DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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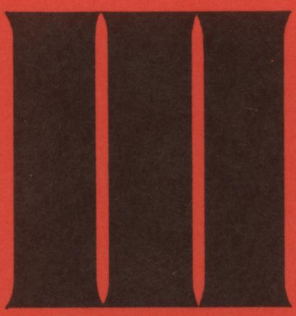

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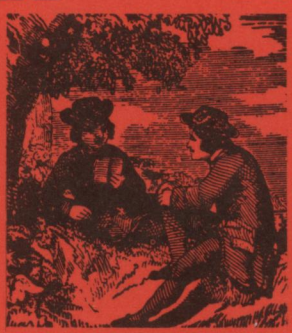

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DIALOGUE: A Journal of Mormon Thought is an independent national quarterly established to express Mormon culture and examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by Latter-day Saints who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with 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.

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MORMONS IN THE SECULAR CITY

Letters to the Editors

The engravings in this section are from the Deseret Second Book *(see Among the Mormons).*

Dear Sirs:

As a *Dialogue* subscriber, I was recently favored with a letter from the "Lloyd for Congress Committee," asking for a contribution to support a Dr. Kent Lloyd, Ph.D., who is running for Congress in California's 31st District. Unless I was singled out because of my philanthropic reputation, I assume that other *Dialogue* readers received similar petitions. Both Mr. Lloyd and Kendall O. Price, his campaign manager, are members of the Board of Editors of *Dialogue*.

I call this to your attention because: 1) Although most magazines sell their subscription addresses, it is somewhat irregular for journals like *Dialogue* to do so, particularly when the letter sent out implies that *Dialogue* is supporting Mr. Lloyd, which is contrary to the avowed non-political position of the journal. 2) The *ad hominem* appeal to L.D.S. Church members to support a man because "he has a testimony" seems indefensible, especially when Mr. Romney proved that it was actually a handicap in politics to be a "good" man. Likewise to say — as the letter does — that Mr. Lloyd is a man with "LDS-democratic values" (not the opposite of LDS-Republican values since democratic has a small "d") is at best vague and at worst sneaky, for I don't believe that there is the political unanimity among Church members that the statement implies. 3) Finally, *Dialogue* readers in New York are not necessarily interested in the political aspirations of members of the Board of Editors in California, Ph.D. or no, especially with the burden of supporting our own poormouth presidential candidates through their lean days.

Robert D. Lewis
New York City

Dear Sirs:

I would like to object in the strongest manner to the liberty which *Dialogue* has taken with my personal privacy. My subscription to *Dialogue* does not authorize you to issue my name and address to political, religious, or commercial groups who wish to send me junk mail. In fact, I am not the slightest bit interested in the candidacy of Kent Lloyd for the United States Congress. Your presumption that I and other *Dialogue* readers would be interested is evidently based upon the false notion that all *Dialogue* readers are loyal Latter-day Saints who would rather see a member of the Church be elected than any opponent however well qualified — since Lloyd's opponent's qualifications were not stated. Your decision to allow the use of the *Dialogue* subscription list for political purposes was surely an error in judgment, and you should assure your readers that it will not occur again.

If *Dialogue* offends and alienates its readers by letting it be known that a condition for receiving *Dialogue* is that the reader must allow his name to be used for junk mail lists, then *Dialogue* itself is likely to be the real loser. I think too highly of *Dialogue* to allow some misguided editors to come between the journal and myself, but others may not feel this way. In any event, I consider it a violation of trust for *Dialogue* to use my name without my permission, and I would appreciate it if you would see that this does not happen again.

William J. Worlton
Los Alamos, New Mexico

We wish to apologize to all of those readers who feel that their interests as subscribers and their rights to privacy were not respected

in this matter. When the request came to rent our list to Kent Lloyd for his campaign, we assumed that he was sending out a simple, informational brochure. When we received the materials from Lloyd's campaign headquarters, we were surprised — and disturbed and concerned about our readers' reactions. We take full responsibility for not asking to see the materials before *they were sent out.*

We had intended to make our list equally available to all L.D.S. candidates, but since we do not have sufficient staff to administer the delicate details of an "equal-time" policy, we have decided that the best course will be absolutely to refuse to allow our mailing list to be used by groups or persons involved in special pleading. In the past, we have exchanged lists with other publishers of scholarly interest; in the future we will restrict our exchanges to those areas. [*Ed.*]

Dear Sirs:

I have often wondered why so many apostate-Mormon and non-Mormon critics of the Church remain so steadfast in their intense interest in all things Mormon. I can understand the reasons why some people leave the Church, for before I received a testimony of the truthfulness of the Gospel I had been swayed to the edge of apostasy by them myself. However, I had fully intended that my break with the Church would be complete and final. It seemed to me that if the Gospel were not true, there were many better and more important things to do than to spend the remainder of my life lamenting and exposing. In short, I would rather have been pro-anything than anti-Mormon.

It is understandable that historians, sociologists, and a few others would have a professional interest in describing critically the Mormon community, but what is the fascination for those who would like to see the Church destroyed or altered beyond recognition? There are many possible motivations for such people, some of them perhaps even noble. But could it be that the driving force of much of the anti-Mormon community (and they do seem to stick together) is fear that the Church is right and they are wrong? Do they have a need to justify to themselves their departure from the community of Saints because they suspect that they might have made the wrong choice? I find it hard to believe that these critics think their largely semi-scholarly work will have much effect on the Church. Rather, it reads more like a literature of mutual reassurance, a literature designed to fill the empty spot in their lives which, in my opinion, should be filled by the Gospel.

I may of course be wrong — a possibility shared by everyone. I would be interested to read letters from some of these critics which describe their motivations, what they realistically hope to accomplish, and why they feel those goals are of any importance.

James L. Farmer
Denver, Colo.

Dear Sirs:

I have been receiving your publication for sometime now. I would like to know whom I could thank for sending it.

I am genuinely pleased with the founding and existence of this new periodical. Courage, candour and love of truth flow like a fresh breeze from its pages.

What a grief it is for an architect, who concerns himself for good design, to see how the Church loses tremendous opportunities through a kind of authority-bound, committee architecture. It is, as such, readily suited to compound the specific difficulties faced by the missionaries in Europe. This is particularly important because architecture is more a sense of feeling and perception than a mechanical production.

And now your essay on "Mormon Architecture Today." May God allow that through it alone a good deal will be changed.

I heartily wish your undertaking prosperous growth and successful results, including a fruitful dialogue.

Dr. Gustav K. Ringel
Dőffingen bei Stuttgart,
Germany

Translation by C. Dean Larsen.

Dear Sirs:

The value of good architecture as opposed simply to Church buildings has been overlooked for too long. But Mormon doctrine exists because of contradictions in ac-

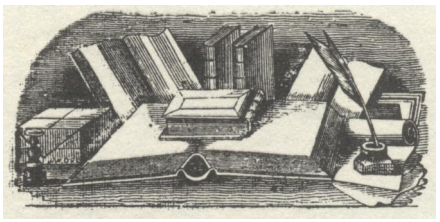
cepted Christian theology, and perhaps a ward house should not be equated with great church buildings past or present. Perhaps the function of a chapel should be dictated by the peculiarities of our theology.

The juxtaposition of worship and recreation is unfamiliar in other faiths as well as in architecture. The complexity of superimposing chapel and recreation hall, and integrating meetings, baptisms, services, basketball games and plays demands a different kind of building.

The emphasis on brotherhood and the family, especially through the priesthood, home teaching and family home evening, for example, seems to reinforce the concept of the chapel as an image of the living room. Carpeting might be exactly right in the chapel.

Many examples of great architecture were erected because of the people's fear and lack of understanding of life after death, whereas Mormons understand the meaning of this life as temporary in the evolution of individual development. It may be correct for a ward house not to reflect solidity and permanence. The temple, though, serves the functions of eternal ordinances. After seeing the proposed Provo and Ogden temples, I don't have images of lasting covenants or the beauty of God's true church.

Tom Zabriskie
Cambridge, Mass.



Dear Sirs:

The authors of "Mormon Architecture Today" have convincingly expressed the plight of our Church architecture which I have long tried to convey. Until there is a significant change in the policies and awareness of those who perpetuate this "socialized architecture," the image of this great Church will continue to suffer and our congregations will continue to worship in uninspiring sanctuaries.

The blame for this situation does not, however, rest entirely with the Church decision-makers. Those architects who become party to sterility of design by rubber-stamping standard construction documents for local use must share the responsibility for that which is being built.

All of us in the Church who sacrifice, however little, to contribute funds and labor for new buildings without a real interest or concern regarding their architectural worthiness or the way they function are also contributing to mediocrity.

David Ames Johnson
Laguna Niguel, California

Dear Sirs:

I can't stand those architects who say that the Church gymnasiums should either be eliminated or separated from the chapel or sanctuary. Little do they realize that the future leadership of the Church is to be found on the playing floors of Zion. It's the sanctuary area that saps Zion's strength.

Joseph H. Jeppson
Jr. M-Men Basketball Coach
Mountain View, California

Dear Sirs:

This last General Conference stands as damning proof of the proposition that the Mormon Church stands impotent to face the great moral issues of our time. We should not have to wait for opportunities to bandwagon against bigotry — moral initiative in this area should have been our main concern since the Restoration.

I for one refuse to allow myself to be put at the mercy of events and history. I cannot wait for my Church to recognize the issues — it is too late for that. I cannot wait for my Church to address itself to the moral dilemmas facing white and black Americans — it is too late for that. I cannot wait for my Church to enter the social arena, to get engaged in the struggle for moral existence because the time is so short. The time is so short and men of positive goodwill are so few that priorities of importance must be established on both the individual and the corporate level to insure that time and talent are used most effectively.

In a sense we are outpatients returning to our various spiritual clinics to receive medicine. We are afflicted with different moral and spiritual diseases — some more serious than others, some of which are terminal. Faced with an epidemic of serious proportions it is incredible that our Church would continue to attempt to treat minor cases and use ancient bromides in such a casual manner when the pews are full of emergency cases. We seem confused as to just what spiritual health really means — the morally sick are actually setting the standards of this health! We are unable to make a thorough diagnosis. Our treatment does not fit the disease — for the disease continues to thrive.

An undercurrent of racism finds welcome acceptance in this Church. A member unable to cure his tobacco habit will find himself subject to a number of formal and informal sanctions. But a member unable to kick the hate habit finds no sanctions or help. But he quickly finds that he now can hate and feel righteous about it through a number of thinly disguised myths, fairy tales, and rationalizations available for misuse in the Church. It is the adherence to this kind of priority scale and myth that insures the irrelevance and impotency of any action the Church takes.

The projected effort necessary to attack the myths and attempt a reformulation and the likelihood of success are unknowns that trouble me. If it is the case that the Church is to remain the captive of the disease that grows within it, then I must discard it as I would a worn garment that has long ceased to serve its purpose and usefulness. I believe that redirecting the Church toward its proper mission requires more than just infiltrating the Church with committed individuals; this effort requires an active articulation of a potent moral theory and this is sure to produce major divisions and strains in the Church. The haters presently taking much comfort from the Church's impotency are likely first to feel uncomfortable, then actively fight the new "heresy" and then perhaps disassociate when hatred and indifference in all its forms no longer are able to find sanction in the Church. The object, of course, is not to drive out the morally sick in the Church but to create a moral initiative whereby the sickness can be treated and not fostered.

It is my current feeling that an effort to make this Church the vehicle of a moral initiative aimed at the elimination of racism and the myths and rationalizations which make disguised bigotry a marketable commodity in this Church and country is unlikely to meet with success.

Having arrived at this position, what action ought to be taken with regard to Church membership? I believe the answer to this will not be the same for all of us given the fact that our abilities and alternatives are different. Certainly effectiveness on the individual level in following one's commitments does not require one to abandon active Church membership — on the contrary, there are abundant opportunities to confront and help modify improper attitudes in the Church. But if we are to follow the imperatives of the Gospel on the corporate level, we are required to look outside the Church organization. And if a moral initiative is to generate any significant pressure, we know it must be conducted on a corporate level. The real justification of the Restoration was the need of an effective corporate agent to guide man to perfection. This need still exists. Secular organizations, religious organizations, both established and the "underground" or "free" church movement are combating our moral sickness far better than our Church in its official actions.

Instead of devoting valuable time and energy in a dubious attempt to drag the Church out of the bunny hole of Alice's Wonderland, we should be investing our time in organizations geared to the real world and to the solution of our moral problems. This conclusion requires that I withhold my substantive support and participation to the extent that it may be given

at the expense of support and participation in other organizations with a proper moral perspective.

I commend those who remain committed to help the Church gain a "moral initiative" for their optimism and faith, but the question still remains whether that course is the most efficient allocation of a very scarce resource.

Allen Sims
Arlington, Va.

Dear Sirs:

I am grateful for your presentation of the Egyptian material in the Summer 1968 issue of *Dialogue*. I myself studied Egyptian hieroglyphics at UCLA several years ago in the hope of resolving some of the problems connected with the "Book of Abraham" in Joseph Smith's favor. Unfortunately, as soon as I had learned the language well enough to use a dictionary I was forced to conclude that Joseph Smith's translation was mistaken, however sincere it might have been. Facsimile No. 2 in the *Pearl of Great Price* contained enough readable writing to convince me that it had purely Egyptian significance. This was a disappointment to me, but the discovery has given me more time to restructure my thinking about Joseph Smith and the Book of Abraham than most of your readers will yet have had. My faith in the Church rests on personal feeling, but it has to find a place for historical facts as well.

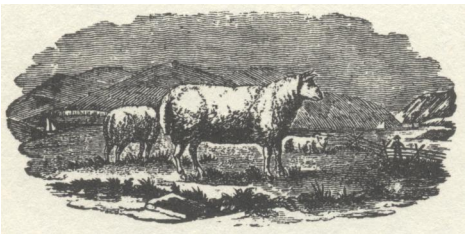
After the appearance of the photographs of the papyri in the February 1968 *Improvement Era* I made some attempt to translate the "Book of Breathing(s)" text, with the help of George Möller's *Hieratische Paläographie* (Otto Zeller: Osnabrück, 1965), a book which fortunately included a photograph of page 2 of a fairly good text of the "Book of Breathing" (Berlin P. 3135). This page appears to be almost duplicated in a large part of the upper section of the text shown in the *Era*. I had no such guide to the lower section now translated by Richard Parker, except for an old English translation by De Horrack. This was enough, however, to enable me to translate a number of key words and to determine that the text ended on the lower right-hand side of the *Era* photograph. I am puzzled by the fact that in this section, which Dr. Parker refers to as Column I, some of the words I see are on different lines than he seems to indicate. "Book of Breathings" is really on line 4, "writings . . . it being placed" is on line 5, "left" is on line 6 (I think), "breathe" is on line 8, and "forever" is on line 9. Altogether he has lost a line. I suspect that some misunderstanding occurred in the editing or printing of this section. I hope that this slight numbering problem does not open the way to an attack on the general accuracy of Dr. Parker's translation, because such an attack would be unwarranted. The text pictured in the *Era* is so poor that it can barely be read as it stands, but comparison with better examples of the same text found elsewhere makes its identification certain. It belongs to a kind of literature which is alien to Christianity and to our Church. [See Klaus Baer's more extensive work on the "Breathing Permit" in this issue (*Ed.*)]

Let us not lose sight of what I think is the primary importance of this papyri find. It can free us from our dilemma about excluding Negroes from the Priesthood. Perhaps our Father in Heaven intended the papyri to come to light now for just this purpose. I have shared the growing concern in the Church about this exclusion. In a master's thesis at UCLA in December 1966 I tried to show that the rule can be explained on historical grounds. The story involves the slavery arguments in the United States which were already current in the time of Joseph Smith, as well as the precarious situation of the young Church in its environment. I also tried to show that none of the scriptural arguments for racial inferiority seem to be valid, including those implicit in the Book of Abraham. Church policy in this matter can only be defended as a decision which once must have seemed necessary and acceptable. What cannot be defended, even though it can be understood, is the fact that this legitimate decision carried along with it into the present time a set of assumptions and traditions which are not correct.

My family and I have supported the Church in the past and we are not going to join the critics who wish to use this problem to break down the Church. Only the Church authorities can solve this problem in a satisfactory way. We can help them best by trying to understand just how difficult and complex the situation is. At the same

time, however, we can work with human brotherhood as individuals. We can refuse to repeat statements which are unkind and of doubtful truth. We alone are responsible for what we say and do, even after allowances are made for other influences. The Church taught me that, just as it taught me to always try to find the truth. I believe that in the long run the organization will be consistent with its own fundamental teachings, especially if those of us who see a need for changes do not withdraw ourselves in a self-righteous way. At times it is a great temptation to do so. We have college-age children who report from schools in Oregon and California that the rule which excludes Negroes from the Priesthood also makes it nearly impossible for Mormon students to talk to their friends about the Church. This rule is the one thing that nearly every college student seems to know about Mormonism. Because of it, many young idealists have closed their ears to the Church. It is hard to tell our children that the solution is not simple, that it is not just a rule which needs to be changed, but attitudes which are generations old. The children say, "Something has to be done, Mother," and they look at me. For the moment, this letter is the best I can do.

Naomi Woodbury
Tarzana, California



Dear Sirs:

In 1912 our Church writers were not so brave in their answers to Bishop Spaulding's pamphlet *Why Egyptologists Reject the Book of Abraham;* and it seems that Dr. Nibley's enthusiasm for the academic work of our present-day Egyptologists ("We can be everlastingly grateful that they are among the ablest and most honorable scholars who ever lived," *Dialogue*, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 105) is only tempered by his scorn of Egyptologists now dead who said virtually the same thing. He says in the *Improvement Era*: "Now part of the secret of the unusual productivity of the Egyptologists of 1912 was a buoyant adolescent confidence in their own newly found powers, which present-day scholars may envy, but which they can well do without." Sarcasm is a poor substitute for honest scientific facts and Egyptologists, living or dead, have without exception identified the facsimiles printed in the Book of Abraham as pertaining to the Book of the Dead, rejecting the notion of their being a record of Abraham. Dr. Nibley is indeed walking a tightrope, praising conscientious scientific work of scientists on the one hand and accepting their conclusions, and upholding the contradictory beliefs of the Church on the other by looking for explanations in the field of "translated" revelation. Whatever the answers may be, he is either becoming a "split personality" or he is unsuccessfully trying to "serve two masters."

Mimi Irving
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

For more than fifteen years this observer has watched with interest the growth of data on the Joseph Smith Papyri–Book of Abraham question. There has been extreme difficulty at times in obtaining the most meager information. Many letters were written and contacts made without avail. We know of more than a few times when investigation has been carried on by persons having opportunity and ability from within the "establishment," only to be crushed under the pale of authority and character censure. This observer is no stranger to such treatment and even from within his own church (I am an Elder in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and one-time pastor of the Salt Lake Branch). Nevertheless, each time something has been added to the total store of knowledge to be used by the next investigator.

The barrier of ignorance and fear was cracked when "Joseph Smith's Egyptian Alphabet & Grammar" was published by Modern Microfilm Co. in Salt Lake City and made freely available to everyone. Only portions could be had earlier. The existence of the

"Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri" was known to us and to others more than two years before being given to the Utah Mormon Church. Our only lament is that we did not reach it fast enough. We are thankful for its publication even though the "establishment" appeared to be pressured into it. Thus the gates of interest and investigation have been opened. Now the flood of articles by Wilson, Howard, Parker, Heward, Tanner, and Nibley, including papyri photographs, is available for study in the Summer issue of *Dialogue*.

Dialogue as an independent Journal of Mormon Thought has already done much to foster and preserve intellectual freedom in all the churches of Latter Day Saintism. It is no longer proper for authoritarian religious bodies to "protect" the errors of the past through censorship, punitive attitudes, and relegation. Certainly in the search for truth, all are entitled to do research with freedom of thought without fear of incrimination. Exposé's always do considerably more damage in discrediting the "establishment" than freely available knowledge. As faithful Latter Day Saints, we have no good reason to be afraid of our history or to be ashamed of it. Its true perspective is what we need today to help appreciate our heritage. Faith in historical error, no matter how sincere, can never make the error true. Historical truth brings understanding of our origins, determination for present progress, and confidence in future achievement.

James D. Wardle
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

I admire the agility — oops, sorry! — *ability* of the theoreticians, apologists and ersatz scholars to take temporary haven in each cul-de-sac along the ferret's burrow. But eventually, if not now, it will be overwhelmingly clear that "undue haste and overzealous faith" lent approbation to a "translation" of the papyri that obviously was never intended by the Prophet Joseph. At any rate, the lost is found, the inscrutable is now legible to an extent that leaves scant refuge for temporizing. And I, with many other devoted members of the Church, look for a resolute analysis accompanied by courageous action from the top. We have had more than enough brassy piety from self-anointed author-authorities.

James L. Nash
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

The First Presidency's letter on the matter of repeal of section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act was not an act of stepping across an ill-defined boundary. They and other general authorities have stepped across this line many times and this is but a further extension of those crossings. They have as yet not realized that many of us resent these crossings into merely political questions. . . .

In the letter on the matter of repeal of 14-b they suggested that opposition stemmed from our belief in man's free agency. I suggest that those who are trying to insure that this right is not abrogated look in their own backyard before condemning the working man to low wages, low benefits for his family, and no job protection. Their opposition to compulsory membership in a union does not follow through to our fine Brigham Young University. There they insist that a student take a religion course each semester if he wants to attend. I don't challenge that right. With a union shop the same is true. If a man wants to work in an establishment where there is a union shop he must join the union. I suggest that a little hypocrisy is involved favoring conservative businessmen who make up the leadership of our Church.

The First Presidency would be, as would our union membership, shocked if I wrote on my union letterhead informing them that I thought their requirement for religious study at BYU was an attack on my free agency. This has nothing to do with a union or unionism. I suggest that this is also true of the attack on the repeal of 14-b. It has absolutely no standing with my religious beliefs.

C. Clifford Adams
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

I read with interest the article on Church and State by H. G. Frederickson and Alder J. Stevens. I was most disappointed, however, in what I consider their very weak con-

clusion that "Both Kenneth W. Dyal and David S. King were defeated in 1966; their votes on 14b were doubtless a factor."

This deduction is most inconsistent with their other data. The author's table (The Mormon Congressmen, p. 222) indicated the percent of Mr. Dyal's constituents who are L.D.S. as "very small." How then could opposition to Mormon Church leaders' political views possibly be a factor in his defeat?

The other case of Mr. King is equally weak when one considers that he was defeated by another Mormon Congressman who had stated his independence on political issues. It is regrettable that an otherwise interesting and informative article was weakened by the above quoted conclusions.

Mrs. Larry Staker,
Salt Lake City, Utah

Kenneth Dyal responds:

As I recall, when queried by Mr. H. George Frederickson and Alden J. Stevens concerning the percentage of Mormons in my District, I did consider the percentage small compared with the Utah Congressional Districts.

There were, however, *five Stakes* serving portions of the 33rd Congressional District. And out of proportion to their numbers, many Mormons did and do hold positions of prominence.

I received much adverse criticism during the election of 1964 from right wing persons not of the Church, but the strongest and most violent opposition came then and in 1966 from members of the Church. Mrs. Staker deserves an explanation, however, as to how a relatively small number of people, compared with the large population of the District, could influence the election. I admit these persons were in the minority, but were a highly organized, vocal, and militant minority making their influence felt throughout the electorate. A few examples may illustrate in order for us to draw our conclusions:

We noted the strong feeling of some of the membership even prior to my announcing for public office in a number of incidents. Our daughter, Karen, who was in top leadership in her high school, was requested to become the secretary of a right wing organization on the campus of the junior college she was planning to attend. After real consideration, and entirely due to her own decision, she refused. The following Sunday she was baited in the lobby of the chapel following Sunday School by adults as well as students, who said she had been forced to turn down the offer because her father was a Democrat — the same as being a Communist. Karen didn't approve of the methods and attitudes of the organization. But the reaction of Mormons was most interesting to us. Quite frankly, it ruined our Sunday luncheon, as she was in tears over the episode.

During this period it was regularly reported to us that at firesides frequent comment was made that Democrats could not be good Mormons and that the Council of Twelve and other General Authorities were all Republicans. This type of absolute falsehood was used throughout the five Stakes. As a former Stake Mission President, I was concerned at this kind of political pressure, especially as we noted the effort being placed on new converts.

Two sisters from the Colton Ward arrived at our home early one morning (one had evidently cried most of the night) to discuss her son who was to leave for his mission and who had been convinced by extremists that because of his parents' registration as Democrats they were embracing communism. The mother was so upset that I finally called President Brown on the phone and he assured her she could be both an active Democrat and a good Mormon. His statement didn't change any attitudes of her fellow ward members, however.

I was called in by Monsignor Nunez, Pastor of Our Lady of Guadalupe, who advised me he felt kindly towards me and my brother due to our interest in the disadvantaged Mexican-American youngsters on the west side; he felt obligated to tell me his people believed the Mormons "hated" them and he felt concern over their attitude, which had been strengthened by the appearance of prominent Mormons on the stage of an anti-communist rally held at the National Orange Show just prior to this time. He felt that they would judge me as a Mormon by what they had heard Mormons say at the rally.

Following this same rally, I was called on the phone by prominent Jewish citizens who

asked if the statements made by the speakers (the roster included two Mormons) were the attitude of the Church as a whole, since the anti-Semitic flavor was so noticeable.

Following my election in 1964 the situation among our people became noticeably worse. I confess my strong attitude on legis-

lation was not particularly helpful. So I concur with the implied thought of Mrs. Staker that 14b was not the *only* factor; there were others.

I was one of the fifteen Congressmen who, at their own expense, went to Selma to administer a voting questionnaire to present to the Attorney General, Mr. Katzenbach. I wanted to know first hand of the conditions in the stockade, the voting registration procedures, and about the incarceration of Dr. Martin Luther King.

I did not incite riots or march in Selma, but carefully, as did my colleagues, checked the actual conditions. I was accused by Church extremists of inciting riots and this was later used against me by Gentiles in the campaign.

My son Tim, a handicapped youngster, asked if he could participate in the march in Selma. He is not a hippie or a long-hair, but he did feel deeply on the subject and as far as I know was the only priesthood bearer in that famous march.

After my trip to Selma I began to receive numerous vicious letters in Washington; not only on the subject of 14b, but in the area of racial relations and civil rights.

On an early return to my District, I was publicly attacked in priesthood meeting by a member of my quorum for my stand on 14b. The speaker read the First Presidency letter in full. In some forty years of activity in that Stake I had never discussed political questions from the pulpit and did not on this occasion. I had been personally assured by a member of the Presidency that I was a member in good standing, regardless of my vote on 14b.

Let me quote from a study by Redlands University's Dr. Robert L. Morlan, who is referred to in the Frederickson-Stevens report:

> The Mormon Congressmen, said First Counselor Hugh Brown, were indeed free to vote on the issue as they saw fit. The letter was an opinion, and not "divine revelation." In response to a series of questions submitted in writing by a representative of the Associated Press, President McKay denied that any special event had prompted the initial statement, indicated that it was not to be construed as the word of the Lord, and made it clear that a Mormon Congressman who voted for repeal would not be considered to have rebuffed the President of the Church.

This information, however, was not given the Saints in my District, so I imagine in their minds I was still guilty of some kind of apostasy or rebellion.

Another interesting legislative problem came to many Congressmen in the Tobacco Subsidy Bill. Following the Surgeon General's plain statement on the danger of smoking it was desired by many that some kind of warning should be attached to the cigarette carton or package. When this requirement was added to the bill, the press, because of the attendant publicity, no longer called it properly a tobacco subsidy bill, but labeled it the "Tobacco Warning Bill." This was fakery, as the warning, "Caution: Tobacco Smoking may be harmful to the health" was considered innocuous and was agreed upon only to obtain the subsidy.

I was, by principle, opposed to a subsidy on tobacco, and voted against the measure, as it stood, thus opposing the weak "warning" requirement along with the subsidy. I received a deluge of letters from L.D.S. members wanting to know how I could vote against their children and how a Bishop could vote for tobacco and against warning our young people. I answered as many of these letters as I received, explaining my stand and the need for me to vote as I did and demand stronger legislation. How many Mormons were angry at me and did not write I do not know. Note the August 31, 1968, issue of the Church News editorial page entitled, "The Year's Understatement."

The article completely substantiates my stand, though two years late.

The easiest thing for both David King and me would have been to vote yes on the tobacco bill, for we both knew our constituencies were being fooled by the bill and would be happy at an erroneous vote. Incidentally, every tobacco state senator voted for the warning label law, which indicates how much real effect that legislation would have on the smoking habit. Here, as on 14b, our people missed the point entirely.

By this time in my District anti-Dyal talk among certain Mormons had become so general that Mr. Phil Dreyer (a Gentile) my campaign director, phoned me in Washington and told me he was concerned over my re-election since some of my own people were so bitter against me.

There were too many examples like the following two: I had a report from a County Department head who advised me a fellow County officer (Mormon) had been circulating among his newer personnel and stating they should not vote for Dyal inasmuch as he had been rejected by his own people and the Church to which he belonged. One Relief Society President tried to convince a new convert that she couldn't vote for me inasmuch as I had left the Church. The sister was so disturbed about these charges she visited my mother and they called me long distance. The President was not aware I had helped convert this sister to the Church when I was Bishop. How many others did she convince?

I was advised the Colton Democratic Club was refusing to support me. I attended their meeting to learn why and entered it with a well known Mormon, Judge Lawrence Madsen. We were astonished to learn that this group was so incensed at the actions of Mormon extremists in their community they had decided as a group not to support any Mormon, believing that the extremists represented Church policy. They demanded a meeting with the Stake President to request removal of one of the extremists who was using her Church position to influence young people in high school and college. We read them the statements of the brethren on civil rights, the two-party system, and the John Birch Society to prove to them that Church policy was not as represented by extremist individuals.

By letter and phone call we felt a strong increase in anti-Dyal sentiment following the 1966 General Conference of the Church. Strong right-wing Mormon leadership from my County went to that Conference and attended both the Conference and the Robert Welch banquet which was held in Salt Lake City at the same time. These people held conferences with Birch Mormon leadership in Salt Lake and one of them from my Stake spent the train ride returning to California soliciting every Bishop in my District against my candidacy.

On returning to the District after the late adjournment of the 89th Congress, I was dismayed on my first visit to Sunday School to see on the blackboards of two classrooms — "Dyal is a nigger lover" — "Dyal is a Communist" — "Dyal is a dirty Jew"!!! Part of my shock was because just a few months prior to this time I had washed these new blackboards as we installed them in the new chapel we had worked so hard to build. I was Bishop of that Ward and our wonderful ward members sacrificed tremendously to construct it. I would have been just as disturbed had the name been any other ward member's. It deeply hurt me to see how quickly some parents had indoctrinated their children into hate activities.

At two local Democratic campaign meetings, Mormon hecklers attended to ask questions calculated to express their lack of confidence in me, not as a public official, but as a member of the Church.

When we found throw-aways on our windshields in Church parking lots on Sunday mornings and were advised by friends that this was being done pretty much throughout the County, we did not have any difficulty in realizing there was a concerted, well directed campaign to discredit me and pre-

vent my re-election. The throw-aways were not in the nature of our time-honored system of political debate, but were for character assassination, defamation, and slander. There were repetitions of these incidents and others throughout the entire District; the program was well organized. I heard the same stories about us from Gentiles in Twentynine Palms as I did in Needles or in Ontario. Mormons in all of these communities were claiming that we served liquor to teenagers in our home; that my wife consorted with Negroes (and this latter with a vicious context), that our membership was in question and the old reliable that we were being duped by Communism.

My Gentile friends told us the Mormon extremists had decided to "single-shot" me and pay little or no attention to other political campaigns. However, I know of no organized Church-Stake leadership participation of this kind in the campaign. The people to whom I have referred were individuals seemingly united in a common "hate Democrats" program. On the other hand I know of no positive action taken by leadership to counteract the character assassination on me. My mother expressed the general attitude well when she said to me, "In those classes I attend, it is evident that Democrats in this area are second-class citizens of the Church."

I think Mrs. Staker is correct when she indicates that 14b was not the only reason for the defeat. I believe my vote on the Voting Rights Act of 1965 had as much bearing on L.D.S. opposition as 14b. Also, I voted for the Teachers Training Corps; for Medicare; to change the House Rules; on the seating of the Mississippi delegation; for the Immigration and Naturalization Bill (and did I get hate mail on that one! You would think that many members of the Church thought they came over ahead of the Indians and had never read the Book of Mormon on the subject of God having a hand in immigration!).

I have felt I was following the counsel of the brethren who had made statements on the two-party system; against the forwardness of the Birch Society; and in behalf of Civil Rights, and that I was in step with the Prophet. The Prophet's words concerning his approval of the two-party system were largely ignored by our people.

Please note that these statements of the brethren, as far as I can ascertain, were never read by the Bishops in most of these Stakes to their congregations.

Some of my House colleagues suggested that I back down on some of my stands until after the election. I refused to do so, and if I had it to do over I would vote again just as I did before. Wouldn't change one single teller, voice or roll call vote. The 89th did a tremendous job — I am happy to have been associated with it, and shall await the justification of history.

I do affirm now my attitude on California's Proposition 14 on Open Housing; my vote on 14b; on the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and my right to run as a Democrat and still be a Temple attender and faithful member of the Church.

It was obvious from Mr. Dreyer's report and from others on my staff, as well as the personal type of incident I have given you that a well organized, militant group without regard for ethics or responsibility can do much to defame and destroy a person's reputation and character throughout a wide circle of people. No area was too small to interest this group. There was a definite hate syndrome against the Jews, Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and other minority peoples. Since I was their champion in housing (Proposition 14), in hospitalization, and other programs, I suppose the concerted and well-financed drive was inevitable. In the brief three weeks of campaigning over my tremendous District, I was met at every turn with concentrated Mormon opposition, dedicated to influence Gentile votes.

Sincerely,
Ken W. Dyal

Dear Sirs:

We feel that one regrettable omission from Lowell Durham's enlightening paper on Mormon music and musicians is Dr. Joseph Lenough Anderson, who is presently Chairman of the Division of Humanities, Minnesota State College, Marshall, Minnesota. Dr. Anderson studied at Oberlin College and with Dr. Alexander Schreiner and then completed his Doctor of Music degree in organ performance and musicology at Northwestern University in 1965. Earlier he had conducted the Akron Symphony Orchestra and various

choral groups, and had guest conducted the Cleveland Symphony as well. During his organ concert tours in the Midwest and East he was acclaimed as among the most gifted of young American organists.

After completion of his doctorate, Brother Anderson served for more than a year as concert organist at the Hyde Park Chapel in London. One day we would love to hear *him* perform in the Tabernacle.

R. J. Snow
Marilyn M. Snow
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

I have just read Lowell M. Durham's article, "On Mormon Music and Musicians," published in *Dialogue*: volume 3, number 2, Summer 1968, and have found many commendable aspects. The BYU Music Faculty was particularly complimented by reference to its leadership in music in the Church. I am pleased that Brother Durham has spent so much time in preparing the material. May I make a few observations and corrections that should be made for further clarification.

1. Omissions from Appendix I, pp. 38-39.
    1. Quentin Nordgren, PhD Theory, Indiana, 1955 BYU.
    2. Glenn R. Williams, DMA Performance, Eastman, 1961 BYU.
    3. Ralph G. Long, DMA Performance, Eastman, 1962 U. of Jacksonville.
    4. Gordon Green, PhD Musicology, Indiana, U. of Western Ontario.
    5. C. Loran Lee, PhD Music Ed., BYU, 1965 Butte College, Oroville, Calif.
    6. Ramon Fuller, DMA Composition, Illinois, U. of Maryland.

(New doctorates, as of August 1968, granted at BYU, Eugene Stoddard, Hemit, California, and James Mooney, Cal Poly, Pomona, California).

2. Regarding Appendix III: p. 40.

BYU should have had listed, as of Spring 1968, 13 doctorates (add Quentin Nordgren, Robert Cundick, and Glenn Williams). As of Fall 1968, add three more (Dr. Clifford Barnes, Dr. Clawson Cannon and Dr. James Mason) to total 16 doctorates at BYU.

3. It seems worthy of note that John R. Halliday received the first PhD ever granted in theory in the U.S.A.

4. On p. 35 the author makes a point of how many musicians have left BYU, but makes no mention of how many of significance have been trained at BYU (Booth, Robertson [received Master's here], Gates, Weight, Samuelson, etc., etc.). There is some feeling that outstanding musicians have been leaving BYU music faculty, and the records should be corrected. In fact, of the 11 that were mentioned, six left because of Church indifference and Robert Cundick is really still on the faculty at BYU. This would mean we have lost only four faculty members in twenty years because of professional aspirations. We have grown to thirty-five full time faculty members during this time which seems a rather negligible loss.

5. Regarding "Other Church Choirs," pp. 34-35. Some mention of the excellence of the BYU Choirs would have been appropriate. Since the publication of this article the BYU A Cappella choir has received international fame through a 1968 summer European tour and Eisteddfod Festival first place award with 23 nations competing. Also, the BYU Symphony received national acclaim at the Music Educators National Conference in March 1968.

A. Harold Goodman,
Chairman
Music Department
Brigham Young
University

Dear Sirs:

Dialogue, along with other Church publications and the general membership, has not come to grips with any of the major problem areas of our society in any detail or with any real emphasis. As a result we have had *Dialogue* for two years and still no appreciable change in the Church's understanding of the problems of society and certainly no attempt to present solutions.

The Church's irrelevance is understandable

with men like Elder Benson in the hierarchy, but if the scholars and intellectuals cannot see through the prevailing myths and irrelevancies and get to the real moral issues of the day, then I have little hope that the Church will change from its present position of moral impotency and become a leader in setting the standards of religious living. It is indeed sad to see a publication with the potential of *Dialogue* wasting its time discussing Church architecture or esoteric aspects of Church history, or literally being an apologist for Mormon bigotry. As examples, the only article on the Negro problem was apologistic in nature; the Roundtable on the Vietnam war achieved its emphasis through the choices of participants; there has been nothing of any merit about poverty and the Church's role in solving that problem; and the use of non-Mormon theologians or intellectuals has been minimal.

What I am saying is that religion's responsibility is to set moral standards and engage in the kinds of activity which will produce Christ-like people. If *Dialogue* continues to shy away from involving itself in the kind of issues which are capable of producing such action it is nothing more than an intellectual's *Improvement Era* or a Mormon historical journal. Please, editors, let's see you become involved.

Stephen F. Darley
Long Branch, New Jersey

[Sock it to us *(Ed.)*.]

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for the subscription offer, but I never waste my time on literature that is neither for anything or against anything — in other words — "middle of the road."

Your brochure reeks of liberalism. You say your journal is neither liberal nor conservative, as if to be one or the other would be a detriment to your publication. Yet you quote leading liberal publications like *Time* and the *New York Times*, which are known for their anti-American reporting and editorializing. Then there is Governor Romney, who is about as liberal as a Mormon can get and still call himself a believer in Christ.

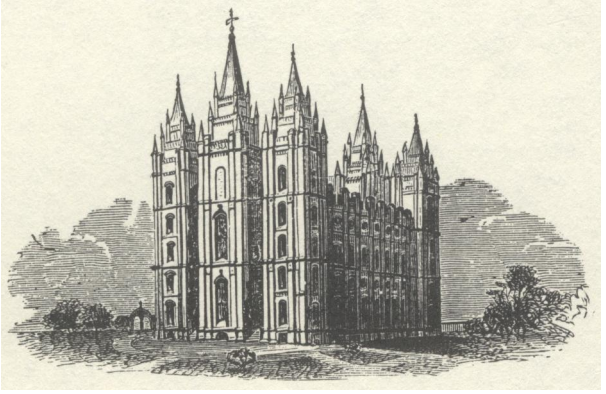
Personally, I like to read literature like the *Improvement Ira* [*sic*], which is pro-American, conservative and full of the basic precepts that made our church and nation great.

You quote Romney in regard to equal opportunity, equal rights and *equal responsibilities*; yet you do not give equal space to the American conservative viewpoints. So in other words you do not believe in or practice the humanitarian concepts you publish.

I dare you to exercise equal responsibility and publish a conservative article. You know my address if you have the courage to send me a copy of the article.

Arthur J. Hollowell
3130 Old Stage Road
Central Point, Oregon 97501

[Sock it to us *(Ed.)*.]



DIALOGUE
A JOURNAL OF
MORMON
THOUGHT

JOSEPH SMITH'S PRESIDENTIAL PLATFORM

In this election year it seems particularly valuable to reconsider a little-known document of great significance from the Mormon past — the pamphlet published by the Prophet Joseph Smith, early in his campaign for the Presidency of the United States, giving his considered positions on the major political and social issues of 1844. These views remain amazingly relevant to crucial issues of our own time, but the document is even more important as a moving prophetic witness of the forms and spirit of a society in which all men are accorded dignity and trust.

Both Martin Hickman and Richard D. Poll have appeared in these pages before. Martin Hickman is Professor of Political Science at Brigham Young University, where Richard D. Poll is Professor of History and Political Science and Associate Director of the Honors Program.

The photocopy of General Smith's Views *is courtesy of the Brigham Young University. Original in the Brigham Young University Library.*

JOSEPH SMITH AND THE PRESIDENCY, 1844

Richard D. Poll

At a meeting in the mayor's office in Nauvoo, Illinois, on January 29, 1844, it was moved and voted unanimously that "we will have an independent electoral ticket, and that Joseph Smith be a candidate for the next Presidency; and that we use all honorable means in our power to secure his election."[1] Whereupon the Mormon Prophet remarked to the Quorum of the Twelve and others who were present at this informal political caucus:

[1]Joseph Smith, *History of the Church,* ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City; Deseret News, 1950), VI, 188. Hereafter cited as D.H.C. (Documentary History of the Church).

> If you attempt to accomplish this, you must send every man in the city who is able to speak in public throughout the land to electioneer and make stump speeches, advocate the "Mormon" religion, purity of elections, and call upon the people to stand by the law and put down mobocracy. . . .
>
> . . . Tell the people we have had Whig and Democratic Presidents long enough; we want a President of the United States. If I ever get into the presidential chair, I will protect the people in their rights and liberties. I will not electioneer for myself. . . . There is oratory enough in the Church to carry me into the presidential chair the first slide.[2]

Among many historical questions left unresolved by the untimely death of Joseph Smith is the question of the Mormon leader's intent and expectations in announcing for the Presidency. Recent scholars like Robert Flanders and Klaus Hansen relate the 1844 candidacy to the projects of the General Council (Council of Fifty) and believe it was seriously meant.[3] B. H. Roberts expressed the traditional L.D.S. view when he quoted with approval the Prophet's own language later in 1844: "As to politics, I care but little about the presidential chair. . . ."[4] By this interpretation, Smith was acutely dissatisfied with the major parties and so ran primarily to give the voters among his own people an acceptable option and to avoid further entanglement in the partisan politics of Illinois.

This editorial introduction to *General Smith's Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States* does not undertake to resolve the question of intent. It seeks only to establish a historical context for the document which is commonly referred to as Joseph Smith's Presidential platform and to clarify some of the allusions in that document. A companion article by Dr. Martin B. Hickman suggests some possible relevance of the Prophet's *Views* for the present day.

The idea of announcing for the Presidency probably occurred to Joseph Smith during the winter of 1843–44, when his inquiries to some of the leading national political figures about what would be their course of action toward the Mormons if elected to the White House drew unsatisfactory answers or no answers at all.[5] Following the meeting described above, the *Times and Seasons*

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[2]*Ibid.*

[3]Robert B. Flanders, *Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1965), pp. 301-302; Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire* (E. Lansing: Michigan State University, 1967), pp. 75-79; the candidacy is also interpreted as a serious project in Edward G. Thompson, "A Study of the Political Involvements in the Career of Joseph Smith," (unpublished master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966), pp. 113-16ff., and Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Causes of Mormon Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839-1846," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1967), pp. 60-69.

[4]B. H. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1930), II, 209.

[5]On November 4, 1843, letters were addressed to John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass, Richard M. Johnson, Henry Clay, and Martin Van Buren. Cass, Clay and Calhoun responded, but none proposed the kind of federal intervention in behalf of the Latter-day Saints that the Prophet desired and that his *Views* and his caustic replies to Calhoun and Clay recommended. D.H.C., VI, 64-65, 155-60, 376, gives all the correspondence except the letter from Cass and the grossly insulting reply to Clay; these appear in Thompson, *op cit.*, pp. 178-84.

of February 1, 1844, promised to name a candidate, and six days later the other Church paper, the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, concluded a long editorial, "Who Will Be Our Next President?" with the name of "General Joseph Smith."[6]

The first draft of the *Views* was the product of a collaboration between Smith and William W. Phelps (and perhaps John M. Bernhisel), with Phelps possibly being responsible for the turgid style. Given a first public reading on February 7, the document was reread in several meetings and apparently revised a little before fifteen hundred copies came off the *Times and Seasons* press in Nauvoo on February 24.[7] It was mailed to President John Tyler, members of his Cabinet, Supreme Court judges, members of Congress and many newspaper editors, postmasters, and other prominent persons, and it elicited a limited and mixed response during the following weeks.[8]

As his running mate, General Smith first proposed James Arlington Bennett, a New York lawyer, religious eccentric, and political opportunist who had recently been baptized by Brigham Young.[9] When it was discovered that Bennett was apparently Irish-born and thus ineligible, the Vice Presidential nomination was extended to Colonel Solomon Copeland, of Paris, Tennessee, but Sidney Rigdon, "of Pennsylvania," ultimately received the designation of the General Council on May 6.[10]

The official but secret organization of the General Council, or Council of Fifty, took place meanwhile on March 11, 1844, and thereafter the direction of the Presidential project appears to have been in the hands of this body.[11]

The campaign was aggressively launched by a special conference on April 9, immediately following the annual conference of the L.D.S. Church. Brigham

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[6]References to the semi-monthly *Times and Seasons* and weekly *Nauvoo Neighbor* are drawn from the microfilm copies at Brigham Young University.

[7]D.H.C., VI, 189, 197, 214, 221, 224. Copies of this first edition are in the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, the Illinois State Historical Society, the Yale University Library, the Newberry Library, and the Reorganized L.D.S. Church Library. The 12-page pamphlet bears the imprint: *General Smith's views of the powers and policy of the government of the United States.* Nauvoo, Ill. 1844. John Taylor, printer.

[8]D.H.C., VI, 268-70; *Nauvoo Neighbor*, March 20, April 24, 1844; New York *Herald*, March 18, 23, 1844.

[9]Smith and Bennett never met, but correspondence between them is in D.H.C., V, 112-14, 156-59, 162-64; VI, 71-78, 231-33. Earlier, possibly on recommendation of John C. Bennett, James Arlington Bennett (also spelled Bennet) had been named inspector-general of the Nauvoo Legion and granted an honorary LL.D. from the University of Nauvoo. *Ibid.*, IV, 593, 600-601. Ultimately Brigham Young wrote him off as an adventurer when he volunteered to come to Nauvoo and take over command of the Nauvoo Legion after Smith's death. *Ibid.*, VII, 429, 483, 488, 528. In 1855 Bennet(t) privately published *A New Revelation to Mankind, drawn from Axioms, or self-evident truths in Nature, Mathematically demonstrated* (Microfilm at B.Y.U.).

[10]D.H.C., VI, 244, 248, 268, 356. Bennett to Willard Richards, April 14, 1844, denies foreign birth but declines the nomination. Cited in Godfrey, *op. cit.*, p. 62, which also says that Copeland declined.

[11]Hansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 73-81; Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-42. That neither the Prophet nor the Council was totally preoccupied with the political race is clear from the investigations of Texas and other possible new homes for the Saints which were in progress, and also from the intriguing and rather convincingly documented report that the Prophet was ordained "king on earth" in the Council during this period. Hansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 and 45-89; Godfrey, pp. 63-65.

