more historical than apocalyptic. Klaus Hansen, reviewing my book, reflected upon the changing meaning of the Kingdom for modern Utah Mormons (*Dialogue*, Summer, 1966).



The Reorganization was in great measure an association of Saints who objected to many of the results of "kingdom building" as expressed in Nauvoo and developed and enlarged upon in Utah. Obvious objections were to "Political Mormonism," confining the "Kingdom" and "Gathering" doctrines within narrowly communitarian terms, the centralization within Presidency, Twelve and High Councils of authority over the affairs of church, community, and individuals (especially in economic matters), the relation of "Kingdom Building" directly to Temple Building, and relating salvation to temple ordinances. The Reorganization was also an association of Saints with common religious convictions — on the subjects of priesthood succession and celestial marriage, for example. But my main interest here is the reaction against developments in "Kingdom Building." How could Brigham Young, closest man to the Prophet, President of the Twelve, the Lion of the Lord, and a particular hero to the Church, become anathema so quickly as he did after the death of Joseph Smith? How could men who had so recently been brothers see Young on the one hand as a devilish tyrant and on the other hand as a Saviour and the "true successor"? It is a question to ponder. Was Young a tyrant? It depends on one's attitude toward discipline in an emergency. If Young was a tyrant, so was Abraham Lincoln, though perhaps a more graceful one. It might be

argued that Young's discipline was scarcely strict enough to preserve corporate Mormonism from destruction. Young preserved and built — with questionable success to be sure — the corporate Mormonism founded by Joseph Smith. The point I am making is that it is hard to understand the hatred of Young in the Reorganized Church on the face of his record alone. I suggest that he was a kind of scapegoat upon whom was heaped the accumulated and long-held fear and apprehension, doubt, and alienation that were unleashed in the hearts of many Saints by the death of the Prophet. The dilemma of these Saints who gravitated into the Reorganization, with regard to the doctrine of the Kingdom, was how to reject the Kingdom as it had actually been without rejecting its author. The solution — not consciously arrived at I am sure — was to think of the Kingdom, now moved to Utah, as spurious, and evil, authored by Young the usurper, not a continuation of Kingdom Building as begun by Smith, but a distinct and essential break with the “early” church. It is against this background that we can understand the origins of that extraordinary myth of the Reorganization that temple work began in Utah — all the more extraordinary because so many Reorganites had been in Nauvoo and knew better. Thus was “Kingdom Building” essentially rejected, a rejection that Joseph Smith III gently but firmly perpetuated. The way was then open for a romanticizing of the early church — a removal of the subject from the realm of history to that of faith assumption. The portion of the four volume church history (Smith & Smith, *History of the Reorganized Church*) covering the period through 1846 uses selected material to support these intellectual and psychological arrangements.

After all this is said (and more could well be said) the dissension of those who would not follow Brigham Young seems perhaps to have been more than the apparent sum of its parts. It is difficult to ascertain precisely what was at the heart of the schism in Mormonism and the rebellion against the kingdom. The matter was complex; perhaps there was no heart of the matter. But perhaps it had to do with a fundamental loss of freedom that was intolerable to people who were nineteenth-century Americans as well as Latter-day Saints. The necessity to surrender much of one's personal freedom to the Church was implicit at least from Independence to Nauvoo, and became quite explicit in Utah. A revulsion against the demands that collective life makes upon the individual was always a basic dilemma of communitarian groups, and in Mormonism the demands were, for many reasons, very heavy indeed.

One more observation in conclusion: the Reorganized Church, in rejecting the Kingdom but keeping the faith, substituted a new dilemma for the old one. How can one have the gospel of Restoration without a doctrine of the Kingdom and the Gathering? It is a dilemma not yet solved. Mormonism had been torn in two, with the Prophet now on one side and the Kingdom on the other.

MORALITY ON THE CAMPUS

Wilford E. Smith

Dr. Wilford E. Smith is a Professor of Sociology at Brigham Young University. He served as an L.D.S. missionary in New Zealand during the depression, and as a chaplain in the army during World War II. He is married, has four sons and one daughter, and serves in the bishopric of his ward.

Headlines in the newspapers seem to tell us that among the most distressed and confused members of our troubled society are the college students. Research of my own, reported at a meeting of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters about four years ago, has shown that even B.Y.U. students report great difficulties experienced in passing through the adolescent years. They are confused with conflicting moral standards which they observe all around them. Among the most confusing problems of adjustment with which they are confronted are those having to do with understanding of their own sexual development and with knowing how to relate to persons of the opposite sex.