Young's call for volunteers "to preach the Gospel and electioneer" drew 244 immediate responses and donations of $100 cash and $100 on loan. As president of the Quorum of the Twelve, and probably also as spokesman for the Council of Fifty, Young instructed the elders to proceed quickly to their assigned states and conferences and there put Smith's views before the people and line up electors.[12] Reports of meetings around the nation, some attended by disturbances, and copies of the *Views* with 1844 imprints from Pontiac, Michigan, and Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and New York City bear witness to their efforts.[13] After designating May 17 for a nominating convention in Nauvoo and sending D. S. Hollister to Baltimore to observe and possibly lobby for the Smith candidacy at the forthcoming Whig and Democratic conventions, the General Council joined the political missionaries.[14]

The May 17 convention followed the standard routines of this first generation of organized political party pep rallies. By counting the places of origin of the overwhelmingly Mormon delegates, all 26 of the states and ten Illinois counties were found to be represented. Tactical reasons probably explain the prominent speaking roles of two Gentile delegates, Dr. G. W. Goforth and John S. Reid, and the reading of a letter from Joseph Smith to the National Reform Association of New York, pledging support of a "uniform land law" for free homesteads. The nomination of Smith and Rigdon was uncontested, as was the designation of Willard Richards, John M. Bernhisel, W. W. Phelps and Lucian R. Foster as a committee of correspondence for the campaign.[15]

The resolutions adopted by the convention are puzzling in that they do not square in all respects with the *Views*. One is led to speculate that a gesture to the Democrats was deemed expedient to offset press charges that the *Views* were full of Whig doctrine.[16] After denouncing the existing government and the major parties for corruption and imbecility, this platform document stated in part:[17]

> 4. *Resolved*, that to redress all wrongs, the government of the United States, with the President at its head, is as powerful in its sphere as Jehovah is in His.

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[12]D.H.C., VI, 334-40. In all, 340 missionaries were appointed to all 26 states and Iowa Territory, and 47 special conferences were scheduled to be conducted by the Twelve, ending in Washington, D.C., Sept. 7-15, 1844.

[13]*Ibid.*, VI, 399-401; *Nauvoo Neighbor*, May 8, June 5, 1844; George R. Gayler, "A Social, Economic and Political Study of the Mormons in Western Illinois, 1839-1846," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1955), p. 183. The pamphlet editions of the *Views* varied in format and pagination, and William A. Linn, *The Story of the Mormons* (New York: Macmillan, 1902), p. 254, mentions editions in Kirtland, Ohio, and Dresden, Tennessee. At least one of the political proselyters, John D. Lee, apparently confined himself to preaching the L.D.S. religion. Juanita Brooks, *John Doyle Lee* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1962), p. 60.

[14]D.H.C., VI, 340-43, 416-18.

[15]Details of the convention are found in D.H.C., VI, 385-98, and *Nauvoo Neighbor*, May 22, 1844. According to Godfrey, pp. 65-67, the meeting was followed by a street parade in which the Presidential candidate was carried on the shoulders of the jubilant crowd.

[16]See examples of this charge and Smith's replies in *Nauvoo Neighbor*, March 20, April 10, 17, 1844.

[17]D.H.C., VI, 391.

5. *Resolved,* that the better to carry out the principles of liberty and equal rights, Jeffersonian democracy, free trade, and sailors' rights, and the protection of person and property, we will support General Joseph Smith, of Illinois, for the President of the United States at the ensuing election.[18]

6. *Resolved,* that we will support Sidney Rigdon, Esq., of Pennsylvania, for the Vice Presidency.

7. *Resolved,* that we will hold a National Convention at Baltimore on Saturday, the 13th day of July.[19]

Events were already moving toward the showdown between Joseph Smith and his opponents in and outside the Church, and the month of June found Presidential politics pushed to the background in Nauvoo. Still, the committee on correspondence continued to solicit support in the East and many of the missionaries kept at their labors until word of the tragedy at Carthage on June 27 finally reached them.[20]

A parting word on the candidacy of the Mormon Prophet was an editorial in the *Times and Seasons,* August 15, 1844, which pledged that the Latter-day Saints would support only candidates who would carry out "General Smith's program." In the November election, Hancock County went almost 2 to 1 for the dark-horse Democrat, James K. Polk, over the Whig candidate, Henry Clay, which may or may not be interpreted as a fulfillment of that pledge.[21]

The original of the document which follows is the eight-page pamphlet printed in Nauvoo in May, 1844, from type previously used to present *General Smith's Views* to readers of the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* May 8, and the *Times and Seasons,* May 15.[22] When Roberts edited the *Views* for the *Documentary History of the Church,* he changed some paragraphing, spelling and punctuation, but the substantial changes were the deletions of some of the ostentatious foreign language phrases, which Roberts attributes to Phelps.[23] As a campaign tract the *Views* would have benefited from compression and tighter organization, but as it stands, it is an intriguing blend of *ante-bellum* political rhetoric, Whig economic doctrines, Democratic expansionism, abolitionism, and the original and wide-range constitutional and political ideas of Joseph Smith himself.[24]

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[18]The writer has not found the source of this resolution, which in its free trade plank contradicts the Prophet's *Views* and in its invoking of sailors' rights recalls a minor political issue of the years immediately preceding the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842. The resolutions committee was G. W. Goforth, John Taylor, W. W. Phelps, William Smith and Lucian R. Foster. According to Roberts, *Comprehensive History . . . ,* II, 207-208, the resolution found expression in the campaign slogan: "Reform, Jeffersonian Democracy, Free Trade and Sailors' Rights."

[19]Gayler, *op. cit.,* pp. 183-84, cites a report in *Niles National Register,* July 20, 1844, that the national convention actually met in Baltimore and in the face of the recent tidings of the death of Joseph Smith adjourned *sine die.*

[20]D.H.C., VI, 404, 416-18; Godfrey, *op. cit.,* pp. 68-69.

[21]Gayler, *op. cit.,* p. 184.

[22]It seems nearly certain that this is the same type used in the February pamphlet edition.

[23]D.H.C., VI, 197-209, 75 fn.

[24]Comparison of the Prophet's platform with those of the political parties which fielded

THE POLITICAL LEGACY OF JOSEPH SMITH

Martin B. Hickman

There is a game popular among Mormons which any number can play; it is easy to learn and it requires very little equipment: it is called, "Quoting the Prophet." To play the game all one needs is at least one contemporary issue and the writings of Joseph Smith, preferably the seven volumes of the *History of the Church*, or, if one has no taste for research, any of the short collections of the Prophet's teachings will do nicely. The point of the game is to force the other players to accept your views on the issue in question by proving with a series of quotations – relevant if possible, irrelevant if necessary – that the Prophet agrees with you rather than with your opponents. The best part of the game is that everyone wins because the players are simultaneously the judges, for the Prophet cannot be questioned as to which side he really prefers.

It is not my intention to play that game. What follow are some comments on the contemporary relevance of Joseph Smith's political views as expressed in his presidential platform of 1844. I readily admit that these are the comments of only one Mormon and that others who see politics differently may find my comments irrelevant or simply wrong. But my first concern is to deal fairly with the Prophet and not to use him to grind my own axes. My second concern is to give full recognition to the fact that Joseph Smith was addressing himself to specific problems as he experienced them, and that attempts to deduce solutions for our own problems from the solutions he suggested for the problems of his day is a risky business indeed. But it seems to me that the specific solutions he proposed flow from some fundamental propositions about politics which remain as valid today as they were in 1844. I shall try to suggest what those propositions are and leave it to the reader to perform the task of deriving solutions from them.

The specific proposals in Joseph Smith's presidential platform are relatively few in number. He proposed the abolition of slavery, the establishment of a national bank, the adoption of a "judicious tariff," a reduction in the size of the House of Representatives, economy in government, annexation of Texas and Oregon, reform of the penal system, elimination of courts martial, and granting of power to the President to suppress mobs without waiting for a request from state governors. Let us look at these in some detail.

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candidates in 1844 reveals the extent to which eclecticism and originality are mingled. The Democratic Party (James K. Polk), responding to the growing Southern influence in its leadership, affirmed that the federal government is one of limited powers and that those powers did not include a protective tariff, a national bank or the distribution of public land proceeds; yet its expansionism on Texas and Oregon was unrestrained. The Whig Party (Henry Clay) concentrated on the virtues of the candidate without itemizing the elements of his "American System" or mentioning Texas and Oregon. The Liberty Party (James Birney) called for the abolition of slavery by state and ultimately federal action, but without compensation to the owners. Kirk H. Porter and Donald B. Johnson, eds., *National Party Platforms, 1840-1964* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1966), pp. 3-9.

The major plank of the Prophet's platform was the elimination of slavery by compensating slave owners for the loss of their slaves. Joseph Smith thought slavery violated the basic truth enshrined in the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness . . . . " The corollary of this truth is that the Constitution was adopted to protect all men in their equal rights, and that the desire of government leaders ought to be "to ameliorate the condition of all, black or white . . . . " The platform is particularly scornful of those in the Prophet's day who were willing to interpret the Constitution in such a way as to make some favorite legislation constitutional but who insisted that the Constitution prohibited interference with slavery. The immediate goal Joseph Smith sought, the elimination of slavery, has been won, but a belief in the political theory of the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution as the principal protector of equal rights is the heart of his political legacy to us. We ignore at our peril the importance the Prophet placed on all Americans sharing equally in the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

The Prophet's concern for equal rights for all Americans brought him into direct conflict with the doctrine of "states' rights." That conflict is reflected in his proposal to give the President the power to use armed forces to suppress mobs without waiting for an invitation from a governor for assistance. While this proposal appears reasonable and unobjectionable on its face, it has profound implications, for it assumes the existence of individual rights of American citizens to which all "states' rights" must be subordinated. Joseph Smith reserved his deepest scorn for those who asserted that federalism prohibited the federal government from intervening on behalf of citizens who were denied their rights as American citizens. His letter to John C. Calhoun testifies to this scorn, as does his recommendation that the federal Constitution be amended to provide capital punishment for any public official who refused to assist those denied their constitutional rights, and as does his own decision to run for the Presidency. In his journal he noted: "The state rights doctrines are what feed mobs. They are a dead carcass — a stink and they shall ascend up as a stink offering in the nose of the Almighty."[1] Perhaps better than eloquence, this earthy characterization of what he considered to be a corruption of federalism reflects his contempt for those who used political abstractions as excuses for not granting justice to his people.

One must be careful here. There is no evidence that Joseph Smith wished to abandon federalism, which is one of the basic concepts of the American Constitution. What he wanted apparently was a definition of federalism which would assure protection of individual rights. What he faced, as we do today, was the task of defining within the framework of the American Constitution the jurisdiction of these two governments so as to help them each become efficient and responsive servants of the people. It was clear, I think, to Joseph

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[1]Joseph Smith, *Documentary History of the Church*, Vol. VI (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1948), 95.

Smith, as it certainly must be to us, that an effective federal system rests on the willingness and ability of local governments to outstrip, not lag behind, the national government in the protection of individual rights, the promotion of the general welfare, and in the courage to assume the financial burdens which these tasks require.

A careful reading of the platform will reveal, however, that Joseph Smith was opposed to those who used the cause of "human rights" to promote special interests. He denounced the abolitionists who even in 1844 were fanning the fires of civil conflict; he saw the ultimate outcome of their actions and sensed that for some the cause of abolition was less a commitment to "human rights" than a path to fame, popularity, and power. Thus he balanced, as we must, a deep concern for the fundamental rights of all men with an awareness that all good causes can be used by men with "hidden agendas" for their own purposes. No less timely now than it was in 1844 is his recognition that if good causes are not to be exploited then the "establishment" must give more than just lip service to the cause of equal rights within the framework of the Constitution.

The economic plank of Joseph Smith's platform consists of two proposals: a "judicious tariff" and the creation of a national bank with the capital stock owned by the federal government. This bank would have branches in the several states, and the stock of each branch would be owned by the appropriate state government. These proposals flow from the Prophet's belief that "when the people are secure and their right properly respected then the four main pillars of prosperity—viz., agriculture, manufactures, navigation, and commerce, need the fostering care of government . . . ." In 1844 Joseph Smith thought "fostering care" required a national bank and the protection of infant industries; it does not seem implausible that in 1968 "fostering care" may well include monetary and fiscal policies designed to steer the economy between the twin evils of inflation and depression. I think it also not unreasonable to suggest that despite the Prophet's proposal for a national bank owned by the national government, the concept of "fostering care" generally looks to policies which create an environment in which the "pillars of prosperity" can flourish rather than to direct government ownership. Also implicit in this concept, I believe, is a recognition that even though men are willing and able to work, economic factors beyond their control may rob them of their livelihood. Government must, therefore, adopt policies motivated by the spirit of "fostering care" so that a vigorous and developing economy will provide employment opportunities for all men; the goal is the creation of opportunities for meaningful labor, without which there can be no individual self-respect or community stability. In one respect the Prophet's 1844 platform might well have been taken from a modern political platform; he insisted on the principle of economy and efficiency in government. Believing as he did that the people were sovereign, he saw so reason why the sovereign's affairs should not be conducted as prudently as private affairs. His immediate proposal was to reduce the size of the House of Representatives, and to require economy in the operation of both state and national government. The need for improvement in the

administration of the public's business is as real today as it was in 1844. Despite the reforms in the public services and governmental organization which have been instituted since Joseph Smith's day, the problems which confront government have grown in number and complexity and threaten always to outrun our ability to cope with them. Therefore, in addition to integrity, honesty, and impartiality, we must demand competence and devotion to the public welfare from public administrators. The bureaucracy is a favorite whipping boy for any number of political opportunists, but we should not let our disdain of irresponsible criticisms of government officials blind us to the really crucial need for improvement in the caliber of our public servants. I am tempted to suggest that given the complexity of our problems we are an underdeveloped country when it comes to finding public administrators at all levels of government equal to the tasks they face. We must realistically recognize also that governmental officials are not immune to temptation and that their access to more and better information than the average citizen may lead them to think of themselves as an elite, immune from popular control. If government officials are to resist this temptation they must be imbued with the values of a democratic society so that not only external restraints but also a deep commitment to the political values of our society turn their heads and hearts from the pursuit of power to the service of the people.

There is another aspect of the Prophet's concern for effective government which must be noted. A strong undercurrent in the platform is resentment that justice depended in 1844 not so much upon the equal protection of the laws as on the wealth and power of the litigants. We can no more be blind today to the need for equal justice than could the Prophet. While many of the abuses of which he complained no longer exist in the crass form he noted, still injustice has not been expunged totally from our public life. We must share Joseph Smith's passion for equal justice until that goal is a living reality.

The foreign affairs plank of the Prophet's platform called for the bringing of Oregon and Texas into the Union. Underlying this proposal was Joseph Smith's belief that the principles of liberty on which the American political system rests and which are given concrete expression in the Constitution, are universal principles which can benefit all the world. "Come—yea, come Texas, come Mexico, come Canada; and come, all the world: let us be brethren, let us be one great family and let there be universal peace." I assume that this hope for peace and this plea for unity on the principles of liberty remains as meaningful today as the Prophet found it in 1844. He was not interested in international integration at any price, for he realized that governments are after all only the superstructure which reflects the underlying values of society. What Joseph sought in his day was agreement on those values, and where such agreement existed the traditional limits of the nation might be widened to include all "sons of liberty." There are those who will interpret the Prophet's vision of the family of man as suggesting support for international government. For myself I am more cautious: I think the Prophet would have been unimpressed with mechanical solutions to international conflict which did not reflect a real community of values. His idealism was always tempered by a

deep appreciation of the limits which our imperfect world imposes on the aspirations of men. But where deep and abiding agreement on fundamental political values exists among nations, I am inclined to think that the Prophet would have welcomed bold and imaginative policies which promised to hasten the day when mankind would be united as one great family. We can do no less.

There are two proposals in the platform which seem strange to us as we struggle with the problem of crime in the streets and a growing problem of desertion from the armed forces. These are the planks on penal reform: Joseph Smith wanted to abolish most prisons — and courts martial. He proposed that deserters be given their pay and discharged, never again to merit the nation's trust. Whatever one thinks of these specific proposals, they reflect the Prophet's sensitivity to social problems, as does his concern over slavery; and across the years the message is clear — be anxiously engaged in a good cause. We do not fight the social ills Joseph Smith fought, or the ones our grandfathers fought, nor those of our fathers; we have our own with which to do combat. What we do have in common with our forefathers is the responsibility to improve society for all men. Complacency, smugness, indifference, neglect have no more place in our lives than they did in theirs. Every Mormon knows, "he that is compelled in all things, the same is a slothful and not a wise servant," and we have no less authority than the Lord for that truth. And are we not under the obligation to seek after all that is "virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy"? Ending the evils of the penal system and the practice of court martial for desertion were the "good causes" which engaged Joseph Smith. What our "good causes" will be depends on the lens through which we view the world. But no Latter-day Saint is worthy of the name who has not searched his own heart, as the Prophet did his, and found a good work to which along with his service to the Church he can commit himself wholeheartedly.

The review of American history which the Prophet undertakes as an introduction to his platform includes quotations from a number of former Presidents. I think the choice of these quotations reveals much about Joseph Smith's political views, and because they seem to me to be relevant to our problems, I should like to call attention to one or two. First the quotation from Washington, which makes two points: (1) that the general interest should be given precedence over "local prejudices or attachments," over "separate views" and "party animosities"; (2) that private morality should be the fundamental basis of national policy. (Fully in this tradition was the General Conference address of Elder Mark E. Peterson at April Conference, 1968.) I can only surmise that Joseph Smith found the first quote particularly telling after hearing time and time again that "states' rights" barred the way to justice for the Mormons expelled from their homes in Missouri. The second, of course, is the message of the Gospel that the measure of creation is man and that unless private morality exists all efforts to achieve social justice must necessarily fall short of their mark.

A quotation from John Adams strikes a particularly responsive chord in our hearts today: "If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable, it is when

it springs not from *power*, or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information and benevolence." In a day when our power, riches, glory and grandeur surpass those of all other nations, not only of our own day, but of all history, perhaps we might well ask What have we achieved if these are the only sources of our national pride? What would our answer be to the Prophet if he should appear to inquire if we also excel in "national innocence, information and benevolence"?

One last point: Joseph Smith was a Prophet engaged in a secular political contest. He entered that contest on terms dictated by the American political system. His presidential platform was a secular document couched in the political language of his day; he presented himself to the American people on his merits as a man and on the relevance of his political views to the problems of the day. In no place in the platform does he assert that he is speaking in the name of the Lord; he promises only to supplicate the Lord for the good of the people. Joseph Smith was willing to enter the political contest of his day on these terms and in this spirit; we all might well ponder his example.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH.
[Prophet, Seer, and Revelator.]

GENERAL SMITH'S

VIEWS

OF THE POWERS AND POLICY OF THE

GOVERNMENT

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

NAUVOO, ILLINOIS:

PRINTED BY JOHN TAYLOR:

1844

GENERAL SMITH'S VIEWS.

GEN. SMITH'S VIEWS ON THE GOVERNMENT AND POLICY OF THE U.S.

Born in a land of liberty, and breathing an air uncorrupted with the sirocco of barbarous [1] climes, I ever feel a double anxiety for the happiness of all men, both in time and in eternity. My cogitations like Daniel's, have for a long time troubled me, when I viewed the condition of men throughout the world, and more especially in this boasted realm, where the Declaration of Independence "holds these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," but at the same time, some two or three millions of people are held as slaves for life, because the spirit in them is covered with a darker skin than ours: and hundreds of our own kindred for an infraction, or supposed infraction of some over wise statute, have to be incarcerated in dungeon glooms, or suffer the more moral penitentiary gravitation of mercy in a nut-shell, while the duellist, the debauchee, and the defaulter for millions, and other criminals, take the uppermost rooms at feasts, or, like the bird of passage find a more congenial clime by flight.

The wisdom, which ought to characterize the freest, wisest, and most noble nation of the nineteenth century, should, like the sun in his meridian splendor, warm every object beneath its rays: and the main efforts of her officers, who are nothing more or less than the servants of the people, ought to be directed to ameliorate the condition of all: black or white, bond or free; for the best of books says, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

Our common country presents to all men the same advantages; the same facilities; the same prospects; the same honors; and the same rewards: and without hypocrasy, the Constitution when it says, "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves [do] and our posterity, to ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America," meant just what it said, without reference to [infinitum] color or condition: *ad infinitam.* The aspirations and expectations of a virtuous people, environed with so wise, so liberal, so deep, so broad, and so high a charter of *equal rights*, as appears in said Constitution, ought to be treated by those to whom the administration of the laws are intrusted, with as much sanctity, as the prayers of the saints are treated in heaven, that love, confidence and union, like the sun, moon and stars should bear witness,

(For ever singing as they shine,)
"The hand that made us is divine!"

Unity is power, and when I reflect on the importance of it to the stability of all governments, I am astounded at the silly moves of persons and parties, to foment discord in order to ride into power on the current of popular excitement; nor am I less surprised at the stretches of power, or restrictions of right, which too often appear as acts of legislators, to pave the way to some favorite political schemes, as destitute of intrinsic merit, as a wolf's heart is of the milk of human kindness: a Frenchman would say, "prosque tout aimer richesses et pouvoir;" [presque] (almost all men like wealth and power.)

I must dwell on this subject longer than others, for nearly one hundred years ago that golden patriot, Benjamin Franklin drew up a plan of union for the then colonies of Great Britain that *now* are such an independent nation, which among many wise provisions for obedient children under their father's more rugged hand,—thus: "they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imports, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just,—(considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies,) and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary [2] burthens." Great Britain surely lacked the laudable humanity and fostering clemency to grant such a just plan of union—but the sentiment remains like the land that honored its birth as a pattern for wise men *to study the convenience of the people more than the comfort of the cabinet.*

And one of the most noble fathers of our freedom and country's glory: great in war, great in peace, great in the estimation of the world, and great in the hearts of his countrymen, the illustrious Washington, said in his first inaugural address to Congress: "I hold the surest pledges that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views or party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interest, so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of

free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world." Verily, here shines the virtue and the wisdom of a statesman in such lucid rays that had every succeeding Congress followed the rich instruction, in all their deliberations and enactments, for the benefits and convenience of the whole community and the communities of which it is composed, no sound of a rebellion in South Carolina; no rupture in Rhode Island; no mob in Missouri, expelling her citizens by executive authority; corruption in the ballot boxes; a border warfare between Ohio and Michigan: hard times and distress: outbreak upon outbreak in the principal cities: murder, robbery, and defalcations, scarcity of money, and a thousand other difficulties, would have torn asunder the bonds of the union; destroyed the confidence of man; and left the great body of the people to mourn over misfortunes in poverty, brought on by corrupt legislation in an hour of proud vanity, for self aggrandizement. The great Washington, soon after the foregoing faithful admonition for the common welfare of his nation, further advised Congress that "among the many interesting objects which will engage your attention, that of providing for the common defence will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace." As the Italian would say: *Buono aviso*, (good advice.)

The elder Adams in his inaugural address, gives national pride such a grand turn of justification, that every honest citizen must look back upon the infancy of the United States with an approving smile and rejoice, that patriotism in the rulers, virtue in the people, and prosperity in the union, once crowned the expectations of hope; unveiled the sophistry of the hypocrite and silenced the folly of foes: Mr. Adams said, "If national pride is ever justifiable, or excusable, it is when it springs not from *power* or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information and benevolence." There is no doubt such was actually the case with our young realm at the close of the last century; peace, prosperity and union, filled the country with religious toleration, temporal enjoyment and virtuous enterprize; and gradually, too, when the deadly winter of the "Stamp Act," the "Tea Act," and other *close communion* acts of royalty had choked the growth of freedom of speech, liberty of the press, and liberty of conscience, did light, liberty and loyalty flourish like the cedars of God.

The respected and venerable Thomas Jefferson, in his inaugural address made more than forty years ago, shows what a beautiful prospect an innocent, virtuous nation presents to the sage's eye, where there is space for enterprize: hands for industry; heads for heroes, and hearts for moral greatness. He said, "A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendant objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking." Such a prospect was truly soul stirring to a good man, but "since the fathers have fallen asleep," wicked and designing men have unrobed the government of its glory, and the people, if not in dust and ashes, or in sack cloth, have to lament in poverty, her departed greatness: while demagogues build fires in the north and south, east and west, to keep up their spirits *till it is better times*: but year after year has left the people to *hope* till the very name of *Congress* or *State Legislature*, is as horrible to the sensitive friend of his country, as the house of "Blue Beard" is to children; or "Crockett's" Hell of London, to meek men. [3] When the people are secure and their rights properly respected, then the four main pillars of prosperity, viz: agriculture, manufactures, navigation, and commerce, need the fostering care of government: and in so goodly a country as ours, where the soil, the climate, the rivers, the lakes, and the sea coast; the productions, the timber, the minerals; and the inhabitants are so diversified, that a pleasing variety accommodates all tastes, trades and calculations, it certainly is the highest point of subversion to protect the whole northern and southern, eastern and western, centre and circumference of the realm, by a judicious tariff. [Subvention (?)] It is an old saying and a true one, "if you wish to be respected, respect yourselves." [4]

I will adopt in part the language of Mr. Madison's inaugural address, "To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations, having correspondent dispositions; to maintain sincere neutrality towards belligerent nations; to prefer in all cases amicable discussion and reasonable accommodation of intrigues and foreign partialities, so degrading to all countries, and so baneful to free ones; to foster a spirit of independence too just to invade the rights of others, too proud to surrender their own, too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudicies ourselves, and too elevated not to look down upon them in others; to hold the union of the States as the basis of their peace and happiness; to support the constitution, which is the cement of the union, as in its limitations as in its authorities; to respect

the rights and authorities reserved to the states and to the people, as equally incorporated with, and essential to the success, of the general system; to avoid the slightest interference with the rights of conscience,or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction; to preserve in their full energy, the other salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights, and of the freedom of the press;" as far as intention aids in the fulfilment of duty, are consummations too big with benefits not to captivate the energies of all honest men to achieve them, when they can be brought to pass by reciprocation, friendly alliances, wise legislation, and honorable treaties.

The government has once flourished under the guidance of trusty servants; and the Hon. Mr. Monroe in his day, while speaking of the Constitution; says, "Our commerce has been wisely regulated with foreign nations, and between the states; new states have been admitted into our union; our territory has been enlarged by fair and honorable treaty, and with great advantages to the original states; the states respectively protected by the national government, under a mild paternal system against foreign dangers, and enjoying within [partition] their separate spheres, by a wise patrition of power, a just proportion of the sovereignty, have improved their police, extended their settlements, and attained a strength and maturity which are the best proofs of wholesome law well administered. And if we look to the condition of individuals, what a proud spectacle does it exhibit? who has been deprived of any right of person and property? who restrained from offering his vows in the mode he prefers, to the Divine author of his being? It is well known that all these blessings have been enjoyed to their fullest extent: and I add, with peculiar satisfaction, that there has been no example of a capital punishment being inflicted on any one for the crime of high treason." What a delightful picture of power, policy and prosperity! Truly the wise proverb is just: "Sedaukauh teromain goy, veh-ka-sade le-u-meem khahmaut." Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.

But this is not all. The same honorable statesman, after having had about forty years experience in the government, under the full tide of successful experiment, gives the following commendatory assurance of the efficiency of the *magna charta* to answer its great end and aim: *To protect the people in their rights.* "Such, then, is the happy government under which we live; a government adequate to every purpose for which the social compact is formed; a government elective in all its branches, under which every citizen may, by his merit, obtain the highest trust recognized by the constitution; which contains within it no cause or discord; none to put at variance one portion of the community with another; a government which protects every citizen in the full enjoyment of his rights, and is able to protect the nation against injustice from foreign powers."

Again, the younger Adams in the silver age of our country's advancement to fame, in his inaugural address,(1825)thus candidly declares the majesty of the youthful republic, in its increasing greatness; "The year of jubilee since the first formation of our union has just elapsed —that of the declaration of Independence is at hand. The consummation of both was effected by this constitution. Since that period a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve. A territory, bounded by the Mississippi, has been extended from sea to sea. New states have been admitted to the union, in numbers nearly equal to those of the first confederation. Treaties of peace, amity and commerce, have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth. The people of other nations, the inhabitants of regions acquired, not by conquest, but by compact, have been united with us in the participation of our rights and duties, of our burdens and blessings. The forest has fallen by the axe of our woodsmen; the soil has been made to teem by the tillage of our farmers: our commerce has whitened every ocean. The dominion of man over physical nature has been extended by the invention of our artists. Liberty and law have walked hand in hand. All the purposes of human association have been accomplished as effectively as under any other government on the globe, and at a cost little exceeding, in a whole generation, the expenditures of other nations in a single year."

In continuation of such noble sentiments, General Jackson, upon his ascension to the great chair of the chief magistracy: said, "As long as our government is administered for the good of the people, and is regulated by their will; as long as it secures to us the rights of person and property, liberty of conscience, and of the press, it will be worth defending; and so long as it is worth defending, a patriotic militia will cover it with an impenetrable ægis."

General Jackson's administration may be denominated the *acme* of American glory, liberty and prosperity, for the national debt, which in 1815, on account of the late war, was $125,000,000, and lessened gradually, was paid up in his golden day; and preparations were made to distribute the surplus revenue among the several states: and that august patriot, to use his [

own words in his farewell address, retired leaving "a great people prosperous and happy, in the full enjoyment of liberty and peace, honored and respected by every nation of the world."

At the age, then, of sixty years, our blooming republic began to decline under the with-
[6] ering touch of Martin Van Buren! Disappointed ambition; thirst for power, pride, corruption, party spirit, faction, patronage; perquisites, fame, tangling alliances; priest-craft and spiritual wickedness in *high places*, struck hands, and revelled in midnight splendor. Trouble, vexation, perplexity and contention, mingled with hope, fear and murmuring, rumbled, through the union and agitated the whole nation as would an earthquake at the centre of the earth the world, heaving the sea beyond its bounds, and shaking the everlasting hills: So, in hopes of better times, while jealousy, hypocritical pretensions, and pompous ambition, were luxuriating on the ill-gotten spoils of the people, they rose in their majesty like a tornado, and swept through the land, till General Harrison appeared, as a star among the storm clouds, for better weather.

The calm came; and the language of that venerable patriot, in his inaugural address, while descanting upon the merits of the constitution and its framers, thus expressed himself. "There were in it, features which appeared not to be in harmony with their ideas of a simple representative democracy or republic. And knowing the tendency of power to increase itself, particularly when executed by a single individual, predictions were made that, at no very remote period, the government would terminate in virtual monarchy. It would not become me to say that the fears of these patriots have been already realized. But as I sincerely believe that the tendency of measures and of men's opinions, for some years past, has been in that direction, it is, I conceive, strictly proper that I should take this occasion to repeat the assurances I have heretofore given, of my determination to arrest the progress of that tendency if it really exists, and restore the govern-
[7] ment to its pristine health and vigor." This good man died before he had the opportunity of applying one balm to ease the pain of our groaning country, and I am willing the nation should be the judge, whether General Harrison, in his exalted station, upon the eve of his entrance into the world of spirits, *told the truth or not:* with acting president Tyler's three years of perplexity and pseudo whig democrat reign, to heal the breaches, or show the wounds, *secundum artum*, (according to art.) Subsequent events, all things considered, Van Buren's downfall, Harrison's exit, and Tyler's self-sufficient turn to the whole, go to shew, as a Chaldean might exclaim: Beram etai elauh beshmayauh gauhah rauzeen: (*Certainly there is a God in heaven to reveal secrets;*)

No honest man can doubt for a moment, but the glory of American liberty, is on the wane; and that calamity and confusion will sooner or later destroy the peace of the people. Speculators will urge a national bank as a savior of credit and comfort. A hireling pseudo priesthood will plausibly push abolition doctrines and doings, and "human rights," into Congress and nto every other place, where conquest smells of fame, or opposition swells to popularity.—
Democracy, Whiggery, and Cliquery, will at- [8]
tract their elements and foment divisions among the people, to accomplish fancied schemes and accumulate power, while poverty driven to despair, like hunger forcing its way through a wall, will break through the statutes of men, to save life, and mend the breach in prison glooms.

A still higher grade, of what the "nobility of the nations" call "great men," will dally with all rights in order to smuggle a fortune at "one fell swo p;" mortgage Texas, possess Oregon, and claim all the unsettled regions of the world for hunting and trapping: and should a humble honest man, red, black, or white, exhibit a better title, these gentry have only to clothe the judge with richer ermine, and spangle the lawyer's fingers with finer rings, to have the judgment of his peers, and the honor of his lords, as a pattern of honesty, virtue and humanity, while the motto hangs on his nation's escutcheon: "*Every man has his price!*"

Now, oh! people! turn unto the Lord and live; and reform this nation. Frustrate the designs of wicked men. Reduce Congress at least one half. Two Senators from a state and two members to a million of population, will do more business than the army that now occupy the halls of the National Legislature. Pay them two dollars and their board per diem; (except Sundays,) that is more than the farmer gets, and he lives honestly. Curtail the offices of government in pay, number and power, for the Philistine lords have shorn our nation of its goodly locks in the lap of Delilah. [9]

Petition your state legislature to pardon every convict in their several penitentiaries: blessing them as they go, and saying to them in the name of the Lord, *go thy way and sin no more.* Ad- [10]
vise your legislators when they make laws for larceny, burglary or any felony, to make the penalty applicable to work upon the roads, public works, or any place where the culprit can be taught more wisdom and more virtue; and become more enlightened. Rigor and seclusion will never do as much to reform the propensities of man, as reason and friendship. Murder only

can claim confinement or death. Let the penitentiaries be turned into seminaries of learning, where intelligence, like the angels of heaven, would banish such fragments of barbarism: Imprisonment for debt is a meaner practice than the savage tolerates with all his ferocity; "Amor [omnia] vincit amnia." Love conquers all.

Petition also, ye goodly inhabitants of the slave states, your legislators to abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now, and save the abolition- [11] ist from reproach and ruin, infamy and shame. Pray Congress to pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves out of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands, and from the deduction of pay from the members of Con- [12] gress. Break off the shackles from the poor black man, and hire them to labor like other human beings; for "an hour of virtuous liberty on earth, is worth a whole eternity of bondage!" Abolish the practice in the army and navy of trying men by court martial for desertion; if a soldier or marine runs away, send him his wages, with this instruction, that *his country will never trust him again, he has forfeited his honor.* Make HONOR the standard with all men: be sure that good is rendered for evil in all cases: and the whole nation, like a kingdom of kings and priests, will rise up with righteousness: and be respected as wise and worthy on earth: and as just and holy for heaven; by Jehovah the author of perfection. More economy in the national and state governments; would make less taxes among the [13] people: more equality through the cities, towns & country, would make less distinction among the people; and more honesty and familiarity in societies, would make less hypocrisy and flattery in all branches of community; and open, frank, candid, decorum to all men, in this boasted land of liberty, would beget esteem, confidence, union and love; and the neighbor from any state, or from any country, of whatever color, clime or tongue, could rejoice when he put his foot on the sacred soil of freedom, and exclaim: the very name of *"American,"* is fraught with *friendship!* Oh! then, create confidence! restore freedom!—break down slavery! banish imprisonment for debt, and be in love, fellowship and peace with all the world! Remember that honesty is not subject to law: the law was made for transgressors: [German] wherefore a Dutchman might exclaim: *Ein ehrlicher name ist besser als Reichthum,* (a good name is better than riches.)

For the accommodation of the people in every state and territory, let Congress shew their wisdom by granting a national bank, with branches in each state and territory, where the capital stock shall be held by the nation for the mother bank: and by the states and territories, for the branches: and whose officers and directors shall be elected yearly by the people with wages at the rate of two dollars per day for services: which several banks shall never issue any more bills than the amount of capital stock in her vaults and the interest. The nett gain [14] of the mother bank shall be applied to the national revenue, and that of the branches to the states and territories' revenues. And the bills shall be par throughout the nation, which will mercifully cure that fatal disorder known in cities, as *brokerage;* and leave the people's money in their own pockets.

Give every man his constitutional freedom, and the president full power to send an army to suppress mobs; and the states authority to repeal and impugn that relic of folly, which makes it necessary for the governor of a state to make the demand of the president for troops, in cases of invasion or rebellion. The governor [15] himself may be a mobber and, instead of being punished, as he should be for murder and treason, he may destroy the very lives, rights, and property he should protect. Like the good Samaritan, send every lawyer as soon as he repents and obeys the ordinances of heaven, to preach the gospel to the destitute, without purse or scrip, pouring in the oil and the wine: a learned priesthood is certainly more honorable than *a "hireling clergy".*

As to the contiguous territories to the United States, wisdom would direct no tangling alliance: Oregon belongs to this government honorably, and when we have the red man's consent, let the union spread from the east to the west sea; and if Texas petitions Congress to be adopted among the sons of liberty, give her the the right hand of fellowship; and refuse not the same friendly grip to Canada and Mexico: and [16] when the right arm of freemen is stretched out in the character of a navy, for the protection of rights, commerce and honor, let the iron eyes of power, watch from Maine to Mexico, and from California to Columbia; thus may union be strengthened, and foreign speculation prevented from opposing broadside to broadside.

Seventy years have done much for this goodly land; they have burst the chains of oppression and monarchy; and multiplied its inhabitants from two to twenty millions; with a proportionate share of knowledge: keen enough to circumnavigate the globe; draw the lightning from the clouds: and cope with all the crowned heads of the world.

Then why? Oh! why! will a once flourishing people not arise, phœnix like, over the cinders of Martin Van Buren's power; and over the sinking fragments and smoking ruins of other catamount politicians; and over the windfalls of Benton, Calhoun, Clay, Wright, and a caravan of other equally unfortunate law doc-

tors, and cheerfully help to spread a plaster and bind up the *burnt, bleeding wounds* of a sore but blessed country? The southern people are hospitable and noble: they will help to rid so *free* a country of every vestige of slavery, when ever they are assured of an equivalent for their property. The country will be full of money and confidence, when a national bank of twenty millions, and a state bank in every state, with a million or more, gives a tone to monetary matters, and make a circulating medium as valuable in the purses of a whole community, as in the coffers of a speculating banker or broker

The people may have faults but they never should be trifled with. I think Mr. Pitt's quotation in the British Parliament of Mr. Prior's couplet for the husband and wife, to apply to the course which the king and ministry of England should pursue to the then colonies, of the *now* United States, might be a genuine rule of action for some of the *breath made* men in high places, to use towards the posterity of that noble daring people:

"Be to her faults a little blind;
Be to her virtues very kind."

We have had democratic presidents; whig presidents; a pseudo democratic whig president; and now it is time to have *a president of the United States;* and let the people of the whole union, like the inflexible Romans, whenever they find a *promise* made by a candidate, that is not *practised* as an officer, hurl the miserable sycophant from his exaltation, as God did Nebuchadnezzar, to crop the grass of the field, with a beast's heart among the cattle.

Mr. Van Buren said in his inaugural address, that he went "into the presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt, on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes of the slave holding states; and also with a determination equally decided to resist the slightest interference with it in the states where it exists." Poor little Matty made his rhapsodical sweep with the fact before his eyes, that the state of New-York, his native state, had abolished slavery, without a struggle or a groan. Great God, how independent! From henceforth slavery is tolerated where it exists: constitution or no constitution; people or no people; right or wrong; vox Matti; vox Diaboli: "the voice of Matty"—"the voice
[17] of the devil;" and peradventure, his great "Sub-Treasury" scheme was a piece of the same mind: but the man and his measures have such a striking resemblance to the anecdote of the Welchman and his cart-tongue, that, when the constitution was so long that it allowed slavery at the capitol of a free people, it could not be cut off; but when it was short that it needed a *Sub-Treasury*, to save the funds of the nation, it *could be spliced!* Oh, granny what a long tail our puss has got! As a Greek might say, *hysteron proteron:* the cart before the horse: but his mighty whisk through the great national fire, for the presidential chesnuts. *burnt* [chestnuts] *the locks of his glory with the blaze of his folly!*

In the United States the people are the government; and their united voice is the only sovereign that should rule; the only power that should be obeyed; and the only gentlemen that should be honored; at home and abroad; on the land and on the sea: Wherefore, were I the president of the United States, by the voice of a virtuous people, I would honor the old paths of the venerated fathers of freedom: I would walk in the tracks of the illustrious patriots, who carried the ark of the government upon their shoulders with an eye single to the glory of the people and when that people petitioned to abolish slavery in the slave states, I would use all honorable means to have their prayers granted: and give liberty to the captive; by giving the southern gentleman a reasonable equivalent for his property, that the whole nation might be free indeed! When the people petitioned for a national bank, I would use my best endeavors to have their prayers answered, and establish one on national principles to save taxes, and make them the controllers of its ways and means; and when the people petitioned to possess the teritory of Oregon or any other contiguous territory; I would lend the influence of a chief magistrate to grant so reasonable a request, that they might extend the mighty efforts and enterprise of a free people from the east to the west sea; and make the wilderness blossom as the rose; and when a neighboring realm petitioned to join the union of the sons of liberty, my voice would be, *come:* yea come Texas: come Mexico; come Canada; and come all the world—let us be brethren: let us be one great family; and let there be universal peace. Abolish the cruel customs of prisons, (except certain cases,) penitentiaries, and court-martials for desertion; and let reason and friendship reign over the ruins of ignorance and barbarity; yea I would, as the universal friend of man, open the prisons; open the eyes; open the ears and open the hearts of all people, to behold and enjoy freedom, unadulterated freedom: and God, who once cleansed the violence of the earth with a flood; whose Son laid down his life for the salvation of all his father gave him out of the world; and who has promised that he will come and purify the world again with fire in the last days, should be supplicated by me for the good of all people.

With the highest esteem,
I am a friend of virtue
and of the people,
JOSEPH SMITH.

Nauvoo, Illinois, February 7, 1844.

EDITORIAL FOOTNOTES TO GENERAL SMITH'S VIEWS . . .

[1]It is likely that most of the actual writing was done by William W. Phelps, who handled much of Joseph Smith's correspondence and journalistic writing in this period. John M. Bernhisel probably also helped and others possibly made some suggestions. *Documentary History of the Church*, VI, 75 fn., 189, 197, 221. This is the edition published in May 1844, almost certainly using the type from the original pamphlet edition of February 7, 1844. "Printed by John Taylor." A number of obvious typographical errors have been corrected in brackets in the margins.

[2]The excerpts from the Albany Plan of Union, 1754, and from the inaugural addresses of all the Presidents to 1844 except Van Buren and Tyler are almost certainly from one of the published collections of public documents and addresses which began to appear in the Jacksonian period.

[3]In D.H.C., VI, 200, Roberts corrects this to read "Crockford's" Hell, and identifies it with Crockford's house at 50 St. James Street, London.

[4]A protective tariff had been proposed by Alexander Hamilton, adopted following the War of 1812, reduced after the South Carolina nullification crisis of 1832, and advocated rather consistently thereafter by northern and western elements in the Whig Party as part of Henry Clay's "American System." Since Joseph Smith *favored* the tariff at this time perhaps "subversion" should read "subvention."

[5]Clay also figured prominently in the Congressional adoption of this project. After three quarterly distributions had been made, the Panic of 1837 wiped out the surplus and the United States has not since been without a national debt.

[6]Van Buren's refusal, on constitutional as well as political grounds, to involve the Presidency in the Mormon difficulties with Missouri had long since made his name anathema among Latter-day Saints.

[7]William Henry Harrison's hesitancy about trying to dominate Congress or the state governments was shared by other Whig leaders, including Abraham Lincoln, before the Civil War. The praise here is not entirely consistent with the denunciation of Van Buren for similar hesitancy, and with the program for Presidential action advocated in the *Views*.

[8]Both the Democratic and Whig parties were afflicted with sectional and local factionalism, which produced a disposition on the part of leaders in both to straddle on many national issues as the campaign of 1844 took shape.

[9]In 1844 there were 223 Representatives and 52 Senators, representing 26 states and a population of approximately 20,000,000. The pay of members of Congress at this time was $8 per diem. The total number of federal employees in 1841 was 23,700; by 1851 it had risen to 33,300. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 62; E. S. Bates, *The Story of Congress* (New York: Harper, 1936), p. 101.

[10]Penal reform as well as improved care for the insane received widespread attention in the Jacksonian era, though proposals as sweeping as this were uncommon. Imprisonment for debt was abolished in most of the states.

[11]By 1820 all of the states north of the Mason-Dixon Line and the Ohio River had abolished slavery, but there had been no serious discussion of the subject in the South since the Virginia legislature debated and defeated an emancipation bill in 1830-31.

[12]There were almost 3,000,000 slaves in 1844, with an average value in excess of $500. Total public land sales in the 1840's averaged approximately $2,000,000 yearly, and the proposed cut-backs in Congressional membership and pay would have produced perhaps $500,000. There was no "surplus revenue." *Historical Statistics*, pp. 27, 297.

[13]Federal expenditures in 1844 for all purposes were $23,000,000, or less than $1.25 per capita. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

[14]Clay's "American System" also called for a national bank with branches, but the stock in that institution would be partly governmentally owned and partly privately owened, while the Prophet's bank would be an entirely socialistic enterprise.

[15]The constitutional provision referred to is Article IV, Section 4: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence." With the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment after the Civil War, the federal government received for the first time the authority to intervene in the states to protect citizens against state actions violative of the Bill of Rights; but Article IV, Section 4 remains the supreme law of the land insofar as the general procedure for the suppression of domestic violence is concerned.

[16]When the *Views* was written early in 1844, both major parties seemed likely to straddle on the Texas question because of its implications for sectional politics, but at the Democratic convention in May, Van Buren was defeated by the dark-horse James K. Polk, and the "Manifest Destiny" platform called for "Reoccupation of Oregon; Reannexation of Texas." Mexico and Canada were also in the minds of many ardent expansionists in the 1840's.

[17]Both Whigs and Democrats agreed in the 1840's that the Constitution protected slavery in the states where it existed. The question of the constitutional status of slavery in the territories would soon become a Union-splitting issue in consequence of the Mexican War, in which some of Joseph Smith's followers would play a significant part.

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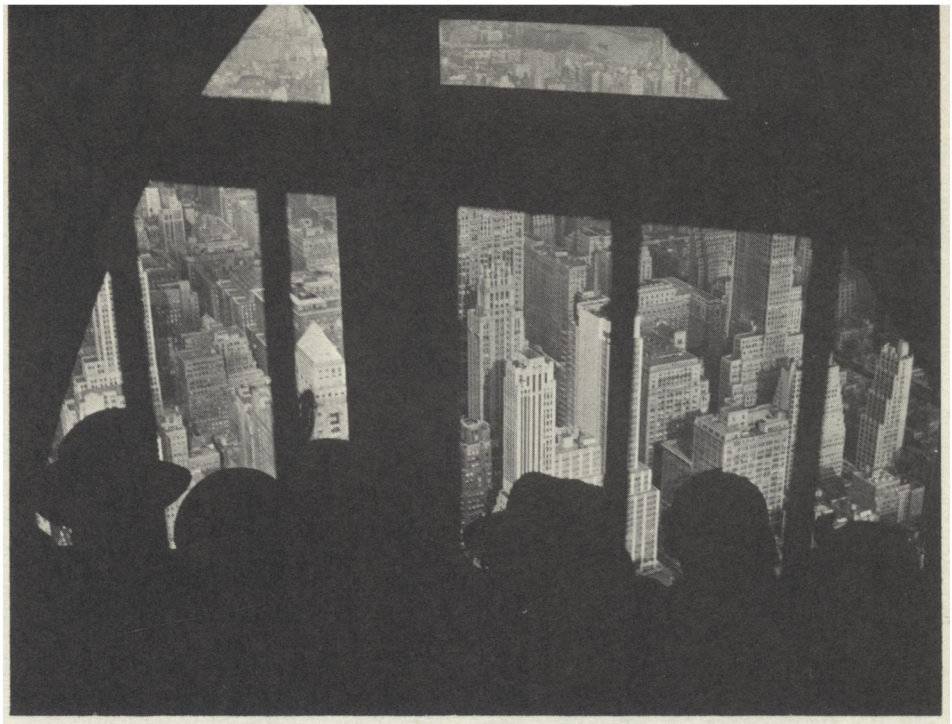

MORMONS IN THE SECULAR CITY — AN INTRODUCTION

Mary L. Bradford and Garth L. Mangum

. . . Perhaps the best definition of the city in its higher aspects is to say that it is a place designed to offer the widest facilities for significant conversation . . . The dialogue is one of the ultimate expressions of life in the city: the delicate flower of its long vegetative growth . . .

—Lewis Mumford

Mormons, whether they know it or not, whether they like it or not, have entered the Secular City. This term, coined by Harvey Cox, expresses (in "secular") a "this worldness" – meaning that the work of the world must be done by man himself, and (in "city") all historical and utopian dreams for the model community. *Dialogue* magazine stands at that intersection between the religious and the secular worlds. It has, since its inception, sought to sort out the issues which thrive on that thin boundary. This special section attempts to focus upon the challenges of urban life, opening up the subject for present thought, for future analysis. It does not propose to dictate to the "Church" as an institution but only to give voice to the urban concern among individual Mormons.

There are now approximately 1,000,000 Mormons living in or near large cities. This figure will spiral in the next several years. And "those who have been drawn into the tradition-demolishing orbit of urban life are never quite the same again."[1] Tribe and town mentalities cannot survive in the Secular City, nor can the old fears and superstitions which cluster about them. It is popular to assume that *any* turning from religious paths to secular ones is

[1]Harvey Cox, *The Secular City* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), p. 46.

evil per se. When non-Mormon church attendance falls off, it is stylish to cluck the tongue and point to the end of the world. It is at least possible, however, that the weakening of worldly and traditional religions makes possible the emergence of true and restored religion.

Secular tension has produced — even since Kirtland — the "Headquarters Mormon" and the "Periphery Mormon," those living on the edge of the "world out there," and those involved with what Sterling McMurrin has called "an ideal but isolated parochial community."[2] Mormons have all along had their own excitements, often of such intensity that other excitements cannot enter. The present world's greatest excitement — the struggle for equal rights and opportunities for men of all races and conditions, both in America and in the underdeveloped nations — does not often penetrate the inner circle. But those living outside the circle, in large cities, are gradually changing and widening their perspectives. What seems to be emerging is a new type — the Urban Mormon, fulfilling in a unique new way the command to be in the world but not of it. This urban man feels, with Cox, that "the ordered, objective, knowable world is not simply 'there' awaiting man's pedestrian efforts to uncover it. Rather, the meaningful ordering of the world itself is a human enterprise, an undertaking which Man assumes as God's partner."[3] "Secular" no longer has unpleasant connotations in this context, but affords urban man the same central place in the universe as do Mormon theological aspirations toward potential Godhood.

Not only does the urban Mormon have a positive attitude toward secularism, but he does not share the traditional fear and mistrust of the "Big City." An annual editorial in the *Church News* warns of dangers faced by young people who migrate to the city for summer jobs. Bishops and parents are urged to form a plan of protection. This is all well and good, but the urban Mormon asks, what of those already living in the city (and doing so mainly by choice)?

Though the urban Mormon takes precautions against the dangers and disillusionments of city life, he realizes that the city has long been metaphor for adventure, for opportunity, for many needs of the body and of the spirit.

The historical city can be described in three stages. The first was created when land as the source of wealth turned the city into a kind of parasite living off the surplus. Seats of power, represented at the center by the Temple or the Palace, descended in concentric rings of influence to the outskirts. This stage gave way to industrialism. Muscles were recruited from a low-paid agricultural system, with factories replacing the palace and the temple. Their affluent owners and managers avoided the smoke and noise a carriage ride away. We are now well into the third stage. This is one in which formally developed skills and talents are the primary sources of wealth, with the university as central symbol. However, physical location is no longer crucial, and much city ground has given way to the motor car.

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[2]See Sterling McMurrin, *The Negroes Among the Mormons* (Salt Lake Chapter NAACP, 1968).

[3]Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

In America the factories were manned by immigrants huddling at the gates. But as their children gained knowledge in language and custom, they rose to affluence and moved to the suburbs. The central cities were filled up again with immigrants, but this time immigrants from rural America, who settled in the cheap inner-city housing. Lacking in urban skills, they were often also marked by racial distinctions. They then became trapped in a "white noose" of suburban housing surrounding the inner city and creating the ghetto. This homogenization and segregation leads to many unfamiliar problems. The urban Mormon shares in these.

Mormons have always built cities. They wandered some, like the nomadic Hebrews, but it was forced wandering. They did not carry the Ark with them, but planned to build, planned ahead, built wherever they stopped. They were wide, generous plans, in keeping with wide, generous ideals. "Nauvoo the Beautiful" may seem cliché, but its sturdy buildings are only now taking shape in our minds. When the Mormons finally built their little city in the desert, the Gold Rush did not tempt them. For Mormon leaders were city planners from the start, deeply concerned with the way men live together. They envisioned a complete way of life, embodied not only in their law, but in their actual habitations. Real names meant real places — symbols yes, but material ones. They envisioned real cities of the future and pictured them as places of protection. Now Mormons are feeling with the rest of the world the effects of concentration, living in narrow confines within rising pressures. As a concentrator of brains, wealth, and power the city opens up for Mormons new sources of prestige. In fact, Mormon emphasis upon education may yet vault us from the agrarian to the post-industrial talent society with only modest exposure to the industrial stage.

There are many implications. What is the relevance of the idea of rugged individualism, substituted in this century for the cooperative traditions of the last one, to a society of growing complexity and interdependence? What special traumas will Mormons face as American society seeks to ameliorate the lingering burden of the past? How can expectations of unquestioning obedience be accommodated to rising intellectualism which has been taught to query, to analyze, to challenge? What are the consequences for brotherhood among Mormons who never meet "poor" Mormons in "poor" wards? Some wards are surfeited with able leadership while others find competent staffing well-nigh impossible. All of these trends are part of the urbanizing process and seem to point up a growing need for research, that we may better understand ourselves.

Just as individual Mormons feel the impact, their cities too reflect it. One can see, for instance, in Salt Lake City the advantages of concentration of talent and finance and the growing role of the university side by side with urban sprawl, social and economic segregation, congestion and deterioration of the inner city. The city can claim not one, but two ghettos; air pollution is a growing problem; the city is quartered and sliced by freeways; new commercial buildings dwarf the world-renowned spiritual symbol at its center.

A good question for debate might be whether Mormons should think of

their church membership as a protective shelter or as a tool for shaping and reshaping their environment. After city riots, many urban Mormons found themselves faced with the "Back to Zion" syndrome. It was argued whether one should return to the place of one's birth (be it Malad or Salt Lake City), whether one should prepare for the big move to Missouri (no doubt creating a Mormon version of "Resurrection City"), or whether one should seek protection by living the good life and "standing in holy places." Big city problems cause many such expansions and contractions.

It may be that the secular tension producing all of these problems may be relieved by a group of mediators now growing up in the Church. This group, composed of faithful Mormons experienced in the mores of the world, will act as bridge between the Utah-oriented leadership of the past and present, and the more cosmopolitan leadership of the future. This group, dynamic and understanding of urban life styles, will combine all the best qualities of Headquarters and Periphery, creating a new world-wide brotherhood.

This section attempts to deal with several of the questions raised above with an eye toward future articles on other topics. Planned for Winter is a study of the causes of city riots and their effects on Mormons, by Royal Shipp; an analysis of civil disobedience and its relation to law and order, by Dallin Oaks; and an interview with Harvey Cox. It is hoped that articles in the future will look into the woman's role in city building, the effects of mass communications and public relations, the big city universities and Mormons who attend them, the impact of the city on missionary work (and vice versa). A future issue will be devoted to international Mormons in cities throughout the world.

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MORMONS IN THE URBAN COMMUNITY

William O. Robinson

Unless you consult particulars,
you cannot see.
—William Blake

The average L.D.S. Church member finds many societal forces buffered or muted for him by the Church. Among other factors, our focus on the eternal nature of life (with a strong orientation toward the hereafter), our social solidarity (which undercuts tendencies toward "anomie"), and our commitment to all-consuming activity in Church work all serve to blunt the impact of urban life on the typical Saint.

On the other hand, there are also many elements of Mormon doctrine and practice which can impel the urban Mormon toward an active role in the community. We are admonished to become "anxiously engaged" in good causes without having to be commanded to do so. We are imbued from early childhood with notions of free agency, eternal progression, and the *potential* godhood of man. We look upon this free land of ours as a proving ground wherein man may exercise his agency and progress toward his ultimate goal of perfection. There is no room in this vision for sitting back idly while some of God's children are denied the opportunity to develop to their maximum potential. Nor can we overlook Christ's injunction to love our neighbors as ourselves — "neighbor" stretching beyond our brethren in the Church to include strangers, the downtrodden, those who suffer adversity, and even our enemies.

Finally, the pragmatism which is so characteristic of urban man strikes a responsive chord in many Latter-day Saints. This article describes the response of some of the members of the Alexandria Ward — living in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area — to the compelling needs of the community in which they live. This response, reflected in two ward-related projects, represents an attempt to apply the teachings of the Church to the problems of daily living and to bring to bear the insights and strength of Mormon theology and organization upon their solution.

The idea of participating in some concrete community project had been discussed in the ward for some time. A spark of encouragement came in a ward conference in 1965, when President Miller L. Shurtleff of the Potomac Stake suggested that Church members have a responsibility to the larger community of which they are a part. He specifically recommended participation by ward members in such community activities as fund drives for charitable organizations and projects to assist the poor. But the impetus to action failed to develop, and the idea survived on the hot air of discussion and debate alone until a new Elders Quorum president, Howard T. Nelson, decided that the quorum should undertake a specific project to assist the predominantly Negro poor people living in downtown Alexandria.

Some initial assignments were made to investigate the kinds of programs which might be useful and which were suited to the needs and skills of the quorum. When some general areas had been marked out for further research, the quorum sought the approval of the new Potomac Stake Presidency before proceeding further. President Julian C. Lowe approved the general outlines of the project on the condition that other Priesthood responsibilities were not to be sacrificed to the new undertaking. The plan was then submitted to the Bishopric and Priesthood Executive Committee of the Alexandria Ward, virtually all of whom received it favorably. Bishop Ira Whitlock commended the quorum leaders and offered his support.

The next steps were particularly critical ones. The selection of specific projects and the determination of the "ground rules" for participation could mean the difference between success and failure. The following general contours were decided upon:

1. *Voluntary participation.* The Elders Quorum provides *information* on the opportunities available for community assistance. It is left up to each elder to decide whether or not to participate. No pressure is brought to bear. Unlike work at the stake farm, the project is not even termed a "Priesthood responsibility," to avoid even subtle ecclesiastical suasion. (This feature was one of the first agreed upon and was, in fact, understood at each successive stage of approval.)

2. *Minimal resource commitment.* The nature of volunteer work is such that a resource commitment of some kind is a *sine qua non* for any action. Realizing that nothing would be accomplished without the assignment of responsibility, one member of the quorum presidency accepted as his primary duty the coordination of the community service project.

3. *Use of existing agencies.* This decision was dictated by our lack of experience and by the practical necessity of conserving our own time, energy, and funds.

4. *Involvement in the local community.* We chose the city of Alexandria as the focal point of our efforts — rather than the more deprived ghetto areas in Washington, D.C. — because we felt obliged to serve our own community first and because we wanted the project to be near at hand and to involve us with our literal neighbors.

5. *Careful selection and planning of projects.* The chief frustration of volunteer work is the lack of comprehensive information. There are bits and pieces of potential service opportunities all over the city, but they have to be ferreted out, and then carefully gleaned to identify the most promising. Contacting specific agencies brought enthusiastic response to the offer of volunteers, but an appalling lack of concrete ideas on how they would be used. In fact, some agencies never bothered to call us back after the initial contact. But our persistence was eventually rewarded, and the time spent in project selection proved to be well invested. (One long-time welfare worker even asked us for a description of our approach and findings, knowing of other organizations lost in the maze.)

After searching for months, we decided to concentrate our efforts on the Head Start Day Care Center sponsored by Hopkins House, a settlement house active in a number of welfare activities in Alexandria. The Center — which receives about three-fifths of its financial support from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) — is well organized and administered, and it met our offer of volunteer help with considerable enthusiasm.

Members of the quorum and their supporters (wives, assorted High Priests, Seventies, Senior Aaronic members, and friends) have been involved in four different kinds of activities. Approximately thirty-five Mormon families have participated in one or more phases of the project:

1. *Physical services at the Center.* Since most of the employees at the Center are women, they often require the services of able-bodied men. One Saturday, four elders joined the fathers of three children and painted part of the building. A few Saturdays later, five more quorum members helped repair tricycles, wagons, and a climbing tower — the only outside play equipment available to the children.

2. *Teaching assistance.* The first continuing activity was undertaken by about a half-dozen of the wives. Two or three times each week at least one of the women goes to the Center to help care for the children. Most of those who do so have teaching certificates and are able to provide valuable service. (The favorable comments of the non-Mormon staff at the Center have made their way back to us indirectly.)

3. *Broadened horizons.* One of the most successful elements of the program — for all concerned — has been a weekly series of Saturday outings.

Every Saturday for the past few months, twelve to seventeen children from the Center have gone on outings with ward members and their families — each family taking two or three children from the Center along with their own children to the zoo, on a picnic, home to bake cookies or play, or on similar excursions. The outings can broaden the horizons of all those involved. One little girl enjoyed her first ride on a merry-go-round. At the same time, our own children gain an opportunity to understand the diversity (and underlying similarities) in the world around them. It would be presumptuous and premature to contend that this kind of social interaction will overcome the problems of either black or white racism, but the potential is there for ameliorating racial strife.

4. *Limited financial aid.* Since provision for playground equipment was not made in the Center's budget, the Elders Quorum presidency directed a fund-raising drive which brought in $350 (mostly from non-members of the quorum) to purchase equipment.

In over a year's involvement we have learned much. We hope to extend the number and quality of our associations with the children's parents in the months ahead — perhaps by holding joint family picnics or merely chatting briefly when returning children to their homes after an outing. We are not so naive that we conceive this as an easy goal, nor are we even certain that greater involvement with the parents should be one of our objectives. We are rank amateurs, optimistically groping our way along a path that we hope will lead to greater tolerance, love and understanding. We have no idea what benefits, direct or indirect, our project might bring to the Church. For some quorum members, this is virtually the only connection with Church activity. Judging from the interest — and surprise — of some of our colleagues when they see Mormons so engaged, I suspect that it might aid our missionary efforts in the Washington metropolitan area (although obviously not with the Hopkins House people). In any event, we are anxiously engaged in what we believe to be a good cause.

Less controversial but equally satisfying is a project begun by two members of our Seventies group. The men, both stake missionaries, began holding Sunday services for the elderly residents of the Woodbine Nursing and Convalescent Home several months ago. This undertaking has received broader acceptance than the Head Start program. The most interesting feature of the project at the Home is that the arrangements were made quite independently of those for the Elders Quorum project. Insofar as I can determine, neither organization was aware of what the other was doing; yet they were both responding to a similar need — that of community service. The people at Woodbine had tried in vain for years to obtain the services of a clergyman so that they could hold Sunday services for their patients, most of whom are in wheel chairs. Since our chapel is directly across the street from the Home, we can conduct services there without disrupting our own services.

Support for this project has expanded to include the Mt. Vernon Ward (which shares our chapel) and much of the Stake High Council. Talks are

given by various Church leaders (including Elder Hartman Rector, recently called from this area to the First Council of Seventy), music is offered, and the MIA girls participate by bringing the elderly patients downstairs in their wheel chairs. The sermons are based strictly on the Bible, and active missionary work per se is not pushed. Nevertheless, according to William J. Holliman, "The influence of these services in the community, particularly among the families of the patients, is resulting in the opening of doors to our missionaries." Some employees at the Home have joined the Church, and others are receiving instructions from the missionaries. Two of the patients who have returned to their homes are being taught, as well as the son of one of the patients. Recently we were asked to conduct funeral services for one of the patients who had passed away. Finally, we are coming into contact with other ministers in the area whom we are inviting to speak at the services. (We are even presenting the lessons to one of the ministers.)

But even if no additional baptisms result from our activities at the Home, the project is highly rewarding. Anyone who has attended these meetings and has seen the eyes of lonely people brighten when the Saints come to bring them a spiritual message has known the joy that comes of service, and of having brought just a little love and happiness into the life of another human being.

Of interest here is a stake project initiated by Potomac Stake President Julian Lowe. After the April riots in Washington, D.C., President Lowe mobilized, through the Home Teaching Program, all of the wards in the stake, who gathered overnight seven truckloads of food for the riot-torn areas. Mayor Washington later complimented President Lowe upon the effort, remarking that it was the best-organized of all food programs undertaken by churches in the area.

The future of such community service projects as these is uncertain. For these programs to be initiated and carried out successfully requires the support of a sizable number of people, from the stake president down to the ward members who must actually give their time and efforts. With such transient people as we Mormons tend to be in urban areas, it is questionable whether this elusive combination can be maintained for long. I suspect that only if the Church will institutionalize them can such programs thrive. To claim that this would dissipate resources which should be focused only on teaching the Gospel is to overlook the fact that this is another approach to the same objective — an approach which is especially suited to the needs of urban life.

REFLECTIONS AT HOPKINS HOUSE

Belle Cluff

"What's your name?"
"Are you coming back?"
"I love you."
These are the words of a Hopkins House child. Being young, very young,

given by various Church leaders (including Elder Hartman Rector, recently called from this area to the First Council of Seventy), music is offered, and the MIA girls participate by bringing the elderly patients downstairs in their wheel chairs. The sermons are based strictly on the Bible, and active missionary work per se is not pushed. Nevertheless, according to William J. Holliman, "The influence of these services in the community, particularly among the families of the patients, is resulting in the opening of doors to our missionaries." Some employees at the Home have joined the Church, and others are receiving instructions from the missionaries. Two of the patients who have returned to their homes are being taught, as well as the son of one of the patients. Recently we were asked to conduct funeral services for one of the patients who had passed away. Finally, we are coming into contact with other ministers in the area whom we are inviting to speak at the services. (We are even presenting the lessons to one of the ministers.)

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living in a poverty-ridden neighborhood, and possibly being a Negro are prerequisites for Hopkins House. Feeling a little social guilt could be the requirement for helping there.

As MIA president I am always looking for worthwhile service projects. I am happy that the girls are no longer encouraged to earn service hours at ward dinners, but are urged instead to find community work. The cooperative kindergarten my child attends has just lost its director to Hopkins House and the Head Start program. Inquiring of her if she might need young girls to help with the children, I became interested myself.

And so it begins.

After I transport four well-fed, well-loved white children to the old but shining church in the beautiful Beverley Hills section of Alexandria, Virginia, I drive downtown along the railroad tracks and the truck route until I pass buildings that have seen better days.

I unchain the huge iron gate that surrounds Meade Memorial Church and enter the barren yard, where I am soon greeted by forty faces, some white, most black. I am assigned to work with three-year-olds. Ronnie, one of these, wears his coat and hat all the time, and is obviously sickly. (I wonder how these children would act if they were well.) Ronnie likes to be held. So I sing to him and rock him. Soon he begins hopping on one foot and smiling. And then — finally — he removes his coat.

The children are either terribly aggressive or painfully shy. On one occasion I turn to catch a two-by-four block just as Maurice is about to bash my head in. Soon after this he sinks his fangs into my arm. Maurice likes me; it's just that he seems unable to express himself in any other way. I believe he bit me because he liked the story I was reading to Michael. Michael never says anything; he just looks right into my "Id" with his flashing black eyes. One day the Elders Quorum and their families picked up the children for a Saturday outing. I guess Michael is still too wary of white strangers, because instead of joining one of the families, he left, sad-eyed, with his mother.

Tony and Liza are girl cousins who live in the same house with two mothers and six or seven other children. Tony's father stops weekly to see if Tony is being properly disciplined. Before he can get around to Tony, though, he must first discipline her mother. Liza always suffers quite a bit from Tony's resulting tantrums. They are both beautiful little girls and surprisingly well dressed. One day, in a pretty dress with ruffled yellow panties, three-year-old Tony propositioned the minister.

All of the forty children are crowded into one room divided by sliding screens. We take the "Threes" outside early to provide more space for Fours and Fives. We go to the playground where there are three trees, one empty storage shed, and a wooden jungle gym, all surrounded by that huge iron fence. Once outside we ride the gate "train" to visit "Grandma in New Orleans." She serves us cookies and punch in the shed. We spend one morning cracking walnuts and another throwing leaves. Fortunately the Elders Quorum has decided to buy playground equipment for next year.

One unusually warm winter morning I arrive at school to find the Threes

anticipating a trip into Washington, D.C., to visit a beautiful playground whose equipment is a gift from Mexico to Mrs. Johnson. We pile into two cars and start out. As usual I get lost several times, but finally arrive with five children. Strangely enough all five, usually noisy and troublesome, have been so entranced with the ride that they simply gaze out the window with enormous eyes. We alight and tromp through the mud until the other car arrives. "Guess what," is their greeting, "Whaletha has upchucked all over Mrs. Swenson." Ah, Children!

Lunchtime at Hopkins House is always unforgettable. The children are served a good hot meal as soon as they can sit with some control. The first time I decide to eat with them someone warns me that I may lose my appetite. As I look around, I discover that thirteen of the noses I have wiped ten minutes earlier are now running profusely again. The children are eating soup with their hands, pouring milk onto one another's heads. One of the more posh volunteers asks Steven if he would act that way if he were in a restaurant. Steven is puzzled by the word. He is one of the more rambunctious children and has a terrible time trying to sit still. Most days he is picked up and literally dropped, like a scratching cat, into the hall where he can kick, scream, and run into walls without disturbing the other children. When he comes back in, he is always welcomed by his twin sister who hugs him with her short, chubby arms and kisses his wet cheek.

One secret the director discovers just after Christmas is that if she gives the children one small box of dry cereal when they arrive, their whole attitude changes. A little breakfast is a wonderful thing! One morning as they finish their cereal I notice a little face I do not immediately recognize. She is standing next to LeRoy and wearing a torn plaid dress. Her face is emaciated, her eyes full of hunger, but she drops them when I look over. Finally, I reach out my hand. She clasps it quickly. She is LeRoy's sister, it turns out, and has been ill with the measles. I lean down and pick her up. She wraps her matchstick arms around my neck, her frail legs around my waist and does not let go. I walk and sing, I rock and sing. She does not utter a sound. Many minutes later she releases her hold and sits back on my lap. She smiles a little, and then I must go.

Denise and Brenda are two little "Fours." They dress up and fix meals all day long. I am sometimes invited to their corner for lunch. Before it can be served, however, I must be dressed in "beautiful" clothes and given a new hairdo. One Saturday I take Brenda and Denise on a picnic with my own family. It is a hectic trip, what with my husband constantly unravelling balloon strings from the necks of strangers. We are so busy trying to see all the animals and provide entertainment that we forget to relate to each other. This convinces us that our next outing should be spent at home. So next time we take Joseph and Derek to our patio for hot dogs and a visit to the garden. This time our visit is satisfying and relaxing. As we take the boys home, Joseph gives my daughter a quick kiss and runs into the house.

One day I find Tony in a particularly violent mood. She is hitting, biting, and crying. As I walk in, she runs to me, jumps into my arms and begins to

sob. We hug awhile, then sing a few songs. There is a little toy vanity on the table, a gift from a retired doctor who has made it himself. It is beautifully crafted of wood with a large mirror set in the center. Tony pulls the vanity next to us, and we look in the glass together. "Look, Tony," I say, "Our eyes are the same color. I wonder in what other ways we are alike."

A PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO CIVIL EQUALITY

Daniel H. Gagon

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

Thus spake President Hugh B. Brown, for the First Presidency of the Church. But until every human being can enjoy the same civil privileges, President Brown's call will not be fulfilled. President Brown also said in his 1963 General Conference address

> We believe that it is a moral evil to deny any human being the right to gainful employment, to full education opportunities and to every privilege of citizenship, just as it is a moral evil to deny him the right to worship according to the dictates of his conscience.

Yet these things are still being denied a large segment of our citizens. We may say, "I personally am not denying anybody anything." In that regard Edmund Burke once said

> All that is required for the triumph of evil in the world is that good men do nothing.

Fundamental to a solution of the whole problem is a change of attitude. And perhaps the best way to change one's attitude is to become involved in the problems of one person or one family. In this way only does one come to realize the magnitude of the problems faced by a black American, problems he encounters *just because he is black.*

Mrs. Mildred Hatfield (not her real name) is a Negro from the South who could not read or write when my wife and I first met her. Since her husband's death her social security check has afforded her just over $100 a month. In addition she works for several women a week in rotation. If she does not miss any work during the year she can make a maximum of $3,000, which must support herself and her two sons — Warren, fourteen, and John, thirteen. For several years she lived with her boys in a dilapidated house owned by one of the area's more affluent and respected citizens. She kept the house neat and clean, but the owner would not keep it in livable repair; in fact, some cities would have condemned such a house. This affluent slum-lord asked $150 a month rent; heat, water, and electricity ran the cost to $200. This forced her to rent two of the three bedrooms, sharing kitchen and bathroom facilities.

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Fundamental to a solution of the whole problem is a change of attitude. And perhaps the best way to change one's attitude is to become involved in the problems of one person or one family. In this way only does one come to realize the magnitude of the problems faced by a black American, problems he encounters *just because he is black.*

Mrs. Mildred Hatfield (not her real name) is a Negro from the South who could not read or write when my wife and I first met her. Since her husband's death her social security check has afforded her just over $100 a month. In addition she works for several women a week in rotation. If she does not miss any work during the year she can make a maximum of $3,000, which must support herself and her two sons — Warren, fourteen, and John, thirteen. For several years she lived with her boys in a dilapidated house owned by one of the area's more affluent and respected citizens. She kept the house neat and clean, but the owner would not keep it in livable repair; in fact, some cities would have condemned such a house. This affluent slum-lord asked $150 a month rent; heat, water, and electricity ran the cost to $200. This forced her to rent two of the three bedrooms, sharing kitchen and bathroom facilities.

Her renters were employed and able to pay normal rental rates but could not find other housing themselves.

In spite of her problems Mildred is a joyful person, cheerful, with a tendency to look always on the bright side. Tremendously appreciative of any kindness shown her, her main desire is to see her boys grow into useful, creative citizenship.

These boys had until three years ago attended segregated schools, where the instruction was not of high quality. Now that their school is integrated, they have difficulty keeping up with white students, but have so far managed with special tutoring. Warren has come under the influence of a dedicated white scoutmaster in an all-Negro troop and has almost reached Eagle rank. John, shy and quiet, is interested in music. His mother calls John "complex," which means that he is very sensitive and often aware that his black skin seems to make a difference.

My wife arranged for a volunteer from the Northern Virginia Literacy Council to teach Mildred to read and write. This has opened up new worlds for her. Finally, after several years of discouraging attempts, we were able to move Mildred into a Public Housing Authority "project." This has been both a blessing and a curse. It is in good repair, and it reduced her rent somewhat. But it is a tiny crackerbox row-house, lacking yard and basement, opening directly onto a crowded street in the all-Negro section of town. Each day the boys step out into the bedlam of this street. In spite of the best efforts of their mother, their scoutmaster (who lives twenty miles away), and other interested friends like ourselves, the boys cannot avoid difficult situations.

Two years ago we shared our Christmas with the Hatfield family. We really learned then, for perhaps the first time, how it is possible to look into a black face and see there a human soul created in the image of God. We learned that a black skin can house a fine spirit that will enrich the lives of others. We learned many other things, but the most important outcome of that visit was eradication of the prejudice that had long simmered in our hearts. The Hatfields brought Christmas to *us.*

During the recent civil disorders in Washington, D.C., we feared the riots might spread to nearby Alexandria, Virginia, where the Hatfields live. We called Mildred. "Let us come and get you. You can stay with us for the weekend."

"But I don't think I can find the boys," she answered. "I believe they have already gone to march in the streets."

"Go out and try to locate them," we told her, "and call us back immediately."

Luckily she was able to find her boys, who had begun to march in protest against the slaying of Martin Luther King, who had been for them a great symbol of hope. She was able to persuade them to spend a few days with us.

We all worked together for a while, the boys helping me in the yard, Mildred helping my wife in the kitchen. Then we picnicked, played badminton, talked. The boys taught our own son some valuable lessons in courtesy and helpfulness. Mildred shared with us some of her early experiences: "At times

the only food my family had to eat was scraped from the plates of white folks where my mother worked."

She could not understand then, nor can she understand now, why there is such a difference between blacks and whites: "Most white folks thought us black people just talking animals." She finds the same attitudes still exist.

When the riots had ended, Mildred and her boys returned to their tiny row-house in the crowded Negro ghetto, while we remained in the suburbs. But I think we convinced them by our actions that we are their friends. They know we are as close as the telephone. Mildred would never ask for financial help; but often a little advice helps, and sometimes we can help her climb existing barriers. We have already spent several days enrolling her son in summer school. Sometimes the run-around we get is unbelievable.

We feel that the little effort we exert in behalf of this family makes their lives easier, but we have a long way to travel before we can honestly feel our commitment is being fulfilled.

A TIME OF TRANSITION

Renee P. Carlson

Our home is in the Alexandria (Va.) Ward and we live within eight blocks of the chapel. The school district was recently redistricted to dip into the "close to downtown" areas and therefore includes many blacks from lower income and middle income homes. The make-up of the school is forty percent black, sixty percent white. The economic span of parents of children attending the school ranges from poverty to professional people in the upper middle income bracket.

After Cathy, our Seventh Grader, faced her first day in Middle School, she rushed in the front door: "Mother, did we have an exciting day . . . a race riot and everything!" The fight began when a white face called a black face a dirty name and a black fist hit a white stomach and everyone aligned according to pigment. The principal handled the situation with accustomed firmness. He expelled the offenders. However, some of the black children complained their dads would beat them and their eventual return to school was dubious, so expulsion was hardly the answer. The principal wrestled with these problems for about two weeks and then left for employment in a private school where he could continue his customary approach to discipline. Our school got a new principal whose sensitivity improved the general climate. He showed a firm friendliness — and the race riots went underground.

"Hey, white girl, give me a quarter." The quarter got a new owner.

"Hey, white girl, give me your lunch." No lunch for Cathy that day.

Our telephone rang at lunchtime. "Mother, it's Cathy. Jane says if I don't let her copy the Health Report I did last night she'll get me after school. And Mother, she's got lots of friends and she means it. What should I do?"

A slight hesitation from my end of the line, and then, "Don't let her copy it, but get some place safe and I'll pick you up after school."

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"But Mother, they beat up Susan last month. You'll be sorry if I never walk again!"

And then the words tumbled out: "I hate Negroes. We all do. We whites have to stick together. The Negro kids do. We tried giving them a chance. But they're too mean."

Cathy's home room teacher is a black man. Maintaining good discipline while projecting warmth and compassion, he seems to have won the admiration of his students. On several occasions he has talked to his "mixed" class, sketching for them the dimensions of his own frustrations, and placing in perspective problems in the school. After these talks, Cathy's reflections on the mood of the classroom have usually ended with ". . . and even some of the toughest boys in the back of the room were crying."

Early one Sunday morning a police officer knocked at our front door. He had a summons for Cathy to appear in Juvenile Court. Her purse had been stolen at school the week before. It had been recovered with most of its belongings, but the school decided to press charges. Having caught the girls involved, the principal wanted to make an example of them and thus, hopefully, end a rash of thefts that had plagued the school for several weeks.

At first Cathy thought she would be afraid to be a witness against the girls because they were Negro. But, reconsidering, she thought it "safe" because these girls were in "self-contained" classes, and she rarely saw them. (The children receive placement according to educational background, achievement, and behavior patterns. Those having specific problems are grouped into self-contained classes where they can receive more supervision and control.)

Two weeks later, Cathy and I went to Juvenile Court. The Juvenile Division is in a tiny building, caught between rickety townhouse residences. Its front faces a major downtown highway, where large diesel trucks push past in a torrent of noise and fumes.

We were directed to a flight of stairs and a bilious green waiting room equipped with creaking folding chairs. A small foyer led to the judge's chambers, and to one side stood an ominous swinging gate which led into a clerical inner sanctum. The whole setting was bound to impress a youthful offender with the feeling that he had just entered a simulated Hell.

Waiting in the smoke-filled room for the judge to call the case, we were faced with the awkward fact that the two accused girls and their parents sat directly across from us. Embarrassed lifting of the eyes, wispy smiles of recognition, exaggerated shifts of position, ceremonious folding of coats kept all of us busy for about ten minutes. Cathy and I then turned toward each other and engaged in quiet, almost whispered talk. On the other side of the room, the two Negro girls, bored with the initial problem of avoiding eyes, began to play. They took turns bobbing up and down on each other's laps. The mother periodically cautioned them to be quiet and then reverted to a silent study of her feet. She was a slender, sad woman with a shiny, freckled face. She wore red anklets which bunched about her skinny ankle bones. Long,

tapered fingers held together her semi-buttonless coat, which concealed an old cotton housedress.

Each girl was accompanied by one parent. The father sat a few chairs away from his daughter. He handled, thoughtfully, a worn fedora. Smoking a cigarette, he dropped the ashes in the cuffs of his shabby pants. The two young girls continued their game with periodic pauses for trips to the water fountain.

After a two-hour wait, the school principal, guidance counselor, and the rest of us passed through the door into the judge's chambers.

Playing in the waiting room had not prepared the two girls for a solemn court of law. They continued to giggle and poke at each other. Presently, the judge extracted a large, wooden paddle from her drawer and laid it on the desk, promising it would fall upon their backsides if the giggling did not subside.

The names were read: Ellen Sue ..... and Jill ..... The judge advised the parents that they had a right to legal counsel if they so chose. The mother in red anklets, her face strained to hear the judge, began to speak. "If you hav' ta take Ellen Sue then I guess that's the best thing. It's gotten so I jest can't do nothin' with her anymore."

I took a quick glance at Cathy. She was watching Ellen Sue and her mother. An expression of disbelief clouded her brown eyes.

"No, no, no. I'm not asking to take your daughter, only advising you of your rights." The judge dismissed the perplexed mother and turned to the father of the other girl.

"Now, I think we have a problem here. Your last name is not the same as your daughter's. Are you her real father?"

"Yes, Ma'am, I mean Judge, I really am. Only Jill has her Mamma's name before we wuz married. We jes neva could afford to change nothin'."

The principal read the case against the girls and described the incidents leading to the theft. Cathy verified this information. In their reports the girls' teachers had said they were good students. Jill, however, had shown a bad temper, used abusive language, and had taken things that didn't belong to her. (Cathy told me earlier that while waiting outside the principal's office on the day of the theft she had heard Jill yelling inside. Jill had cursed and cried that she hated whites because they had everything and furthermore she didn't feel bad stealing from them.)

"Did you take the purse, Jill?" the judge asked.

"Yes, I did. My father said to tell the truth and I have," the girl concluded.

Cathy and I were then excused from the room prior to the judge's talk with the girls and the setting of fines or punishment. Our leaving was awkward. The anxious mother leaned toward her daughter and said, "Ellen Sue, tell the lady you're sorry."

"I'm sorry, Ma'am."

Jill responded at her father's prodding. "I'm sorry."

Cathy later decided her day in court was appropriate material for a talk

she was to give in church. She phrased her closing sentences as an appeal for white people to offer the hand of help and friendship to their black neighbors.

By early spring, things were running more smoothly at school. Then, the assassin's bullet riddled the status quo. Martin Luther King was dead. The night of the murder my husband and I talked with the children about the sickening tragedy of violent death.

The next day as Washington burned in the riots, Cathy's school went into shock. Negro children stood at the windows like caged animals while pleas to "sit down" went unheeded. Eyes focused on the street; the students' common hope was that bands of other young Negro people from the high school would come to unlock the writhing anger in their own classrooms. Administrators and teachers were able to keep waves of roving youngsters at a minimum. The expected invasion of high school kids never materialized and the anger was spent in whispering, speculation and rumor. The principal walked the halls, calm and reassuring. His white authority was a target, however, for angry "accidental" bumping in the crowded halls between classes. Downcast Negro teachers talked together quietly. Some made plans to attend the funeral in Atlanta. Their frustration was equal to that of their black students, but dignity and pride forbade hostile outbursts.

On this day, communication between the races had dipped to a new low. In a moment of mutual anguish, Cathy extended a "hand of friendship" to her long avowed black enemy, Jane. Their first note passed hands. Cathy's read, "My mother greatly admired Martin Luther King."

Jane replied, "You mean your mother really cared? You know when they find the white man who shot him the Negroes are going to try and kill him. They wouldn't need to put him in jail or waste the taxpayers' money. We will do it for the country. I should care, though, because anyone who tries to help the Negroes gets killed. First it was JFK, now King. Something has to give."

A few days after the riots, we drove with our family through the burned out area in downtown Washington. Ensnarled in rush-hour traffic, our car made frequent stops. Charred ruins, stacks of blackened cans, gutted interiors, jagged glass, white chalk scrawls of "Soul" on brick walls all told the story of tragic days and nights. Uniformed soldiers patrolled the street corners; their heavy guns packed over khaki-covered shoulders were reassuring, yet disturbing, on the streets of our city.

Our children, confronted with the reality of what had previously been a TV experience, searched for answers to their questions:

"Did people live above that store? "Did they get burned? Did they save their children? What does Soul mean? Where will they buy their food now? Do they like living here? Will they burn any more places?"

For some questions we had no answers.

Later, at a school dance, "Battle of the Bands" was the billing. The Soul Brothers were competing with two white bands. Cathy came home fuming. "Oh, Mother, the word's going around that if the Soul Brothers don't win tonight the Negro kids will riot. Doesn't that just burn you up?" Cathy and

I looked at each other, surprised, then laughed at her unplanned play on words.

However, the Soul Brothers won the competition.

At present, Cathy is finding there are no really definitive answers. Perhaps her Yearbook best reflects the times. It's filled with the same syrupy phrases I remember from the past, but interspersed here and there are some unique additions like "To a dear Soul Sister" or "Man, are you cool."

VILLA MAE

Vivian H. Olsen

When I saw Villa Mae Ferguson for the first time, standing gaunt and forlorn in the wind, my impulse was to keep on driving. I recognized her from Louise's description: tall, plain, grayheaded. But she had not mentioned the mournful protruding eyes that looked without hope for the stranger who was to be her employer for the day. I did not want to become involved. She was too old to be doing housework and, after all, it was not the right bus stop. I could drive home without anyone's knowing I had gone as far as Lee and Glebe, and she could hardly expect me to meet the ten o'clock bus at our stop. Even while I bolstered my arguments, though, I knew I would stop. I rolled down the window. "Are you Villa Mae Ferguson?" The smile was like lights turned on in a dark room.

"They're getting so high-hat they won't do windows or floors or anything."

What does one do for $1.25 an hour plus bus fare?

On a cup of coffee and a slice of unbuttered bread ("No ma'am, I never eat butter") Villa Mae begins the day's work swiftly and deftly in spite of her sixty-eight years. She ignores my instructions to use the mop and gets down on hands and knees to scrub the floors. She works steadily and hard, giving herself no respite except lunchtime. Sometimes I have wished she could get telephone messages straight, and I have wondered about the eighth grade education she claims to have had in South Carolina. Once when I asked her to follow the instructions on a can of floor wax, she said, "I left my glasses home today. Will you read it?"

At lunchtime she makes excuses not to sit at the table with the family, but I discovered that instead of taking her tray to the recreation room to eat, she was going into our cluttered unfinished laundry room and eating off the top of the washing machine.

"Please, Villa Mae, sit where it's attractive and comfortable."

She laughed, "Oh, I like it here."

She kept correcting me when I called her "Mrs. Ferguson" — "Just call me Villa Mae." But, I have not given up on the meals and we often eat together and talk.

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"Of course, you can't depend on them. Sometimes they just don't show up."

One Thursday when I was expecting Villa Mae, she did not appear, but two weeks later stood as usual on the front porch, clutching the paper bag that held apron and work shoes, smiling broadly, "Good mornin', Miz Olsen!" When I asked her why she had not come two weeks earlier she said she hadn't had money for bus fare.

"Surely you could borrow fifty cents from a neighbor," I said.

"No, ma'am, I don't know them."

"Couldn't you even borrow a dime to phone me?"

"No, ma'am."

I was annoyed but let it pass. I felt it was a poor excuse for inconveniencing me. I did not really believe that she had no money. Nevertheless I asked her if she would like additional work. Emphatically *yes.* And I found two neighbors who wished to have her come.

I also asked about breakfast. No, she didn't eat breakfast because there wasn't time. "Miz Olsen, I have to catch that 6:00 o'clock bus way out in Maryland to be here by 9:00."

"Why do you live in Maryland when you work in Virginia?"

"We used to live in the District — we lived in the same neighborhood in the Bottoms for forty years, and then they tore it down."

"Forty years!" I exclaimed. "And didn't they build apartments for the people who'd been living there all that time?"

Villa Mae was rather indignant that I could suggest such a thing. "My land, no! They're expensive, big apartments. They're beautiful!"

"Well, surely they made arrangements for your housing when you had to move?"

"No. We just had to go find a place. We did the best we could. We've got this room over in Maryland, but we don't know anybody over there."

"Where does your husband work?"

"He works over here in Virginia. We worked for the same company twenty-five years but then Mr. Smith died and his wife sold the company, and Dan, he been out of a job, but now he's working on construction."

Forty years in one neighborhood and then uprooted. Twenty-five years working for one company and then jobless. I shut Villa Mae's problems from my mind. Even at my age they would be traumatic, but what is it like to have such things happen when one is sixty-eight?

"You should try to find a house nearer your work," was all I could say.

In the autumn she happily announced that they had found a room in Northwest Washington, not far from their old neighborhood. I thought some day I would go visit her and see where they lived, but I was too busy. Holiday time came, and bitter cold weather, and flu. In February Villa Mae missed a week or two of work.

"Have you been sick, Villa Mae?" I asked when she came.

"No, ma'am. I had to be in court. I asked a man to phone you. Didn't he call you?"

"Not that I know of. Why were you in court?"

"Well, we got no heat or electricity for two months."

"Two months!" I gasped.

The manager of their rooming house, who collected the rent for the owner, had pocketed the money he was supposed to use to pay gas and electric bills, and hence the companies had turned off the utilities. Finally the owner, a hero in Villa Mae's eyes, had come to investigate and said, "Why, it's so cold it's a wonder you poor people aren't dead." And by going to court the tenants were able to establish that they had paid their full rent and were not to blame for the non-payment of utility bills.

My head buzzed with questions. Was the manager the villain or the scapegoat for the owner? What kind of people would not or could not take action to get the utilities back on in less than two months? I was driving Villa Mae to the bus stop, however, and had time only to ask, "How did you keep warm?" She laughed tolerantly at my ignorance as to how the poor must live. "We just go to bed to keep warm," she said.

About that time Helen Gagon, a Mormon long active in civil rights work and related fields, suggested I attend a Laubach Literacy Workshop, where volunteers are trained to teach literacy classes for adults. At the first session I was met by three warm, enthusiastic teachers, ready to handle a class of forty. Sadly, there were only three of us who came to hear them; we were rather suspicious and on guard at first. But for me the words the teacher was speaking took on special significance, and Villa Mae came more and more into focus. "Illiterates are usually sensitive and proud. They don't want anyone to know they can't read or write . . . If you know someone who asks, 'Will you read this for me? I left my glasses home,' or someone who says he went only to seventh or eighth grade, maybe he is one of the eight million illiterates in the United States."

Holding up a large chart with strange characters printed on it, he continued. "What do these mean to you?" Blank. I could not even see similarities among the various characters at first. Little black designs, black lines, black shapes and squiggles. We were told they were Hebrew words. "Remember as you begin teaching: this is what the alphabet looks like to someone who is illiterate." Slowly the idea of what it means to be illiterate began to sift into my well-protected awareness. A thousand acts, so simple for one who reads could be a morass of obstacles: getting off the bus at the right stop, learning streets without names for guides, looking up an unknown number in a phone book, coping with realtors and utilities, even buying groceries, reading labels, following recipes.

How should I approach Villa Mae about lessons? The workshop teachers said she was probably too old, although one man had succeeded in teaching his foreign-born grandfather by the Laubach method. "The sweat poured down his face," he remembered. "It's hard to realize the effort that's needed to concentrate that much." I wanted badly to begin lessons with Villa Mae.

But she did not come to our cul-de-sac for several weeks and did not phone. I felt particularly frustrated because of my plans and because I had arranged

for her to work for two other neighbors. April fourth was the day I expected her at my house. That was the day Dr. Martin Luther King was slain.

We sat transfixed before the television and watched stores that we had shopped in a few years ago on 14th Street turned into smoking rubble. In the evening we could see the glow of fire in the sky to the east of us.

"There'll be a Cadillac parked in front and a color TV inside."

On Monday, when traffic was permitted to move freely in the District, I drove to 25th Street near Pennsylvania Avenue and at last made the visit to Villa Mae's home. It was an old red brick row house, with rusty steps and railing that led to a front door lumpy with many coats of paint now fissured by weathering. I knocked for a long time before a stout woman answered the door and let me into the bare foyer. It seemed a long time, too, before she conceded that maybe a woman named Villa Mae Ferguson lived there. "She might be that woman on third floor. I only lived here two weeks and I never seen her. She been sick ever since I come. Hasn't been downstairs for two weeks."

I called out at the bottom of the stairs, "Villa Mae, it's Mrs. Olsen." She did not ask me to come up. She came slowly down the stairway, looking tired and old, rubbing her arm in its thin sweater. No, she hadn't had the flu. It was just the rheumatism.

"Is there anything I can do?" I asked. "I've been worried about you because of these riots. Do you have friends over on 14th Street? I'm driving over there and I'll take you if you'd care to go."

She responded with fear. "Oh, no! No, ma'am! I don't know nobody there."

"Oh, I didn't know," I apologized. "I just thought you might have a friend you were worried about. . . Wouldn't you just come for a ride in the park? The forsythia's in bloom and the lady said you haven't been out."

"No, ma'am. No, thank you." She was firm. Everything I am doing, I thought, is probably the wrong thing. But I did have the presence of mind to ask if her husband was working. No. He'd been out of work since January. And how many jobs did she have? Only the three in our cul-de-sac. I left an advance on her next week's wages, and she promised to come the following Thursday. I told her she would not have to do housework if she did not feel well.

"They'd rather be on welfare than work for a living."

Villa Mae did come the next Thursday. I asked her if she had thought of getting public assistance. "No, ma'am, we've never taken anything we didn't earn." I told her she *had* earned some help by working hard all her life and urged her to go to the District Welfare Office. (How foolish I had been to advise her to move to Virginia, near her work — a move which made her ineligible for welfare.) Two weeks later she came again and reported that she and Dan had gone to the office and stayed in the long waiting lines for the day and arranged for Dan to receive a medical examination. Villa Mae would

need a birth certificate to establish her age. "But they didn't have them in South Carolina when I was born," she said.

"The letter says you can get a substitute for a birth certificate from the school records. We can write the school you went to," I encouraged her.

"I never went to school," said Villa Mae. "The white lady my mother worked for taught me to read along with her little girl. But they didn't have no schools for Negro children."

The first step toward literacy had been taken. I told Villa Mae I was sure there would be some way to prove her age, and then asked if I could help her brush up on her reading. Two weeks later we settled down at the kitchen table with the Laubach beginner's book and started the lesson.

She seemed to drink in the words, and carefully said the sounds after me.

"This is a bird. . . . This is the word '*bird.*' Read '*bird.*' Bird begins with *buh.* Say *buh.* The sound of this letter is *buh,* the name of this letter is *b.* Say *b.*" But she could not seem to remember the first line after we tried another. We went over the chart several times, slowly, reviewing each time, but Villa Mae could not identify the letters or words without prompting, and I thought sadly that we would have to give up before we had started. But we would go on with the rest of the first lesson anyhow to avoid the unpleasantness of saying "can't" until later. The second page contains a story in simple sentences: "This is a girl. This is a bird. . . . The girl has a bird. . . ." Villa Mae concentrated on those words with an awesome intensity. Her whole being seemed involved in her desire to read a sentence. She studied the first sentence, breathing heavily, and then went back to the chart; she was oblivious to me now and I was afraid to make a sound. And suddenly it came. She saw the point of the picture: *b* looks like a bird with a long tail and a round body; *c* looks like a cup on its side. She began to recognize the individual letters as well as the words. In a few minutes she had mastered the key nouns and as quickly was able to identify the unfamiliar articles and verbs. She made a rocking motion in her chair, eyes shining. "This is reading!" she exulted. "This is reading!"