The present paper is the product of a more elaborate study of sexual behavior and sexual attitudes of Mormon college students as compared to non-Mormon college students in one large region of the United States. The respondents were students from four major western universities in 1949-50 and again in 1960. The students were representative of all students enrolled in sociology classes at the selected universities at the time, the great majority of them being majors in subjects other than sociology. The responses were given in anonymous classroom settings in which great care was taken to establish a scientific frame of mind. Tests of validity and of reliability showed that responses were remarkably consistent. Over 6,000 students responded.

The responses, some of which will be presented in more detail later, showed a general and statistically significant difference between Mormon and non-Mormon response, the Mormons appearing to be more chaste, in support of the hypotheses which the study was designed to test. Before presenting the findings, it might be well to explain why the hypotheses stated that Mormons would be more chaste in their response.

We know that a new-born child does not identify himself with either sex until he learns through social experience to do so. As he does learn to so identify himself, he also acquires the behavior which is considered appropriate for his sex, insofar as his experience and his adult and age peer models enable him to do so. Concerning the strength of socialization upon even sexual behavior, Lindesmith and Strauss say,

Social influences often shape sex behavior along lines that are contrary to what would be called natural in the biological sense. Furthermore, social influences may lead to the complete elimination of some kinds of natural biological behavior, or cause persons to act in a variety of ways which are biologically inappropriate.¹

¹Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss, *Social Psychology* (Rev. ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1956), p. 317.

Assuming that sexual behavior is related to conceptual schemes learned in social interaction enables us to hypothesize that differences in such behavior will be related to dominant traditions and moral beliefs in given social systems.

Accepting this point of view, critics of the Mormon culture might hypothesize that Mormon college students would be *less* chaste than non-Mormon students because of the Mormon tradition of polygamy, which might justify lapses from monogamous standards. To a Mormon scholar, such reasoning would appear shallow in light of great traditional and scriptural condemnation of unchastity in the Church. All Christians, as well as the members of many other religions, tend to condemn unchastity officially; but in addition to all the traditional and scriptural support these people have for such condemnation, Mormons have some rather strong doctrine in the Doctrine and Covenants and in the Book of Mormon. Just three quotations from the Book of Mormon will be presented here to make the point:

Wherefore, my brethren, hear me, and hearken to the word of the Lord: For there shall not any man among you have save it be one wife; and concubines he shall have none;

For I, the Lord, delight in the chastity of women. And whoredoms are an abomination before me; thus saith the Lord of Hosts. (Jacob 2:27, 28.)

For behold, many of the daughters of the Lamanites have they taken prisoners; and after depriving them of that which was most dear and precious above all things, which is chastity and virtue

And after they had done this thing, they did murder them in a most cruel manner, . . . (Moroni 9:9, 10.)

Know ye not, my son, that these things are an abomination in the sight of the Lord; yea, most abominable above all sins save it be the shedding of innocent blood or denying the Holy Ghost? (Alma 39:5.)

In the latter quotation, Alma was talking to his son Corianton, who had been guilty of boasting in his wisdom and strength and of chasing after a harlot named Isabel.

In addition to moral and religious dogma, however, people in the American culture are also subjected to many other admonitions and enticements pertaining to sexual behavior. Madison Avenue hardly tries to sell even a motor car without appealing to prospective customers' sexual interests. The theatre and movie world appears to be dominated almost entirely by interest in sex, attempting to intrigue customers with suggestions of illicit sexual excitement. Whether or not a person is influenced more by the Book of Mormon, the entertainment world, or by Madison Avenue depends upon the quality and timing of his exposure to each and his own definition of the situation.

Awareness of the scriptures quoted and the great, if somewhat sporadic, efforts made by L.D.S. Church authorities to develop attitudes of chastity in the youth of the Church, led to the hypothesis that Mormon respondents would claim greater chastity than non-Mormon respondents would, even though non-Mormons would also be expected to have been taught chastity from many sources. It follows that both Mormon and non-Mormon respond-

ents with close church affiliation would be expected to report greater chastity than the less church-oriented world.