I wish I could report that we have rapidly advanced through successive lessons, but housing problems again disrupted the Fergusons' lives. Villa Mae had told me that the new man who collected their rent in April had not been seen since, and the tenants had been notified they would have to move out. I tried to learn more from the realty firm of the owner without giving names. The firm had not received the April rent. From what I could piece together the house should have been rented to one family only, but the in-between operator — who collected rent money and gave no receipts — rented in a false name and then leased to as many families as could be squeezed into the decaying rooms, sharing the kitchen and bathroom. "Us poor folks got to live somewhere, Miz Olsen," said Villa Mae. I typed a letter "To whom it may concern" requesting that I be contacted before any steps were taken to evict the Fergusons, and she took it home along with her sack full of outgrown clothes and shoes I had been giving her regularly. However, they and the other tenants moved out without asking help from me, frightened by a letter they received

threatening court action unless back rent was paid. The Fergusons moved to another old house in a block being torn down by expanding George Washington University. I visited Villa Mae there a short time ago. Most of the houses are boarded up, but Villa Mae's, next to a parking lot, had the door ajar. She invited me to see their room, which has three large windows looking down on F Street. The paint was peeling and the bathroom floor at the end of the hall was rotting and smelly, but their room was airy and as clean as hard work could make it.

Shortly after they moved, Villa Mae's husband fell while working on one of his "odd jobs." It is hard to say whether this is a misfortune because in the hospital he is fed three meals a day, which is more than Villa Mae gets. The day I visited her I drove her to the hospital to see Dan, and we passed Resurrection City near the Lincoln Memorial. She was fascinated to see the wooden tent-like structures among the trees. "I understand they are getting a hot meal every day," I said, half jokingly. "Do you?"

"Land, no!" she laughed. It was a warm day.

"How much do you spend on food a week?" I persisted.

"Oh, now I'm alone, I can do on two dollars."

"What can you buy for two dollars!" I was trying to divide our food bill by six.

"I buy potatoes and beans mostly."

On the day I visited her, she carefully took her Laubach beginner's book from the broken dresser drawer and showed me the letters she has been practicing. I hope at least this path we can pursue longer together.

THE CHALLENGE OF SECULARISM

James L. Clayton

Belief in the eternal and the infinite,
the omniscient and the omnipotent
succeeded, over the milleniums, in
exalting the very possibilities of
human existence . . .
—Lewis Mumford

One of the most pressing theological questions of our time is whether traditional Christianity, formulated and largely developed in a pre-industrial environment, is fully relevant to our twentieth-century urban society. The momentous process of urbanization — with its concomitant secularism — has given rise to this question, and in recent years the whole subject of the secularization of Christianity has become both enormously popular and academically respectable.[1]

Applied to Mormonism this question might be stated as follows: Are the principles of Mormonism, which were largely formulated in the agrarian society of the 1830's and 1840's, fully relevant for the urban-dwelling Mormon of today? In short, should Mormonism be urbanized and hence made more secular? That is, should the Church shape itself to the pressing and sophisticated needs of the contemporary urban world, as well as attempt if it can to shape

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[1]See especially Bernard Meland, *The Secularization of Modern Cultures* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966); Paul Van Buren, *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel* (New York: Macmillan, 1963); E. L. Mascall, *The Secularization of Christianity* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965); and Bernard Murchland, ed. [Essays on] *The Meaning of the Death of God* (New York: Random House, 1967).

the world in the traditional Mormon image? If so, what doctrines and practices ought to be modernized and how should this modernization be brought about? If not, how can we best resist these powerful secularizing forces and still maintain our traditional beliefs?

Given the fact that the world is becoming more and more urbanized and secularized,[2] the question of whether certain aspects of Christianity and more particularly Mormonism should not also be secularized and therefore brought "up to date" is both natural and compelling.[3] It is not an entirely new question. The irrelevance of traditional Christianity to modern society has been a major theme of a host of prominent authors such as William Faulkner, Albert Camus, Graham Greene, Franz Kafka, and Thomas Mann. But it is now a much more pressing question, for a widespread diminution of faith in traditional dogma has already left its mark on Protestantism, and is receiving considerable attention within Catholicism and Judaism, as well.[4] Is Mormonism next?

WHAT IS SECULARISM?

Before coming to grips with these questions it is necessary to understand as precisely as possible what is meant by "secularism." The word "secular" is derived from the Latin *saeculum*, which means a very long time or a "world-age." Some centuries after Christ, however, it came to mean this world or this age as opposed to an earlier age. More recently "secular" has been used to designate those activities which are outside the control of the Church. Today "secular" usually means that whole body of thought and activity which is concerned with man's life in this world — here and now — as opposed to a supernatural world or to a future life. Implicit in this definition is a downgrading of religious ideals, a dispelling of closed world-views, and a turning away from the hereafter and the supernatural myths to the present and demonstrable reality. Explicitly, to "secularize" means to shift emphasis from God to emphasis on man, or at least to de-emphasize religion in the traditional sense for an increased emphasis on the modern powers of man.

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[2]Most careful authorities who have studied the impact of urbanism on religious activity agree that urbanization increases secularism. See Leonard Reissman, *The Urban Process* (New York: Macmillan, 1964), pp. 130 ff.; Aaron Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1943), Ch. 1; and Rodney Stark and Charles Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), esp. Ch. 11.

[3]On the modernization of Christianity see: John Robinson, *Honest to God* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963); Harvey Cox, *The Secular City* (New York: Macmillan, 1965); David L. Edwards, ed., *The Honest to God Debate* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963); Daniel Callahan, ed., *The Secular City Debate* (New York: Macmillan, 1966); and Jackson L. Ice and John Carey, eds., *The Death of God Debate* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1967).

[4]Two of the most serious writers on this subject in the Catholic fold are Karl Rahner and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, now deceased. For a more popular introduction, see Robert Hoyt, ed., *Issues That Divide the Church* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), and recent issues of *Commonweal* and *The National Catholic Reporter*. For similar trends in Judaism see *Judaism* (Winter, 1966), p. 85; *Christianity and Crisis* (February 7, 1966), p. 8; and Murchland, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

Secularism is not, however, a logically or descriptively precise word, nor is it free of normative assumptions. This is true in part because "religion," against which it is operating, is also an imprecise term. As there is no unitary process of growth or decline among religions, so there can be no unitary process of growth or decline of secularism. Rather than logical precision, the word secularism suggests an intellectual persuasion in a certain direction. It assumes a higher degree of confidence in the world than in the church, an interest in what is "useful" in the real world more than what is "true" in the world of the spirit, a greater appreciation for the empirical than the metaphysical, and a downgrading of the miraculous.

Although we do not have much empirical data on the secularization of American society, what evidence we do have strongly suggests that the trend is away from traditional religious belief and toward the secularization of our society. Based on an elaborate questionnaire study in 1963 of three thousand church members in northern California and a national sample of adult Americans, Rodney Stark and Charles Glock, both at Berkeley, concluded:

> Although only a minority of church members so far reject or doubt the existence of some kind of personal God or the divinity of Jesus, a near majority reject such traditional articles of faith as Christ's miracles, life beyond death, the promise of the second coming, the virgin birth, and an overwhelming majority reject the existence of the Devil. . . . Old-time Christianity remains predominant in some Protestant bodies such as the Southern Baptists and the various small sects. But in most of the mainline Protestant denominations, and to a considerable extent among Roman Catholics, doubts and disbelief in historic Christian theology abound. In some denominations the doubters far outnumber the firm believers.[5]

This marked trend away from traditional Christian beliefs is what we mean by secularization.[6]

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF SECULARISM

The intellectual origins of modern secularism are not entirely clear, but most writers agree that the taproot can be traced at least as far back as the Enlightenment. The Philosophes — Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Diderot, Hume — turned to the writers of classical antiquity in search of an alternative to the Christianity they had been taught in their youth, but which no longer seemed relevant to their eighteenth-century world. They renounced the authority of the Bible for the authority of Nature, confined God to a First Cause role, dismantled heaven for life here and now, and denied man was depraved by nature. They usually believed in a Creator as an object of reverence, but believed even more strongly that the Creator did not intercede in human

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[5]See Stark and Glock, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

[6]For further reading on the definition of secularism see the recent volumes of *International Index* under "secularism," and especially David Martin, "Towards Eliminating the Concept of Secularization," in Julius Gould, ed., *Penguin Survey of the Social Sciences 1965* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 169.

affairs and consequently was "not available for religious purposes." Basically, they assumed that "the end of life was life itself" (to borrow a phrase from Carl Becker), and that man had the ability to understand the universe without appealing to the supernatural. These men, who had wide influence among the intellectuals of their day, took it as their duty to free men from ignorance and superstition and began in modern times the slow attenuation of religious fervor which was to accelerate markedly in the nineteenth century.[7]

These doubts of the relevance of traditional Christian dogma to the eighteenth-century world were considerably reinforced by the earlier and more profound inductive-scientific methods of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton, which asserted a law-governed universe ruled by cause and effect. The scientific method, of course, largely denied the existence of fixed principles, whereas most religious creeds of that day claimed to embody eternal and absolutely certain truth. The scientific approach moreover expected modifications of its theories and therefore encouraged the abandonment of any search for absolute truth. In this sense the scientific method of that day was a threat to revealed religion. As time went by reason more and more began to edge out faith as the best approach to truth, and the acquisition of truth became more respectable than the possession of truth.[8]

In America these "enlightened" ideas gained a powerful hold on our Founding Fathers, most of whom were deists intellectually, although many held nominal membership in a Christian church. They accepted the existence of a supreme being, but largely ignored revelation and the supernatural doctrines of Christianity. They believed man's mind was the product of his experience, not the Holy Spirit. Deism also invaded all the colleges of late eighteenth-century America and was popular among the well-to-do everywhere. Their heavenly city was here on this earth, as Carl Becker demonstrated, and man — not God — was at the center of their faith.

Although these "enlightened" ideas were largely confined to the better educated, they were carried down to the masses during the early part of the nineteenth century. With the coming of democratic egalitarianism in the Age of Jackson, a new secular influence joined forces with Enlightenment ideas and the rising materialism. As de Tocqueville so clearly saw, in a classless society where values are determined by experience rather than revelation, all persons are equal and hence all are alone because there are no non-human values with which to measure human behavior. The only authority for what is moral is each individual himself or all individuals together in the aggregate. Nothing is certain because nothing is central — neither family, religion, nor the state. Man is therefore alone, insecure, anxious. Left to his

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[7]A brilliant but polemical discussion on this whole subject is Peter Gay's newest book, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation, The Rise of Modern Paganism* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1967), esp. Chs. 4-7. For a more traditional approach to the Philosophes see Carl Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* (New Haven: Yale, 1932), and Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton: Beacon Press, 1951).

[8]The difference between the scientific and religious approaches to truth is discussed by many writers, but by few more incisively than Bertrand Russell in *Religion and Science* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

own devices, he is always trying to prove his worth in ways that count in a materialistic society. Wealth then takes on an undue significance because "the almighty dollar" — a phrase coined by Washington Irving during this period — is the most evident counter in a social competition of disassociated equals. These anxious Americans, constantly striving to achieve success in a materialistic–egalitarian society, were forever being frustrated. At the very moment they achieved the worldly success they sought, they raised their sights for the next round since the maw of materialism is never satisfied. Always near enough to see the charms of material success, they died before fully tasting its fruits. This strenuous striving for material gain drained energy from alternative pursuits, especially religious ones.[9]

To the secular challenge of the Philosophes — science, materialism, and democratic egalitarianism — was added the challenge of evolution. This phase of secularism is too well known to go into here. It is sufficient to say that one of the central issues of evolution is whether there is a cosmic design in the universe. This issue has by no means been resolved, but as the nineteenth century progressed, revealed religion had more and more to share its authority with science.

With the coming of the twentieth century, the forces of secularism took on renewed vigor. Several impressive European critics of religion appeared to attack the citadel of orthodoxy. Nietzsche, Freud, Shaw, and a host of lesser lights taught that secular man was superior to religious man, and although these writers did not convert the masses, they did make significant cracks in the walls of religious orthodoxy. Closer to home a lesser group of secularizers took up the cry. Deploring Howell's "smiling aspects of life," Veblen, Mencken, Twain, Henry Adams, Dreiser, Masters — all attacked the belief in progress, justice, design, and the notion that religion is central to man's existence. The result, for many intellectuals at least, was that the older religious values which still lingered in their minds had largely disintegrated by the time of World War I. In their place came naturalism, "the child of organic evolution," with all its emphasis on a purposeless and hence Godless universe.[10]

Even more important in the development of secularism was the continuing advance of urbanism. In rural America the church was at the center of village life; in urban America it was only one of many competing social forces. The urban factory worker, after six days of monotonous toil in a grimy workshop coveted recreation more than worship on the Sabbath. Urban centers also provided the wealth and specialization necessary to advance research in the universities, where scholars began to demolish traditional religious beliefs — such as the uniqueness of the Judeo-Christian belief in the deluge, the virgin birth, the crucifixion and the plenary inspiration of the Bible.

This secular attitude, largely confined to intellectual circles before World

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[9]I am deeply indebted here to Marvin Meyer's insightful article "The Basic Democrat: A Version of Tocqueville," in *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXII (March, 1957), 50–70.

[10]The best work on this period is Henry May's *The End of American Innocence* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1959).

War I, was carried to the masses by the press and other media following the disillusionment of that war. Scientific subjects began to take the place of religious subjects in mass magazines, and when religion was mentioned the articles tended to be hostile. Of the major American magazines in circulation in the late 1920's, fewer than half reflected general approval of traditional Christianity. Especially alarming to traditionalists was the fact that the reading public generally was beginning to question the divinity of Jesus, the inspiration of the Bible, life beyond death, dogma, theology, the atonement, and even baptism. In short, this was not merely a case of disillusioned intellectuals. With the exception of the fundamentalists (who incidentally took a terrible beating in the press), virtually everyone was swayed.[11]

The profound shock of the Great Depression and the attendant rise of a powerful welfare state placed still a new secular burden on traditional Christianity. Americans did not turn toward religion in this time of hardship. They were not impressed by the many religious spokesmen who preached that the way out of the Depression was a return to faith, nor did they revive the Social Gospel movement that had been so effective at the turn of the century. Rather than turning to God, they turned to the federal government. Even in those areas traditionally reserved for religious efforts, such as caring for the needy, the state proved more competent than the church. For many in those dark days F.D.R. was more relevant than God.

With the coming of World War II, and especially the Cold War, church membership and church attendance began to rise. But this renewed interest in God, after a generation of neglect, had a different emphasis than formerly. God was neither the vengeful, omnipotent creator of heaven and earth of the Old Testament, nor the merciful God of love of the New Testament. The American God of the age of anxiety spawned by War was a more modern *deus ex machina*, an "omnipotent servant," a magnificent cornucopia for the secular needs of the hour. This new God was constantly being trotted out to oppose atheistic communism, to legitimatize American capitalism and democracy, and to help us find peace of mind. To put it bluntly, God was a goal validator who offered salvation on easy terms.[12]

The "religious revival" of the 1950's was only the rapidly melting top of the growing iceberg of secularism, and by the mid-1960's secularism had become the prerational basis of virtually all sophisticated thinking in the United States. No longer did one sense the spirit of ultimacy so characteristic of the nineteenth century — the ideal of an ultimate universal order, an ultimate law giver, ultimate cultural coherence, ultimate goodness or progress, ultimate meaning to life, or even ultimate metaphysical or religious questions. Rather our *Zeitgeist* had become one of naturalism, relativism, positivism, existentialism, anxiety, and situation ethics. As Langdon Gilkey succinctly said, "It is

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[11]See Hornell Hart, "Changing Social Attitudes and Interest," in *Recent Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933), p. 382.

[12]See Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (New York: Doubleday, 1955), final chapter; Reinhold Niebuhr, *Pious and Secular America* (New York: Scribner, 1958), Ch. 1; and Harry Meserve, "The New Piety," in *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1955.

no accident that the phrase 'God is dead' is taken as the symbol of present-day secularism . . . *all* the gods are dead — that is, all those structures of coherence, order and value in the wider environment of man's life."[13]

THE RISE OF SECULAR THEOLOGY

Out of this malaise, this long history of secularization, this painful erosion of doctrinal certainty, this general capitulation of twentieth-century man to the here and the now, arose a sizable group of Protestant and a few Catholic theologians who, while clearly recognizing that secularism was inevitable, would reform Christianity along secular lines in order to revive its power and strengthen its image.

Although no two are alike, broadly speaking the secular theologians of today can be divided into two groups: (1) the God-is-dead theologians and (2) the God-is-hidden theologians. The God-is-dead theologians, virtually all Protestants, believe and teach that our traditional Christian God is really dead, lost, or never actually lived. They completely reject the transcendent and wholly accept the secular world. Some, like Thomas Altizer, teach that God is a mystical, dialectical, historical process. Others, like William Hamilton, teach that Jesus has replaced God and that man can expect no assistance whatever from Him and that we should therefore "glory in man." Or like Paul Van Buren, they believe that our traditional, personal God never really lived at all. He was simply a useful "blik" — a pragmatic, individualistic way of looking at things based on wholly naturalistic sources and true so long as it was useful. These theologians are sometimes called the "hard" radicals or "Christian Atheists." They have but a small following and little to offer contemporary Mormons.[14]

The God-is-hidden theologians, from whom Mormons can learn considerably more, believe in a living God but would offer a restatement of the Gospel for twentieth-century man. One of the foremost spokesmen, Gabriel Vahanian, succinctly stated the purpose of this group when he wrote: "The heart of the matter is this. . . . Our culture has grown cold to the [traditional] symbols of the gospel."[15] This chilling of the traditional gospel symbols has been brought about, they feel, by the secularization of Western society. To oppose this process of secularization is futile. Rather, we are asked to embrace the secular in order to enhance faith and make religion more meaningful. This we can do by sloughing off irrelevancies and by restating necessary religious symbols in modern, relevant terms. Unlike the death-of-God theologians the God-is-hidden theologians (sometimes called the "soft" radicals) are widely read by laymen, both here and abroad.

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[13]Langdon Gilkey, "Secularism's Impact on Contemporary Theology" in C. W. Christian and Glen Witting, eds., *Radical Theology: Phase Two* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1967), pp. 18-19.

[14]One of the best evaluations of the "hard radicals" is John Warwick Montgomery's critique in Murchland, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-69. Also helpful is William Braden, *The Private Sea LSD and the Search for God* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), Ch. 10.

[15]Murchland, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

The two best-known theologians of the God-is-hidden "school" are John A. T. Robinson, Bishop of Woolwich, England, and Harvey Cox, a Baptist minister who teaches at the Divinity School of Harvard University. Bishop Robinson's main thesis in his now-famous *Honest to God* is that these times require a restatement of traditional Christianity since the churches have failed in their orthodox efforts to make Christianity meaningful to modern man. Robinson would have us abandon our belief in a personal God who lives "up there" in a localized heaven or "out there" in space for something close to "ultimate concern" for our fellow men. Rather than concentrate on God, the best way to understand the gospel today, Robinson feels, is through Jesus. But Jesus is not divine. The importance of Jesus is that He was completely unselfish, "the man for others" in the phrase of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the "father" of secular theology who was executed by the Nazis.[16] Viewed in this light it is quite possible to be a Christian without believing in the traditional teachings of the Church, and to have faith in God and Christ "without dependence on the supernaturalist scheme."[17]

Harvey Cox's thesis in *The Secular City* is much more historically oriented. He believes that scientific and technological advances have made urbanization inevitable, that urbanization in turn has led to the secularization of society, that secularization has destroyed traditional Christianity, and that this whole process calls for a celebration. Not only is secular man more tough-minded, but his secularized city is really a better place in which to live than the more traditional religious town, according to Cox. Often attacked as faceless and impersonal, the secular city really widens the scope of individual choices in all sorts of areas, from theaters to marriage partners. Rather than being his brother's keeper, Cox is more discriminating and glories in "segmental" and functional relationships; rather than appeal to scripture, tradition, or doctrinal history he appeals to experience. And since all experience is relative, all values men make are relative. Each new generation therefore "melts the paste of traditional social cohesion and things begin to fall apart." The next generation then pastes its own system together and therein lies its maturity — its salvation. By leaving him alone, by remaining hidden, God makes man more responsible for himself and hence more God-like. Thus, according to Cox, we should celebrate God's absence and welcome the liberating forces of secularism.[18]

MORMONS AND THE CHALLENGE OF SECULARISM

Whether or not one agrees with these secular theologians one must, I feel, admit that the impact of secularism on contemporary religious life is an important subject worthy of careful analysis. There is little question that people almost everywhere are becoming secular.[19] Even the most astute critics of the

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[16]See Kenneth Godfrey, "Christ Without the Church," *Dialogue*, II (1967) No. 1, p. 28.

[17]Robinson, pp. 30-34, 54-57, and 64-70.

[18]See especially *The Secular City Debate*, pp. 179-203.

[19]The best empirical study on this point is Stark and Glock's work (see fn. 2).

new theology admit this.[20] It is also one of the major forces shaping our contemporary values (whether we recognized it or not), and a subject of considerable scriptural emphasis. Our standard works are replete with references to the dangers of glorifying man and following worldly (secular) paths.[21] Perhaps Joseph Smith had some of these secularizing forces in mind when in 1833 he limited the size of the City of Zion to from 15,000 to 20,000 people, and suggested an expansion of these small units rather than allowing towns to grow into a megalopolis.[22]

Nor is urbanism less a fact for Mormons than for Protestants. Most Mormons reside in urban areas. Although to my knowledge there are no extensive studies of the impact of urbanization on Mormon behavior, we may fairly assume that urbanization has probably influenced Mormons in much the same way it has non-Mormons. Based on this assumption, urban Mormons today probably have greater freedom than formerly in making decisions, including whether and to what extent they will be educated or religious. They are more rational, more sophisticated, and much more willing to criticize their leaders. The urban Mormon has fewer constraints and hence more flexible mores. He is also more tolerant of other religions than were his rural forefathers. But most of all contemporary Mormons fail to stand out as they once did. Despite a peculiar doctrine and except for the distinctive personal habits prescribed by the Word of Wisdom (including an implied proscription against narcotics), there is really little quantitative evidence to distinguish Mormon behavior today from that of comparable groups. Distinctions are usually asserted, for example, between Mormons and non-Mormons in the areas of sexual morality, education, crime, patriotism, and sobriety. Statistical data, however, clearly show that in 1960 Utah's rate of illegitimate births was *higher* than the rate of illegitimacy for the white population of Alabama, Mississippi, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and was comparable with the rate for the white population of South Carolina, South Dakota, and Kansas. Even in Provo the rate of illegitimacy is not much different than it is in Dubuque, Iowa. The same pattern is true for the median school years completed by the white population. (There is less than .1 of one percent separating Utah from five other western states). Regarding crime, according to the most recent data, Chicago is safer than Salt Lake City (total 1966 crime index 2172 vs. 2349) and that old sin city, Utica, N.Y., has less crime than Provo. The other two categories — patriotism and sobriety — are either nonquantifiable or of dubious distinction anyway. In short, we are no longer so much a peculiar people as typical Americans with a peculiar history.[23]

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[20]One of the most able (and certainly the most nitpicking) critic of secular theology, in my judgment, is E. L. Mascall. On this point see especially his remarks in *The Secularization of Christianity, op. cit.*, pp. viii-xiii, and 44.

[21]The most pertinent scriptural references are: I Cor. 3:18–21; II Cor. 3:21, 10:17; 2 Nep. 9:28–29, 42–43; 26–20; 28:3–4, and 14–15. Otherwise see Jacob 4:8–10; Hel. 3:29–30; 3 Nep. 26:6–10, 23:1–6; D. & C. 1:37–39; and I Cor. Chs. 1 and 2.

[22]Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, I, p. 358.

[23]See *Trends in Illegitimacy, United States, 1940–1965*, Public Health Service, Series 21, No. 15 (February, 1968), pp. 27 and 55; 1967 *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, p. 115; and *Uniform Crime Reports — 1966*, pp. 80, 86, 87, and 89.

One must also admit, I feel, that secularism has brought many benefits to Mormon culture. Certainly our rising standard of living and our national security must be attributed to secular rather than religious forces. Secular forces have made Mormons better educated, healthier, more mobile, less provincial, and more realistic in their personal and community goals than were their ancestors in the nineteenth century. By being richer and better accepted by the world than formerly, Mormons have a greater capacity for doing good because they are more likely to be listened to. Along with making Mormonism more respectable, these secular forces have eliminated some of our less defensible practices and made our doctrine less rigid. Polygamy was sloughed off through secular pressures (to our immense benefit) and we are less rigid today about the Second Coming, the gathering to Zion, divorce, excommunication, birth control, and the Sabbath.

But can secular theology be reconciled with Mormon doctrine? Basically, the scriptures are against the new theology despite its tortured exegetical attempt to focus on man rather than God. Nor is God's ostensible "hiddenness" anything new. *Deus absconditus* has been a theological commonplace since the time of St. Augustine. His ways have always been incomprehensible to the worldly-wise. Secular theology's celebration of man's wisdom and ability to save himself and his posterity is based more on history and experience than the scriptures or theological tradition.

If the theological basis for secularism is weak, is its appeal to Mormon tradition any stronger? Much of the new secularism among Protestants is a delayed reaction to the neoorthodoxy of the past few decades, and especially that brand represented by Reinhold Niebuhr. Mormonism has always been much more ambivalent on the question of the inherent sinfulness of man, hence the need to re-emphasize the power, dignity, and independence of man is far less pressing. On the other hand, the symbolic and psychological force of the neoorthodox emphasis on original sin is a powerful weapon against secularism which is not in the Mormon arsenal. In this respect Mormons may eventually be more threatened than neoorthodox Protestants are now. At this time, however, Mormonism is neither plagued by inactivity among its membership nor depressed by an "atmosphere of tired inertia" as is the Church of England. Ours has always been a vigorous church. If anything there is too much activity and too many meetings. Moreover, Mormonism does not have the weight of centuries of opposition to scientific inquiry on its shoulders as does the Catholic Church, or the uncompromising rigidity of orthodox Judaism. In fact, one of Mormonism's strongest selling points is its worldly concern for the contemporary welfare of its membership. Again, there is little in our heritage to recommend this new secular emphasis.

Then there is the problem of ultimate goals. In its elevating the human and diminishing the role of God, most Mormons would probably believe that secular theology is too comfortable with man. The secular theologians, many would feel, underestimate man's capacity for evil. The tragic history of the Third Reich should give these secularizers pause. In this sense secular theology is too open ended, too progressive and hopeful, too success-oriented and

middle-class. But in another sense a few readers may feel secular theology is not comfortable enough with man. That is, since it logically leads to humanism why not go all the way? Why get off at their penultimate station rather than riding the secular train all the way to Huxleyville? If God is dead or hidden and man's happiness here and now is the highest goal, why not dispense with theology (and Mormonism) altogether?

In the final analysis, however, the central thrust of the secular theologians' argument that the traditional Christian doctrine of God is simply unbelievable today applies more to Mormons than to virtually anyone else. The doctrine of an anthropomorphic God is just about extinct among main-line Protestants, but nothing is more central to Mormonism. The more secular man finds it difficult to believe in a personal God "with hair on His back" who allows national leaders to be assassinated and six million Jews to be exterminated, the more Mormons will be directly confronted by secular society. As a non-Mormon friend of mine said recently: "Protestants can escape into some sort of vague definition of God as a disembodied creative or moral spirit and still remain orthodox. Mormons cannot." For Mormon doubters there is no place to hide. Once question the anthropomorphism of the First Vision and Mormonism comes apart like the old one-hoss shay "all at once and nothing first."

Having said all these things against secular theology, is there nothing positive in the secular approach to the Gospel which would strengthen Mormonism notwithstanding the problems it might create? I for one feel there is, provided one constantly keeps in mind the scriptural warnings against relying too much on the wisdom of men, and provided further that one does not insist it is the only useful approach. Many Mormons, especially those of college age and those holding advanced degrees in the social sciences, are having difficulty reconciling their secular experiences with the traditional teachings of Mormonism. Attempts to solve these problems via the conventional approach are not always successful. I believe secular theology can help these members formulate an effective alternative to the conventional approach to the Gospel, an alternative which in most respects will stand the scrutiny of both experience and faith.

To begin with, secular theology suggests that much of what now passes for divine in Mormonism is really man-made and therefore subject to change. As conditions change the doctrinal frame of reference often changes, and a principle that was once precisely relevant and considered unalterable may no longer be relevant at all. In our early history, for example, the doctrine of the gathering was assumed to be a permanent part of the Gospel. Today just the reverse is taught, and a general gathering of the faithful would be disastrous. Each generation in a real sense therefore has developed its own Mormon doctrine at least to a limited degree. Mormonism then, like all faiths, is in the long view a combination of relatively fixed and relatively unfixed principles and practices.[24] I am personally not sure where the dividing line

[24]Some try to rationalize this fact away by saying the Gospel is essentially unchanging but is expressed in changing terms. This is Mascall's position. Such wriggling reminds me

is or exactly how one might go about finding it,[25] but historically speaking very little in Mormonism or religion generally is absolutely rigid and unchanging in any sense.

Despite this fact the traditional view of Mormon doctrine is that the Gospel is constant and unchanging. This is simply not true. Contemporary Mormons do not interpret Christ's teachings exactly the same way Christ's apostles did, nor do they believe everything Paul wrote 2,000 years ago. Paul's ideas about women, for instance, are hardly what one could accept today. Nor do present-day Mormons believe the Gospel exactly as taught by Brigham Young.[26] For that matter, some of our contemporary apostles do not believe some of the things other present-day apostles teach today. I find this very healthy, for by recognizing that our doctrine is flexible and open to interpretation, it may, on occasion, be made more relevant to contemporary problems. By such application, many disturbing issues created by the conventional approach disappear of their own accord. This point is particularly important with respect to our young people.

The problems of today's youth are the problems of the penumbra. They do not pertain to "hard core" doctrine such as faith, repentance, and baptism. Young people are not doubtful about the teachings of the Articles of Faith. They are concerned with peripheral issues, many of which are little more than holdover notions from a past generation. Teenagers, for example, are concerned about Church standards of dress which they consider old-fashioned. Their older brothers and sisters are agitated about our unwillingness to give the Negroes the Priesthood, a relatively recent and hopefully temporary policy with hardly a scintilla of scriptural evidence to support it. Those who live in large cities are often bemused if not appalled by the provincial and rural thrust of the messages coming from General Authorities of rural backgrounds and the alarmist editorials of the *Deseret News* against the "new" economics which have been accepted for over thirty years by both political parties. A majority of Mormons now live in cities and a majority live outside Utah. It appears that neither of these facts is yet reflected in the leadership of the Church.

Our youth are also concerned about contemporary problems to which our septuagenarian leaders give what these members consider to be anachronistic answers. Some, for example, are disturbed by the Church's refusal to speak out on the war in Vietnam, except to say that if called one ought to serve. Others are disgusted with those who equate communism, socialism, and the welfare state and pronounce all three equally evil. Some are appalled by the insistence of some of our leaders that because Mormons

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of those who say there is no problem between generations, it is really only a matter of communication.

[25]The Articles of Faith might serve as a good beginning in determining what the core of Mormon doctrine is.

[26]Brigham Young taught, for example, that a man was a menace to the community if he was not married by age nineteen. For a lengthy list of similar remarks made by Brigham Young and other early Church leaders see n.a., "Index to the First Five Volumes of the Journal of Discourses," V, University of Utah Library, pp. 38–61.

do not drink no one else should either, or by the pre-World War I rhetoric of the current crusade in Utah to kill a referendum which could allow liquor by the drink. Many are deeply embarrassed by our near silence on civil rights; others by an administration which spies on its faculty at B.Y.U. And finally, the more perceptive of our perplexed youth are becoming increasingly frustrated by a system of seniority which concentrates virtually all power in the Church in a single administrative body, the median age of which is 71 at a time when the median age of all Mormons is about 26. This is not a generation gap. It is a *double* generation gap.

A more realistic approach to Mormonism, i.e., one which fully recognizes the secular in both man and the Church, offers a practical solution to all of these perplexing problems. First, by concentrating on what is secular in Mormonism we could begin to narrow the "hard core" of our doctrine to the bare essentials required of all Mormons. Such a delineation, even if imperfect, would remove as a reason for leaving the Church many of these problems of the penumbra, and give these young souls and their liberal elders a more comfortable place in the Mormon sun. Second, by more clearly drawing the line between the sacred and the profane in Mormonism we could better expose the man-made dogma now masquerading within the faith as the word of the Lord. This would allow people like Elder Benson on the right and President Brown in the center to continue to speak out on contemporary problems as they see them, but would require each of them to sign his own name and not the Lord's (or President McKay's) to his speeches. By muzzling the speaker or sending him on a mission to a far country we discourage the very thing our youth demand – relevancy. Moreover, by remaining silent in times of national crisis which cry out for comment we may create more ill will for the Church than if several conflicting statements had been made in the heat of the moment. Would it not be better if spokesmen for the Church simply and honestly accepted responsibility for their own speeches? Then let a hundred flowers bloom. Finally, and most importantly, a secular approach to Mormonism would recognize the fact that many urban Mormons have already been secularized by the process of urbanization and are seeking a more relevant approach to the Gospel. This new Mormon is by and large faithful to the essentials of Mormonism, but independent in applying these Gospel principles to contemporary situations. He no longer fits the old rural stereotypes described so well by Wallace Stegner, nor is he willing to be "instructed" politically or told how to think religiously. He does his own thinking. He has to. For except for two or three of the younger General Authorities very few in authority today are speaking to the big city Mormon.

The biggest danger of this new approach lies, of course, in its eclecticism. But that is everyone's problem. Orthodox Mormons have, for example, chosen to emphasize the rather vague and indirectly interpreted "hot drinks" section of the Word of Wisdom rather than the more precise prohibitions against meat. Humanistic Mormons on the other hand have selected out of their philosophy much that is not current and empirically demonstrable. In this sense the humanists are constantly in danger of being led astray by the whims

of the moment, but the orthodox are just as often the captives of some irrelevant if not anachronistic vagary. There is simply no easy or exclusive way to truth — including religious truth.

It is precisely because our official literature neglects this point of view that secular theology is so useful in helping us to adjust to our urban–secular environment. It also opens up a fascinating new field of theology, albeit a difficult and confused one, at a time when really good Mormon theologians are rare. At the very least this developmental approach would make Mormons more responsible for themselves and their own beliefs and in this sense — that is, in the sense that they alone are responsible for their own character — more God-like.

In conclusion, the secular theologians are extending to us an invitation to be more religiously creative and spiritually relevant. There is just so much mileage in our rural pioneer heritage, and it is both cheap and unproductive to be constantly trying to solve our problems in their rhetoric. What these young, urban-focused and worldly-oriented intellectuals are really saying to Mormons is that we need not be swallowed up by secularism if we will make Mormonism more *relevant* to our contemporary problems. What our older, country-bred and scripture-oriented church leaders tell us is that if we will achieve exaltation we must hold fast to the ancient teachings of the prophets and thereby become more *spiritual*. To reconcile these two valid approaches is, in the final analysis, the challenge of secularism.

ROBERT WOOD TALKS ABOUT THE CITY

The city's special urban functions are
mobilization, mixture and magnification . . .
a higher capacity for cooperation and
a widening of the area of communication
and emotional communion . . .
—Lewis Mumford

Robert C. Wood was interviewed for DIALOGUE *by Royal Shipp and William Robinson, in June, 1968, in Washington, D.C. Mr. Wood is Under Secretary for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Previously he was head of the political science department at MIT and member of the Faculty Policy Committee of the MIT–Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies. He is author of the pioneering study* SUBURBIA: ITS PEOPLE AND THEIR POLITICS *(1958) and co-author of* POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES *(1965).*

The city is the interaction of two scientific disciplines, biology and physics. It includes suburbia, it includes megalopolis. It is wherever movement and volatility are found. I cannot think of cities without a relatively high degree of density and without a variety of people and activities.

The ideal city is a will o' the wisp. St. Thomas, Aristotle, and Plato set limits at 20,000 to 80,000 people. Lord Bryce thought the best-governed city should not exceed 100,000. I am not disposed to set a fixed number. There are major economic advantages for large cities. If we could get lead time in government action, in community participation, in the ordering of space;

if we could be sensitive to beauty, if we could deal with pollution and other environmental needs, we could accommodate large numbers.

Santayana said that those who do not know history are condemned to relive it. But there are those who know history so well that they are trying to relive it under inappropriate circumstances. The Greek polis is not the same as Newark, New Jersey.

We are still the only country in the world seriously using the city as a device for assimilation. But America is learning, quite painfully, the dangers of that old illusion, "There's nobody here but us small town folks." We have always been committed in our folklore to the small community, to the sturdy yeoman, to the Western cowboy hero, to the Mormon pioneer. But behavior tolerable in a small town assumes different proportions when people live in congested circumstances. The village idiot, tolerated at home, cannot get around in the city. Driving a car recklessly down a country road endangers only the driver, but on a modern highway it causes an accordion accident. A broken window is overlooked in a small town, but may spark a riot in a big city.

It may be true that many a young woman coming from a small town to the big city risks the "Perils of Pauline," but there may have been less obvious perils in the small town. I think the city provides greater opportunity for growth, for freedom, for morality of the highest order. It provides opportunity to know and to experience the plurality of life that I think our creator intended.

The "Urban Crisis" is basically a crisis in expectations and frustrations. Actually cities today are *not* worse than they were fifty years ago. Our streets are safer than they were in Victorian times; American cities are better places to live. But we have never been satisfied with conditions as our fathers found them. We are expanding beyond the family unit, developing neighborhoods, finding substitutes for some of the bonds of ethenticity and religion. It is this painful, slow process that creates the "crisis." It is clear too that mass media and high literacy play a key role in creating this crisis. There is now no place for the rich to hide.

Our basic concern is not slums and civil rights, but city building. We must ask ourselves what kinds of communities, what patterns of life we want. We are Johnny-come-latelys, but given the Urban Coalition, given the billion dollar fund of private industry, the new federal legislation, we can unleash all our massive energy and sophisticated management upon urban problems. The key needs right now are not money and resources, but manpower and research.

Neighborhood people must be involved in rebuilding and reconstructing the slums. Programs affect the lives of people with terrible intimacy. Visible change must come to the ghetto; jobs must appear, schools must go up, houses must improve. But city hall and neighborhood must engage in shared experience.

Those who would applaud the rise of an all-black central city and an all-black government must consider that it might mean a return to a subtle form of the "back of the bus." I think separatism, whether voluntary or compulsory, represents a backward step in American society. We *are* still the only nation in the world seriously engaged in the quest for equal opportunity and equal rights under law. But, as McGeorge Bundy said of Vietnam, "grey is the color of truth." This is also true of the American city. But we will not await the Millennium to attack the slum; we have prepared a model cities program designed to improve conditions as quickly as resources and manpower will allow.

The role of the Church is of critical importance in the city. Cities work best when organized institutions display their power. Very few churches have been urban. The Roman Catholic and the Episcopalian churches were the first to put down roots there. Most churches will go where the action is, and in the city there are amazing opportunities for laity and clergy to find action. A church need not follow the shopping center pattern — a new church every twenty minutes. But it is possible for parish and church life to move now against exclusiveness, against suburban compartments. Every major church in America must come to terms with these threats in the next few years.

MORMONS AS CITY PLANNERS

Charles L. Sellers

. . . one key to urban development should be plain — it lies in the widening of the circle of those capable of participating in it, till in the end all men will take part in the conversation.
—Lewis Mumford

The contributions of individual Mormons and the Church as a body to irrigation and farm village life, and the agricultural orientation of the Church's welfare program, have built an image of Mormons as a rural people. Actually, not only are Mormons probably urbanizing faster than the average because of their high level of education, but historically Mormonism has made significant contributions to urban planning, development, and life styles. In fact, as one non-Mormon writer has put it:

> The year 1830 saw the birth of a new religion, one among the dozens spawned in the backwaters left by the advancing waves of the frontier. This Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints — or the Mormons, as they soon were called — became the most successful city builders of all the religious and utopian societies.[1]

It is the purpose of this article to show the Church's contributions to city planning in the past as a possble guide and spur to modern Latter-day Saints in their efforts to respond to urbanization both now and in the future. The

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[1]John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 466.

time has come to establish a better balance between our institutional preoccupation with agricultural and rural life styles and an increased commitment to the betterment of urban life.

PAST CONTRIBUTIONS

Most past contributions of the Church derive from a letter sent by Joseph Smith to the Saints in Missouri on June 25, 1833. This letter, which has come to be called "The Plat of the City of Zion," contained a wealth of instructions on city planning, including the following:

> The whole plat is supposed to contain from fifteen to twenty thousand people; you will therefore see that it will require twenty-four buildings to supply them with houses of worship, schools, etc. . . . South of the plat where the line is drawn, /land/ is to be laid off for barns, stables, etc., so that no barns or stables will be in the city among the houses; the ground to be occupied by these must be laid off according to wisdom. . . . When this square is laid off and supplied, lay off another in the same way, and so fill up the world in these last days; and let every man live in the city for this is the city of Zion. All the streets are of one width, being eight perches [i.e., eight rods or 132 feet] wide. . . . No one lot in the city is to contain more than one house, and that be built twenty-five feet back from the street, leaving a small yard in front, to be planted in a grove, according to the taste of the builder; the rest of the lot for gardens; all the houses are to be built of brick and stone. . . .[2]

This plan, which was never given the formal status of a revelation, became the "master plat" for most of the Mormon towns founded during the nineteenth century. These towns ranged from Kirtland, Ohio, to San Bernardino, California, and from Canada to Mexico. Some of their distinguishing features were:

1. Provision for farmers and ranchers to live in town instead of on isolated homesteads, as in most other parts of the country. (There are, obviously, many opportunities for cooperation in this arrangement.)
2. Preservation of a greenbelt in agricultural use around the mile-square towns to limit their ultimate population.
3. Exclusion of barns, stables, animal pens, and heavy industrial operations from certain parts of town.
4. Community control of land disposition and water rights to curtail speculation and unfair exploitation.
5. Reservation of strategic blocks for public buildings and grounds, e.g., churches, schools, and parks.
6. Front and side yard setbacks for dwellings and the encouragement of horticultural embellishments.
7. Gridiron street pattern with uniformly wide streets.
8. Division of the town into ecclesiastical wards which tended to define or create social neighborhoods.

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[2]B. H. Roberts (ed.), *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints — Period I, Vol. I* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1946), pp. 357–59.

Though these principles were not lavishly followed in every town founded by Mormons, enough of them were used to make Mormon towns seem unusual to visitors. The gridiron pattern was certainly not unique, but the wide streets were somewhat remarkable. Actually, it was not so much their physical layout that made the "cities of Zion" different, but their land disposition policies, land use regulations, and peculiar social and economic institutions. Some of Joseph Smith's city planning ideas foreshadowed typical provisions in modern zoning ordinances, e.g., segregation of uses and building setback requirements. Other features anticipated the British "garden cities" or "new towns" by as much as sixty-five years.

This similarity between Joseph Smith's "cities of Zion" and the "garden cities" of Ebenezer Howard (1898) is worthy of comment. The rationale for the "garden cities" was the relocation of families living in crowded, unsanitary conditions in London and other "bloated" cities. It was believed there was an optimum size beyond which cities should not grow, if proper sociality was to be maintained. This is very close to Joseph Smith's limit of fifteen to twenty thousand. How was "urban sprawl" to be contained? The "garden cities" were to establish a "greenbelt composed of woods and fields all around each new town." The "cities of Zion" were to be reproduced whenever the original mile-square plats became fully built up. Probably because of persecution the greenbelt was not maintained at Nauvoo. Neither has it been maintained around certain other Mormon towns of the Far West.

Both "garden cities" and "cities of Zion" sought to control land speculation and to segregate incompatible land uses. Considerable attention was paid to public health, safety, and welfare. Both plans placed a subtle but real emphasis upon neighborhoods and the concept of neighboring. Letchworth (1903), the first British garden city, was laid out with a curvilinear street pattern and physically discrete neighborhoods. There seems to have been an implicit assumption that proximity would create neighboring. Nauvoo (1839) and subsequent Mormon towns have what might be called "ward neighborhoods." Each Mormon ward provides a secondary social group, an extended family. Regardless of geographical spread, ward members feel close to each other. As a result Mormons are less likely to experience the frustration and anomie with which many migrants to big cities are faced.

The towns established in the Far West reflect the genius of Joseph Smith and the strong organizational talents of Brigham Young. Eugene Hollon summarizes the city building of the early Mormons:

> Not all of the early settlements established by the Mormons became permanent. . . . That so many of the settlements did survive is a tribute to the wise planning of church officials, especially Brigham Young. At the time of his death in 1877, thirty years after the founding of Salt Lake City, there were more than 360 Mormon towns in the desert. The magnitude of this accomplishment can best be understood by comparing it with Spanish activities. By 1574 these most successful of all European colonists had planted approximately 200 towns in North and South America. Eighty years after Columbus' initial voyage the Spanish populaton in the New World approximated 160,000

to 200,000 persons, only a few thousand more than the Mormons claimed after a mere three decades. Furthermore, Spanish colonists probably had no more problems to surmount than did the Mormons, thousands of whom pushed their belongings in handcarts from the Mississippi Valley to their desert home in Utah.[3]

CURRENT CONTRIBUTIONS

It is not surprising that as the Church withdrew from the concept of building a physical kingdom of God on earth to become primarily ecclesiastical, it withdrew too from city-building and economic development activities. The nearest the Church comes to actual community-building activities today is in relation to its larger educational campuses and health and welfare installations. Laie, Hawaii, is probably the best current example of a town expanding as a direct result of heavy Church investments. Some stakes have entered the nursing home business in a modest way. The Salt Lake Stake Retirement Center and Provo's Eldred Manor have been favorably featured in recent articles in the *Church News.* What is more surprising is that as individuals a people who once pioneered in urban planning and city building are now so little involved. Individual Mormons have, of course, made significant contributions as elected officials, professional urbanists (i.e., city planners and city managers), city clerks and finance directors, city engineers, and public utility superintendents, building inspectors, police and fire officials, recreation directors, librarians, and school officials. Others have served as unpaid members of special boards and commissions — such as planning and zoning boards, housing authorities, sanitary districts, and school boards. Many Mormons are prominent in the general contracting and real estate businesses.

However, there are only about fifty professional city planners with Mormon background; this in a wide-open field in which there are said to be 600–700 unfilled jobs, and one which should have intrinsic appeal for land-use and social-relations-minded Mormons. One explanation may be the well-nigh unqualified aversion of many Mormons to federal aid programs having to do with urban life. It is interesting to contrast the attitude of Mormons toward such rural-oriented federal aid programs as reclamation to urban-oriented ones such as urban renewal. It is no more logical and fair for Utahns to decry the federal urban renewal program because there are few slums in Utah than it would be for Bostonians to decry the federal reclamation program because there is no need for it in Boston. Even the argument that the funds advanced for reclamation works will be repaid in due time from water and power charges loses force when it is recognized that well-conceived and well-managed urban renewal projects can also repay investment in increased tax revenues and decreased urban service costs. Another indication of the same paradox is that so many Utahns reject many aspects of federal aid to education (which, as a poor state, they desperately need) while welcoming with open arms a bevy

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[3]W. Eugene Hollon, *The Great American Desert: Then and Now* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 106–107.

of defense installations and defense-related industries which are, if anything, more heavily subsidized by the federal government than, say, urban renewal or anti-poverty programs. It would be interesting to know whether the same attitude continues among Utahns as they emigrate to more heavily urbanized areas.

Another possible roadblock to the effective participation of Mormons in urban betterment activities is the antipathy of some of them (a minority, surely) to police power regulations. While no responsible person would criticize traffic regulations in general, Church members have been known to decry regulations aimed at the control of land, air, and water pollution. It is ironic that it is often those who complain most about police power regulations who have made them necessary by their utter disregard of their neighbors' and future generations' rights.

The Church makes perhaps its chief contribution to solving the problems of urban man through its very organization:

In his important book on city planning, *The Good City*, Lawrence Haworth sets forth some very interesting proposals for recapturing the sense of shared values in our modern cities. Most of these proposals, however, boil down to a recommendation that we implement the neighborhood unit concept. Haworth is undecided about the appropriate size or shape of these neighborhood units, but the geometrics aren't as important as the need for a neighborhood social nexus. Schools, parks, churches, stores, cafes, and even laundromats all help in their own way to supply social contact centers.

Some time ago I contended, in an article for the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*,[4] that Mormon wards (especially where the full program of the Church can be carried on) serve admirably as neighborhood centers — at least for the members of the Church. It is interesting to note the similarity between Mormon wards and the wide-ranging program carried on by the Pioneer Health Centre (founded in London, England, in 1926) which Haworth points to as a novel solution to the need for more personal interaction. A family club, the Pioneer Health Centre sponsored recreational activities, arts and crafts, a library, a nursery, a cafeteria, and even a farm. The sense of mutual helpfulness which the members enjoyed could hardly have matched that which Mormons feel as members of the extended family — the ward. At any rate it is interesting to note that a philosopher would recommend an arrangement similar to that which Mormons already have in order to bring meaning and warmth back into city life.