The data revealed a double standard of morality for males and females, as well as a different standard for L.D.S. and non-L.D.S. students, as expected by our hypotheses. The data also show that a very large majority of the respondents of both sexes acknowledged having experienced passionate kissing, and most of them have experienced heavy petting as well. About half of the non-L.D.S. males and one-third of the L.D.S. males admitted even having participated in sexual intercourse. Between one-fifth and one-sixth of the non-L.D.S. girls reported coital experience, and about one-seventh of the L.D.S. girls admitted having such experience.

These figures do not justify any grand indictment of youthful morality. On the contrary, they indicate that a very large proportion of our youth have withstood heterosexual temptation in a sex dominated culture remarkably well. Examination of background data also shows that non-veterans, regular church attenders, and non-urban dwellers report greater chastity than others do. These findings support the belief that chastity is learned in social interaction.

Despite the general high level of morality of youth, however, the failure of one-third of the L.D.S. boys and one-seventh of the L.D.S. girls to report abstinence from a sin more serious than all others except denying the Holy Ghost or murdering against the light and knowledge of God is shocking! It is also sobering to realize that if these figures are representative, there are 1,000 L.D.S. young men at a university with 10,000 male students who are presently engaging in heterosexual coitus out of wedlock. Further analysis of the data shows that 700 of these men would be having sex relations with more than one girl. The data show also that nearly half as many girls would similarly be involved in coital sin. The greater involvement of the males indicates that much of their sexual activity is with girls not in college.

In addition to reporting how much sexual experience they had had, respondents were also asked to say whether or not they considered the behavior in question to be against social standards of right and wrong (immoral) according to their interpretation of social standards, and they were asked to say whether or not the behavior in question was against standards of right proclaimed by God (sin) according to their conception of God and His proclamations.

About one-third of the respondents refused to take a definite stand, indicating that in their opinion judgment would depend on the circumstances. The hesitancy of so many to make a definite commitment is puzzling, but the data clearly show that a large percentage of college students, Mormon and non-Mormon, have not yet settled on a rigid standard of right and wrong, regardless of circumstances, concerning passionate kissing and heavy petting. As a matter of fact, there are no precise and uniform authoritative standards concerning these practices either in tradition or scripture which they could fall back on.

In all judgments, except non-Mormon male judgments of sinfulness and 1960 Mormon females' judgments of sinfulness, at least half of all respond-

ents did clearly condemn coitus out of wedlock. Very few Mormons, but a substantial minority of non-Mormons, said the act was definitely not wrong in itself even out of wedlock. These responses show clearly that most of the modern youth represented by these respondents do consider coitus out of wedlock to be definitely wrong, but the substantial numbers who either said it was not necessarily wrong or who declined to commit themselves show that most people who believe and try to teach that non-marital coitus is unequivocally wrong have fallen far short of full success, even with Mormon youth.

The present writer would suggest the following four lines of action to be taken if the campaign to teach morality is to continue and if it is to be more successful:

1. Youth must be clearly apprised of standards which are sound in light of revealed truth and which can be supported with practical logic. This will involve research which will show the evils of immorality as clearly as the evils of smoking cigarettes have been shown. Much research of this nature has been done by Harold Christensen and others.

Many years ago I was in a C.C.C. camp in southern Utah. Some of my friends had just returned from a weekend visit to Las Vegas where they had enjoyed new experiences with prostitutes. As they were graphically describing their experiences, including precautions taken to avoid venereal disease, I said, "Have you guys ever heard this?" Then I read Alma's warning to Corianton to them. I was surprised when the leader of the group said very soberly, "I had never heard that before."

I wonder how many of our youth today have never really heard that while they have heard about "sexual needs" and about ways of being a good sport which are so commonly talked about in youth groups.

2. Pharisaical temptations to attack the problem on its fringes by such measures as arbitrarily dictated dress standards which aggravate thinking persons must be avoided in favor of socializing campaigns which use reason instead of arbitrary imposition of standards. In the long run, this approach will also be futile, of course, unless the young can be involved in the decision making.
3. Greater efforts in counter-propaganda must be made to counteract the alluring enticements of literary, entertainment, and advertising media. This would include rational community anti-obscenity programs as well as training programs designed to expose the trickery of advertising.
4. Measures should be taken to keep communication lines between generations open. If a separate youth culture of important proportions exists among us, it is largely because the youth have been neglected if not rejected by adults who are too busy or too incompetent to discipline them, in the true meaning of that word, so that both groups can share the same culture.

Faulty communication is the key to the problem. Changes in this area will call for extensive adult re-education in a society in which foolish be-

liefs concerning adolescence still prevail. Moreover, adults who so often tell “jokes” about sex and “giggle” among themselves concerning sexual matters can hardly expect their children to do better.

PROFILE OF A MORMON STUDENT

Gary W. Grant

Finally we are pleased to publish the introductory student speech given by Gary W. Grant at the First Bay Area College Convocation of the L.D.S. Student Association, held at the Oakland-Berkeley Stake Center on May 5, 1968. President Hugh B. Brown of the First Presidency of the Church was the honored guest and principal speaker; he was introduced by Elder Paul H. Dunn of the First Council of Seventy, who is National President of the LDSSA. Gary Grant is a second year law student at Stanford University and Vice-president of the Peninsula Region LDSSA.

My position on this program includes an obligation to “represent” the young people here — the high school seniors, college students, and college age non-students — and I think that means I should do a couple of things in the few minutes given me: I’d like to tell President Brown and Elder Dunn a few things about us, and, since President Brown is our most honored guest this evening, I’d like to tell him something of our feelings for him.

Both President Brown and Elder Dunn are already aware of the kinds of influences surrounding us on our campuses; i.e., student protests over racial strife, the Vietnam war, the draft; the increasing use of LSD and marijuana; increasing sexual freedom; dropping out, turning on, you name it. These are the visible temptations and influences on our campuses. However, tonight I’d like to focus on our more personal side— our individual concerns and responses to these issues and to the Church.

I hesitate to talk about an “average” student because I can’t include all of your feelings, but I have had some experience with high school seniors this semester as a seminary teacher, and I’ve gone through the college experience very recently, so I think the description I’ll make and the things I will say about us are real trends — real concerns of all of us.

First let me reaffirm our faith. We are committed, President Brown, to a belief that those events described by Joseph Smith, in which he spoke to God, our Heavenly Father, and His Son, Jesus Christ, and to other heavenly messengers, actually occurred. And we know that President McKay and President Brown and the other General Authorities are prophets of our God, and that when the Lord reveals His will regarding the Church, it will come through these men.

Finally, we are committed to those two great commandments phrased by Jesus when He was asked which was the great commandment; He said, “Thou shall love the Lord thy God with all thy *heart*, and with all thy *soul*, and with

all thy *mind* And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Our commitment to the first of these commandments causes us to ask many questions concerning our relationship to God: How does God act in my life? How many of the events of life does God actually "cause"? Is he really involved with my daily affairs; does he participate actively in my daily decisions? (And *how* does he hear and answer my prayers?) Or am I on my own most of the time?

Some may say that these probings suggest an imperfect faith, but I hold the contrary. I think they are founded in a sincere interest in doing what God wants us to do — a search to know God in the way we are commanded to know Him. Our faith is forged in the kind of "crucible of doubt" spoken of by Dostoevsky.

President Brown has recognized the importance of finding answers to these questions; he said on one occasion, "The depth, direction, and quality of our religious life depends upon our understanding of the nature, purposes, and even methods of God and our relationship and responsibility to him" (*Improvement Era*, June, 1963, p. 466). And a favorite prayer attributed to President Brown mentions these concerns; he prays, "Help us all to understand the purpose of our being and to be ever willing to submit to thy will and not insist upon our own."

We are willing, President Brown, to submit to our Father's will, but we occasionally have difficulty knowing just what that will is regarding such issues as the proper functions of sex, the proper role of government, the stance we should take toward conscientious objection, and what personal contribution to this life we should be making.

Some of you unmarried people may think your troubles will be over when you find your true love. But President Brown tells a story of a young bride who on her wedding day rushed up to her mother and said, "Mother, I'm the happiest girl in the world. Today I've come to the end of my troubles." The wise mother replied, "Yeah, but you don't know which end."

A characteristic which I think distinguishes us from generations past is that we seem to feel a much stronger commitment to the second of those great commandments which I mentioned earlier; we feel strong impulses to understand ourselves, first of all, but we also feel humanitarian impulses which lead us to participate in such programs as tutorial groups for underprivileged people, the Peace Corps, OEO aid groups, basic encounter groups. We seem to sense an obligation to the people of our world — to our whole society.