Other churches are moving in the same direction — as are labor unions, large corporations and certain other socio-economic institutions. The need for a primary social group, larger than the family but small enough to maintain a unity of purpose and appeal to all ages, seems much in evidence. It is only the unchurched, who at the same time have no legitimate vocational or avocational ties to give meaning and recognition to their efforts (if, indeed, they make any) who are truly "lost in the shuffle." They are our biggest prob-

[4]Charles L. Sellers, "Early Mormon Community Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (February 1962), 25.

lem — the disoriented and unwanted castoffs which an affluent, technologically advanced society cannot assimilate without tremendous cost in money, time, and heart. Mormons need to ponder their responsibility to use such resources to help provide these castoffs with opportunities for successful urban living that have come almost as automatic blessings to themselves.

POSSIBLE FUTURE CONTRIBUTIONS

In addition to the many and varied contributions which individual Mormons can make to the betterment of urban life, there are many worthwhile endeavors which will require concerted group effort. One very important (though rather general) one is the need to promote clean progressive local government. But good government is rarely inexpensive government. Public health, safety, and welfare facilities and services are priceless but not costless. One possible way to cut down the cost, however, and to make them more efficient at the same time would be the merging of adjoining municipalities and special districts, at least in functional consolidations of selected urban services. On the county level it might be beneficial if more thought were given to the feasibility of county consolidations. (Utah's Daggett County is hardly a viable unit.) Utah has a head start on most other states in this regard because a thorough study was made by Dr. George Hansen of the Brigham Young University (1930). Mormons should promote rational municipal and county government structures. They should also support sound proposals to reform the property tax system so as to stop penalizing improvements to property while encouraging poor maintenance. The federal government's revenue sources are much more lucrative than are those of the states, yet most of the socio-economic problems which have finally pricked the conscience of the American people must be attacked at the local level. This is the circumstance which has brought forth the principle of "creative federalism." The federal government offers loans and grants to state and local governments to supplement the resources which they glean on their own. Many of the grants are offered on a matching basis — in much the same way the Church offers to pay, say, seventy percent of the cost of a chapel if the local people put up the other thirty percent. There are hundreds of federal aid programs offered by various departments and independent agencies of the government to states, counties, municipalities, other governmental entities, private institutions, and individuals which have a bearing on urban betterment.

Going beyond these general considerations, there would seem to be five types of activities which the Church or its local units could undertake. These are (1) the creation of new towns; (2) the provision of housing for low or moderate income families; (3) the rehabilitation of old houses and demolition of others; (4) the provision of outdoor recreation facilities near chapels; and (5) participation in social and vocational rehabilitation programs.

The concept of new towns should not seem foreign to Mormons familiar with Church history. If it could found as many as 360 in pioneer days, why not one or two today? It is recognized that the Church does not have an excess of idle cash to lavish on secular construction projects. But if it could

serve as entrepreneur for such efforts, attracting money thereby from non-Church sources, it would do a great service to the nation and would attract much favorable publicity. We undoubtedly have the planning and managerial talent necessary. Should we not be practicing for the building of the new Jerusalem? Those who study our nation's population dynamics suggest that new towns are one way to accommodate our burgeoning population, that they are a logical alternative to unbridled expansion of existing cities.

It would seem appropriate for stakes or groups of stakes to organize housing cooperatives to take advantage of certain Federal Housing Administration mortgage insurance programs. The more applicable ones are for rental housing for families of low or moderate income, cooperative housing, multi-family rental housing, rental housing for the elderly, housing for elderly and handicapped, and nursing homes. These programs are an attempt to increase the options open to families or individuals whose special needs are often overlooked. As already noted, there is precedent for the construction and operation of nursing homes by stakes or groups of stakes. This trend constitutes a tacit recognition of the fact that we no longer live in a society where all the old folks can or should live with their children when they cannot afford cottages of their own. Of course, nursing homes serve only the more infirm. Attention should also be given to the possibility of providing efficiency apartments with special features and fixtures for the elderly and the handicapped.

If stakes or groups of stakes can purchase, improve, and operate elaborate welfare farms and indoor welfare projects, it would seem they could marshall necessary financial and managerial resources to build and operate housing cooperatives. A church which pioneered producers' and consumers' cooperatives in the days of its penury can do something to alleviate today's critical housing shortages.

With all the building talent there is in the average Elders' quorum, it should be feasible for such a group to acquire rundown houses, to rehabilitate them, and to resell them at a profit. Elders' quorums might also arrange to demolish obsolete structures (such as barns and other out-buildings) whose owners cannot afford professional wreckers. With jobs for youth becoming scarce, this could provide outlet for the excess energy of teenagers — it might even lead to our own version of the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

The publicity value of a well-designed and nicely landscaped chapel on a major street is enormous. Paved off-street parking lots are also becoming standard practice. However, our church facilities should not be visual assets only, but should become neighborhood centers for as broad a clientele as is willing to use them. Especially where ward boundaries approximate physical neighborhoods should a sustained effort be made to attract non-member neighbors to share in our activities. We could make our indoor recreational facilities available to members of other churches, such as those in ghetto areas. With recreational facilities as limited as they are in most cities, our church's willingness to help close the "recreation gap" would not go unappreciated.

Finally, it is recommended that members of the Church become involved in some of the social and vocational rehabilitation programs developed in re-

cent years to interrupt the cycle of poverty. Instead of focusing on palliatives (as in the classic government welfare situation), these new programs are designed to improve social and vocational skills, enabling trainees to take their proper place in society. It is easy for Mormons to be complacent toward the problems of the urban poor when a tradition of collective care makes governmental paternalism seem unnecessary and unwelcome. But the urban poor are not so fortunate. James M. Gavin and Arthur Hadley describe their predicament in these words:

> The crisis in our cities, however, cannot be understood or attacked except as part of the total American pattern; cities cannot be considered apart from the rural life they have replaced. Between 1960 and 1970 an estimated 10,000,000 farmers will have moved to the city. The majority of these migrants — white and black — are the poor, the underprivileged, the undereducated. . . . In the urban ghetto, migrants slowly begin to leave — if they have not already — what we like to think of as "our America." They become among those uncounted by the census [an estimated 5,700,000 males between the ages of 20 and 39 — mostly non-whites]. Denied participation in the American dream, they become "they" and "them." . . . Inside this underculture of the poor — 20,000,000 people, white and black — the goals and aspirations of American society appear as one vast fraud. Each magic program that remains unfunded drives them tighter into their world. . . .[5]

What can be done to bring these "cultural dropouts" into the so-called "mainstream"? Perhaps lessons can be learned from the Bureau of Indian Services. It has recently pioneered many of the acculturation programs which were later adopted by the Office of Economic Opportunity. One of its most interesting programs involves the training of complete family units in the attitudes and skills of urban, technological living. Two employment training centers have been set up where job-training, formal education, and instruction in home economics are given to complete Indian families. The Bureau also has a relocation program which helps Indian families to settle in cities where jobs are available. Church groups and agencies could certainly operate such centers. Our long sympathy with the Indians should help us in broadening our horizons to include other minority groups.

All of the above suggestions could be expedited if city-dwelling Latter-day Saints would consistently think of themselves not as displaced agrarians, but as urbanites by choice. A change in attitude could lead to lasting contributions to urban institutions. The five action programs I have described are not all-inclusive, but they do suggest areas of concentration.

After all, the Good City is important insofar as it contributes to the making of good people. Eradication of slums and the social and economic injustices that breed them represent the top priority to which Mormons and all Americans must dedicate themselves.

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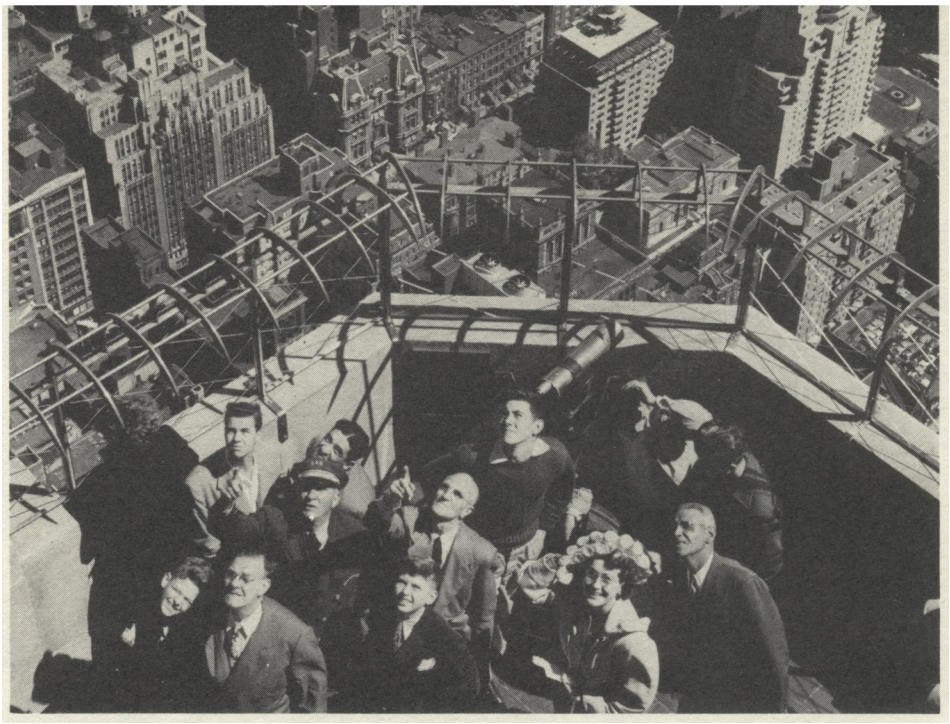
[5]James M. Gavin and Arthur Hadley, "The Crisis of the Cities: The Battle We Can Win," *Saturday Review*, Vol. LI, No. 8 (February 24, 1968), 31–32.



MANHATTAN FACES

Mary Allen

Give me faces and streets . . .
People, endless, screaming, with strong
voices, passions, pageants,
Manhattan crowds, with their turbulent
musical chorus,
Manhattan faces and eyes forever for me.
—Whitman

If you like fresh air, 25¢ hamburgers, and security, New York may not be the place for you. If you want a Rinso-clean wash you can hang in the backyard, where crickets sound at night, and neighbors who are people much like you, the city probably isn't your bag. But if you should find yourself settling into ease at an early age, and yet you are still hounded by curiosity to see more of the world's faces, and you don't mind standing on the edge of a precipice, come along and live. It so came to pass that I flung the articles of life into my Volkswagen and edged the bug into the heart of Manhattan.

Now, looking out from the fifty-sixth floor of the RCA Building, enclosed in the splendor of a Rockefeller office where I work in the summer, I watch the city spinning below through the polluted air, so thick at times that New Jersey disappears. (Skin is always gritty, hair needs washing every night, soot covers the window sills, and the like.) Out near the edge of sight the Statue

of Liberty looks like a lone, bent twig standing to greet the huddled masses. She may welcome the poor immigrants, but her face is turned toward Wall Street down at the tip of Manhattan, home of all that beautiful money and the shrine of every business heart, the stock market.

Down below me is the clogged traffic of Times Square, jovial sewer of humanity, where tourists and Park Avenue ladies mingle with derelicts in the surge of Broadway. In the midst of all this is the stately public library, quietly dignified among crowds who push into matinees and buy in stores on Fifth Avenue. The library gives me my closest look at faces, for inevitably I come up from the books to gaze. I found Chaucer's Wife of Bath that way, reading in the back of the library in her bright red sequined hat all piled up high, her generous form of red a beacon to every eye. She read as lustily as ever Chaucer's gap-toothed lady took after husbands.

A giant of a man across the room from her was one of the loneliest people I have ever seen. His great paw went punctually in and out of a bag of food as he read: pop, a green grape was in his mouth for every period on the page, and crunch, a candy bar for each paragraph. His stomach seemed to grow even as I watched, forcing the rest of him so far back from the table he could hardly see his book, which he nevertheless strained to read, eating all the time with the surreptitious look of the dieter carrying off a half-gallon of ice cream from his thin wife's freezer.

At my reading table was Matilda, or maybe she was an Estelle or an Olga, who didn't care who saw her spill out the treasures of an enormous bag, all stretched out of shape from hanging on her bony shoulder. She released it with a thud on the floor beside her chair and brought forth from it the wondrous apparatus of her existence — three bright feathers, a half-filled folded cup bent with the imprint of her scrawny fingers, something lumpy in tin foil, two pages of the *Daily News* wadded into balls, cartons of face powder, and one drop earring with a green banana on the end. She lined several lipsticks up in a row, which she evidently hadn't stopped using on a face made uneven by age. The sigh of books being read was gently but persistently broken by the shuffle of her articles along the table. Even the woman next to me reading the Sandusky, Ohio, phone directory with a magnifying glass looked up to see the show.

Many people come to the library to talk and to make friends; for them books are only props. I once looked down to see a smudgy note that someone had shoved across the book I was reading. Would I like to go to Lincoln Center after the library closed? Imagine my nervous smile as I looked up trying to guess which of the three men across the table was Prince Charming. Then there was the man struggling with his letter requesting medicare. After writing and rewriting he pulled his chair over near mine and asked for help. Would his doctor be able to tell that he had never finished high school? His mother was about to have her third operation for cancer, he reported. Some people in the library never say a word or move their eyes, much less turn the pages of the books they prop up in front of them. Just blank stares at the far wall. A young man with a two-day beard sleeps on the table; a New York cop

(they are wonderful) tries to wake him by jangling a ring of keys near his ear. The policeman wears the look of one not yet used to seeing wasted lives.

It isn't easy to be kind without attracting parasites. Maybe that is why New Yorkers harden and develop the get-lost stare. I have tried to master it, but the thing really doesn't come off on a round, freckled face. Something about a midwestern look inevitably draws panhandlers, forlorn tourists, and men of every sort who want a match or more. The get-lost stare dissolves, however, when New Yorkers look at their dogs. I have seen a woman kneel in a puddle to kiss her poodle's nose because the cur had a head cold. One matronly lady who apparently walked dogs for a living radiantly looked down at her tugging beasts, six dogs on six leashes, and said with all the authority of a traffic cop, "Okay, everybody, up on the curb." Up they went. Nearby was the lump of a sleeping drunk so far gone that his wallet and watch were easily lifted, entertainment for a watching crowd.

Except for a few crackpots you read about in the newspapers, most New Yorkers become their better selves in Central Park, where hordes of them circle the park on bicycles or jog with the strained but proud look of the physically fit. The precious grass is worn. Old folks sun themselves while chatting with cronies on park benches, couples sprawl on the grass, families picnic, and children run. Dog walkers meet and compare. All of us are lucky to hear the New York Philharmonic on warm August evenings. You can come when you will — the lawn is your reserved box seat. Some comers get there early and bring candles and splendid picnics. Quiet little men sit on carefully unfolded newspapers and read the program notes. Young Puerto Rican mothers with beautiful chubby babies strapped on their backs wander toward the music from concession stands and stay, surprised by something lovely. You can go to the concert alone and not say a word, or bring a troop of friends to share your blanket and chat softly. Lying on your back, when the sky is deep violet with only a blinking light or two from a passing plane, you can see the background of night Manhattan behind the trees of the park. All to the beautiful magic of a solo violin or the thunder of a Beethoven symphony. What a way to hear music, and it doesn't cost a cent.

The night of the blackout brought another kind of harmony to New York. In midtown I looked out at a shockingly dark city, lit only by an occasional match in a window. Office workers joined hands — business acquaintances who had formally passed papers all day long. We joined in a chain to find the crowded street together, where hundreds bobbed up in the dark. Young men who must have always had the urge entered intersections to direct traffic. A waitress dug up a candle to light a cold meal she served for nothing. Phones rang everywhere. People you thought had forgotten called "just to see if you were okay." Dime stores opened their doors late to sell candles by the thousands, and in the light of an eerie November moon, New York took on the look and the heart of a small town.

A visit to New York can reward you with many of these gifts. Living here through the seasons of the year, accompanied by the seasons of the soul (for who ever took the whole self on a vacation?) yields the gifts of involvement —

the daily nudging, the wear of the subways, theater openings, walking and crying from Times Square to the Battery, praying in St. Patrick's, feeling spring on Madison Avenue as you run to meet a friend for lunch, taking a trip to the Virgin Islands to be warm in winter.

New York has changed me. They tell me my lungs are black, and I've learned not to smile in the subway. Failures have become a hearty chunk of my life. I walk faster and much more. Laugh more quickly and deeply. The first thing that comes through my stupor in the morning is a churning excitement. And I never want time to pass. Teaching a night class at NYU, in the heart of drum-beating Washington Square, I have heard in a new way how the Book of Matthew makes absurd demands on men. I have agreed with my students that Job's God is not kind. But I can't agree that Eve was an afterthought, as the grinning Persian on the back row suggested. The burly man in the purple shirt on the front row (whose wife refused to type his term papers) was convinced that women must be subordinate; after all, since Eve was created from Adam's rib, how could the part be greater than the whole? My most important cause concerns the value of studying the humanities. How can reading *King Lear* help these students make more money, they want to know? Why read Chaucer in Middle English? Why learn to write, after all, since their secretaries will do that sort of thing for them? I stood with joy on shaky Utah legs before this pack of wonderfully needy commerce students, eighteen men and one women enrolled for a required literature course. Ah — what a mission. What a place for a single girl to be more than an unfortunate creature in limbo.

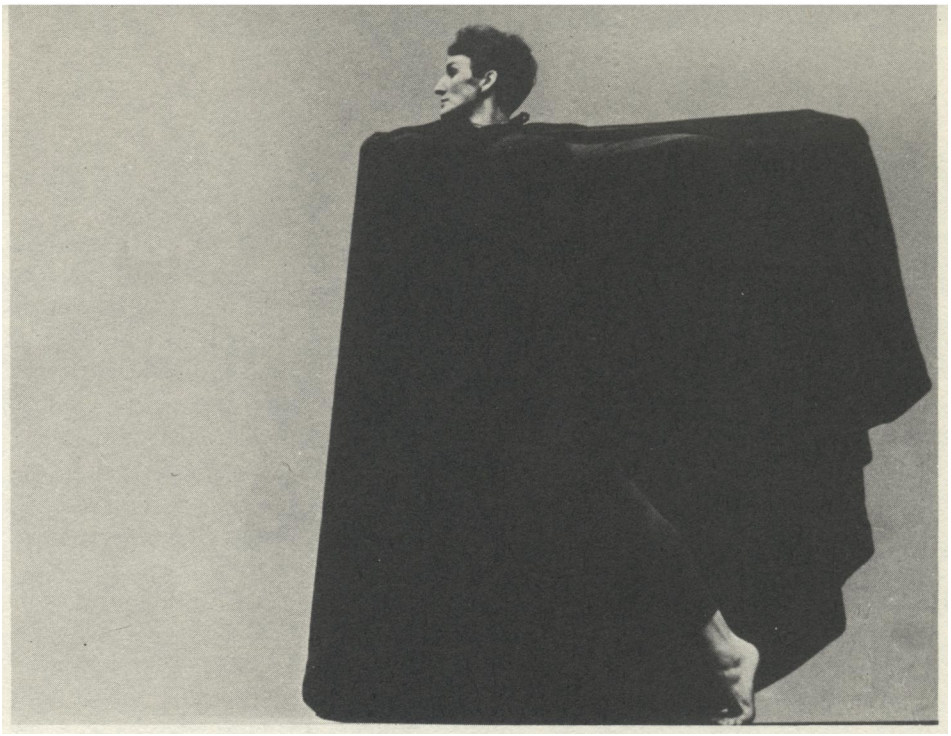
I have always felt a bit guilty about my perpetual urge toward cities. If God is in the country and man in the city, as the case is so often shown, have I stepped away from Him? I pray not. After all, *man* was the last creation, more like God than mountains or seas or roses are, for all their beauty. If the fall of a sparrow in the clean hills matters to God, how much more His heart must soften for the millions of men collected in one place. Multiply one tear. It's awesome. Whenever a cry is heard throughout our land, the sound is overwhelming in a big city.

About compassion. When we read an obituary page and don't know anyone mentioned there, chances are that we feel little sorrow. But if the man who lives down the block dies, and we saw him the Sunday before last, there is a pang. When a friend or a family member dies, we can even cry. It is a commonplace that we learn to love (or hate) the things we know. Before that we may be convinced, but it is our hearts that usually move us to action. It is not easy to have emotion about the life of a Puerto Rican, a Jew, a Negro, or the members of any group if we have never known them or lived where they live. Perhaps that is why many of us whose lives have been spent in isolated Mormon places have so little feeling for people unlike ourselves. Living in New York gives the gift of a new compassion, in spite of the ugly things that often happen in our cities. Yes, I have had the shudder of fright when a black brother sidled up to me late at night, asking if he might walk me home. The fear showed on my face, and we both knew it. All he wanted

was a conversation. Right, it might have been different. But the look on my face is the real problem. Respect. That's what a man wants. And we don't get that by passing a new law.

If you have ever been in Washington Square on a summer night and heard the beat of singers whose grins are wide and whose rhythm is better than yours or mine will ever be, it is easier to care. When the only person you can find to help you collect boxes for moving a thousand books is a nine-year-old Puerto Rican who staggers under the stack of cartons he carries up to your apartment, it matters more what happens to his people. When you come away from an outdoor jazz concert, laughing through a warm evening, and you glance down at the hand covering yours that you had forgotten is black, there is hope for a better world.

Hemingway once wrote to a friend "If you are lucky enough to have lived in Paris as a young man, then wherever you go for the rest of your life, it stays with you, for Paris is a moveable feast." I have been lucky enough to have lived in New York in the 1960's and to have such a moveable feast — to have been here through a blackout, a transit strike, and the election of a mayor who calms slum dwellers and warms the hearts of all of us who care for the cause of cities. The people, yes.



ART AND THE CHURCH

Maida Rust Withers

It is through the performance of creative arts, in art, in thought in personal relationships that the city can be identified as something more than a purely functional organization . . .
—Lewis Mumford

Perhaps it is presumptuous to discuss the relationship of the arts to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Some would question that there need be a relationship, but due to the personal nature of religious experience and the personal nature of art, there is a natural relationship. Religious experience involves the same senses as artistic experience and they both involve a level of communication that can exceed the verbal form.

It might appear overdramatic to discuss the need for emotional experience in our religious services in this 20th century. I do not speak of emotional experience in a therapeutic context. For example, weekly religious experience is directly related to the environment in which we worship. The depth of involvement and attitude is affected by the church setting. In Arlington, Virginia, there is a simple and yet magnificent Unitarian church. As you sit in beautiful, austere space, you look up and out. The structure itself demands that you lift yourself up to the space in which you reside. You look into a beautiful wooded area with long thin straight trees. This church, architecturally, gives you a feeling of eternity and a feeling of oneness with the universe. It is a religious experience in itself merely to be in that place.

There has recently been a rebirth of interest in the arts by other religious groups. Consequently, there has been a change in their services and the congregations are now participants rather than observers. Drama and dance are sometimes employed as part of the Sunday service. A religious message is communicated through the dramatic performance of a well-rehearsed and mature play or dance. Films, prepared slides, and other media are used to emphasize the religious text. The preacher–sermon concept is changing.

Any emphasis given to the arts in the Mormon Church is related to the auxiliaries and is usually performed outside the chapel. Dance, for example, is considered a recreational (social and physical) tool rather than an art form worthy of use in the worship service. In many ways we fall short in artistic achievement and the understanding of the relevance of art to religious experience.

As a dancer, choreographer, and teacher, I find a profession in dance most exhilarating and challenging. As with all arts, my career is not without its periods of discouragement and disenchantment. In dance the demand for the technical control of the instrument and the total awareness of the body in motion is a constant, demanding reality. The discipline required of the finely tuned, responsive instrument is only one factor. There is the discovery of style and personal aesthetics that one must labor for continually. There is the communication through motion and theatre that gives me continual challenge.

As a Mormon, I feel some handicaps in my creative art. My habit of seeing only the good, pleasant, lovely, and nice in the world clashes with the reality surrounding me. Sometimes I feel slightly removed from the mainstream of secular life in attitude and perception. What I see and do is not always pertinent to the society around me. On the other hand, as a dancer and choreographer "in the world," I am somewhat removed from the mainstream of Mormon society. Many of the Mormon activities seem irrelevant. I have a tendency to "tune out" creatively.

It is interesting that I do not lack for ideas when approaching concert works in dance, choreography for television, or other commissioned works for conferences and conventions, but when approached to compose a dance or two for a church program, I draw a blank. What can I do artistically that would be acceptable to the Church and to me? What can I do that all will appreciate? Why do I immediately become pedestrian in my thinking? My faltering is not due entirely to the level of ability or lack of devotion of the performers with whom I would be working, or the lack of financial investment for costumes, etc. It goes deeper than that. Working daily in situations in which I have total responsibility and artistic independence makes the usual art by committee approach in the Church seem in comparison unfulfilling and a waste of time and talent.

What is done for professional theatre has relevance for the membership of the Church and should be equally acceptable and meaningful, but if data received by my senses are correct, it may be some time before we begin to approach or even to seek that level. We Mormons make the same error as

the television networks by underestimating our audience and continuing to program for the adolescent or the "average person."

Worship takes many forms. We can communicate on a variety of levels through various media. The level of worship is often greater when the ward joins together in song or group scripture reading than during a prepared talk. We have long been aware of the spiritual unification of the membership through congregational singing. We all find relief in the silence for meditation during the passage of the sacrament. Consider a sacrament meeting that would begin with the prelude organ music, open with prayer, continue directly into congregational singing, passing of the sacrament, speaker, and conclude with the closing prayer without an announcement or explanation or apology. This in itself might be compared to the use of drama in our services. An over-emphasis on professionalism in our Church would be disturbing and would destroy some of the beautiful simplicity we attain. However, we should constantly update our procedure for maximum value in our religious services.

It is good to remember that art for the professional is not a casual pastime. It is a very personal matter. The artist has devoted his life to this work. He must maintain integrity in his art. His standards are high. A compromise in quality for him is similar to a compromise in principles.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ contains a design for molding the individual. There is a demand for conformity, a demand for order and an obedience to law. Fortunately the pattern is not so strict that we must mold into one shape and one posture, into one color and one design. We are given guidelines by which we become the eternal personality of which we are now the embryo. These guidelines indicate a pattern that allows the creative intelligence within us to excel and grow. This conformity should not be confused with loss of identity or loss of individuality — the grey mediocre mass. Mediocrity occurs only if we lose the courage to think diversely; if we lose the willingness and ability to entertain new ideas, to accept all men; if we close our minds to new relationships, and if we become blind to the vision of other men's minds.

There is a very fertile and as yet untilled soil in Mormon artists and Mormon art. Consideration must be given as to how to enlarge the talents of the professional artist, how to promote art appreciation, and how to promote religious art that is representative of or meaningful to the Church of Jesus Christ in these latter days.

These questions hold special relevance for the "Urban Mormon." With a little imagination, the resources of the city can offer a rich supplement to our activities in Primary, MIA, and Relief Society. This city environment may call for more individualized curricula in our auxiliaries and more flexibility in the structure. We should attempt to avoid the duplication of activities that can more beneficially be handled by someone else or some other organization. We should be concerned about sponsoring events and activities unique to the Church of Jesus Christ and the needs of the membership. For example: Since in almost all urban situations there is abundant opportunity for members to act with local theatre groups, and our church stages are not designed for theatre production, we should not devote time and energy to

drama unless the play is written by a Mormon for specific Mormon consumption. (This does not include drama activity at the classroom level.) Good theatre is not, generally, a once-a-year affair.

The social attitude toward the arts is changing both in society and in the Church. The arts are now used as a primary teaching tool for young children, as a therapeutic instrument for the handicapped and culturally deprived, as a means for personal pleasure and expression, and as a respectable profession.

Two recent events in the Church were most encouraging to the visual arts. Art Fairs were sponsored with the membership contributing their individual art works. Perhaps with this encouragement and sanction by the Church more artists will emerge. Perhaps more religious art will be produced and in time be recognized. This is not the level of commitment given historically by churches in the commissioning of art, but it is a beginning. Our retarded steps toward the visual arts may be due to the lack of ritual and pageantry in the Church and our instinct to avoid the appearance of graven images. Personally, I see no relationship between these things and art expression.

The city is to live in. The arts today are in the city. With the emergence of the Urban Mormon, perhaps we will see the emergence of art more reflective of Mormon doctrine and culture. The demands of art are not impossibly severe and are not inconsistent with the purposes of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Art that clarifies and awakens is a rare and priceless thing. The Mormon artist is a rare and creative intelligence.

MORMONS IN THE EXECUTIVE SUITE

Mark W. Cannon

Only in a city can a full cast of characters for the human drama be assembled; hence only in the city is there sufficient diversity and competition to enliven the plot and bring the performers up to the highest pitch of skilled, intensely conscious participation.
—Lewis Mumford

A recent study by a management consulting company revealed that more presidents of 471 of America's largest companies had been born in Utah, in relation to its population, than in any other state.[1] Considering the population in 1912 and the average date of birth of the men studied, Utah produced one president for each 62,000 persons compared with one for each 205,000 nationally.

Exploratory efforts to identify the native Utahns studied indicated that most of them were of Mormon background and that Mormons are playing significant roles in corporate hierarchies. In fact many wards of the Church are loaded with executive talent. The Short Hills Ward of New Jersey Stake, for example, has some forty-five executives with positions of significance, beginning with chairmen of the boards of two corporate giants.[2] Wards in various other states also have numerous high-level corporate executives.

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[1]Heidrich and Struggles, *Profile of a President: A Survey of Presidents of 471 of America's Largest Companies* (Spring, 1968).

[2]It is interesting to note that this ward, where family income appears to average between $20,000 and $25,000 a year, ranks substantially above Church averages in sacrament and Sunday School attendance, percentage of full tithe-payers, convert baptisms, home teaching, and family home evenings.

The Mormon production of high achievers in the executive world is part of a larger achievement of excellence. Consequently, the first part of this article deals with the question: How does Mormon production of excellence in other fields compare with its record in business management? The second part deals with the question: What is the relationship of Mormonism to the production of successful executives? The penetration of Mormons into various professional elites suggests a phase in a pattern of historic evolution. During the first half-century of Mormonism, economic activity was generally organized and carried out exclusively among the Saints. Even if Mormons had attempted to rise in non-Mormon executive hierarchies, the early image of peculiarity and early persecution would have inhibited progress. (However, this did not even prevent a sprinkling of independent entrepreneurs from becoming wealthy in the middle decades of Church history.)

EARLY ACHIEVEMENT IN SCIENCES

The first significant thrust of Mormon achievement in the secular world appears to have been in the natural sciences — viewed by many as the greatest contribution of western civilization. The sciences were considered value-free and much could be achieved without regard to one's religion. Furthermore, because of Mormon doctrine's emphasis on the pursuit of all truth, and frontier society's empirical value orientations, the scientific approach was encouraged.

A study of the undergraduate origins of scientists in the decades prior to World War II reveals notable productivity in the three major institutions of higher learning in Utah. Their average productivity index[3] was approximately fifty percent higher than the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for example. Utah State ranked twenty-five and Brigham Young University thirty-two among all colleges and universities with at least thirty graduates per year.

Selected productivity indices facilitate comparison of the Utah institutions.

California Institute of Technology	70.1
Utah State	33.4
Brigham Young	32.4
Cornell	21.8
University of California	21.5
Utah	20.9
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	18.9
Stanford	13.9
Yale	10.3
Notre Dame	5.1
Fordham	3.0
Georgetown	.6

[3]A productivity index was developed by taking from the 1921 and 1944 editions of *American Men of Science* all physicists, chemists, biologists, geologists, astronomers, mathematicians and psychologists with Ph.D.'s as well as those with Ph.D.'s who were starred for outstanding contributions. The source of these men's first baccalaureate degrees was determined and an index of the number of these male scientists per 1,000 graduates during the years 1924–34 was computed. This study is detailed in R. H. Knapp and H. B. Goodrich, *Origins of American Scientists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952).

The early Mormon achievement in science was also displayed by the Thorndike studies which ranked Utah as the most productive state in relation to population — more than 40 percent higher than the runner-up, Colorado — in the production of scientists. Partially because scientists were one of three major sources for another study on the origins of celebrated men, Utah ranked first in that — more than 20 percent higher than second-rated Massachusetts.[4] From a study in *Physics Today*, listing the number of physicists born in each state, Alex Oblad calculated that Utah had the highest per capita production of physicists of any state.

EXECUTIVE POSITIONS IN GOVERNMENT

A second phase of Mormon achievement in the secular world appears to be in the production of high-level government executives. The first Mormon named to high office was James H. Moyle, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. He was followed by J. Reuben Clark, Under Secretary of State; the Eisenhower Administration's Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson; the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Jay Knudson; Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Rosel Hyde; Chairman of the Federal Tariff Commission, Edgar Brossard; U.S. Commissioner of Public Roads, Ellis Armstrong; two members of the National Labor Relations Board and a bevy of other government executives have been Mormons — most of them active in the Church.

A major impetus to the development of future executives, in the government and otherwise, was the unique role of Senator Reed Smoot of Utah. Keenly interested in developing young men, Senator Smoot found challenging jobs for many. His nominees made such good reputations that he received many more requests for his "bright young men." Many of these moved up in the bureaucratic hierarchy.

Overlapping the government executive phase is the business executive phase, which may rank as Mormonism's most outstanding current success in the secular world.

FUTURE FIELDS OF ACHIEVEMENT

This discussion raises a question as to what may be the next phases of distinction entered by Mormons. The growing torrent of young Latter-day Saints who are currently in graduate programs or who have obtained Ph.D.'s in the last two decades suggests that the emerging phases of Mormon high-level achievement in the secular world may be research and teaching outside

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[4]E. L. Thorndike, "The Origin of Superior Men," *The Scientific Monthly*, LVI (May, 1943), 424–33. The men of achievement figures were obtained by adding together the proportion (in relation to population during dominant birth periods), from each state of men listed in *Who's Who in America*, 1938–1939; Cattell's *American Men of Science*, 1938; and those not listed in the other books who were listed in Cattell's *Leaders in Education*, 1932. The study was financed by Carnegie Corporation.

the natural sciences.[5] It should be noted, however, that as yet not many of the Mormon academicians are moving into the front ranks of theoreticians. They often excel instead at applied research. One would be hard put to list Mormon economic or political theorists of renown. Yet there are many Mormons whose applied research in politics, administration, and public policy receives acclaim. Mormonism's pragmatic emphasis appears to orient many of its adherents toward observable results from research and its implied usefulness.

Multiplication of "Whiz Kid" Mormons raises an interesting point about new types of Church leadership. Early Church leaders usually were drawn from agrarian backgrounds, some ministers, and professional people. In recent decades Church leaders have come from business and law. Early church authorities were generally hostile to the legal profession. It was only when George Q. Cannon convinced a reluctant President John Taylor that he should bless James H. Moyle to study law that this field was approved for study.[6]

Hundreds of Mormons are now obtaining expertise as computer scientists, systems analysts, operations researchers, statisticians, mathematicians, management information systems specialists, behavioral scientists, planners, and organizational and policy analysts. These specialists represent a revolution in the functioning of American business, government and the vast non-profit sector of universities, foundations, and research institutes. The Church is already using such specialists in the three Ph.D.'s who contribute their time as a Data Processing Consulting Group. Within the framework of prayer and inspiration the Church has also drawn upon research of behavioral scientists in such high-quality productions as the family home evening manuals. The same applies to the Correlation Committee, whose work is in some ways restoring the Church to its former leadership in administrative and social planning. There may be increasing utilization of the faithful among this "new wave" group.

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[5]Current data are needed on the number of Mormons obtaining Ph.D.'s and their fields. The Utah universities were not ranked above average in a study of undergraduate origins of doctorate recipients from twenty-five high Ph.D.-awarding universities for four years beginning 1948. See Robert H. Knapp and Joseph J. Greenbaum, *The Younger American Scholar: His Collegiate Origins* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953). This study does not reflect the actual rate of production of Mormon Ph.D.'s for several reasons: A significant proportion of Mormons who obtain doctorates are graduated from institutions outside Utah; since the proportion of Mormons who are college graduates is well above average, even if the proportion of college graduates who obtain Ph.D.'s was only average, it would still produce an above average proportion of Ph.D.'s among the total Mormon population; many Mormons received Ph.D's from intermountain institutions, none of which was included in the twenty-five Ph.D.-awarding institutions studied; and, finally, conditions have changed in two decades. Lacking firm data, the author's conclusions are drawn largely from observation, such as attendance at conventions of the American Society for Public Administration and the American Political Science Association, where Mormons typically represent two to five times as high a proportion of the total attendance as the less than one percent which Mormons represent of the population as a whole.

[6]See Gordon B. Hinckley, *James Henry Moyle* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1951).

If every profession "has its day" or takes its turn in an evolutionary pattern, perhaps it will be safe to assume that the next field will be the creative arts.

MORMONISM'S ASSETS IN DEVELOPING BUSINESS EXECUTIVES

Why has Mormonism been fruitful in producing effective executives, and what is the relationship of Mormonism to the rise of the corporate executive? To obtain fresh insights into these questions the author interviewed nine Mormon executives of varying age levels and in various industries. These executives all agreed that their Mormon upbringing was important to their rise in business.[7] Each of them will be introduced with one or more specifics as to how his background influenced his career. Each gave additional answers beyond those mentioned. Consequently, the aggregate impact of the responses will be considered after the summaries.

DeWitt Paul is Chairman of the Board of Beneficial Finance, the nation's largest consumer finance company in assets ($1.5 billion) and outlets (1,800) — which bears no relationship to Mormon-owned Beneficial Life. Mr. Paul is Patriarch of the New Jersey Stake and has held such civic positions as President of the New Jersey Joint College Fund and Vice Chairman of the National Better Business Bureau. As a young man, Mr. Paul joined Salt Lake City's Beneficial Office. A Christian commitment to the work helped his company to pioneer in 3 per cent a month interest rates in contrast to the 10 to 20 percent monthly rates then prevalent in personal finance. When Beneficial President Charles Watts, an adherent of the religious Unity movement, gave a talk in Salt Lake City, Mr. Paul wrote to him, noting that his talk contained parallels with Mormon beliefs. This helped to create a personal relationship which later led to a public relations position.

His first assignment was to win enactment of the Uniform Small-Loan Law limiting interest rates to 3 percent per month in Washington State. Loan shark interests had defeated all previous efforts for twenty years. Brother Paul feels he got a hearing because he blended personal conviction with persuasive reasoning instead of relying on "wine, women and song" as many contemporaries did. He announced his victory to his boss in Newark with a telegram: "Prayer prevaileth in the State of Washington."

Continued ascent of the corporate ladder brought DeWitt Paul to the Board chairmanship in 1962. Significantly, the outgoing Board Chairman, O. W. Caspersen, nominated Mr. Paul with the following commendation: "As you may know, Mr. Paul is a Mormon. Mormons have certain standards to live by and don't believe in drinking or smoking. I have kept an eye on this fellow for many years and never once have I seen him slip. I recommend him to you as a man of integrity."[8]

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[7]Since all of those interviewed were active Mormons, it is recognized that had time permitted a broader study with numerous interviews of inactive Mormons, some different points of view might have emerged.

[8]DeWitt J. Paul, *A Generation with a Double Duty and an Urgent Purpose.* Address to Brigham Young University student body, April 10, 1963, p. 6.

Lee S. Bickmore is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the mammoth National Biscuit Company. His Mormon commitments are deep and he teaches an unusually penetrating Gospel Doctrine class. At work he wears no sign saying he is a Mormon and makes no special point of referring to Mormonism in his frequent speeches (for which he is in great demand). His biographical data sheet refers to his having received a B.A. degree at Utah State where he also did graduate work. His style is low-key. He attempts only subtly to influence people toward the fundamental Mormon principles he feels have been effective for him. He believes that aggressive approaches can alienate people.

Mormonism has in every way been a positive factor in his career. He particularly emphasizes integrity – making good on his word, being candid and honest. These, together with emphasis on hard work, brought him to the top. During the Depression the only job he could find was as a post-hole digger at one dollar a day. He later obtained a selling job with Nabisco, which was followed by the trauma of being fired in a cutback because he had been the last one hired and was still single. Later, however, he returned to Nabisco and worked his way to the top. Decades later, during difficult periods, he tells of waking in a nightmare, thinking he has again been fired.

Lee Bickmore, an impressive person, is frequently honored for his business leadership, such as his selection as the "Marketing Statesman of the Year" by the Sales Executive Club of New York. His speeches are examples of constructive business leadership, and have been reprinted in *Vital Speeches* and *Readers' Digest.*[9]

Alex G. Oblad is Vice President in Charge of Research and Engineering Development of the M. W. Kellogg Co. which does highly technical work like development design and construction of complex petroleum, chemical, and fertilizer production facilities. Kellogg was called upon to design and build the great gaseous diffusion plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, which produced uranium 235 for the Manhattan Project. More recently M. W. Kellogg won the coveted Kirkpatrick award for its pioneer development of the large-scale production of synthetic ammonia, a key to worldwide production of food. Dr. Oblad's fertile and lively mind makes him a fascinating person. He is very active in various technical societies and is well known in scientific circles for his many technical contributions.

He emphasizes the Mormon identification and development of talents in pursuit of excellence. He says this was drummed into him as a boy. He attributes great importance to the positive Mormon view of man's dignity and the encouragement of faith in one's fellow men, which is a key to executive success. He also believes that loyalty to authority, taught by Mormonism, while simultaneously maintaining independence of thought, is valued in corporate ranks. Dr. Oblad feels his imagination and creativity have been vital to his career and that these qualities were neither retarded nor particularly encouraged by the Church.

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[9]For example, "Success Has Four Price Tags," *The Readers' Digest* (March, 1965).

Stephen H. Fletcher, Vice President and General Counsel of Western Electric, whose mother was chosen American Mother of the Year, emphasizes the security of a strong Mormon family. Also important in his background was the faith of his father, noted scientist Harvey Fletcher, that obedience to the Gospel would help his children to accomplish whatever they set out to do.

G. Stanley McAllister is Vice President, Properties and Operations Research, Associated Dry Goods Corporation, which includes Lord & Taylor, Goldwater's, etc., and has grown from sales of $261 to $702 million in the past decade. He is well known for his civic activity in Manhattan where he has spearheaded such Mormon innovations as the Pavilion at the World's Fair and the planned Mormon skyscraper off Fifth Avenue. He notes that while he was serving a mission in the Eastern States he was urged to study economics at Georgetown University and New York University, where he met Reed Smoot, who later made him Secretary of the Public Buildings Commission.

Dr. William F. Edwards was able at the age of forty-five to retire as a Wall Street investment counselor to become BYU Vice President at a salary something more than a tenth of his previous income. He had provided himself this freedom by living economically and creating a major capital reserve from the surplus. He believes that the principal relationship of Mormonism to his career was the intensely motivating belief that his associates would judge the whole Church by the quality of his own performance.

Dr. Gerald L. Davey, who once taught math at Stanford and worked as a systems analyst for Hughes Aircraft is a successful younger executive. At thirty-eight he is President of Credit Data Corporation and was largely responsible for triumphing over Western Union and Dun and Bradstreet in establishing a computerized credit information system covering 11 million people for the New York banks (He had previously helped establish the system in California). CDC is now going national.

Dr. Davey notes some unusual relationships between the Church and his work. He entered his present professional field because of new interests developed through his appointment as data processing advisor to the Church. Another novel reference is to the leadership characteristics developed in his youth as president of a deacons' quorum — specifically, his quorum periodically cleaned out the stake farm chicken coops. The persuasive skills required to bring all quorum members out to perform this unappetizing task have stood him in good stead in stimulating employees when faced with adverse circumstances.[10] He also believes the experience and confidence gained as Supervising Elder and Mission Secretary in West Germany were unusually important to his development.

An unusual relationship between Mormonism and business achievement comes from *O. Leslie Stone.* M. B. Skaggs, founder of Safeway Stores, Inc.,

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[10]An inactive Mormon who is Chairman of the Board of Directors of a large retail chain has also attributed his achievement in part to his experience as president of a deacons' quorum.

had been impressed with the leadership and speaking ability of returned Mormon missionaries he met in Idaho. Consequently, in 1932 when he decided to organize the national Safeway Employees Association, he sent out a circular asking for recommendations for a Mormon for this job. O. Leslie Stone, who was a divisional manager, operating 75 Safeway stores at the age of 26 — having come into Safeway through mergers — was given the job. He then became a vice president. In 1946 Mr. Skaggs offered to entrust one million dollars to him for the creation of a general merchandising business. He told Brother Stone, in effect, "if you fail, you will have lost your entire business, but I will have lost only my money — and I have plenty more." This confidence in Elder Stone was well placed. Skaggs-Stone became the largest general merchandising wholesale distributor west of Chicago. Seventeen years after the company was founded, it merged, and 7 million dollars worth of McKesson-Robbins stock was turned over to Mr. Skaggs. While president of Skaggs-Stone, Brother Stone also served as President of the Oakland-Berkeley Stake and is now a Regional Representative of the Council of the Twelve and a member of the BYU Development Council.

Wilford Farnsworth, Vice President of First National City Bank of New York, came to work for the bank through contacts made as a missionary in Uruguay. He noted that Mormons were singled out, and if they performed well, their service was quickly recognized. He recalled that while in Brazil he was approached by the Chairman of the Board of First National, who talked at great length about Utah. It turned out, however, that young Farnsworth knew little of Utah, since he had been reared in the Mormon colonies of Mexico. This impressed one of his fellow bankers, who felt slighted. "Apparently I'm not worth talking to," he said. "I'm only a Methodist."

While executives named a variety of specific relationships, they overwhelmingly favored the doctrine of hard work blended with the characteristic Mormon desire for achievement. The health and strength resulting from clean living were also important. The successful executive must have not only the will to work hard but the physical capacity to do so. Stamina and staying power are crucial. The great emphasis placed upon hard work by each executive suggests that patrician owners of wealth who come to success by birth are far different from the tough-minded, practical, skillful managers who have largely assumed control of American industry.

Given the emphasis on hard work, one can speculate that if many of the on-coming generation of Mormons maintain the traditional attitude of exaltation of work blended with a strong educational background, they will be equipped to take greater advantage of opportunities which are more numerous today than in the past. The person with a work ethic is in particular demand because attitudes of abdication and the rebellion of the hippie generation reduce corporate discipline. Numerous corporate executives have expressed their desire to hire Mormons because of the good performance and dedication of those they have observed.

A prominent management consultant who has joined the Church, LeRoy

Harlow, believes an important factor in the rise of Mormon executives to be "self-competition." Mormons usually seek to develop self-perfection rather than cutthroat competition with others.

Two other character traits which seem to relate to corporate success are integrity and loyalty. The capacity to be trusted is crucial in organizational environments characterized by ruthless competition. Thus the authoritarianism of the Church helps produce a discipline enabling people to work within tight structures with a minimum of friction. Another factor is the high proportion of extroverted personalities in a proselyting church which functions through widespread lay participation. This may help to explain the high number of successful Mormon executives in retailing.

Additional factors in Mormonism which have contributed to executive success include:

1. The Mormon emphasis on education — though interviewees said this influenced them more as a general element of Mormon culture than as an explicit doctrinal obligation to pursue formal education.

2. A love of fellow men. Lee Bickmore expressed his view that he wishes everyone could become a millionaire. This attitude is likely to contribute to mutually wholesome "symbiotic" relationships with other people; whereas attitudes and behavior which thwart others are likely to produce parasitic relations, with consequent frustrations and aggression.

3. Missionary experience — most particularly because of the confidence it gave the individual man.

4. Public speaking experience.

5. Family environment — particularly strong encouragement and high expectations of parents. However, interviewees emphasized that a potential manager had to have strong inner motivation, and parents could only influence what already existed. Three of the nine interviewees were descended from polygamists.

MORMON HANDICAPS

The question was raised as to whether or not Mormonism is a barrier to worldly success. All the executives indicated that the Restored Gospel had not been a personal barrier. Bill Edwards noted that some avenues are closed to orthodox Mormons, such as employment in the promotion of liquor and tobacco. Dr. Edwards has been so punctilious here that he has refused even to advise on investment in these fields.