In fact, President Brown once answered the question "Who is my neighbor?" this way: he said, "All who need our help, all whose lives we touch, whether they live across the street, over the fence, across the continent, or over the ocean." And I might add, even over the tracks.

Our commitment to this second commandment has led us to probe into at least two other areas, the role of the Church in my life, and my role in this world. We know the purpose of the Church is to perfect men's lives, but we feel needs to find answers to questions like these: Shall my concern for non-

members be entirely as a missionary, or should I try to assist in other channels? Should we use the talents learned from our activity within the Church to serve in groups outside the Church? On the other hand, there seems to be a large group of us who lack this concern for the social thrusts of our times; that prompts us to ask, "Does focusing so intently on eternity — the life hereafter — contribute to a lack of concern for the plight of underprivileged people, for those dying in Vietnam, for racial problems? Does the Church absorb all my energy for such concerns?"

Many of us feel the need to take care of more than just ourselves and our own — to become involved with the rest of our world. I have heard many of you ask such questions as these: Where can I be of most service to others? entirely *within* the Church? or can I be of more help in outside-Church groups, or in Guatemala, or Africa? And are there real dangers to becoming involved in these extra-Church causes?

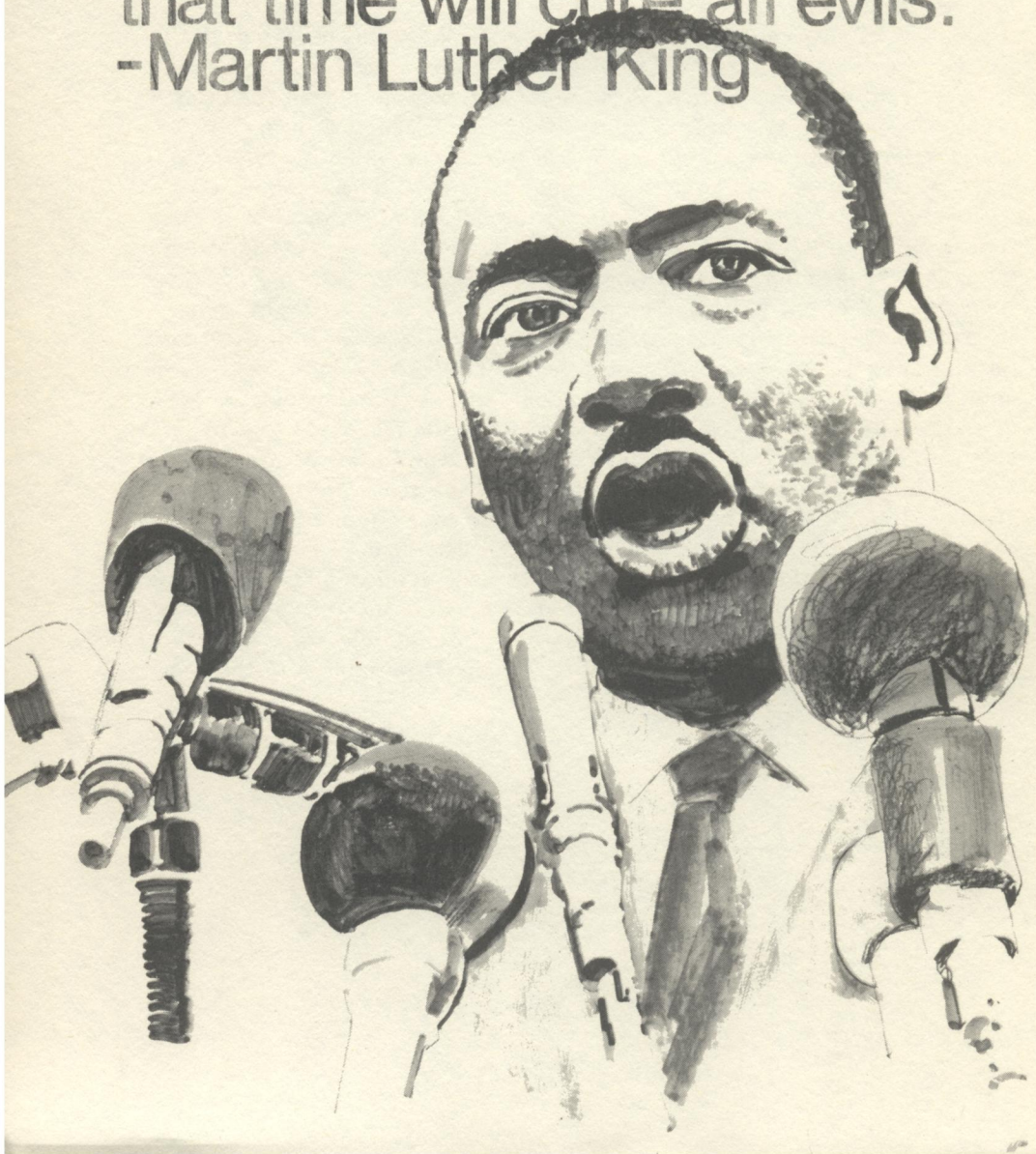
This is another common one: Do I have an obligation to myself and to society to develop a particular skill or talent — make an artistic, scientific, or academic contribution — even at the expense of giving up some of the Church activity I'm now in? Would I find more long-run satisfaction by being an *average* Latter-day Saint and an *outstanding* lawyer, doctor, scientist, or academician? Also, what kind of profession should I pursue? There seems to be a narrow breadth of acceptable professions within the Church, or at least there is a premium on business manager-MBA types, and dentists. Certainly there seems to be a premium on acquiring wealth, but we often feel an alienation from the goals of our parents, especially their emphasis on money-making.