The most typical response to this question, however, was that Mormons who are smug, self-righteous, or intolerant tend to damage themselves and the Church. In contrast to this, most of the executives interviewed were pleasantly modest and unassuming.

Those interviewed believed that abstinence from liquor was either inconsequential, a net asset, or a far from insurmountable obstacle. Stan McAllister said that he had been frequently "razzed" when he worked at CBS, but be-

lieved he was generally respected for his standards. When he was introduced at a luncheon at Lord and Taylor as the new vice president he was toasted with milk, and President Dorothy Shaver remarked, "This is the only way you should ever drink a toast."

It was felt that abstinence might be a drawback in some professions — like advertising — but was not an insurmountable one. DeWitt Paul was once asked by a company official how he could expect to be successful in public relations without drinking. But he has apparently not found this to be a problem.

The question of whether or not to serve liquor in the home is more complicated. Some corporate executives view home entertainment of clients and associates as an essential part of work, whether the host drinks or not. One L.D.S. bishop, a highly orthodox Mormon, found no problem in serving liquor to guests when his home was used for business entertainment. Apparently, in order to pass the oral exam for the U.S. Foreign Service, Mormons are required to agree that should the job require it they would be willing to serve liquor at home.

Another handicap of some Mormons that was mentioned is that they sometimes are very spiritual and sensitive and do not have the inner toughness to compete with corporate tigers. "Such people are temperamentally unsuited for some types of business and should perhaps go into the arts or education," said one respondent.

A thorny problem for Mormon executives is the incredible demands on their time. The work-and-achieve Mormon ethic, like the traditional Protestant ethic, means that typical business executives work no less than sixty hours per week. Some of these men are compulsive workers and have difficulty relaxing even when they are on vacations. Dr. Davey's standard day involves leaving home at 6 A.M. and returning at 7:15 P.M. — except on the days he travels — working virtually all the time he is not sleeping. Yet he serves on the Stake High Council, advises the Church in Salt Lake on data processing and, until recently, jointly taught a Sunday School class.

When Lee Bickmore became president of Nabisco, he was typically traveling more than 60 percent of his work days. Though he has been active in the Church, he says his major regret is that he has not been able to do more for the Church. Stan McAllister served as president of New York Stake, but says he never short-changed his job for the Church. Most interviewees had civic or professional responsibilities in addition to work and Church responsibilities. Clearly something must be sacrificed. Stan McAllister says he has not played a game of golf in years — and he likes golf. Virtually every interviewee indicated that time with his family had to be curtailed. One man said that when he gave a speech to the business students at Brigham Young University he was introduced by his son, who said that he was surprised to review all his father's accomplishments because he had previously viewed his father mostly from the other side — his frequent absence from the home. The attempted remedy has been for these busy executives to maximize the quality of their time with their families. Some report that they have been

helped by outstanding wives. Mrs. Edwards, for example, put a positive slant on things whenever possible — "Isn't it wonderful that your daddy gets called to these important positions in the Church?"

PROPORTION OF MORMON EXECUTIVES WHO ARE INACTIVE

This article has focused on active Mormon business executives. The question may be raised as to what proportion they represent of executives of Mormon background. Data to answer this question are not available; however, some indication may be given by a review of the membership of the Lochinvar Club, a club of high-level executives in the New York area with Utah and Mormon backgrounds. Illustrative members are Robert Bradford, Board Chairman, American Smelting, Refining; Lew Callaway, publisher, *Newsweek*; John McLean Clifford, President, Curtis Publishing; Oakley S. Evans, Vice President and Director of Corporate Development, J. C. Penney Co.; Jay Parkinson, President, Anaconda; Morris Wright, general partner, Kuhn & Loeb; De Alton Partridge, President, Near East Foundation; as well as those previously mentioned. The Club breaks down as follows:

19 active Mormons
4 slightly inactive Mormons
9 inactive
3 non-Mormons

There are an additional seven honorary members who have left the New York area; among them, Stanton Hale, President, Pacific Mutual Life Insurance; Isaac Stewart, Vice President, Union Carbide; and Anthony I. Eyring, President, Washington Mutual Savings Bank, all active Mormons.

While active Mormons comprise a majority of the group, they are a minority of those Lochinvars who have climbed to the highest pinnacle of corporate power. To explain this, one interviewee presented the thesis that the Church does a better job of training the highly reliable productive work horse at the second level than the dynamic, imaginative leader who rises to the very top — even though it produces some of both types. Another thesis received greater support: that the group which reached the top is comprised of older men who came to the New York area at a time when strong wards and stakes did not exist to help keep them active. Also, the old climate of misunderstanding about Mormons may have made them feel they had to give up their traditional training to succeed. These factors have changed and there may be a number of "comers" among the current vice presidents in the Lochinvar group. Also, it is not known whether the Lochinvar breakdown is typical. There are many Mormons outside of New York who have risen to the top and remained active. For example, the Marriott family, whose assets exceed 100 million dollars, are active Church members. David M. Kennedy, Chairman of the Board of Continental Illinois, the nation's seventh largest bank, has constantly served the Church. Howard Stoddard and his brother Waldo, principal founders of a billion-and-a-half dollar banking empire in Michigan, are active Mormons along with their families. Although there are numerous

top executives of large corporations outside of Utah who are active Mormons, one has to search to find a comparable group in Salt Lake City. The business elite in the heart of Zion tends to be non-Mormon or jack-Mormon.

In conclusion, the characteristics of Mormon executives might be compared to those described in a recent study of fast-rising executives in their late thirties and early forties. These men are pictured as superbly efficient, brilliant, strong-minded, and decent. Withal, it is concluded that they are somewhat "Philistine" — more concerned with means than ends and lacking in wisdom, values, and commitment.[11] The Mormon executives also display professional competence, but their effort to maintain a balance between the spiritual and the mundane, and to develop both areas, appears to give them a type of perspective and depth not characteristic of all their contemporaries.

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[11]Walter Guzzardi, Jr., *The Young Executives: How and Why Successful Managers Get Ahead* (New York: Mentor Executive Library, 1966), Introduction by Peter Drucker.

THE BREATHING PERMIT OF HÔR

A TRANSLATION OF THE APPARENT SOURCE OF THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM

Klaus Baer

Klaus Baer is Associate Professor of Egyptology at the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute, and was one of Professor Hugh Nibley's primary tutors in the art of reading Egyptian characters. Professor Baer journeyed to Provo, Utah last month and personally examined the papyri.

Some DIALOGUE *readers may appreciate a recapitulation of papyri articles appearing in this journal. The Winter, 1967 issue carried interviews with Professor Aziz S. Atiya (who was credited with discovering the papyri) and with Dr. Henry G. Fischer (Curator of the Egyptian Collection of the Metropolitan Museum).*

DIALOGUE *ran a series of articles dealing with the scrolls in the Summer, 1968, issue. Professor of Egyptology John A. Wilson (of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute) rendered a "Summary Report" which identified Book of the Dead scrolls once belonging to an Egyptian lady named Ta-shere-Min. These scrolls tell of "the terrors which she felt for the next world and about the great dreams which she had for eternal life." An article by Professor of Egyptology Richard A. Parker (of Brown University) covered the same ground more briefly, and also gave a translation of the scroll which became Facsimile No. 1 in the Book of Abraham which, he said, was "a well-known scene from the Osiris mysteries, with Anubis, the jackal-headed god . . . ministering to the dead Osiris on the bier." Richard P. Howard, Church Historian of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints gave an historical account to the effect that his church has not accepted the Book of Abraham as scripture.*

The next three articles involved the controversial "sensen" scrolls, also called The Book of Breathings, or, as Klaus Baer labels them, "The Breathing Permit of Hôr." Two former Mormons, Grant S. Heward and Jerald Tanner,

combined their talents to make out a prima facie case for the proposition that Joseph Smith believed that the Breathing Permit was the Book of Abraham. Some orthodox L.D.S. scholars also share this view. Heward and Tanner also produced evidence indicating that certain gaps in Facsimile No. 2 had been filled in with material from the Breathing Permit and from a scroll labeled "Photo 3" in the Summer issue. Then followed a brief translation of the Breathing Permit by Professor Parker.

Finally, Professor Nibley responded (primarily to Heward and Tanner). He said that he was not sure that the "Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar" (a notebook containing Egyptian characters and parts of the Book of Abraham, which is in the Church Historian's office) had been authorized by Joseph Smith; moreover, that even if it had been, he was not sure that the Egyptian characters (apparently taken consecutively from the Breathing Permit) on the left side of each page in the EAG had been intended by its author to have anything to do with the Book of Abraham verses found immediately to the right of each character. See p. 94 of the Summer DIALOGUE *for a photo of a page from the EAG; also see footnote 116 in the Baer article for Baer's translation of those Egyptian characters in the left-hand margins of the EAG pages. Professor Nibley indicates that even if the left-hand characters* do *have something to do with the text material to the right of them, these characters may truly represent all the information to the right of them — in a way that scholars have not yet fathomed. Still another possibility suggested by Professor Nibley is that Joseph Smith may have translated none of the Book of Abraham, but may have received all of it by way of direct revelation. A final defense by Professor Nibley is that there* is *a marked similarity between the message in the Breathing Permit and the text of the Book of Abraham: "... 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, 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. ..." Professor Nibley has an important summary article in the Summer issue of* Brigham Young University Studies *and tells us he will soon begin to present the affirmative case for the inspired basis of the Book of Abraham (using materials on Abraham from Coptic and other sources in his monthly* Improvement Era *articles).* DIALOGUE *will continue to publish scholarly developments and personal responses relating to this important subject.*

In the following article Professor Baer uses as a constant reference the numbering of papyri fragments established by the Improvement Era's *first publication of them in February, 1968; this numbering should remain standard until there is a definitive edition.*

The speed with which photographs of the Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri were published once they came into the possession of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is a gratifying contrast to the secrecy with which their previous custodians surrounded them. The definitive edition of the documents will take time, but in the meantime the Egyptologist can show his

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Note the abbreviations used in this article: *BD = Book of the Dead,* followed by the chapter number; *BYU Studies = Brigham Young University Studies; EAG = Joseph Smith's Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar,* Large Edition; *Era = The Improvement Era;* P. = Papyrus, followed by the name of the collection and the catalogue number; *PGP = Pearl of Great Price;* P. JS = Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyrus, followed by the number assigned in the *Era* article (February 1968) by Green and Todd.

appreciation by taking advantage of the opportunity to make preliminary studies.[1]

The eleven fragments (as now mounted) are the surviving parts of three ancient papyri, none of which is complete:

(1) The *Book of the Dead* belonging to the lady Tshenmîn, whose mother was Skhons[2] (P. JS II, V–IX, and most of IV).[3] The handwriting dates it to the second half of the Ptolemaic Period, perhaps around 100 B.C.[4] This is the papyrus that Joseph Smith believed to contain the Book of Joseph.[5]

(2) The *Book of the Dead* belonging to the (female) musician of Amon-Re Neferirnûb (P. JS III A–B).[6]

(3) The *Breathing Permit*[7] belonging to the priest Hôr,[8] son of the priest Osorwêr[9] and the lady Tikhebyt[10] (P. JS I, X–XI, and at least four fragments now mounted with P. JS IV). The handwriting is of the late Ptolemaic or early Roman Period, about the time of Christ. Joseph Smith thought that this papyrus contained the Book of Abraham.[11]

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[1]The following photographs were available to me: the cover of *Era*, 71 No. 1 (January 1968); G[reen] and Todd, *Era*, 71, No. 2 (February 1968), 40-41 (incl. p. 40 A–H); Nibley, *BYU Studies*, 8 (1968), after p. 178 (17 unnumbered pages).

[2]This is the approximate pronunciation of these names when the papyrus was written. The scientific transliteration of the Egyptian spelling (which only indicated the consonants and was based on the way classical Middle Egyptian was pronounced around 2100 B.C.) is *T'-šrt-Mnw* and *Ns-Ḫnsw*. The names mean "The Daughter of [the fertility god] Mîn" and "She Belongs to Khons," the Theban moon god, son of Amon and Mut.

[3]The numbering does not reflect the actual sequence of the fragments. Following the direction of the writing from right to left, P. JS VII came first (the piece on the right should be moved so that the left margin of the writing lines up with that of the first column of P. JS VIII). P. JS VIII joins P. JS VII at the bottom, and P. JS V joins both of them on the left. P. JS VI comes immediately to the left of V, IV follows VI, also in direct contact, and the plowing scene of P. JS II is the middle register of the scene whose right edge became visible when the frame was removed from P. JS IV. I have not been able to place the tattered and disorganized fragments of P. JS IX; see n. 118.

[4]By comparison with the shapes of dated signs in Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III.

[5]Based on the statements by Oliver Cowdery in the *L.D.S. Messenger and Advocate*, 2, No. 3 (December 1835), 234–37, cited on p. 3 of the "Introduction" to *EAG* and by Howard, *Dialogue*, 3, No. 2 (Summer 1968), 89. The vignettes of the serpent legs (P. JS V) and of the three gods seated beside each other (P. JS IV) come from "Joseph's Record."

[6]The labels on the picture are in hieroglyphs, drawn rather than written, and cannot be dated paleographically, but the MS is likely to be roughly contemporary with the other two.

[7]Usually called *Book of Breathings*, which sounds like a manual of yoga. The Egyptian word *šꜣt*, however, does not mean "book"; the correct translation is "letter, document." See n. 90, 104 for two instances where the context requires the translation *Breathing Permit*. The captions in G[reen] and Todd, *Era*, 71, No. 2 (February 1968), 41, call it "Sensen," a "pronounceable" form of the Egyptian *snsn* "breathing." The text is a short compilation of materials largely from the *Book of the Dead* and tended to replace it during the Roman Period at Thebes, from where all the known copies seem to come.

[8]The name means "[the god] Horus."

[9]"Osiris is Great."

[10]"The [female] Dancer."

[11]This identification is now certain. It was immediately evident that "Facsimile From the Book of Abraham No. 1" of the *PGP* was copied from P. JS I. The interpretation pro-

The third is the most important,[12] and the rest of the article will be devoted to it. The surviving fragments all come from somewhat more than the first half of the original scroll. It will be easier to explain where they belong if we begin with a description of the papyrus up to the point beyond which nothing has survived. Starting at the right,[13] three vertical lines of hieroglyphs (lines 1–3) are followed by a vignette ("Facsimile No. 1" from the *PGP*), which once contained another line of hieroglyphs (line 4) now lost except for a couple of signs above the arm of the standing figure. A fifth line of hieroglyphs frames the vignette on the left. Four severely damaged columns of text follow. They are separated by double vertical rules and, when complete, contained 9, 12, 13, and 13 horizontal lines, respectively, of progressively more cramped hieratic writing.[14]

P. JS I contains all that has survived of the vignette and lines 1–5. It is continued on the left by P. JS XI,[15] which preserves almost all of col. i and, where least damaged, about a third of the original width of col. ii. The small, rectangular lacuna (gap in the manuscript) at the beginning of ii, 9–12 is filled by P. JS IV d,[16] now mounted below the human-headed bird with outstretched wings near the upper right corner of P. JS IV. Though one cannot be sure without examining the original, the photograph of P. JS XI does suggest that P. JS IV d once was correctly mounted and became separated after careless handling. P. JS IV a, now upside down in the upper left corner of P. JS IV, preserves about one sixth of ii, 3–10 at the left margin of the column. About half the width of col. ii separates it from P. JS XI.

P. JS X contains most of what survives from cols. iii and iv. At the bottom, where the papyrus is best preserved, it extends over about two-thirds of the original width of col. iii and three-fifths of that of col. iv.[17] When intact,

posed by Joseph Smith for the first two lines of text in P. JS XI corresponds to Abraham 1:4–2:6, see Heward and Tanner, *Dialogue*, 3, No. 2 (Summer 1968), 93–96, and the discussion on page 129. The fact that the name of the owner is identical in both papyri, and that the left edge of the P. JS I appears to fit the right edge of P. JS XI (see n. 15) — that is, that they are parts of the same scroll — confirms this.

[12]To Egyptologists as well as Latter-day Saints, since published MSS of the *Breathing Permit* are in far shorter supply than copies of the *Book of the Dead*.

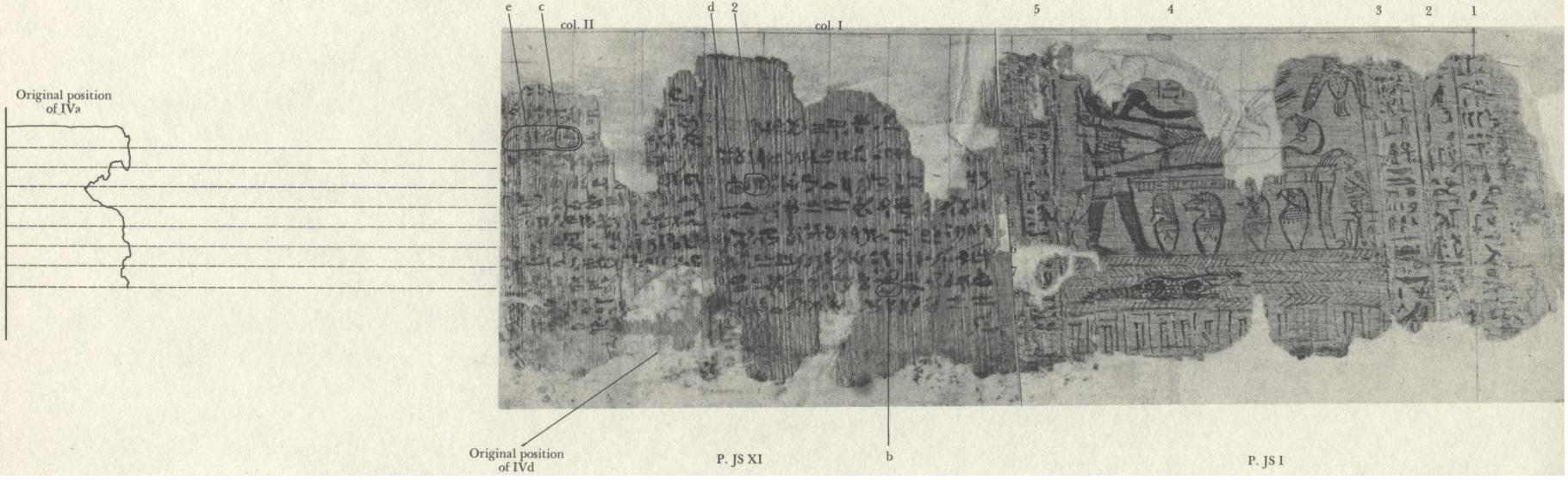
[13]Right to left is the normal direction of Egyptian writing. For artistic and other reasons, hieroglyphs could also be reversed and written from left to right, and they could in either case be arranged in horizontal or vertical lines, the latter being preferred in papyri. Drawing countless little pictures was not a practical way to communicate, and a cursive form of hieroglyphs called hieratic developed early in Egyptian history. It stands in about the same relationship to hieroglyphs as our handwriting does to print. By the Greco-Roman Period, hieratic was mostly used for religious books (hence the name) and had been replaced by the even more cursive demotic for practical purposes. Hieratic was only written from right to left, and only in horizontal lines after about 1700 B.C.

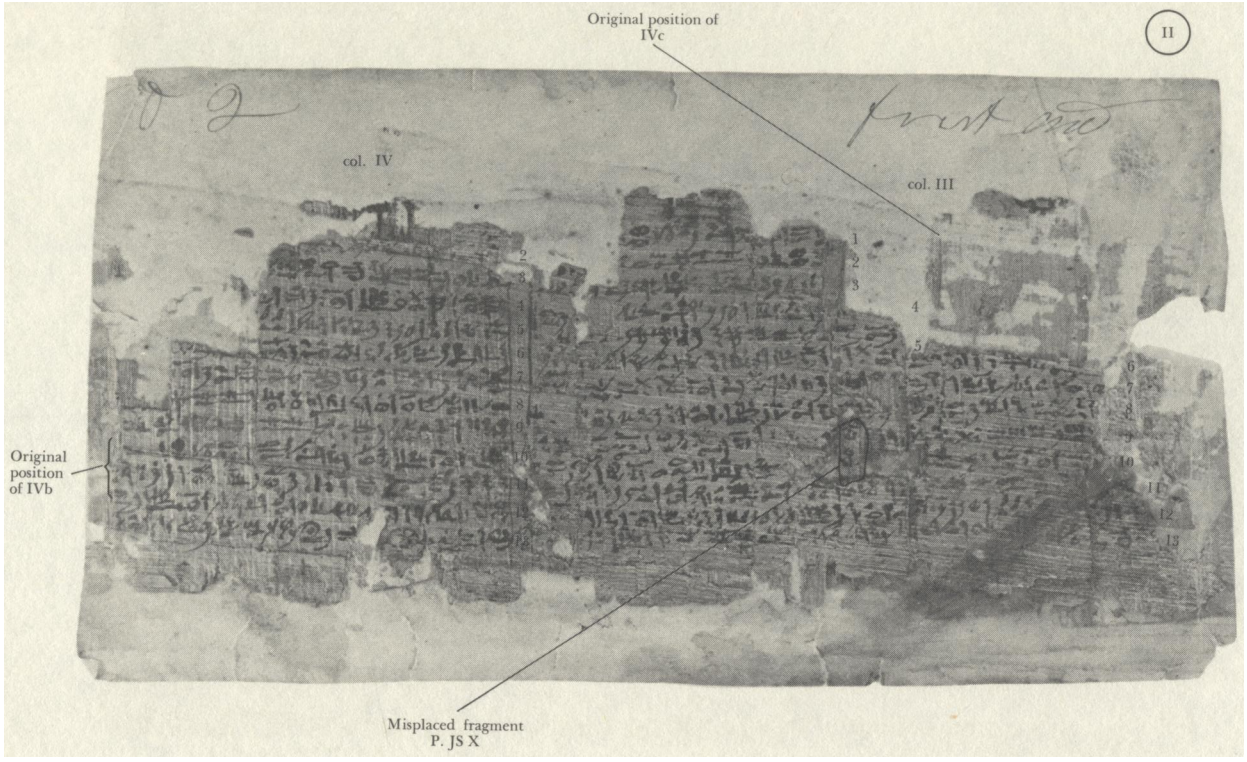
[14]Passages in the text are cited by column (in lower case Roman numerals) and line, e.g., "iii, 5."

[15]They seem to have been cut apart after being mounted. The edges match exactly in the photograph, and the pattern of vertical lines drawn on the backing about 2 cm. apart continues evenly from P. JS XI onto the left end of P. JS I when the two are placed in contact.

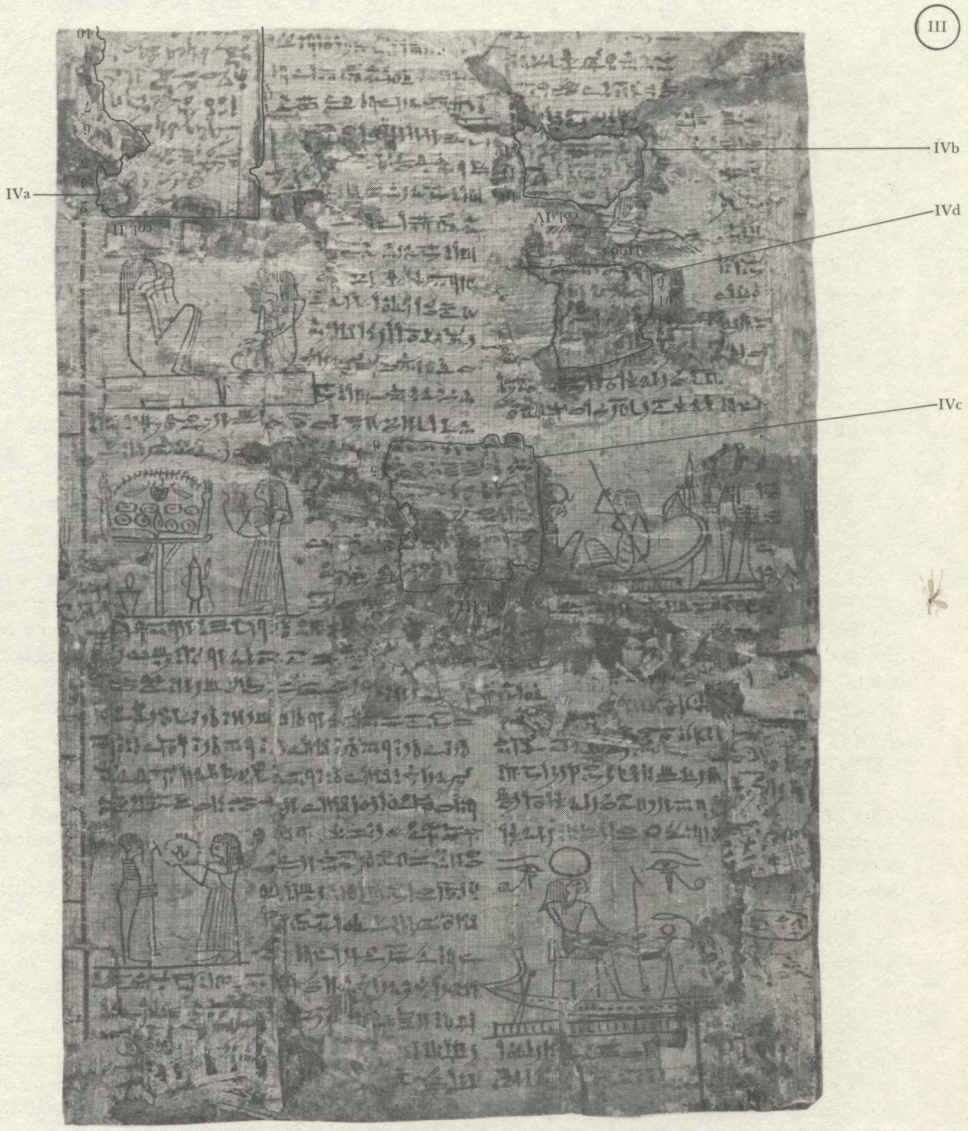
[16]The letters reflect the order in which the fragments were identified.

[17]The original width of the columns was approximately: i, 8.5 cm.; ii, 20 cm.; iii, 28 cm.; iv, 21 cm. The extent of the missing portions and the relative location of the pieces has been determined by comparison with other copies of the text. See n. 38 for references.


Original position of IVa
e
c
col. II
d
2
col. I
5
4
3
2
1
Original position of IVd
P. JS XI
b
P. JS I


II
Original position of IVc
col. IV
col. III
Original position of IVb
Misplaced fragment P. JS X

III



P. JS IV

both columns extended considerably beyond the limits of the sheet of paper on which P. JS X is mounted. A small fragment about 0.5 cm. wide has been incorrectly mounted in iii, 9–10 about 8 cm. from the left margin of the column. It belongs at the beginning of iii, 8–9 and shows part of the marginal rule and the first sign in each of two lines.[18] P. JS IV c, now upside down slightly above the middle of P. JS IV, contains part of iii, 1–6. It has rather obviously become separated from the backing above what is now the right end of P. JS X, and part of what seems to be the bottom layer of the papyrus still adheres to the paper. P. JS IV b, upside down above the human-headed bird in the upper right corner of P. JS IV, preserves about a fifth of iv, 10–12, immediately to the left of P. JS X. There are many small fragments scattered about P. JS IV, some of which may belong to the *Breathing Permit* of Hôr, but I have not succeeded in identifying any of them.

The five lines of hieroglyphs on P. JS I are more severely damaged than may appear at first sight. At least a group is lost at the top, rather more at the bottom, and much of the ink is rubbed away, leaving indistinct traces that suggest too many possible readings. I have preferred to translate only what seemed sure.

Lines 1–3 give the titles, name, and parentage of the man for whose benefit the *Breathing Permit* was written:

> . . . the prophet[19] of Amonrasontêr,[20] prophet [?] of Mîn Bull-of-his-Mother,[21] prophet [?] of Khons the Governor[22] . . . Hôr, justi-

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[18]See n. 62.

[19]A translation already found in the Rosetta Stone for the highest category of priests. An Egyptian prophet, however, did not prophesy in our sense of the word. He "spoke for" the god in taking responsibility for more mundane matters of temple administration, announced oracles, and conducted the daily services.

[20]"Amon-Re King of the Gods," the chief deity of the great Temple of Karnak at Thebes. Amon, the god of Thebes, may originally have been the god of void, one of the eight gods of chaos, who antedated creation.

[21]A common epithet of the fertility god Mîn, and a very typical Egyptian concept. The *Tale of the Two Brothers* shows how it was explained mythologically: Bata (the god of a small town called Sako near the modern Beni Mazar in Middle Egypt) had transformed himself into a sacred bull, who was installed at Pharaoh's court. When Bata revealed himself to his faithless wife, who had betrayed him (before his transformation) to an expedition sent out to bring her to Egypt to become Pharaoh's favorite, she induced Pharaoh to kill the bull. Out of his blood there grew two sacred trees, which she had chopped down. A splinter flew into her mouth, and she became pregnant and gave birth to the heir to the throne — who was still Bata. (The most recent English translation of the whole *Tale* is by Gunn in Lewis, *Land of Enchanters*, pp. 55-66).

On a more elevated plane is the pantheistic Egyptian concept of the divine. It could manifest itself anywhere (also in humans) and could be experienced both in its infinitely many manifestations and as a whole. As a result, a god such as Amon could be many or one, and gods of different names could be conceived as distinct or as aspects of one and thus were identified with each other virtually without restrictions — certainly not those of mythological consistency. "All gods are three. . . , and they are one" (P. Leiden I 350, iv, 21; literally, "and they have no second"; see Wilson in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, p. 369). The confusion of attributes and disregard of chronological sequence that result are aided and abetted by the Egyptian tendency to follow their metaphors literally, wherever they might lead. The difficulties are largely of our own creation, when we insist on comparing and reconciling statements that belong to different

fied,[23] son of the holder of the same titles, master of secrets, and purifier of the gods Osorwêr, justified [?] . . . Tikhebyt, justified.[24] May your ba[25] live among them,[26] and may you be buried in the West . . .[27]

Too little is left of line 4 to permit even a guess at what it said. Insofar as I can make it out,[28] line 5 reads:

May you[29] give him a good, splendid burial[30] on the West of Thebes just like . . .

The vignette on P. JS I is unusual, but parallels exist on the walls of the Ptolemaic temples of Egypt, the closest being the scenes in the Osiris chapels

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contexts and reflect different approaches to the divine. Modern thought is not exempt from this "illogicality." To take a trivial example from American folk mythology: grandmother is the embodiment of all that is lovable. A mother-in-law is not — and yet they are the same person.

The creator god created, "begot" himself. We can talk of Jesus as the "only begotten Son, begotten of the Father before all worlds" without wondering who His Mother was before the Incarnation. The Egyptian could not. When the fertility god in his aspect of a bull was thought of as creator, as any god could be, the concept of "Bull-of-his-Mother" was the result. The Egyptian, with his static, cyclical view of the universe, in which each dawn was, in one sense, the moment of creation, was not bothered by the logical consequences of the created existing before creation.

[22]An epithet of Khons.

[23]The usual epithet placed after the name of a deceased person.

[24]His mother. Cf., e.g., the intact passage iii, 13: "Osiris Hôr, justified, born to Tikhebyt, justified." The title Osiris is given to the deceased in all mortuary texts after about 2200 B.C. Osiris was murdered by his brother Seth, revived by his wife and sister Isis, avenged by Horus, the son whom he begot after his resurrection, and justified by the tribunal of the gods. He was the dead and resurrected god, the god and king of the dead, and the dead king, with whom every king of Egypt became identified when he died, just as the living king was the falcon god Horus. By 2200 B.C., private individuals had begun to claim the privileges of the royal hereafter. The deceased person who has been "justified" in the judgment of the dead and lives again in a blessed existence in the Netherworld is like Osiris and therefore, accounting to the Egyptian way of thought, *is* Osiris. The fact that Osiris NN can appear in a scene together with Osiris bothered the Egyptians no more than the occasional representation of Pharaoh worshipping his deified self.

[25]*Ba* is impossible to translate, though it is often used in contexts where we would say "soul." The *ba* is an emanation, capable of independent action and of existence apart from its owner in both the natural and supernatural worlds. Among other functions, a person's *ba* can come out of the tomb to receive offerings, and it is his *ba* that seems to enjoy most of the active benefits of a blessed existence in the hereafter. Gods have many *ba*'s; the totality of their *ba*'s is their power. One god can be the *ba* of another, and in this way the interchangeability of Egyptian gods can be rationalized. Here *ba* almost corresponds to the "hypostasis" of Christian theology. In the Greco-Roman Period, the *ba* was visualized as a human-headed owl.

[26]Hôr's parents?

[27]The "West" is both the cemetery (as here) and the Netherworld, which the sun enters when it sets. At Thebes, the cemetery actually was across the Nile at the foot of the western cliffs, but this was not the case in all Egyptian towns.

[28]Several signs now lost were copied by Joseph Smith. See page 129.

[29]Osiris?

[30]The Egyptian word refers to the preparations for burial, especially mummification, rather than the interment.

on the roof of the Temple of Dendera.[31] The vignette shows the resurrection of Osiris (who is also the deceased owner of the papyrus) and the conception of Horus.[32] Osiris (2) is represented as a man on a lion-couch (4)[33] attended by Anubis (3), the jackal-headed god who embalmed the dead and thereby assured their resurrection and existence in the hereafter.[34] Below the couch are the canopic jars for the embalmed internal organs. The lids are the four sons of Horus, from left to right Imset (8), Hapi (7), Qebeh-senuwef (6), and Duwa-mutef (5), who protect the liver, lungs, intestines, and stomach, respectively. At the head of the couch is a small offering stand (10) with a jug and some flowers on it and two larger vases on the ground beside it. The *ba* of Osiris (1) is hovering above his head.[34*]

The versions of the Osiris myth differ in telling how Seth disposed of Osiris after murdering him, but he was commonly believed to have cut Osiris into little pieces, which he scattered into the Nile, leaving Isis the task of fishing out and assembling the parts of her brother and husband so that he could be resurrected and beget Horus. In this she was helped by Horus in the shape of a crocodile,[35] who is represented in the water (the zigzags) below

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[31]Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, pl. 68–71, 90. The description of the vignette is based only on the presently existing papyrus. See pages 132 and 133; the vignette was probably in essentially the same condition in 1835 that it is now, and the restorations, both that sketched on the backing and that in "Facsimile No. 1" in the *PGP*, are not copies of the missing parts. The numbers on "Facsimile No. 1" are here added in parentheses.

[32]See n. 24 for an outline of the myth and the identification of the dead with Osiris.

[33]Such couches are not uncommon, e.g., Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, I, pl. 17.

[34]The identification is assured by the black color of the body and many parallels, e.g., Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, pl. 70–71 and the countless examples of Anubis attending a mummy on a lion-couch (*BD* 151 and often elsewhere). He is, of course, not holding a knife.

[*For illustrations of Anubis attending a mummy on a lion-couch, see* Life *magazine, June 7, 1968, pp. 69, 76–77. For an illustration of Osiris, which Egyptologists say is the second figure from the left in Facsimile No. 3, see* Life *magazine, April 12, 1968, p. 69 (compare also with Photo 5,* Dialogue, *Summer 1968, p. 88). Also compare the first figure at the left (the goddess Isis?) in Facsimile No. 3 with the picture from the Tomb of Nefertari in* Life *magazine, April 12, 1968, p. 66. Ed.*]

[34*]One tends to see what one expects to see. So far as I know, Nelson, *The Joseph Smith Papyri*, p. 42, was the first to point out that the bird above the head of Osiris clearly has a human head and therefore must be his *ba*. In "Facsimile No. 1," it is drawn with a falcon's head, and I must confess with some embarrassment that I also "saw" the falcon's head before reading Nelson's study.

[35]Cf. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, pp. 41–44. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, p. 79, discusses the occasionally attested practice of having a small (and prudently muzzled) crocodile swim alongside the boat carrying the mummy across the Nile to the cemetery. The reader who is bothered by Horus' being in existence before he was conceived and assisting his own conception by helping to put his father back together again is referred to n. 21. Similarly, the king is often praised as one "who took possession (of his kingdom) while in the egg" before he was born. Horus aided and avenged his father and did so at all times when his intervention was needed. To make the confusion complete, note that Horus who contended with Seth for the kingship was often regarded as the brother rather than the nephew of Seth; and *BD* 112 (Budge, *The Book of the Dead* [1898 ed.], I, 232) informs us that Imset and his brothers were the children of Horus and Isis. Historical factors are involved. Horus, Seth, and Isis are attested from the very beginnings of Egyptian history, while the cult and myth of Osiris seem to appear during the Fifth Dynasty, ca. 2450 B.C. Given the Egyptian approach to theology, no attempt was made to iron out the contradictions that resulted from combining the two sets of myths.

the vignette (9). Below that is a decorative pattern derived from the niched façade of a protohistoric Egyptian palace.

There are some problems about restoring the missing parts of the body of Osiris. He was almost certainly represented as ithyphallic, ready to beget Horus, as in many of the scenes at Dendera. I know of no representations of Osiris on a couch with both hands in front of his face. One would expect only one hand in front of his face, while the other was either shown below the body (impossible in P. JS I) or grasping the phallus. It the latter case it would be hard to avoid the suggestion of Professor Richard A. Parker[36] that what looks like the upper hand of Osiris is actually the wingtip of a representation of Isis as a falcon hovering in the act of copulation.[37]

The resurrection of Osiris (and of Osiris Hôr) is the necessary preliminary to the benefits that the *Breathing Permit* was supposed to obtain for him, so the vignette served as a kind of introduction to it. The text of the *Breathing Permit* is written in a crabbed hand and suffers from many lacunae where the papyrus has been destroyed or where the ink has been rubbed off the surface. Fortunately, the manuscripts of the *Breathing Permit* show relatively little variation, so that it is not too difficult to restore the missing passages; restorations are marked by italics in the translation.[38]

Col. i gives directions for wrapping up the *Breathing Permit* with the mummy:

> *Osiris shall be conveyed* into the Great Pool of Khons[39] — and likewise Osiris Hôr, *justified*, born to Tikhebyt, justified[40] — after his arms have been *plac*ed on his heart[41] and the Breathing Permit (which [Isis][42]

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[36]*Dialogue*, 3, No. 2 (Summer 1968), 86.

[37]Not uncommonly depicted, e.g., Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, pl. 90.

[38]The best edition is still the 1877 one of de Horrack, *Le Livre des Respirations* (reprinted in Maspero, *Bibliotheque égyptologique*, 17 [1907], 109–37). It gives the text of two MSS in full (P. Louvre 3284, 3291) and variants from six others. In addition, I have used the text of P. British Museum 9995 as published in Budge, *op. cit.*, I, 508–17 and the photograph of P. Berlin 3135, col. ii, published in Moller, *Hieratische Palaographie*, III, pl. 11. The text should not be confused with the so-called *Second Book of Breathings* or the book *May My Name Flourish* and similar compositions. The best survey of all these late mortuary texts is Stricker, "De lijkpapyrus van Sensaos," *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, N. R. 23 (1942), 30–47; see also Goyon, *Le papyrus du Louvre N. 3279*, pp. vii-ix, 75–87. The latter two works give extensive references to the scholarly literature. Stricker's study (especially pp. 30–35) should be of particular interest to L.D.S. students because of its careful documentation of the objects discovered by Lebolo in a tomb of the time of Hadrian, the find discussed by Clark, *BYU Studies*, 8 (1968), 195–203. Virtually all the items are accounted for, so that, contrary to Clark's impression, the mummies and papyri acquired for Joseph Smith must have come from another find. Cf. also Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* (2nd ed.), I Part 2, 674–76. Note also that the names are different, and that the Joseph Smith Papyri are about two centuries older.

[39]Probably a liturgical designation of the portion of the Nile that has to be crossed in order to reach the Theban cemetery on the west bank.

[40]References to the owner of the papyrus will be abbreviated to "Osiris Hôr. . . " in the rest of the translation.

[41]The arms of a mummy are usually folded so that the hands meet on the breast. Osiris is similarly represented, e.g., P. JS III.

[42]Omitted by the scribe; a rather uncertain emendation since the other MSS do not have the phrase.

made and has writing on its inside and outside)[43] has been wrapped in royal linen and placed under his left arm near his heart; the rest of his mummy-bandages should be wrapped over it. The man for whom this book has been copied will breathe forever and ever as the bas of the gods do.

The *Breathing Permit* proper begins in col. ii and continues without breaks or indications of sections. Paragraph I describes the purpose of the document:

Here begins *the Breathing Permit, which Isis* made for her *brother Osiris in order to revive his ba, to revive his corpse, and to make his entire body young* again, *so that* he *might enter* the horizon[44] with his father Re,[45] *that his ba might appear gloriously in heaven in the disk of the moon, and that his corpse might shine in Orion in the belly of Nut*[46] *— and in order that* the same might happen to Osiris Hôr . . . *Keep it secret!* Do not *let* anyone read it. *It* is useful *for a man in the Necropolis,*[47] *to help him live again, and it has worked* successfully millions of times.

Paragraph II assures the deceased that he will be ritually and morally pure when he undergoes the judgment of the dead:

O *Osiris* Hôr . . . , *you are pure. Your heart is pure. Your front is in* a state of purity, your back is in a state of cleanliness, and your middle is cleansed with *natron.*[48] *No part of you is engaged in wrong-doing. Osiris Hôr . . . has purified himself* in that Pool *of the Field of Offerings to the north of the Field of Locusts.*[49] Uto[50] and Nekhbet[51] have purified you in the third hour of the night and the third hour *of the day. Come, Osiris Hôr . . .* , that you may enter the Hall of Double Justice.[52] *You* have been purified of *all* impurity *and all sin. True Precious Stone is your name.*

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[43]One hopes that the description of the scroll as being inscribed on both sides is not literally true in this case. It would imply that whoever mounted the papyrus on its present backing sacrificed about a third of the text to do so.

[44]The Egyptian word refers only to that part of the horizon where the run rises and sets.

[45]The sun god. Osiris is to join him in his daily circuit around the earth.

[46]The sky goddess, sister and wife of Geb and mother of Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys. Her belly is the firmament, and Orion is the constellation.

[47]"The city of the dead," a more descriptive term than "cemetery" in the Egyptian context.

[48]Used by the Egyptians instead of soap, also for ritual purification externally and internally. Natron was also the major ingredient in mummification.

[49]Mythological places in the Netherworld. The Field of Offerings was one of the abodes of the blessed dead. For the "geography" cf. *BD* 125 (Budge, *op. cit.*, I, 262): "I have purified myself in the Southern Pool and have rested in the Northern City, in the Field of Locusts, in which the crew of Re purifies itself in that second hour of the night and third (hour) of the day, and the hearts of the gods are soothed when they have passed it by night or by day."

[50]The cobra goddess of Lower (northern) Egypt, whose main place of worship was at Buto, now Tell el-Fara'in in the northern Delta.

[51]The vulture goddess of Upper Egypt, worshipped at Elkab, south of Thebes.

[52]The hall in which the judgment of the dead was believed to take place.

Paragraph III assures the deceased of what the gods will do for him when he arrives in the next world:

> *O* Osiris Hôr . . . , you have entered the Netherworld *in* a state of *purity. The Double Goddess of Justice* has purified you greatly *in the Great Hall. A purification has been made for you in the Hall of Geb.*[53] *Your body has been purified* in the Hall of Shu.[54] You see Re when he sets and Atum[55] *at twilight. Amon is with you and gives you breath. Ptah*[56] *shapes* your body, that you may enter the horizon with Re. *Your ba has been welcomed into the Neshmet-bark*[57] *together with Osiris; your ba has been made divine in the palace of Geb. You are justified forever and ever.*

Paragraph IV assures the deceased of his bodily well-being in the hereafter:

> *Osiris* Hôr . . . , your name *en*dures, your corpse lasts, and your mummy is permanent. *You have not been repulsed in heaven or on earth. Your face has been gladdened in the presence of Re,* your ba lives in the presence of Amon, and your *corpse* has been rejuv*enated* in the presence of Osiris, that you may breathe fo*rever and ever.*

Paragraph V turns to the all-important invocation-offerings, the prayer and ritual by which the deceased is assured sustenance (see Paragraph XII). Note that the *ba* can perform this function in the absence of heirs or mortuary priests:

> *Your ba has made invocation-offerings for you consisting of bread, beer, cattle and fowl, libations*[58] *and incen*se in the course *of every day. Your flesh is on* your bones just like the shape you had on earth. You have drunk with your throat, *eaten with your mouth, and received* offering-cakes together with *the bas of the gods.* Anubis has guarded you and protected you. You have not been turned back from the gates *of the Netherworld. Thoth,* Twice *Great,* the Great, Lord of Hermopolis[59] *has come to you* to write for you a Breathing Permit with his own fingers, that *your* ba may breathe *forever. You have assumed again the shape* you had on earth among the living. *You are* divine together with the bas of the gods. Your heart is the heart of Re, and your body *is the body of the Great God.*

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[53]The earth god, husband of Nut, cf. n. 46.

[54]The god of air, father of Geb and Nut, husband and brother of Tefnut.

[55]The sun god, especially in his aspect as creator, who begot Shu and Tefnut as the first generation of gods according to the Heliopolitan cosmogony.

[56]The divine craftsman, chief god of Memphis.

[57]The sacred boat in which Osiris traveled. Ships were the major means of transport in ancient Egypt, and the rich usually had their own. The gods also had their boats, which often appeared in several versions: models used in the cult, real boats used in processions on the Nile and in ritual dramas, and of course the invisible, "real" one.

[58]Libations (of water) were so important in the rituals for the dead that professional mortuary priests were called "water-pourers" in the Late Period, "choachyte" in more technical English.

[59]The ibis-headed god of writing and learning, identified by the Greeks with Hermes. Normally he is just "twice great," and the third "great" (using a synonym) is unique to this MS. It seems to be approaching the Hermes Trismegistos ("thrice great") of the Greco-Egyptian mystical texts. His chief place of worship was Hermopolis, now el-Eshmunein near Mellawi in Middle Egypt.

The preservation of the senses and the bodily functions is the topic of Paragraph VI:

> *O* Osiris Hôr . . . , Amon is with you every day . . .[60] in the Temple of Re so that you may live again. Wepwawet[61] has opened the good way for you. *You have seen with your eyes, heard with* your ears, spoken with your mouth, and walked with your feet. Your ba is divine in the Netherworld, *so that* it can assume *any* form *it wishes. You have scat*tered the Noble[62] Ished-tree[63] *in* Heliopolis. You have awakened every day and seen the rays *of the sun. Amon has come to you bringing the breath* of life to let you brea*the in*[62] your sarcophagus. You have gone out to the earth every day. The *Breathing* Permit *of Thoth* has been made *as a protection for* you that you may breathe by means of it like Re. Your eye has seen the rays of the sun's disk. You have been declared just *before Osiris.* . . .[64] Horus of Edfu[65] has protected your body and made your ba divine as all the other gods do. The ba of Re revives your ba; *the ba of Shu*[66] *enters* your nostrils.

In Paragraph VII the deceased, now fully equipped for existence in the hereafter, is identified with Osiris:

> O Osiris Hôr . . . , your ba has breathed *everywhere* you wished, for you have the attributes of *Osiris.*[67] *Osiris Foremost-of-the-Westerners*[68]

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[60]The phrase ". . . in the Temple of Re" is in none of the parallels available to me, and I am unable to read the damaged sign(s) preceding it.

[61]The jackal god of Asyut in Middle Egypt. His name means "Opener of the Ways," and his standard was carried, from earliest times, at the head of royal processions.

[62]A small, displaced fragment has been mounted here. The remaining traces suggest that the word "Noble" was written twice, and that there was a short gap in the following line (iii, 10) at this point; perhaps there was a hole in the papyrus at the time the text was written.

[63]The sacred Ished-tree in Heliopolis is best known because Seshat, the goddess of history, was supposed to inscribe the names of the kings of Egypt on its leaves. Here, however, the text calls to mind passages such as *BD* 17 (Budge, *op. cit.*, I, 60–61): "I am that cat beside whom the Ished-tree was split in Heliopolis on that night when the enemies of the Lord of All were destroyed." The ancient commentary explains that the cat is the new-born Re (the sun at sunrise), and that the splitting of the Ished-tree refers to the punishment of the "children of rebellion" when "they entered the eastern side of heaven, and then there was a battle in heaven and on the entire earth." During the night, the sun was believed to undergo various transformations, finally being born as a new sun at dawn, a process which repeated the first appearance of the sun at creation and as creator. Dawn/Creation was the time when the forces of chaos, which always threatened the created world, were overcome. When the deceased scatters (the pieces?) of the Ished-tree, he is accompanying Re at dawn; note the next sentence: "You have awakened . . ."

[64]A damaged passage in which only three signs are preserved, enough to show that the text was entirely different from that in the parallel MSS, but not enough to guess at a restoration. The other MSS read: " 'Justified' has been written on your body" — just as the statue of the deceased would be inscribed with his name and the same epithet.

[65]The spelling is unusual, but no other reading comes to mind. Edfu, between Elkab and Aswan, is well known for its great temple of Horus, the only temple to have survived virtually undamaged from ancient Egypt. The other MSS have "Harendotes," i.e., "Horus Who Helped His Father" Osiris.

[66]I.e., the air.

[67]The Egyptian uses the construction that indicates an acquired attribute rather than an inherent characteristic. Literally: "for you are as Osiris."

[68]The "Westerners" are the dead.

is your name. The Great Inundation has come to you from Elephantine that it might fill your altar with provisions.[69]

Paragraph VIII brings assurances of eternal existence in the retinue of Osiris:

Osiris Hôr . . . , *the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt have come to you in order to show you how to spend millions of years in all together with your ba.* You have *accompanied* Osiris and breathed in Rostau.[70] *Hapetnebes*[71] *and the Great God have protected you. Your corpse lives* in Busiris[72] and the Thinite Nome;[73] your ba lives in heaven every *day.*

The Egyptians conceived the hereafter very much in terms of this world, and personal attacks and loss of status were a threat in both places. Paragraph IX promises that this will not happen:

Osiris Hôr . . . , Sekhmet[74] *has prevailed over those that plotted against you. Horus* the Steadfast protects [you].[75] Horus of Edfu[76] *carries out your wishes. Hormerti*[77] *guards your body. Your* life, prosperity, and health *have become permanent,* and you will remain in your position in the Sacred Land.[78] Come, *Osiris Hôr . . . ,* for you have appeared in your glorious form, and your appurtenances are complete. You have spent the night alive *and the day in health. You have gone and breathed* everywhere. Re has shined on your cavern[79] as he did on that of Osiris, that you might breathe *and live by his rays. Amon-Re has caused your ka*[80] *to live* and made you flourish by means of the Breathing Permit. You have accompanied Osiris *and Horus, the Lord of the Henu-bark,*[81] *for you have the attributes of the Great God,*

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[69]The annual flood of the Nile was the only source of water for the fields of ancient Egypt (apart from manual lifting at low water), and the country was utterly dependent on it for its crops. Theologically, the Inundation was believed to come from two caverns below the Nile at Elephantine, an island across from Aswan at the southern frontier of ancient Egypt, though the connection between the Inundation and rains in the highlands of Ethiopia was known (at least to some people in Egypt) by the seventh century B.C. As a god, the Inundation is, of course, the source of food.

[70]"The Tomb-Shafts," a term for "necropolis" in general and a part of that of Giza in particular.

[71]"She Who Conceals Her Lord," a name for the necropolis of Abydos, the chief center for the cult of Osiris in Upper Egypt, now el-'Araba el-Madfuna near Balyana.

[72]The major cult-center of Osiris in Lower Egypt, now Abusir Bana.

[73]The province in which Abydos was situated.

[74]The lion-headed goddess of pestilence and destruction.

[75]Omitted by the scribe and supplied on the unanimous testimony of the parallels.

[76]Cf. n. 65. Most of the MSS read: "Horus the Savior."

[77]"Horus of the Two Eyes" (the sun and the moon), a form of Horus worshipped in Pharbaithos, now Horbeit in the eastern Delta.

[78]The Necropolis and the Netherworld.

[79]Both the tomb and a part of the Netherworld. The other MSS have: "your mansion."

[80]*Ka* is another untranslatable term. The best short definition is probably: The personality (of a person or god) personified as an entity separate from him. The *ka* is created (as a sort of "double") at birth, and one joins it at death. It is symbolized by a pair of raised arms (like those of a surrendering soldier).

[81]The sacred boat of Sokar, god of the Memphite Necropolis, with whom Horus is here identified.

> *the Foremost* of Gods. Your face is alert and your form perfect. Your name endures always. *Come,* that you may enter the *Great* Divine Council in Busiris! That you may see the Foremost of the Westerners[82] at the Wag-festival.[83] Your smell is pleasant like that of a young man,[84] *and your reputation is as great as that of a* functionary of high rank.

Paragraph X concludes the assurances of an undisturbed existence in the hereafter:

> O Osiris Hôr . . . , your ba lives by means of the Breathing Permit, *and you have joined* the ba *by the same means.* You have entered the Netherworld. You have no enemies, for you are a divine akh[85] *in Busiris. You have possession of your heart;*[86] *it will not leave you. You have possession of your eyes, which are open every day.*

Col. iv came to an end about here and with it the surviving part of the *Breathing Permit* belonging to Hôr. The missing portion was about half as long. On the whole, the preserved text does not differ greatly from that in the parallel manuscripts,[87] so a translation based on them should provide a reasonable approximation of the lost parts. The italics will be a reminder that none of what follows comes from the Joseph Smith Papyri.

Paragraph XI consists of two addresses by the gods:

> *Words spoken by the gods who are in the retinue of Osiris to Osiris Hôr . . . : "May you accompany Re; may you accompany Osiris. Your ba lives forever and ever."*
>
> *Words spoken by the gods who are in the Netherworld to Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners, and to Osiris Hôr . . . : "Open the gates of the Netherworld for him; admit him into the Necropolis. Let his ba live forever. For he has built a portal*[88] *in the Necropolis, and his ka has praised his god.*[89] *Accept his Breathing Permit.*[90] *Let him breathe."*

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[82]Osiris.

[83]A festival of Osiris and the dead celebrated on the 18th day of the first month of the Egyptian year.

[84]The Egyptian is thinking of both the stench of a decaying corpse and that of the unwashed lower classes. The other MSS are clearer, comparing the smell of the deceased to that of "the revered ones."

[85]An *akh* is an "effective spirit," one of the four non-exclusive categories of sentient beings (gods, men, *akhs,* and the dead). A blessed dead person becomes an *akh* by having the appropriate rituals performed for him. It is as an *akh* that a dead man is able to threaten the wrongdoers who might damage his tomb, letters asking for his intercession are addressed to the "Akh NN," and in ghost stories it is the *akh* that appears. Here the other MSS have *ba,* and the scribe of P. JS X was uncertain and ended up by writing something halfway between *ba* and *akh.*

[86]In Egyptian, the word "heart" also covers the semantic range of our word "mind" and thus can wander or even abandon its owner. No particular importance was ascribed to the brain, which was discarded in mummification.

[87]However, the notes give a false impression of uniformity since only the more significant variants have been mentioned.

[88]I.e., a tomb.

[89]The concept of a personal god was widespread in ancient Egypt; in most instances he was presumably the god of one's local temple or shrine. I suspect that "his ka has praised his god" is a euphemism for "he has died" but cannot prove it with the resources available at the time of writing.

[90]Here is one passage where the translation *Breathing Permit* (see n. 7) is demanded by the context.

The ritual formula for making invocation-offerings follows in Paragraph XII:

> *May the king give a boon to Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners, the Great God, Lord of Abydos that he may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, wine, milk, sacrificial offerings and provisions, and every good thing to the ka of Osiris Hôr . . .*[91]
>
> *Your ba lives and your corpse endures by the command of Re himself and like Re will not perish or decay forever and ever.*

An abbreviated version of the so-called "Negative Confession" ("Declaration of Innocence" is a better term) forms Paragraph XIII. In the original (*BD* 125), forty-two gods and demons are addressed; here we have only the first seven, and various other changes are made:

> (1) *O Wide-Strider*[92] *who originated in Heliopolis, Osiris Hôr . . . has not done wrong.* (2) *O Great Striker*[93] *who originated in Kheraha,*[94] *Osiris Hôr . . . has not committed robbery.* (3) *O Beaky*[95] *who originated in Hermopolis, Osiris Hôr . . . has not made people groan.*[96] (4) *O Eye-Swallower who originated in the Two Caverns,*[97] *Osiris Hôr . . . has not stolen things.* (5) *O Wild-Face who originated in Rostau, Osiris Hôr . . . has not been quarrelsome.* (6) *O Double Lion*[98] *who originated in heaven, Osiris Hôr . . . has not done wrong. . . .*[99] (7) *O Fiery-Eyes*[100] *who originated in Letopolis, Osiris Hôr . . . has not committed pollution.*

The *Breathing Permit* ends with Paragraph XIV, a eulogy of the deceased:

> *O gods of the Netherworld, hear the claims of Osiris Hôr . . . ! He has come before you. He is not the source of any evil. No wrong-doing is blamed on him, and no witness can rise against him. He has lived by*

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[91]The offering formula ends here. In theory, only the king served the gods and made offerings to them; the priests only acted as his deputies, and private individuals who made a gift to a temple or endowed it did so with royal permission and as a mark of favor — again theoretically. At least from the Middle Kingdom (2050–1650 B.C.) onward, it was usual for the mortuary cult of individuals to be arranged through a temple, which undertook to provide the offerings out of its income in exchange for an appropriate endowment. In most cases, the offerings were probably "second-hand," having been placed first on the altar of the god. This explains the wording of the offering formula, though the god will almost always be Osiris or Anubis without regard for the local god through whose temple the arrangements, if any, would have been made.

[92]Re, who makes a daily circuit around the world.

[93]Variants have: "O Greatly Majestic."

[94]Now Old Cairo.

[95]The ibis-headed Thoth.

[96]Translation uncertain. *BD* reads: "has not been greedy."

[97]The caverns from which the Inundation was believed to come, see n. 69.

[98]Shu, the god of air, and his sister and wife Tefnut.

[99]The phrase that stands here seems to be corrupt; at least there are no other occurrences known to me that might suggest what "as a consequence of a wooden heart" could mean. *BD* reads: "has not tampered with the grain measures."

[100]Horus as the falcon of heaven, whose eyes are the sun and the moon. He was worshipped at Letopolis, now Usim near the head of the Delta northwest of Cairo.

Righteousness, he has swallowed Righteousness.[101] *The hearts of the gods are satisfied with everything he has done. He has given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, and clothes to the naked. He has made sacrifices to the gods and invocation-offerings to the akhs.*[102] *No charges have been brought against him before any gods. Let him enter the Netherworld without being repulsed. Let him accompany Osiris together with the gods of the Caverns,*[103] *for he is favored among those who are favored and is divine among the virtuous. Let him live. Let his ba live. Admit his ba to every place it wishes. Accept his Breathing Permit.*[104] *Let him breathe together with that ba of his in the Netherworld and, like the Westerners,*[105] *assume any shape that his heart desires. Let his ba go to every place he wishes so that he may be alive on earth forever and ever and ever!*

Here ends the Breathing Permit of Hôr . . .

If we include the damage that the initial vignette and the four surviving columns of text have suffered, considerably less than one half of the original surface of the *Breathing Permit* of Hôr now exists. Was it in better condition in Joseph Smith's time? Yes, but not perfect. Our evidence is the facsimiles that accompany the Book of Abraham in the *Pearl of Great Price*[106] and Joseph Smith's own copies in his *Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar.*[107]

"Facsimile No. 3" shows a man (5),[108] his hand raised in adoration and a cone of perfumed grease and a lotus flower on his head (ancient Egyptian festival attire), being introduced by Maat (4), the goddess of justice, and Anubis (6), the guide of the dead, into the presence of Osiris (1), enthroned as king of the Netherworld. Behind Osiris stands Isis (2), and in front of him is an offering-stand (3) with a jug and some flowers on it. Over the whole scene is a canopy with stars painted on it to represent the sky.

The scene comes from a mortuary papyrus and is similar to, but not identical with scenes showing the judgment of the deceased before Osiris such as P. JS III. It is a summary in one illustration of what the *Breathing Permit*

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[101]Egyptian uses the same preposition to indicate living "by" some standard and living "on" food. Thus, the phrase suggested to the Egyptian that the righteous actually eat righteousness and, of course, swallow it in the process.

[102]See n. 85.

[103]The chambers into which the Netherworld is divided.

[104]See n. 7, 90.

[105]The dead.

[106]I have used xerox copies of the engravings of "Facsimile No. 1" and "No. 3" as printed in *Times and Seasons*, 3, No. 9 (March 1, 1842), 1; 3, No. 14 (May 16, 1842), 1. The cuts that appear in modern, cheap editions of the *PGP* have lost too much detail to be of use and appear to have been touched up slightly.

[107]The numbered and lettered pages are cited as they are in the edition (the lettered pages are in the sequence A,. . . , M, S, R, Q, P, N, O, T,. . . , X). The pages of the "Valuable Discovery" are not numbered in the edition and are here cited by bracketed numbers, [1] - [14] consecutively, following the arrangement in the typed portion of the book. I am in no position to tell how much of *EAG* is in Joseph's own hand, and how much was written by his secretaries, but it is a safe assumption that the whole MS represents Joseph's intentions.

[108]The numbers are those on the facsimile.

promised: The deceased, after successfully undergoing judgment is welcomed into the presence of Osiris.

The texts, poorly copied as they are,[109] carry us one step further. As far as it can be made out, the line of hieroglyphs below the scene reads.

> O gods of . . . , gods of the Caverns, gods of the south, north, west, and east, grant well-being to Osiris Hôr, justified, . . .[110]

The characters above and to the left of the man are probably to be read: "Osiris Hôr, justified forever." Even though Hôr is a relatively common name in Greco-Roman Egypt, this does suggest that "Facsimile No. 3" reproduces a part of the same manuscript that "Facsimile No. 1" does. Hôr's copy of the *Breathing Permit* would then have had two vignettes, one at the beginning and another ("Facsimile No. 3") at the end, an arrangement that is found in other copies of the same text.[111]

The fact that both cuts are labeled "A Facsimile from the Book of Abraham" unfortunately does not help to support this conclusion, since "Facsimile No. 2," representing a hypocephalus[112] made for an "Osiris Shoshenq," cannot possibly reproduce a portion of the *Breathing Permit* of Hôr, though it also is supposed to be "from the Book of Abraham." On the other hand, a comparison with the photograph shows that "Facsimile No. 1" was originally printed actual size, so the fact that "Facsimiles Nos. 1 and 3" are about the same height may well be significant. It is what would be expected if they came from the same scroll.[113]

It is, therefore, not too rash to suggest that parts of Paragraphs XI–XIV still existed in 1835. However, the three mounted pieces of the papyrus (P.

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[109]The engravings were not too expertly made and contain many errors of detail, as a comparison of "Facsimile No. 1" with P. JS I will show. For instance, the Egyptian drew the legs of the recumbent figure in front of the standing figure and the standing figure in front of the couch, a visual illogicality that accords with the Egyptian convention of not allowing the less important to cover the more important. The engraver "corrected" this to agree with modern conventions. There are many differences in the feathers, ornamental patterns, cross-hatchings, etc. Unfortunately, a legible copy of the text requires an accurate reproduction of the small details.

[110]I have only translated what can actually be read on the "Facsimile." The signs at the end of the line (the hieroglyphs run from left to right in this case) may have indicated the parentage but are too vaguely reproduced to permit a reading without some idea of what the text ought to say, a dangerous procedure when one is trying to use the names to prove something.

[111]E.g., P. Berlin 3135 (Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, 15).

[112]A flat, circular, inscribed object, ultimately derived from a pillow placed under the head of a mummy. Most examples date from the Greco-Roman Period, but *BD* 162, which, at least later, was taken to refer to the hypocephalus, is attested from as early as the Twenty-First Dynasty (ca. 1085-945 B.C.). The hypocephalus was supposed to "create a flame under the head" of the deceased, which would make him divine as well as possessed of his vital functions, especially his sexual powers.

[113]If this is correct, we can estimate the original size of the scroll. The four preserved columns with a total width of about 79 cm. contained about 946 cm. of text out of an original 1387. Assuming that the lost columns also had 13 lines each, they would have been 34 cm. wide (i.e., two columns), 35 cm. allowing for the space between them. To this we can add 18.5 cm. for P. JS I, 16 cm. for "Facsimile No. 3," and a small amount for the margins around the latter. The total will have been about 150 or 155 cm. The scroll was about 10.5 cm. high.

JS I, X, XI) are probably in about the same condition as in Joseph Smith's time, except that the places where the surface is now rubbed away, leaving only a more or less blank stretch of papyrus, and sometimes only the bottom layer,[114] were still in better condition. The photographs (especially of P. JS X) also show places where papyrus has parted company with the paper backing; at least two such pieces were then framed with P. JS IV (see pages 112 and 116). But apart from this, the lacunae evidently existed at the time the papyri were mounted, and Joseph Smith's copies indicate that they were already damaged at these points when he began to study them.

The copies provide detailed evidence for lines 1–3 and 5 of P. JS I and col. i, 1–2 of P. JS XI:

Line 1 ("Fourth part of the first degree," *EAG*, p. E–F [omitting the group at the top of the line], I, U–V). All signs in the copies are still visible, and not much ink has flaked off since the copies were made.

Line 2 ("The third part of the first degree," *EAG*, p. E [a very inexpert copy, with signs broken up and parts placed in incorrect relative positions], I, U [much better copies]). A little bit more seems to have been preserved at the top (the three specks of ink are combined into a sign). At the bottom, the surface and some ink that are now lost still remained, but not beyond the present lower edge of the papyrus.

Line 3 ("Second part of the first degree," *EAG*, p. D–E, I [only the last seven signs of the line], T–U). The copies are hard to interpret since little attempt was made to preserve the relative positions of the signs. Beginning with the hieroglyph labeled "Veh Kli flos-isis" (about one sixth of the way from the top in the photograph), the copy shows the signs that still exist, and in the same order (note that characters standing beside each other are read from right to left in the Egyptian but have been copied from left to right; hieroglyphs representing men or animals face the beginning of the text).

Before this point, there are characters in Smith's copy that are not based on anything visible on the papyrus. Thus, the signs labeled "Ho-hah-oop" and "Jah-ni-hah" adjoin on the papyrus but are separated by three characters in *EAG*, and four separate the latter from "Veh Kli flos-isis," the next sign on the papyrus. As we work backwards (on p. D), "Baeth Ku" probably represents the first traces of ink visible at the upper edges of line 3. Most of the characters that follow up to "Kah tu ain tri ette" can be matched with ink on the papyrus, and the fact that four hieroglyphs in the original have been broken up into the seven signs from "Beth Ki" to "Kah tu ain tri ette" in the copy shows that the ink was flaked much as it is now.

The signs at the beginning of the "Second part of the first degree" on p. C cannot be identified with anything on the photograph. They differ in general

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[114]Papyrus was made by cutting the pith of the papyrus plant into strips, placing a layer of parallel strips beside each other and another layer at right angles on top of them, and pounding the whole into a sheet (Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* [4th ed.], pp. 137-40). The side with horizontal fibers was preferred for writing. Places where the top (horizontal) layer has come off revealing the vertical fibers of the bottom layer are very clear in the color photograph on the cover of the January 1968 *Era* (upper left corner and lower right edge of P. JS I).

appearance from the signs on p. D–F that are certainly copied from P. JS I. Whatever their source may have been, it is unlikely that they come from this papyrus, and we can again conclude that the present upper edge was also the upper edge when Joseph Smith began his studies.

Line 5 ("Fifth part of the first degree," *EAG*, p. F, V, [11]). The last is the best copy and shows that eight signs still visible 133 years ago are now lost at the top and about five at the bottom; the section about a third of the way from the bottom where an isolated piece of papyrus is now surrounded by a lacuna was still intact at that time. At the top and bottom, the missing signs would easily fit in that part of the papyrus where only the bottom layer is now preserved.

Col. i, 1 (*EAG*, p. J–K, S–Q). The signs now visible are the ones interpreted by Joseph Smith as "Sign of the fifth degree of the second part" and "The priest of Elk Kener . . ." through "And his voice was unto me . . ." inclusive. He gives three groups of which no trace now exists. Are they a copy or a proposed restoration of an already existing lacuna? There can be little doubt that they are the latter, since the parallel manuscripts of the *Breathing Permit* tell us what the missing signs were:

> The first signs in the line were the same as the fifth to third signs from the end of i, 3 (the second sign from the end is above the last sign in the line). Only the upper tip of the first sign is now preserved in i, 1 — and that is all that Joseph Smith copied. It seems that the papyrus broke off at that point as it does now. The fourth sign looked like this: . There is no example in the photograph. The fifth sign in i, 1 resembled the bottom half of the group "And as they lifted up their hands . . ." in *EAG*, p. K, Q, or the sign marked (b) in Fig. 1. The sixth to eighth signs in i, 1 should be the same group as that copied at "Behold Potiphers hill . . ." in *EAG*, p. K, P, or that marked (c) in Fig. 1. and a sign like the last one in i, 3 came at the end of the lacuna.

Now this is not what Joseph Smith drew, and it follows that the three groups in question are only his suggested restoration.

Col. i, 2 (*EAG*, p. K–M, P–O). The signs now preserved start in Joseph Smith's copy at "Now after the priest of Elk Kiner . . ."; the copy then continues until the end of the line, where it stops at "Now the lord had said unto me . . ." (*EAG*, p. M).[115] The missing signs occur again on the same photograph in ii, 3, to the left of the break, starting with the group after the short horizontal dash and continuing to the end of the preserved part of the line. Joseph Smith drew four groups, of which the first ("Behold Potiphers

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[115]Heward and Tanner, *Dialogue*, 3, No. 2 (Summer 1968), p. 95 (illustration No. 4), reproduce Joseph Smith's copy of i, 3 from another manuscript. In this case, the signs corresponding to the present lacuna are repeated from the preceding text: the group interpreted as "Now the Lord God caused . . ." (*EAG*, p. O) followed by the upper part of "The priest of Elk Kener . . ." (*EAG*, p. S). The lacuna in i, 3 is about 14 mm. wide, the two groups at least 20 mm. on the papyrus. The restoration of the second half of the lacuna is not quite certain, but the first half was occupied by the end of the word "after," which begins the line: ← (about 6 mm. long) connecting with the short vertical stroke at the break and the fifth sign in the lacuna in i, 1 [b] below it. Neither the shape nor the dimensions of Joseph Smith's drawings fit. The lacuna evidently existed already at his time.

hill . . .") has the expected shape and is still visible in traces at the beginning of the line, while the remaining three (including the one corresponding to Abraham 1:26) are clearly proposed restorations that bear no resemblance to the signs that certainly were on the papyrus before it was damaged; note also the difference in general appearance or style. Our conclusion is essentially the same as before: The papyrus was slightly better preserved at the beginning of the line but otherwise broke off at the same point it does now.[116]

	EGYPTOLOGIST	JOSEPH SMITH
S,	1: Corner of "They shall"	"Sign of the fifth degree of the second part"
	2: [Incorrectly restored]	"I sought for mine appointment unto the priesthood accordin[g] to the appointment of God unto the fathers concerning the seed"
	3: [Incorrectly restored]	"my fathers having turned from their righteousness and from the holy commandments which the Lord their God had given unto them unto the worshiping of the gods of the heathens"
	4: [Incorrectly restored]	"utterly refused to hearken to my voice for their hearts were set to do evil and were wholly turned to the God of Elk Kener and the god of Libnah and the god of Mahmachrah and the god of Pharaoh King of Egypt. Therefore they turned their hearts to the sacrafice of the heathens in offering up their children u[nto] these dumb Idols and harkened not unto my voice, but endevoured to take away my life by the hand of the priest of Elk Ken[er]"
	5: "inside of; in"	"The priest of Elk Kener was also the priest of Pharaoh now at this time it was the custom of the priest of Phar-[aoh] the King of Egypt to offer up upon the altar which was built in the land of Chaldea for the offering unto these strange gods both men, women and children and it came to pass that the priest made an offering unto the god of Pharaoh and also unto the god of Shagreel, even after the manner of the Egyptians. Now the god of Shagreel was the sun, even a thank offering of a child did the priest of Pharaoh offer upon the altar which stood by the hill called Potiphers hill at the head of the plain of Olishem"
R,	1: "the"	"now this priest had offered upon this altar three virgins at one time who were the daughters of Onitah, one of the royal descent directly from the loins of Ham, these virgins were offered up because of their virtue they would not bow down to worship gods of wood or stone, therefore they were Killed upon this altar"
	2: "pool" (first half)	"and it was done after the manner of the Egyptians and it came to pass that the priests laid violence upon me, that they might slay me also, as they did those virgins upon this altar, and that you might have a knowledge of this altar, I will refer you to the representation, at the commencement of this [record]"

[116]The reader may be interested in comparing the Egyptologist's and Joseph Smith's interpretations of the groups from i, 1-2 as copied in *EAG*, pp. S-O. Joseph Smith's sections correspond to Abraham 1:4-2:5 (the modern verse divisions are different). The Egyptologist's connected translation is on pages 119 and 120. The groups are identified by the page of *EAG* and a consecutive number supplied by the writer.

Q, 1: "pool" (second half)

"it was made after the form of a bed stead such as was had amon[g] the Chaldeans, and it stood before the Gods of Elk Kener Libnah Mahmachrah and also a god like unto that of Pharaoh King of Egypt, that you may have an understanding of these gods I have given you the fassion of them, in the figures at the beginning, which manner of figures is called by the Chaldeans Rahleenos."

2: "great"

"And as they lifted up their hands upon me that they might offer me up, and take away my life, behold I lifted my voice unto the Lord my God and the Lord hearkened and heard, and he filled me with a vision of the Almighty and the angel of his presence stood by my feet and immediately loosed my bands."

3: "Khons"

"And his voice was unto me Abram, Abram, behold my name is Jehovah, and I have heard thee, and have come down to deliver thee, and to take thee away from thy fathers house, and from all thy Kinsfolks, into a strange land, which thou knowest not of, and this because they have turned their hearts away from me, to worship the god of Elk Kener, and the god of Libnah and of Mah mach rah and the god of Pharaoh King of Egypt; therefore I have come down to visit them and to destroy him who hath lifted up his hand against thee Abram my son to take away thy life; behold I will lead thee by my hand, and I will take thee, to put upon thee my name even the priesthood of thy Father, and my power shall be over thee as it was with Noah so shall it be with thee, that throug[h] thy ministry my name shall be known in the earth forever; for I am thy God"

P, 1: "Osiris"

"Behold Potiphers hill was in the land of Ur of Chaldea, and the Lord broke down the altar of Elk Kiner, and of the gods of the land, and utterly destroyed them, and smote the priest that he died and there was great mourning in Chaldea, and also in the court of Pharaoh which Pharaoh, signifies King by royal blood. Now this King of Egypt was a descendant from the loins of Ham, and was a partaker of the blood of the canaanites by birth from this descent sprang all the Egyptians, and thus the blood of the canaanites was preserved in the land."

2: [Incorrectly restored]

"The land of Egypt being first discovered by a woman, who was the daughter of Ham and the daughter of Zeptah, which in the Chaldea, signifies Egypt, which signifies that which is forbidden. When this woman discovered the land, it was under water, who after settled her sons in it; and thus from Ham sprang that race which preserved the curse in the land."

3: [Incorrectly restored]

"Now the first government of Egypt was established by Pharaoh, the Eldest son of Egyptes, the daughter of Ham, and it was after the manner of governm[ent] of Ham which was patriarchal, Pharaoh being a righteous man established his Kingdom and judged his people wisely and justly all his days, seeking earnestly to imitate that order established by the fathers in the first generations, in the days of the first patriarchal reign even in the reign of Adam; and also Noah his father, who blessed him with the blessings of the earth and with the blessings of wisdom but cursed him as pertaining to the priesthood."

N,	1: [Incorrectly restored]	"Now Pharaoh being of that lineage, by which he could not have the right of priesthood, notwithstanding the Pharaohs would feign claim it from Noah through Ham, therefore my father was led away, by their Idolitry but I shall endeavor hereafter to deliniate the chronology run-[n]ing back from myself to the beginning of the creation: for the records have come into my hands which I hold unto this present time."
	2: "born to"	"Now after the priest of Elk Kiner was smitten that he died there came a fulfillment of those things which were spoke[n] unto me conserning the land of Chaldea, that there should be a famine in the land, and accordingly a famine prevailed throughout all the land of Chaldea, and my father was sorely tormented, because of the famine, and he repented of the evil which he had determined against me, to take away my life, but the records of the fathers, even the patraarch's, concerning the right of priesthood the Lord my God preserved in mine own hands, therefore a Knowledge of the beginning of creation, and also of the planets and of the stars, as it was made know[n] unto the fathers have I kept even unto this day."
O,	1: "Ti-" ("the")	"And I shall endeavor to write some of these things upon this record, for the benefit of my posterity that shall come after me."
	2: "-khebyt" ("dancer")	"Now the Lord God caused the famine to wax sore in the land of Ur, insomuch that Haran my brother died, but Terah my father yet lived in the land of Ur of the chaldeas. And it came to pass that I Abram took Sarai to wife and Nahor, my brother, took Micah to wife."
	3: Sign indicating a woman's name	"Who was the daughter of Haran"
	4: "justified, likewise"	"Now the lord had said unto me Abram get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred even from thy fathers house, unto a land that I will [show] thee: Therefore I left the land of Ur of the [Chaldees] to go into the land of Canaan, and I took Lot my brothers son, and his wife, and Sarai my wife; and also my father followed after me [un]to the land which we denominated Haran. And the famine abated, and my father tarried in Haran and dwelt there, as there were many flocks in Haran; and my father turned again unto his idolitry: Therefore he continued in Haran (from p. M)

Is there any evidence for the condition of the vignette of "Facsimile No. 1" in Joseph Smith's time? The cut shows it complete, but we have already seen that Joseph Smith attempted to fill lacunae in his copy of the texts. Is this the case here also? There is no direct evidence, but line 4 is an indication. One would have expected it to appear in the "Facsimile" and in the copies in *EAG* if more had existed than the insignificant remnant now visible — the hieroglyphs are included in "Facsimile No. 3."

The sketch in the lacuna is a stronger argument. The head and shoulders of the standing figure (3) are quite different in "Facsimile No. 1" and on the backing of P. JS I. Neither can be a copy of the other, and they diverge too

much to be copies of the same original. If the sketch were later than the cut in *PGP*, one would expect it to resemble the "Facsimile"; if, on the other hand, Joseph Smith had drawn it himself (or had it drawn) in order to replace a part of the papyrus that had been damaged after it came into his possession, one would still expect the two versions to resemble each other. The likeliest interpretation of the difference is that the sketch on the backing fills an already existing gap in a manner that Joseph Smith himself rejected as unsatisfactory.[117] In addition, as we have already seen, the Egyptian parallels to the missing portions of the vignette resemble neither the sketch nor "Facsimile No. 1." The human-headed bird (1) would hardly have been drawn with a bird's head in *PGP* if more of the papyrus had been preserved when the woodcut was made.

To judge by the available evidence, the surviving pieces of Joseph Smith's collection of papyri are in approximately the state they were in when he worked on them.[118]

This is as far as an Egyptologist can go in studying the document that Joseph Smith considered to be a "roll" which "contained the writings of Abraham."[119] The Egyptologist interprets it differently, relying on a considerable body of parallel data, research, and knowledge that has accumulated over the past 146 years since Champollion first deciphered Egyptian — none of which had really become known in America in the 1830's. At this point, the Latter-day Saint historian and theologian must take over.

ADDENDUM

Just before this paper went to press, Professor Nibley was kind enough to show me the original papyri at Brigham Young University. The reverse of the backings of both P. JS I and XI contains parts of the plan mentioned in n.

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[117]At the last minute I find that Tanner and Tanner, *The Mormon Papyri Question*, pp. 12-13 have anticipated the argument from the difference between the sketch on the backing of P. JS I and "Facsimile No. 1." The conclusion can only be tentative until the backings are carefully studied. Lyon, *Era*, 71, No. 5 (May 1968), 18-23 has made a beginning by showing that P. JS II and IV are mounted on a map showing the townships of northeastern Ohio around Kirtland and P. JS I, III, and XI on parts of a large sheet with rough plans of the temple projected for Jackson County, Missouri. The relative position of P. JS II and IV proposed in n. 3 is confirmed by the way in which the two sections of the map fit together. Unfortunately, not enough information is given to serve as a check on the possibility of joining P. JS I and XI (see n. 15). In any event, the drawings do suggest that the papyri were mounted while in Joseph Smith's possession, and probably not too long after 1835.

[118]There is one exception, P. JS IX (the Church Historian's fragment), consisting of a number of pieces of papyrus mounted at random. Most of the text in *EAG*, p. [14] can be identified on the photograph of P. JS IX, but the fragments are arranged quite differently (note that Joseph Smith disregarded the line divisions of the original and copied continuously across the sheet). For the condition of the papyri in Joseph Smith's time cf. also the passage quoted by Clark, *BYU Studies*, 8 (1868), 200, from William S. West that ". . . These records were torn by being taken from the roll of embalming salve which contained them, and some parts entirely lost . . . ," a statement published in 1837 that contradicts Nibley, *BYU Studies*, 8 (1968), 17th unnumbered page after p. 178: "There is ample evidence that all the papyri though very fragile were in excellent condition when Joseph Smith worked with them — the clumsy patching, gluing, and sketching came later."

[119]B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City; Deseret News Press, 1948), vol. II, p. 236.

117, and they clearly adjoin as proposed in n. 15; matching upper and lower parts of handwriting are on the two pieces of paper with the cut going through the letters. The fiber patterns show that the papyri were adjoining parts of the same scroll and not simply mounted on adjoining pieces of paper. Papyrus fibers are always irregular and can be used (much like fingerprints) to check whether fragments come from the same sheet; in this case, the horizontal fibers on the left and right edges of P. JS I and XI, respectively, match exactly. The misplaced fragments in P. JS IV are crudely mounted (quite differently from the careful job done with the other fragments). In their present position, it was not possible to compare their fibers with the presumably adjoining parts of P. JS XI and X at the time I examined them.

People often ask me why I can be a progressive in politics and a fundamentalist in religion. The answer is easy. Government is man made and therefore imperfect. It can always be improved. But religion is not a man made affair. If Christ is the word, how can anyone be a progressive in religion? I am satisfied with the God we have, with the Bible and with Christ.

William Jennings Bryan

Reviews

Edited by Edward Geary

WHOSE VICTORY?

James B. Mayfield

Fantastic Victory. By W. Cleon Skousen. Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1967. 298 pp., $3.75.

James Mayfield is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Utah specializing in the Middle East and international relations.

Fantastic Victory is without a doubt the most ambitious attempt by any "Mormon scholar" to set the recent Arab–Israeli conflict into some perspective. Cleon Skousen, in the amazingly short period of less than three months, has produced a book of nearly 300 pages. The study is divided into four parts: (1) a general description of the forces and events in the Middle East that precipitated the Arab–Israeli War of June 1967; (2) a blow-by-blow account of this "Miracle War" in which tiny Israel defeated the combined forces of the Arab world in less than six days; (3) an eighty-page synopsis of Jewish history covering a period from 1800 B.C. to 1967 A.D.; and (4) an interesting attempt to link various biblical prophecies to present-day events in Palestine in order to provide the recent actions and policies of the modern state of Israel with the stamp of "Divine Approval."

Mr. Skousen, one of the most prolific and widely read authors in the L.D.S. Church, is not a novice concerning the Arab–Israeli conflict. He has traveled extensively in the Middle East, both as a student and as a tour guide for various excursion groups. His mastery of the ancient religious and secular history of Middle Eastern peoples will not be challenged in this article. Yet, after having evaluated his analysis of modern Middle Eastern history, I must admit some hesitancy in accepting his interpretation of the past and future destinies of these peoples.

The arguments utilized by Mr. Skousen to defend his major thesis are largely based upon one-sided, biased, and distorted pieces of evidence well suited to an effective piece of propaganda, but hardly conducive to a lucid

understanding of the issues dividing the Arabs and Jews in their moment of crisis. The major transgressions of this book, as in so many studies about the Middle East, are best characterized as sins of omission. Thus, while one may be willing to admit that Mr. Skousen may not be deliberately distorting the "Palestine Question," he is, by his failure to acknowledge certain events and developments, exposing himself to sharp criticism.

Most obvious in this study is the lack of any sympathetic attempt to understand the aspirations, feelings, and frustrations inherent in Arab nationalism. Arab hatred of Israel is interpreted in simplistic terms as a function of fanatical Arab leaders. Get rid of the present Arab leadership and peace and understanding would then be possible! Yet in fact the Arabs do understand the modern secular ideology called "Zionism," and it is an understanding of its goals that activates Arab bellicosity.

Mr. Skousen's disregard for Arab feelings becomes evident when he argues that the Arabs were completely willing to accept the establishment of a Jewish homeland. This is of course a legitimate assumption, except that Mr. Skousen, whether knowingly or unknowingly, fails to note that the Zionist leader Dr. Weizmann had assured the Arab leaders that the Jewish people had no intention of establishing a Jewish *state* in Palestine, but merely wanted to help develop the country without damaging legitimate Arab interests. Amir Faisal, a leading Arab statesman, conditioned his acceptance of this "Jewish Homeland" concept with the words "Provided the Arabs obtain their independence . . . [otherwise] I shall not then be bound by a single word of the present agreement" *(The Faisal–Weizmann Agreement).*

Mr. Skousen's failure to discuss the Sykes–Picot Agreement, which denied the Arabs their independence, or the way in which the Arabs perceived the Mandate System ignores some of the fundamental aspects of Arab nationalism. His comment that only "some of the Palestinian Arabs were extremely bitter toward the Balfour concept" completely ignores the conclusions of the King–Crane Commission sent by President Wilson in 1919 to evaluate Arab feelings about Zionist immigration. Their report concluded that "nearly nine-tenths of the whole [non-Jewish population of Palestine] are emphatically against the entire Zionist programme" *(Recommendations of the King–Crane Commission,* Section E, par. 3).

His argument that the British Mandate Authorities consistently favored the Arabs fails to note the power and influence of the Jewish Agency during the 1920's and 1930's. Also, when Mr. Skousen makes no distinction between a Jewish homeland (to be established within an Arab state) promised by the Balfour Declaration and a Jewish political state (demanded by the Zionist leaders), he is ignoring a fundamental cause of Arab hostility. President Truman's "special plea" for the admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees is introduced with no discussion of the political pressures exerted upon the U.S. government by a well financed Zionist lobby. The Arabs are excoriated for their refusal to accept a UN Partition Plan which would have given fifty-six percent of Palestine to a Jewish population that owned less than ten percent of the deeded land. Nor does Mr. Skousen perceive the moral implications of reme-

dying the persecution and eviction of the Jews from Europe by evicting the Arabs from their homeland. This book goes to great lengths to show that Arab fanaticism, hatred, and intransigence do exist, that most Arabs hate and fear this state of Israel, and that Arab leaders have refused to negotiate; and yet Mr. Skousen fails to suggest why. It is sheer folly to believe that if such Arab leaders as Nasser, Atassi, or al-Shukairy were removed Arab hatred and suspicion of Israel would lessen. It is Israel, not the Arabs, that has invaded the Middle East. It is the Israelis, not the Arabs, who have expanded their boundaries beyond the UN Partition Plan. It is the establishment of Israel that has resulted in the displacement of nearly seventy percent of the Palestinian Arabs. It is a strange standard of ethics that can legitimize this eviction of over 500,000 people by suggesting that Arab leaders be blamed for encouraging their own people to move out of the path of advancing armies sent to defend the Arab homeland.

Mr. Skousen graphically portrays the sharp contrast between present-day Arab–Israeli hostility and the amicable relations that existed between the Arabs and Jews during the Middle Ages. And while he suggests that "It should be of some comfort to the Arabs to know that Israel is not destined to become a colonial empire," his attempt to equate this modern secular ideology of Zionism with specific biblical verses is somewhat tenuous. The Lord, in both ancient and modern scriptures, has promised that the Jewish people would someday be gathered to Palestine. This return is seen by the L.D.S. Church as a prophetic manifestation of Joseph Smith's divine calling. Nearly a half century prior to the first Zionist Congress assembled in Switzerland, the Prophet Joseph Smith commissioned Orson Hyde to visit Jerusalem and to dedicate this land for the returning of the House of Judah. In the last section of *Fantastic Victory*, Mr. Skousen seeks to interpret various scriptures in an attempt to equate this secular State of Israel with the promised gathering of Judah. While all members of the Church are committed to "the gathering of the Jews" one need not accept the too-often assumed corollary that the present Israeli state, which is committed to socialism and military Zionism, is necessarily acting under the inspiration of the Lord. Many Church leaders have quoted the Book of Mormon in order to delineate between a "token gathering" of unbelieving Jews and the later "full recovery" of the House of Judah which is to be predicated upon their conversion to the Gospel of Jesus Christ (see III Nephi 20:29–34 and James E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith*, pp. 333–34). The small number of Jews (less than 15 percent of the world's Jewish population) now residing in Palestine should more properly be seen as a "sign of the times" but not necessarily as a fulfillment of specific scriptures.

Mr. Skousen may feel that he has presented a valid description of a complex and crucial conflict. Yet the tragedy of this type of analysis lies in its inability to recognize that the Soviet Union's success in the Middle East during the past decade is primarily due to an American foreign policy based upon this one-sided view of the Arab–Israeli crisis. This was indeed a fantastic victory — not, however, for Israel, but for the Soviet Union.

ONE MAN'S UTAH

Kenneth W. Godfrey

History of Utah. By Wayne Stout. Salt Lake City, Utah: Wayne Stout, 1967. 553 pp., $10.00.

Kenneth Godfrey, coordinator of the Arizona-New Mexico Division of L.D.S. Institutes and Seminaries, wrote his doctoral dissertation at Brigham Young University on Mormon Church history.

The writing of history is fraught with difficulties because the historian has no direct access to the past. Through newspapers, diaries, journals, and public documents prior events may be glimpsed as shadows, but even then it is as though one saw through a glass darkly. Writing a history of Utah is in some respects uniquely difficult. The documents upon which that history must be based are overflowing with biases, ulterior motives, and inferior perceptions. Territorial officials in their reports of the "Utah situation" frequently either deliberately misinterpreted events in the Great Basin or misjudged its people. And the Mormons who recorded their feelings and reactions to these same events often misjudged the intent and motives of federal officials.

Wayne Stout's book could hardly be ranked by any valid criteria as one of the better works covering events in Utah between 1870 and 1896. In this preface Stout accuses many historians of submitting "to a strict code that only facts should be recorded" (p. 1). Personal opinions were not to be expressed or elaboration or meaning attached to the facts. Contrary to such a view, Stout boldly proclaims, "The author refuses to be shackled by these restrictions . . . accordingly this history will be an editorialized commentary on the issues and events which vexed the people of Utah during this period" (p. 1). Every knowledgeable historian knows that history is not written in a vacuum, free from bias. The very "facts" that are gathered reflect the predilections of the author. Stout is preaching nothing new. But what he believes to be a new point of view causes him to overlook evidence that would nullify some of his conclusions. Had he "editorialized" after or even while he presented all of the evidence, he could perhaps be forgiven, or even applauded.

But his book reflects a less than thorough search for all the available facts. Furthermore, some of his statements are so exaggerated they hardly deserve serious attention. For example, how can a reviewer comment on such remarks as the one which appears in the preface charging that the "infamy of the segregation rulings reduced the federal judges to the level of barbarians, who like Judge Jeffreys, loved to be cruel"? Or this one: "The passage of the law [Edmunds-Tucker] stunned the people of Utah. The vicious act reduced Utah to the status of a Spain in the 13th century, with all the cruelties of the Spanish inquisition."

The reader is struck by the tone of crisis that almost shouts from the book's pages. Somehow Stout has made every day in Utah a day filled with anxiety. If Stout's book is to be believed, fleeing from snooping, malicious federal agents, attempting to thwart a federal conspiracy, standing firm for conscience's sake against the tyranny of United States law, and waging vigorous political campaigns were the daily diet of most Mormons. He says nothing about the drudgery of wresting a living from a reluctant soil in the

hot desert sun, the biting cold of Utah winters, or the despair that accompanied drouth, insects, and hail. The monotony and cultural starvation of a life of washing, ironing, and cooking that plagued many Mormon women is never described. Nor does he talk about the Salt Lake Temple, the Tabernacle organ, the growth of church schools, the development of mining, the pastoral activity of the Protestant, Catholic, and Mormon churches, the growth of farming, or the rise of cities. He says nothing about the theater, the musicals, the polysophical society, or the gradual changes in some Church practices that developed during this period of time. Stout's portrayal of constant crisis leaves the reader with a false picture of life in Utah.

Stout infers that all Mormons were "good guys" dressed in white, while all Gentiles, especially Judges McKean and Zane, Governors West, Murray, Woods, and Emery, and Presidents Grant, Harrison, and Cleveland were the "bad guys" clad in black. His use of descriptive adjectives is designed to make it abundantly clear that no Gentile ever acted from lofty motives or from humanitarian impulses and that every Mormon was above reproach. A more accurate or balanced account might have emerged had he read diaries, journals, public records, and monographs covering this period.

Stout makes an attempt to refute some of the more recent writers of Mormon history who have argued that Utah history must be understood as a great political struggle involving the "Kingdom of God." Contending that polygamy was really the reason for the anti-Mormon campaign, he writes, "A second popular superstition adhered to by the non-Mormon world was the alleged existence of an all-powerful Council of Fifty which dictated the political affairs of the territory. The so-called 'Invisible government,' it was further alleged, aimed ultimately to dominate all of America. These fabrications, too, have been repudiated" (pp. 1–2). Such a conclusion enabled Stout to write a book of over five hundred pages without even mentioning the Council of Fifty except in the preface. Yet he does not produce evidence that would repudiate the findings of Gustive O. Larson, James R. Clark, Hyrum Andrus, Juanita Brooks, and Klaus Hansen.

It is sad that so much effort and so many years of a person's life have been devoted to a book that will be of little value to the serious student of history and will probably mislead the casual reader. There still remains a need for some competent historian to produce a major study that will be a real history of Utah.

A MIRROR FOR MORMONS

Samuel W. Taylor

The City of the Saints. By Richard F. Burton; reprint of the 1861 edition, edited with introduction and notes by Fawn M. Brodie. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963. 654 pp., $8.50.

Samuel W. Taylor, a professional writer living in Redwood City, California, is the author of *Family Kingdom* and numerous other books and articles on Mormon topics.

A superlative is an automatic challenge, and when Mrs. Brodie calls *City of the Saints* "the best book on the Mormons published during the nineteenth century," my impulse is to disprove it. At surface glance this seems easy, for

hot desert sun, the biting cold of Utah winters, or the despair that accompanied drouth, insects, and hail. The monotony and cultural starvation of a life of washing, ironing, and cooking that plagued many Mormon women is never described. Nor does he talk about the Salt Lake Temple, the Tabernacle organ, the growth of church schools, the development of mining, the pastoral activity of the Protestant, Catholic, and Mormon churches, the growth of farming, or the rise of cities. He says nothing about the theater, the musicals, the polysophical society, or the gradual changes in some Church practices that developed during this period of time. Stout's portrayal of constant crisis leaves the reader with a false picture of life in Utah.

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Burton's book is of the I-was-there genre of personal journalism, a literary form long cheapened and debased by a flood of atrocious material. The appalling I-was-there trash that has issued from Vietnam, from race riots, and from everyone who had a nodding acquaintance with John F. Kennedy, for example, is on a par with the incredible output of nineteenth-century hacks who, if they could contrive an afternoon with the Mormons, could get a book out of it. Burton demonstrates, however, that no art form is good or bad per se, but must be judged on how well it's done; in his hands, the I-was-there approach is merely a framework to support a superb and scholarly study of the Mormons. So my first challenge failed.