I know President Brown and Elder Dunn are already aware of these concerns; they've heard these questions before, but maybe it's helpful for them to know how widespread they are, how commonly they are asked among us. Maybe the fact that they are aware of our concerns is the reason we students are able to identify with them. I identify with President Brown because he has been willing to face these questions — to talk about them. He may not have given all the answers, but he is concerned with the same questions we are. He's easy to identify with — he's a majestic figure, well educated, probably the most articulate speaker the Latter-day Church has had. I think he's a true hero figure, and I think we *need* heroes inside the Church.

I'm grateful to be a Latter-day Saint, and I'm grateful to the Lord that He has given us men like these to lead us. I thank Him publicly in the name of Jesus Christ,

Amen.

We may have to repent
in this generation,
not for the violent actions
of bad people but for the
inaction of good people
who have the notion
that time will cure all evils.
-Martin Luther King



ANNOUNCING THE FIRST ANNUAL

Dialogue Prizes

TO BE GIVEN IN HONOR OF
THE BEST WRITING SUBMITTED IN 1968

The Silver Foundation presents the *Silver Awards* for the outstanding contributions in three areas:

Social Literature (History, Sociology, Psychology, etc.) \$200

Judges: *Dallin H. Oaks, Professor of Law, University of Chicago.*
O. Meredith Wilson, Director, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California.

Religious Literature (Theology, Philosophy, Sermons, etc.) \$200

Judges: *Lowell Bennion, Associate Dean of Students, University of Utah, and member of the L.D.S. Church Coordinating Committee for Youth.*
Jay Butler, Assistant Professor of Religion, Brigham Young University.

Imaginative Literature (Fiction, Poetry, Personal Essays, etc.) \$200

Judges: *Wayne Booth, Dean of the College and Professor of English, University of Chicago.*
Cherry B. Silver, Ph.D. in English Literature from Radcliffe and member of DIALOGUE'S Board of Editors, Denver, Colorado.
Wallace Stegner, Professor of English and Director of the Creative Writing Center, Stanford University.

Additional judges to be announced.

Manuscripts should be submitted as usual to Box 2350, Stanford, California, but with a specific indication if they are to be considered for one of the *Dialogue Prizes*.

LIAHONAS AND IRONRODS

Interest in Richard Poll's sermon, "What the Church Means to People Like Me," which was published in the Winter, 1967, issue of *Dialogue*, has been such that 1,000 reprints have been sold and another 1,000 ordered. They are available as follows:

1 - 9 copies	30¢ each, postpaid
10 - 49 copies	25¢ each, postpaid
50 or more copies	20¢ each, postpaid

Write directly to Richard D. Poll, 1159 Aspen Ave., Provo, Utah 84601.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

CHANGE OF ADDRESS FOR SUMMER

The next issue of *Dialogue* (Autumn) will not be mailed until after September 15. Therefore do *not* send us a summer change of address unless the change is permanent, but be sure we have your autumn address by September 1.