A test of a book is how well it ages. After a hundred years, much of Burton sounds remarkably like something written just yesterday. Tongue in cheek, he dryly reports the incessant Mormon claim to "obeying, honouring and sustaining the law" — this from a people who had come west to get out of U.S. jurisdiction; this at a time when U.S. troops who had marched on Utah three years previously to quell the "Mormon rebellion" were still garrisoned at Camp Floyd; this on the eve of federal legislation against polygamy that the Mormons would flout for almost three decades. But how like today, when Mormons place great stress on being a law-abiding people while evading or ignoring laws they don't like, such as those designed to prevent anti-union activities and discrimination because of race, creed, or color. (Actually, I am baffled by our pretense of being an absolutely law-abiding people. One of the most glorious pages of our history was the futile defiance of man-made law for what we considered the law of God. Why should this embarrass us?) The "God is dead" furor of recent years, Burton reveals, is not so new after all. The Mormons "are not forced to think that God is virtually dead," he reports in 1860. At the Historian's Office, he notes that "every slight offered to the faith by anti-Mormons is there laid up in lavender." Regarding the busy bees of Deseret, he says, "The object of the young colony is to rear a swarm of healthy working bees," and adds the penetrating observation, "The social hive has as yet no room for drones, bookworms, and gentlemen." How true a century later.

I found that the book is full of surprises, such as mention of the revelation predicting the Civil War (which, I had thought, was not pulled from the safe until after its provisions had been fulfilled); and there is a most interesting commentary on a reason for changing the policy of sending out missionaries without purse or script: "When a man has no coin of his own he is naturally disposed to put his hand in his neighbour's pocket, and the greediness of a few unprincipled propagandists, despite the prohibitions of the Prophet, had caused a scandal by the richness of their 'plunder'," Burton reported. In consequence, thirty new missionaries being sent out "were forbidden to take from their converts, and in compensation they would receive regular salaries, for which funds were to be collected in the several wards." The new missionaries also received a certificate of good character.

Burton's penetrating analysis of the Mormon milieu cut too close to the bone, resulting in rejection of his book by the Saints, even though he said,

"The Mormons are certainly the least fanatical of our faiths," and even though he was virtually alone among Gentile writers in his understanding and sympathetic treatment of polygamy. Ironically, his objective attitude regarding plural marriage outraged the Gentile world, so *City of the Saints* fell between two stools. In recent years Burton's book has been issued in abridged form, because of its superb portrayal of the times, but with Mormonism deleted, no doubt because of the material on the Principle.

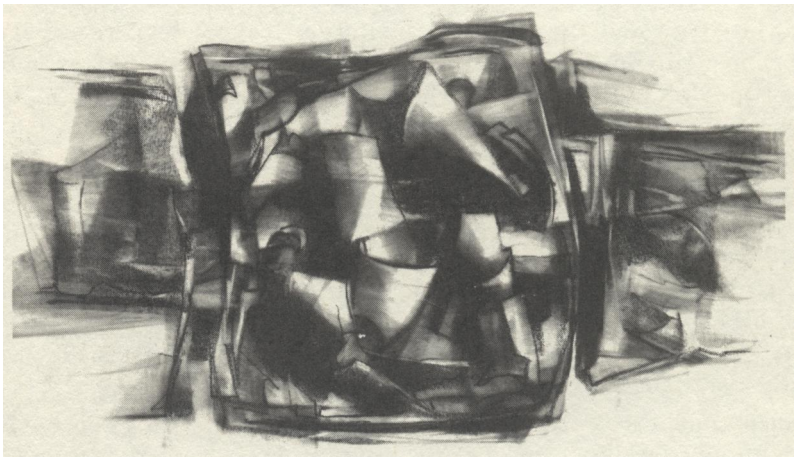
"What is remarkable about his discussion of the subject, considering the hysteria of the anti-Mormon writers of the period, was his detachment," Mrs. Brodie states in her admirable introduction, which also contains a moving biography of the author. He "brought to his research the urbanity of a scholar already intimately acquainted with polygamous marriages of every conceivable variety in Africa and the Near East." Burton had, in fact, visited Turkish harems in the disguise of a doctor from India. He reprints the excellent defense of the "plurality of wives" which at that time followed Section 132 of the Doctrine and Covenants and which, considering the abysmal ignorance of Mormons today on the subject, might very well be re-inserted in the next edition.

Burton was an author whose books came from genuine adventures. "He was an explorer of immense courage and endurance who penetrated the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina at great risk and wrote a detailed description of his experiences," the editor points out. "He was the first European to explore the forbidden city of Harar in Somaliland, the first to discover and properly identify Lake Tanganyika."

Burton might never have come to Utah, except for tarnish on his reputation resulting from the Tanganyika expedition He incorrectly designated the lake as the true source of the Nile, and was discredited by his companion on the expedition, who had pushed on to find the source at Lake Victoria. Disgraced, Burton abruptly fled London for America and the city of the Saints, pouring his immense scholarship and talent for research into a book that he hoped would rehabilitate his name. It didn't, because the public rejected an objective and penetrating evaluation of the Peculiar People, and the last thing the Mormons themselves have ever wanted is a mirror. But we can at long last be thankful that Burton's hurt was our gain.

When accepting an award by the Utah State Historical Society for her contribution to Mormon scholarship, Fawn Brodie said, "It seems that everyone in Utah must wear a label." Certainly this is one of the most cogent observations ever made of the Mormon literary scene, where people are judged almost entirely by the color of their hats — white or black, for or against (no shades of gray). The most fatuous, superficial, warped, and dishonest outpouring is praised as a great book if the author's hat is white, while a work characterized by the most careful and exhaustive research is utterly damned for the smallest inaccuracies (as was Mrs. Brodie's *No Man Knows My History*) if it is decided that the hat is black. We can be grateful that *City of the Saints* was resurrected by Mrs. Brodie from the limbo reserved for those who wear no hat at all. The book has none of the apostate's animus characterizing a

T. B. H. Stenhouse, and which marred his *Rocky Mountain Saints*; it is not saturated with the fervor which made the works of one such as Parley Pratt religious tracts rather than literature; it did not have the preconceived Gentile viewpoint of outrage which could warp even so great a talent as a Mark Twain; nor, finally, was it subjected to the gutting of ruthless censorship that butchered so much work of a B. H. Roberts. Whether *City of the Saints* is or is not the best book on the Mormons published in the nineteenth century, I must admit that I have failed the challenge of the superlative. If it isn't, it must at least stand until a better one is put forward.



MRS. BRODIE AND JOSEPH SMITH

Max H. Parkin

Exploding the Myth About Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet. By F. L. Stewart. New York: House of Stewart Publications, 1967. x, 75pp. $2.50. Max Parkin, who teaches in the Church's weekday religious education program in Salt Lake City, has done extensive work on Fawn Brodie's biography of Joseph Smith, *No Man Knows My History.*

Few books about Joseph Smith or the Mormons have been extolled or berated with such intensity as the imaginative biography *No Man Knows My History*, by Fawn M. Brodie. After eight printings and twenty-three years of vigorous sales, the book is not only still supplying a continuing market of a thousand copies a year, but is also being considered for a revised edition in honor of its twenty-fifth anniversary. In it, Brodie theorizes that Joseph Smith created Mormonism — in part accidentally — as he, through his gifted personality, synthesized elements from his New England environment to produce a religion peculiarly appropriate to the land.

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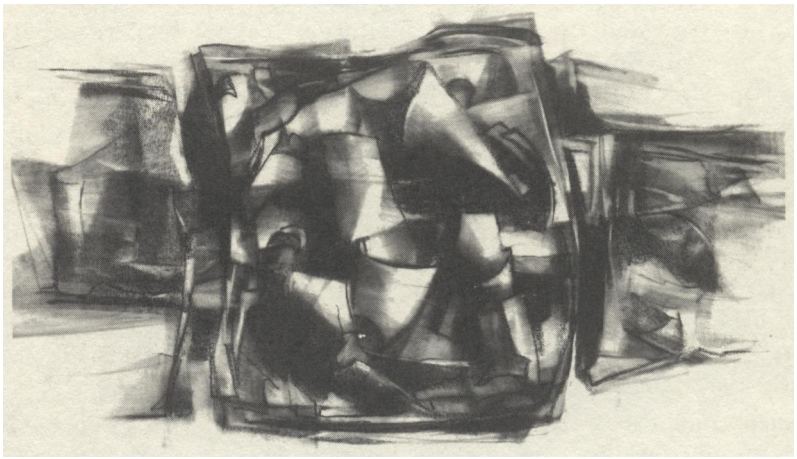
T. B. H. Stenhouse, and which marred his *Rocky Mountain Saints*; it is not saturated with the fervor which made the works of one such as Parley Pratt religious tracts rather than literature; it did not have the preconceived Gentile viewpoint of outrage which could warp even so great a talent as a Mark Twain; nor, finally, was it subjected to the gutting of ruthless censorship that butchered so much work of a B. H. Roberts. Whether *City of the Saints* is or is not the best book on the Mormons published in the nineteenth century, I must admit that I have failed the challenge of the superlative. If it isn't, it must at least stand until a better one is put forward.



MRS. BRODIE AND JOSEPH SMITH

Max H. Parkin

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Naturally, at the first appearance of the book, Mormon writers deftly accused Mrs. Brodie of shoddy scholarship, alleging that she quoted sources

out of context, developed a predetermined thesis, and generally produced a biased, unreliable, non-historical volume. A Church committee made the first refutation in an article in the *Church News,* May 11, 1946, which was also printed in pamphlet form; the same year Dr. Hugh Nibley entered the controversy with his critique, *No Ma'am That's Not History.* Milton R. Hunter denounced the book in *The Pacific Historical Review* in 1947, and his work was soon followed by Francis W. Kirkham's refutation in the first volume of *A New Witness for Christ in America.* None of these, however, seemed to affect the wide acceptance Brodie's Book enjoyed outside the Church.

Why such acceptance? Probably Brodie's professed scholarship, her attention to the often ignored human qualities in Joseph Smith's personality, and her acceptance of the fashionable assumption that things and people are preeminently a product of the social environment are largely the reasons for the book's wide appeal.

Except for Nibley's *The Myth Makers* in 1961, for two decades Mormon critics neglected Brodie until F. L. Stewart entered the controversy. Miss Stewart, who uses her maiden name for this book, is a New York screenplay writer working professionally under the pseudonym Lori Donegan. Her interest in *No Man Knows My History* began when she undertook research for a screenplay on the life of the Mormon Prophet. Her associates highly recommended *No Man Knows My History* as a technical guide to the life of Joseph Smith. After reading Brodie's biography and checking the footnotes, Miss Donegan found the book to be totally inadequate and untrustworthy as a source. Her awareness of the prominence *No Man Knows My History* enjoys and further research into its sources induced Miss Donegan to undertake her present effort.

The resulting book, *Exploding the Myth About Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (Mrs. Brodie's book is the myth being exploded), contains eleven short chapters subdivided into sixty-three arguments against Mrs. Brodie's scholarship, plus a chapter reviewing Joseph Smith's alleged trial of 1826. Her approach is easy to follow (although more footnotes to Brodie would be helpful) and her objections to *No Man Knows My History,* which are generally supported by her own research, will make convincing reading to the believer and should induce further inquiry by non-Mormons. Stewart contends that Brodie is contradictory, makes unfounded statements, ignores available evidence that would have changed the complexion of the book, and makes numerous miscellaneous errors.

For example, Stewart points out that Brodie portrays the parents of the Prophet as undesirables by associating them with people of another time and place. Mrs. Brodie relies upon the diary of Nathan Perkins, who, Brodie states, visited central Vermont in 1789 and found a "people . . . nasty . . . poor . . . and low lived." Stewart states that Reverend Perkins did not travel to central Vermont at all, but to western Vermont, as his diary makes clear, whereas the Smiths lived in eastern Vermont. Furthermore, Asael Smith, the Prophet's paternal grandfather, and his son, Joseph Smith, Sr., did not move to Vermont until three years after Perkins' visit, and the Prophet's mother, Lucy Mack,

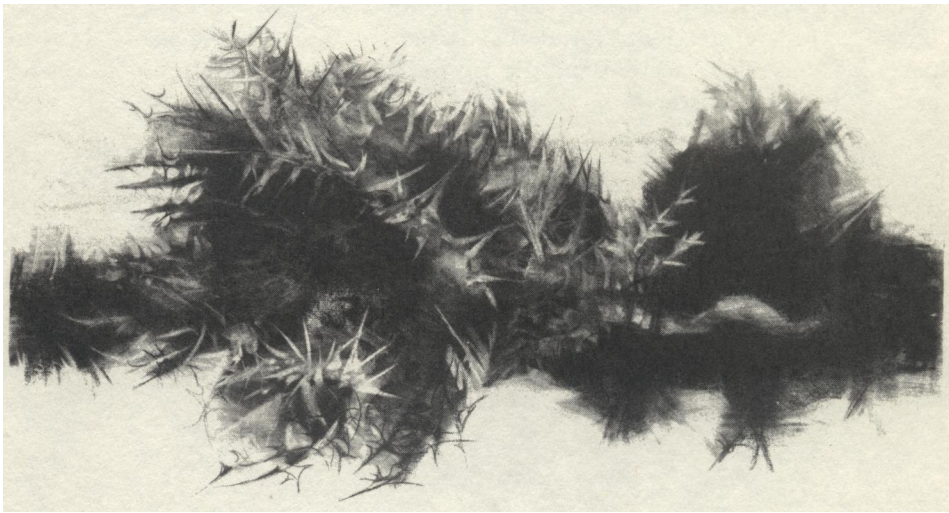
did not move there until six years after. The facts challenge Brodie's assertion that the Smiths were from a low-bred society.

Stewart suggests that Brodie, besides perverting the circumstances, also ignores facts, which if considered would have compelled a different conclusion. Joseph's early claim to religion is a case in point. Although the *Wayne Sentinel* of June 26, 1829, contained an article reporting that Joseph had made religious claims "for some time past" and other similar articles followed, Brodie preferred to quote Obadiah Dogberry, an acknowledged enemy of Smith's, in the *Palmyra Reflector* a year and half later, saying that Joseph had "never made any serious pretensions to religion" until the discovery of the Book of Mormon. The context of Dogberry's article suggests that he was writing about Joseph's affiliation with institutionalized Christianity, but the inference Brodie draws is that he had no spiritual experiences prior to his Book of Mormon claims. The same month that Dogberry's article appeared, February, 1831, another *Reflector* article stated that Joseph "had seen God frequently and personally." From this article it is impossible to determine the date of the stated spiritual experiences, but it seems evident that Brodie avoids such statements to impose upon her subject an attitude of irreligion. To further accomplish this objective Brodie uses affidavits gathered by the apostate Philastus Hurlburt which she says cannot be "dismissed by the objective student." Whitney R. Cross, however, observes that every circumstance of these affidavits seems to invalidate them as "obviously prejudiced testimonials." Brodie uses the affidavits, Stewart contends, to malign Joseph, and draws from them those statements that would tend to discredit her subject. In such ways Brodie's unfair technique soon manifests itself. "The early religious experiences of Joseph Smith are denied, burlesqued or ignored," Stewart writes. "Early newspaper articles confirming Joseph's religious claims are suppressed, and the reader is given selected later articles that question his religious motivations, and is told that these are the first" (p. 27). Stewart points out that Brodie is also inconsistent in ways that discredit the Prophet, calling him cynical when it suits her purpose and at another time suggesting that there was "no evidence of cynicism even in Joseph's most intimate diary entries" (p. 50). It is Brodie's distortion of Joseph Smith's personality by careful selection of sources that deprives the book of historical plausibility. It is essentially the same weakness as displayed by the Mormon apologists who have produced an equally implausible and often highly saccharine picture of Joseph Smith.

While criticizing Brodie for the luxury of speculation, Stewart occasionally indulges herself. In defending the Prophet, Stewart speculates that Joseph's use of wine was always in conjunction with the sacraments — including the sacrament of marriage; there is, however, evidence to the contrary. For instance, in 1836, Joseph drove members of his family to Painesville, Ohio, where they "procured a bottle of wine, broke bread, ate and drank . . . ." (History of the Church, II, p. 447; cf. V, p. 380). In her treatment of the First Vision, Stewart errs in assuming that the references to "the vision" in the *History of the Church* are evidences of general knowledge of the First Vi-

sion within the Church during the 1830's (p. 22). Actually, "the vision" references allude to the Vision of the Degrees of Glory which Church members for a while were told not to repeat because conflict often ensued.

But despite its shortcomings, the evidence in Stewart's book demonstrates that *No Man Knows My History* is an inexact portrait, not a history of Joseph Smith, and that scholars may profit by a serious re-examination of the popular biography. Stewart aims to alert the reader to Brodie's deliberate manipulating of her sources, and to urge him to proceed with caution and not complacently accept all that Brodie propounds as history. Hopefully, from a springboard such as *Exploding the Myth About Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* a more trustworthy biography of the Mormon Prophet will emerge and the historical Joseph will be found.



SHORT NOTICE

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Richard Tracy, a champion rodeo performer, ropes Michael Van Vlete, III, a cowboy-man of the world and Harvard graduate, into going home with him to the Rocking T Ranch. Mike likes his new environment ("What an empire! What a way of life! Michael Van Vlete felt prickling goose bumps . . . . "), and likes even more Richard's sister "Lovely Linda" ("teeth as even as matched pearls," "twin dimples," "round, hard and desirable"). *Out of the West* is the story of a Mormon family and the cowboy who becomes a part of it.

No one can quarrel with Mrs. Waite's sincerity; she no doubt sees the book as an inspirational guide to the problems and heartaches common to many L.D.S teenagers. Deseret Book Company anticipates that "this intriguing story will bring both tears and laughs to all who read it, and will help build faith and testimony. . . ." But the world she describes is old-fashioned,

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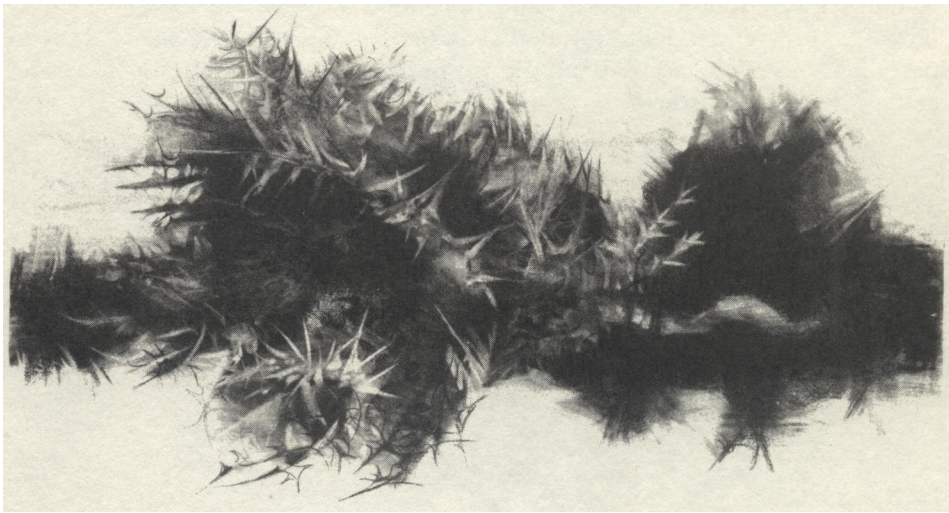

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an anachronistic era. It has never heard of urban blight, has never had its conscience nudged by James Baldwin or John Kennedy, or its religious security challenged by Malcolm Boyd or, even, a Baptist. It is a compote of simplicity offered to a generation of teenagers with emotionally and intellectually complex problems.

The characters are variations on the same prototype: the good man. Even the antagonists are really angels with human frailties temporarily grafted on. The only villain of some persuasiveness says to Linda, "Light of my life — you could have all this and more, if you'd say yes to Old Shep. You could even make a good Mormon out of his hull." Linda, her brother, and "Mater" are all well on their way to the Celestial Kingdom and speak saccharine lines of love and goodness. Grannie and Grandpa are paragons of virtue, but Grannie's sentences are characterized by a dialect that, hopefully, doesn't fall as unnaturally from her lips as it does on our ears: "Ye are too good Papa, but of course ye are right." And that is the trouble with the book. It is a narrative sincerely conceived and drawn, but it falls unnaturally upon a generation that knows little of the simplistic life it describes.

Linda Lambert
Beverly Hills, Calif.

Among the Mormons
A Survey of Current Literature

Edited by Ralph W. Hansen

I would the gift I offer here
Might graces fro thy favor take.

John Greenleaf Whittier, *Songs of Labor*

An article in the June 1, 1968, *Church News* entitled "BYU Gets Rare Books" described items of early Mormon interest recently purchased for Brigham Young University. What did the BYU Library buy and where did the money come from? Purchased was *The Reflector*, a newspaper of Palmyra, New York, which printed pirated portions of the Book of Mormon in its issues of January 2, 13, and 22, 1830. The Prophet Joseph secured an injunction which ended the illegal publication of extracts from the yet unpublished Scripture (published in March, 1830). This interesting item is one of many from the Thomas Winthrop Streeter Collection of Americana being auctioned by Parke-Bernet Galleries of New York. For bibliophiles, the Streeter sale has been one of the most important sales held in this country, both in terms of quantity and quality of the materials offered. Over two million dollars has already been realized in twelve sessions, and two more are yet to be held.

The significance of the Brigham Young University acquisition is not that BYU obtained some rare books, but that these were obtained by purchase rather than as gifts. When I was associated with the BYU Library as University Archivist and Transcripts Librarian, money for the purchase of expensive books and manuscripts was difficult if not impossible to come by. It was a simple economic fact that in improving a weak library collection, the Y was constrained to focus on general book needs before investing in esoteric, albeit important, research materials.

But I digress. The money for this purchase, and several other items bought at the same auction, came from the "Friends of the BYU Library." Many libraries have "Friends" organizations, members of which pay five or more dollars a year to belong and in exchange may receive from the library a periodical describing recent acquisitions or may attend an annual or semi-

annual meeting. They most certainly will be dunned for additional funds to buy "the most important book to come on the market this year." The "Friends" program at the BYU appears to be well financed. To illustrate, Mr. Streeter purchased *The Reflector* for $410 in 1945. The Gallery estimated that it would sell for $1,000. The bidding must have been spirited, for the sale price was far in excess of the estimated figure.

Those of you who have attended auctions know how widely prices fluctuate — sometimes way above and sometimes below an established value. Book auctions suffer from the same forces that affect other auctions. If many buyers are competing for the same item the price is bound to go above expectations. If there is no competition the price reflects this fortunate (if you are a bidder) happenstance. For example, Parke-Bernet offered a set of the *Times and Seasons* for which they expected to receive $2,000. This Mormon newspaper sold for $900. On the other hand, a printed copy of Sidney Rigdon's *Oration Delivered on the 4th of July, 1838 at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri* was expected to bring $3,000 and sold for $3,500. An 1849 *Constitution of the State of Deseret* was estimated at $3,500 and brought $4,250.

Pretty heady figures. I can visualize some of you heading for grandfather's trunk in the attic hoping to find next summer's trip to Europe with a frayed cover. Don't bother. Even though a bookseller once wrote a book with the alluring title *Gold in Your Attic*,[1] chances of finding a real winner are very slim. If rare book librarians had ten dollars for every old family Bible they were offered they could really buy some fine books. Age in itself does not enhance the value of books. But that's another story.

Speaking of winners, the Streeter sale offered a copy of the *Deseret Second Book*, a primer once used to teach the Deseret alphabet in Mormon schools. The volume sold for $50. In the late 50's and early 60's the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office was selling the same book and companion works over the counter for twenty-five or thirty-five cents each. In cleaning a basement storeroom several thousand mint copies of the primers were discovered. I acquired several hundred copies of each volume for use by the BYU Library Exchange Department. Needless to say, this was a very popular item with our exchange partners and helped us to balance our exchange accounts. Normally when so many copies of a presumed-to-be-rare book hit the market the bottom falls out of the price. Evidently booksellers have not heard of this cache for I still see Deseret alphabet books offered for amounts from fifty to one hundred dollars. By the way, the Church Historian's Office no longer sells Deseret alphabet readers over the counter.

Let us look for a moment at the prices of what is sometimes called Mormon Americana. Suppose you found a document or printed item in your possession which you were reasonably certain was scarce and perhaps had monetary value. Should you try to sell it or give it to a university? How could you verify its value? My information is not completely current, but I don't know of any

[1]This has just been updated by Van Allen Bradley as *The New Gold in Your Attic*, a guidebook for book hunters with an up-to-date price index and guide to more than 2,500 valuable American books and pamphlets.

well-to-do collectors in Utah at present (not since Herbert Auerbach died in 1945). This fact influences the Utah sale value of what you have to sell. How about the Church Historian's Office? Unless times have changed there is an understandable reluctance to spend tithing money on such purchases. Besides, the Church Historian probably already has a copy unless it is an original manuscript. How about the universities? This would be a good place to start. The University of Utah is placing special emphasis on its Western Americana collection and the Brigham Young University has long had a fine Mormon Collection plus the Hafen Collection of Americana, which is strong in western history. (I am not conversant with Utah State University's activities in this regard.)

Most university libraries will have *American Book-Prices Current* and its British counterpart *Book Auction Records,* which annually list prices received for auctioned books in their respective countries. These are accurate sources for price information *provided* the publication in question has sold at an auction within the last decade. Earlier listings would not reflect current value and even the recent quotations must be used guardedly. The journal *Manuscripts,* published quarterly by the Manuscript Society, has a regular column devoted to a report of the auction market for letters, diaries and other manuscripts, which can supply price information, if not pleasurable reading. However, for expert advice ask for the Rare Book Librarian, Manuscripts Curator, or whatever he is called at your local university.

If the university library does not prove fruitful, try an antiquarian bookseller. The yellow pages of your phone book will lead you to those in your community. But don't be disappointed if the price offered isn't what you anticipated. As a matter of fact, you would likely do better, and Mormon scholarship would certainly benefit, if you gave your coveted book to a research library as a gift and claimed the value as a tax deduction. The simple economics of the antiquarian book business works to the disadvantage of selling your prize locally (i.e., Utah) for a fancy price. For example, an item which you might sell for $300 to a Salt Lake dealer has no place to go for resale in Utah, so it must go to the east or west coast. The Salt Lake dealer sells your item to another dealer — say Edward Eberstadt of New York — for $600. Eberstadt may well list it in his catalog for $1200 and get it. Buyers with the necessary capital look to sellers like Eberstadt for quality merchandise, and they are willing to pay his premium prices. Such sales are the lifeblood of the antiquarian book business and although sellers may feel cheated when they learn the ultimate sale prices as compared to what they received, this is merely the necessary mark-up for sellers to stay in business.

A perusal of some recent Eberstadt catalogs is an educational experience for the potential or neophyte aficionado of Mormon Americana. Catalog #165 lists volume one of *The Deseret News* for sale at $3,500, while volumes two through four are listed at $1,250 each. Succeeding volumes decrease in price down to volumes seven and eight, which cover the years of the Utah War (1857–58). Volume eight is listed at $2,500, primarily because portions of the volume were published at Fillmore City after the Saints fled Salt Lake

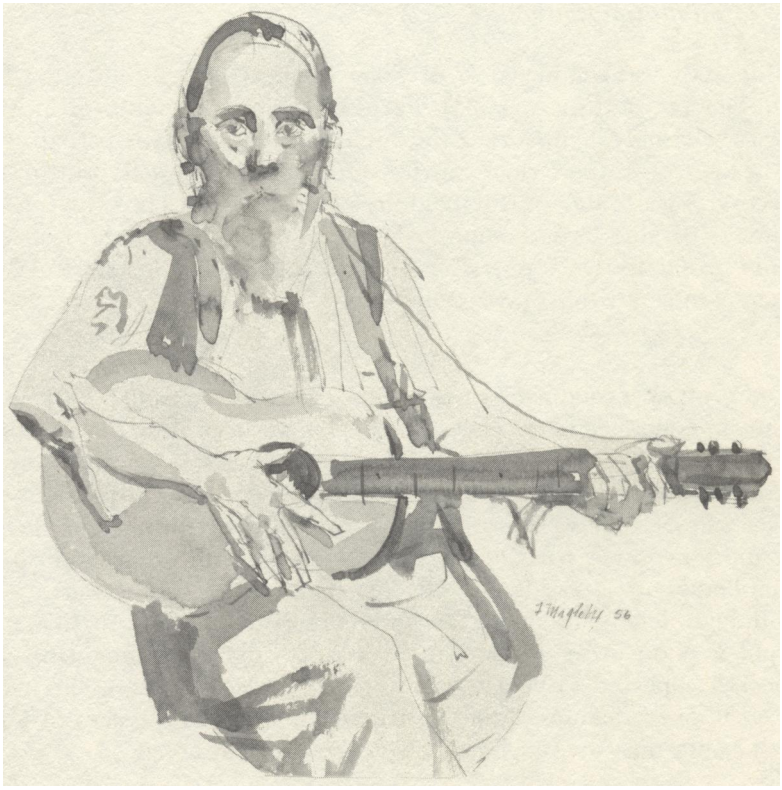
before the advancing Johnston's Army. Presumably, fewer issues were printed during this hectic period, thus creating an artificial scarcity represented in higher prices today. Thereafter, the sale price of bound volumes of *The Deseret News* decreases sharply.

So far emphasis has been on published works. Looking at manuscripts, we find that Eberstadt had a manuscript copy of James J. Strang's "Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac, Including an Account of the Controversy between Mackinac and the Mormons" for sale at $7,500. Eberstadt also listed a Brigham Young letter at $250 and two letters by Lt. Gen. Daniel H. Wells of the Nauvoo Legion at $500. Why so much for Strang and relatively less for Brigham Young? Content, availability (Young letters appear on the market more frequently than do those of Strang), and demand all influence price. In the final analysis, someone has to be willing to pay the asking price and obviously Strang is a hot item.

Utah has long been a paradise for collectors of Western Americana. Part of this bonanza is due to the Mormon proclivity to write diaries; part is due to the nature of Mormonism, which has attracted wide attention and fostered publications by friend and foe alike. The keeping of diaries was encouraged by Brigham Young, thus providing present-day Utah historians with a wealth of original sources unrivaled by most western states. In one sense, the abundance of original sources in Utah is a mixed blessing. Diaries that have absolutely no historical or genealogical value are frequently brought to libraries as valuable (dollar-wise?) sources for the historian. Fortunately there are also many of fine quality, some of which have been edited and published. In my own travels around Utah, I have often found that the librarians of such institutions as the Huntington Library have, like the ubiquitous Kilroy, already been there. Some fine Utah and Mormon historical documents reside in the Coe Collection at Yale, the Bancroft Library at California (Berkeley), the Houghton at Harvard, and other institutions, some of whose collections have been described in these pages in past issues. Although this situation locates original sources for the study of Utah and Mormon history away from Mormon research centers, scholars are grateful for the work of preservation performed by these libraries at a time when Utah's institutions were not adequately prepared to assume the responsibility. Albeit adequate historical and university libraries now exist in Utah, Mormon manuscripts still have a tendency to migrate out of the state.

I previously indicated that to my knowledge Utah has had no major collector of Western Americana since Herbert Auerbach passed way. Auerbach, of the Salt Lake department store, was born in 1882. He studied music and mining, but his interests were increasingly drawn to merchandising and real estate management in his native Salt Lake. Music remained a life-long interest, and Mr. Auerbach collaborated with Anthony G. Lund, Tabernacle Choir director, on religious songs. Traveling as a mining engineer, Auerbach had opportunities to interview pioneers, trace diaries, and in general search for historical information. I was told (perhaps this is apocryphal) that Auerbach advertised the wares of his store by air-dropping leaflets over Utah's rural

communities. As part of the advertisement he solicited books and manuscripts which would be considered in trade for purchased items from the store. After Auerbach died in 1945, an effort was made to keep his collection in Utah, but the executors believed that a larger sum could be realized if the collection were auctioned in London. The sale in England was disappointing and the remainder of the collection was sold by Parke-Bernet in New York. As long as there are sales such as the Auerbach and Streeter auctions, opportunities for bringing Utah and Mormon manuscripts back to Utah — although at an increase in price — can be taken advantage of by Utah's institutions. Once such items are obtained by libraries, they rarely if ever are available for future sale. The current trend is for libraries to acquire the type of material we have been considering for research collections, thus depleting the grist of the auction market. Therefore, contrary to what I said previously, do head for grandfather's trunk and dig out that trip to Europe — there *may* well be gold in your attic, as well as an opportunity to contribute to the basic materials needed for the important task of understanding our history.



Notes and Comments

Edited by Joseph Jeppson

THE VIETNAM WAR THROUGH THE EYES OF A MORMON SUBCULTURE

Knud S. Larsen and Gary Schwendiman

Knud Larsen is a Ph.D. candidate at Brigham Young University and is completing his doctoral thesis at the International Institute for Peace in Oslo, Norway. Gary Schwendiman is also a Ph.D candidate and faculty member in the Department of Psychology at Brigham Young University. He is First Counselor in his ward bishopric.

This study was conducted at Brigham Young University in order to assess student views toward the war in a subculture where the norms of Mormonism are overwhelmingly dominant. Brigham Young University is perhaps the only place in the world where the Church exercises such complete control over the intellectual, social, and spiritual norms of its people. Thus, in this setting, one should be able to determine as nearly as is possible the attitudes of the Mormon people in their "purest" form, and to ascertain the effect of Mormon philosophy upon attitudes toward the war.

THE SETTING

The study was conducted in the middle part of December 1967, at a time when major American involvement in the war was continuing in its third year. With the exception of some spectacular battles at Dak To and Con Thien, the war appeared to be a slow moving but costly battle of attrition.

The year of 1967 was a year of increased dissent throughout the United States and some other parts of the world, coupled with growing curiosity and speculation about the causes and possible consequences of the war.

Although debate about the merits of the war bubbled up like a vicious mud pot in most areas of the United States, Brigham Young University in comparison appeared to be a tranquil and silent desert. Even the most mild and well ordered demonstrations, petitions, or soapbox speeches in any form either for or against the war were conspicuous in their absence.

THE SAMPLE

Our subjects were 305 students selected randomly from the Student Directory at Brigham Young University. The sample consisted of 157 males and 148 females. With respect to political affiliation, 54 percent identified themselves as Republicans, 27 percent as Independents, and 13 percent as Democrats, with approximately 6 percent categorizing themselves as "other." The students were well distributed among the various fields of study, with 23 percent claiming the humanities and fine arts, 24 percent the social sciences, 20 percent the physical and biological sciences, 13 percent business, with the remaining students falling in "other" categories. The students generally came from an active church background with 46 percent characterizing their family as very active in the Church, 25 percent as active, 12 percent as neither active nor inactive, 12 percent as inactive, with only 5 percent coming from families antagonistic toward the Church. Individual Church activity reflected a similar pattern with 47 percent considering themselves to be very active, 43 percent active, 6 percent neither active nor inactive, and only 3 percent and 1 percent considering themselves inactive or antagonistic toward the Church, respectively. In answer to the statement, "I think I exemplify the Christian virtues of love, brotherhood and consideration for others," 27 percent answered to a great extent, 67 percent to some extent, with 5 percent answering a little, no one answering not much at all, and approximately 1 percent answering not at all. In essence, the vast majority of the students perceived themselves to be good Christians. A measure of religious authoritarianism was obtained by asking "I would support statements on political and social matters made by General Authorities of the Church as": 16 percent answered "the literal word of God spoken through prophets thus becoming scripture," 27 percent stated it was "advice which all church members should follow," 28 percent that it was "good advice," 13 percent stated it was "informed opinion," while 16 percent felt it was "personal opinion which one can take or leave." Taking into account only the male sample, there were approximately 58 percent who had served missions for the Church and 67 percent of the total sample had obtained all their higher education at Brigham Young University.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 shows the students' responses to items of information. The results are all in percentage form.

TABLE 1
STUDENT RESPONSES TO INFORMATION ITEMS
(Asterisks indicate best answer)

1. During the Second World War, Vietnam was occupied by:
   a. China — 17% b. *Japan — 34.4% c. England — 13.6% d. Australia — 3.0% e. a and b — 23.6% f. don't know — 8.4%
2. The name of the organization which led the struggle against occupation forces during the Second World War was:
   a. Viet Cong — 5.2% b. National Liberation Front — 40.7% c. *Viet Minh — 28.2% d. United League of Workers and Peasants — 7.9% e. Bao Dai — 6.9% f. don't know — 11.0%

3. The United States' relationship to France during the French Indo-Chinese War was one of: a. absolute neutrality — 22.3% b. giving moral support to the forces fighting against France — 15.7% c. supporting France against the guerilla forces — 29.8% d. underwriting the major financial cost of guerilla resistance to France — 2.6% e. *underwriting the major share of France's financial cost in suppressing the guerillas — 18.0% f. don't know — 18.0%

4. French forces were defeated at: a. Phu Bien Phu — 13.8% b. Hue — 10.8% c. *Dien Bien Phu — 53.4% d. Loc Nu Plsiku — 6.9% e. don't know — 14.8%

5. Geneva Accords settling the French Indo-Chinese War included all but: a. military truce — 3.9% b. withdrawal of all foreign troops — 19.7% c. *maintain North and South Vietnam as separate nations — 21.6% d. free elections supervised by an international supervisory board — 20.7% e. none of the above — 22.0% f. don't know — 12.5%

6. With respect to the Geneva Accords, the United States: a. signed them — 19.6% b. *signed a conditional declaration of support — 35.7% c. did not participate at the conference — 22.9% d. refused to sign them — 8.9% e. don't know — 12.5%

7. The original commitment of American aid to the Republic of South Vietnam was made under the administration of: a. Truman — 13.1% b. *Eisenhower — 55.1% c. Kennedy — 25.2% d. Johnson — 1.3% e. don't know — 5.2%

8. Diem became Chief of State in Vietnam by: a. coup d'état — 35.7% b. referendum supervised by International Supervisory Board — 16.1% c. referendum in which candidates representing all viewpoints were represented — 6.9% d. *elections between government-approved candidates — 28.9% e. don't know — 12.5%

9. The stated program of the National Liberation Front includes the following: a. a termination of all western influence in Indo-China — 24.5% b. a military defense alliance with the Soviet Union and China — 11.8% c. *a neutral foreign policy — 11.1% d. none of the above — 33.4% e. don't know — 18.0%

10. Continuous bombing of North Vietnam began in 1965 immediately after: a. U.S. Navy ships were attacked in the Gulf of Tonkin — 61.9% b. *U.S. camp attacked at Pleiku — 12.8% c. terrorist attack on U.S. Embassy — 15.4% d. assassination attempt on Secretary McNamara — 1.6% e. don't know — 8.2%

11. The size of U.S. expenditures for the war in Vietnam per month is approximately: a. $15 million — 20.9% b. $500 million — 22.6% c. $1 billion — 20.3% d. *$2 billion — 28.5% e. don't know — 7.2%

12. Total U.S. casualties including our wounded in the Vietnam War are approximately: a. 25,000 — 13.8% b. 75,000 — 16.4% c. *100,000 — 26.9% d. 150,000 — 36.4% e. don't know — 6.0%

On the surface, one might be surprised at the apparent lack of information possessed by many of the students. With regard to the individual items, only 11 percent responded correctly on the most difficult item (No. 9) while 55 percent responded correctly on what appeared to be the easiest item (No. 7). The other items fell between those percentages of correct answers, with an approximate mean of 27 percent correct responses for each item.

Table 2 reflects student opinion as to why the U.S. is involved in Vietnam. The items in this scale attempt to determine whether the conflict is seen as a holy war against an international Communist conspiracy or as a civil war with few international overtones.

TABLE 2
PERCEPTION OF THE WAR

1. The war in Vietnam is not really conflict between democracy and communism.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
32.2%	45.7%	2.8%	16.0%	3.3%

2. There can be no peaceful solution to the war in Vietnam unless communism is crushed in the South.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
22.6%	45.6%	8.8%	19.0%	4.0%

3. The Viet Cong represent a substantial portion of the people and are more a popular movement than a conspiracy.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
17.3%	44.7%	21.3%	14.7%	2.0%

4. The United States may have made some mistakes in its involvement in Vietnam, but we must fight on to a victorious conclusion because of our position as defender of democracy in the world today.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
28.7%	50.7%	7.0%	10.6%	3.0%

5. The conflict in Vietnam is not part of the so-called plan for world domination by the Communists.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
40.3%	42.7%	7.0%	8.0%	2.0%

6. If Vietnam falls to the Viet Cong, we will soon be defending Thailand and eventually other Southeast Asian countries.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
32.0%	48.0%	11.7%	7.3%	1.0%

7. The struggle in Vietnam is essentially a struggle between atheistic philosophy and religious freedom.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
2.6%	14.4%	18.0%	48.9%	16.1%

8. Most informed expert opinion on Asiatic affairs is that if the U.S. had not intervened in South Vietnam, the results would have been:

   a. establishment of a democratic and neutral government.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
35.7%	44.3%	18.8%	1.3%	.1%

   b. establishment of a democratic and neutral government in which Communists would have played a dominant part.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
20.0%	39.0%	22.7%	14.8%	3.5%

   c. Communist control would have been completed within two years' time.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
24.9%	49.5%	21.07%	4.5%	.1%

The majority of students agree that the Communists must be crushed before peaceful solutions can be implemented and see the Viet Cong as representing more of a conspiracy than a popular movement. They also perceive American involvement to be the checking of an aggressive foreign ideology rather than active intervention in a civil war. The answers to these questions seem to indicate that most B.Y.U. students appear to be convinced that continued American intervention in the war is justified.

It should be pointed out, however, that a significant minority of students are opposed to the interpretation of the purpose of the war given by the majority of students. This is interesting in light of the fact that B.Y.U. students have had limited access on campus to speakers of national prominence who dispute the reasons for fighting the war as advanced by the Johnson Administration.

One of the choice doctrines integral to Mormon theology is the concept of free agency, which is presumably reflected in permitting individuals to openly express their ideas. This implies the need to insure that communications media remain unencumbered by government regulation and management so that novel and controversial ideas might be freely exchanged. Table 3 shows items which reflect relative agreement or disagreement by the students on suppression of dissent and management of news.

TABLE 3
CONTROL OF NEWS AND DISSENT

1. We should avoid giving aid or comfort to the enemy even if it means prohibiting public demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
14.0%	28.0%	16.0%	30.0%	12.0%

2. It is essential that a country in war such as ours must control the news media to some extent.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
6.0%	38.0%	16.0%	27.0%	13.0%

3. When the national security is at stake, it is proper for the government to omit telling the whole truth to the people.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
7.0%	42.0%	14.0%	23.0%	14.0%

4. In these troubled times, if we are to be strong and united against our common enemy, we must have more laws and safeguards against the spreading of dangerous ideas.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
11.0%	39.0%	21.0%	22.0%	7.0%

5. Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
8.0%	36.0%	15.0%	38.0%	3.0%

6. A group which tolerates too much difference of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
7.0%	28.0%	13.0%	44.0%	8.0%

7. In times like these it is often necessary to be more on guard against ideas put out by people or groups in one's own camp than by those in the opposing camp.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
2.0%	19.0%	27.0%	44.0%	8.0%

In light of the rights guaranteed by the first amendment of the United States Constitution as supported by the doctrine of the Church, it is interesting to find that so many students are willing to prohibit free but controversial expression. The fact that the majority of students do not feel that a

group which tolerates differences of opinion can exist for long may be expressing an unwritten norm in the Church that disagreement is threatening to group survival.

Table 4 shows student attitudes toward the war as reflected by recommendations of how to handle the conflict. Our efforts were aimed at tapping a dimension which might appropriately be termed "hawkish"—"dovish"; the poles being reflected as agreement with such items as "Johnson should be censured for violating international law" and "we should employ nuclear weapons to prevent South Vietnam from falling to the Viet Cong."

TABLE 4
ATTITUDES TOWARD THE WAR

1. More effort should be applied toward a military victory than a political solution.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
15.7%	28.9%	17.4%	28.5%	9.5%

2. In order to destroy the food supply base of the Viet Cong, chemical defoliation agents should be used.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
6.6%	18.0%	33.4%	36.1%	5.9%

3. A justified basis for the withdrawal of American forces in Vietnam is that our involvement is immoral.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
32.7%	43.3%	15.8%	5.6%	2.6%

4. Our government must implement the Geneva Accords which settled the French Indo-China War as a basis for settling the conflict.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
7.2%	18.0%	69.1%	5.6%	.1%

5. Johnson and his administration should be censured for violating international law pertaining to the conduct of war in Vietnam.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
12.7%	44.6%	35.4%	4.3%	3.0%

6. Limited forms of torture of Viet Cong suspects are essential due to the special nature of this war which prevents normal intelligence gathering.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
3.9%	19.6%	30.9%	33.1%	12.5%

7. Since the military is most familiar with the problems of the war, they should be given a free hand in its conduct.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
12.1%	31.5%	13.8%	35.4%	7.2%

8. A justified basis for withdrawal of American forces in Vietnam is total victory by our forces.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
20.0%	43.3%	13.5%	20.6%	2.6%

9. If necessary we should employ nuclear weapons to prevent South Vietnam from falling to the Viet Cong.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
9.8%	17.0%	23.4%	35.7%	14.1%

10. Napalming of villages is justified if these communities harbor and support the Viet Cong.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
6.8%	32.5%	27.3%	28.2%	5.2%

11. The primary aim of the U.S. in Vietnam should be the attempt to reconcile all factors, including the Viet Cong and to guarantee all factions a political role in a future government.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
7.5%	41.3%	21.4%	26.8%	3.0%

12. The U.S., being the most powerful combatant in the Vietnam conflict, must take the first step toward peace by ceasing military operations for an indefinite time in a step toward negotiations.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
32.8%	46.8%	9.6%	9.2%	1.6%

13. If a U.N. resolution calls for a cessation of bombing in the North, the U.S. should abide by such a resolution.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
12.1%	21.3%	20.7%	41.6%	4.3%

14. China's support of the rebellion in the South can best be curtailed by bombing targets within China herself.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
2.9%	13.1%	22.7%	46.9%	14.4%

15. As a step toward peace in Vietnam, we must stop supporting the current regime in Saigon.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
12.5%	43.3%	39.3%	3.6%	1.3%

16. The harbor at Haiphong should be mined to prevent war materials from entering North Vietnam.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
18.0%	42.9%	27.2%	11.8%	.1%

17. In order to shatter the enemy's potential, the bombing of the North must be increased.

agree strongly	agree	don't know	disagree	disagree strongly
19.0%	42.9%	25.6%	10.2%	2.3%

18. Our policy in Vietnam should be aimed toward supporting national determination even if this means recognizing the National Liberation Front as the legitimate representative of the people.

disagree strongly	disagree	don't know	agree	agree strongly
5.9%	23.9%	53.4%	14.8%	2.0%

Generally the results reflect some ambivalence on the part of students about the war. Few overall generalizations are possible as the respondents indicated considerable divergence of opinion on many of the issues contained in this scale. These responses, however, do support the belief that most students feel that American intervention in the war is justified, as exemplified by majority disagreement that American involvement is immoral and general disapproval of censuring the Johnson Administration. An overwhelming majority state that they don't know whether the Geneva Accords should be a basis for settling the conflict; however, this uncertainty may reflect ignorance about the implications of the Geneva Accords. It is interesting that when confronted with some of the "gut" issues of the war there is some ambivalence toward harsh and cruel measures. Thus, more people disagree than agree that chemical defoliation agents should be used to destroy the food base of the Viet Cong, that limited forms of torture should be employed against Viet Cong suspects and that nuclear weapons should be employed. However, majority

approval is registered for the mining of Haiphong harbor and increased bombing of the North.

While there is little to substantiate that the students are more "hawkish" at B.Y.U. than at other institutions, agreement with items of torture and bombing (with all the suffering that this implies) at an institution with a student body generally perceiving itself as being deeply religious brings into focus the tragic dilemmas posed by this war.

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS AND THE WAR

Where in the earlier section we attempted to report student attitudes and views about the war, we would like in this section to discuss the background and characteristics of individuals which induce them to support a hard-line, hawkish policy in Vietnam. The data were analyzed by various statistical techniques,[2] and we will report here only those relationships which are sufficiently above chance levels to justify inclusion.

Among early psychologists, Freud consistently pointed out the effect of the child rearing practices of parents on the subsequent character of the child. Several investigators have noted that severe punitiveness of parents in controlling the child's aggression results in frustration and eventually aggression directed at some safe target.[3] Some cross-cultural evidence[4] has also been found between the severity of aggression training and aggression. One study[5] supports the view that children prescribe for others the same sort (including intensity) of punishment which they received from their parents.

If severe aggression training by the parents produces frustration in the child, which in turn produces aggressive behavior toward "safe" targets, it is not difficult to assume that such reaction may eventually become habitual in the adult. The hypothesized relationship between aggression training and the war in Vietnam is based on the assumption that reaction to frustration is habitually directed toward outgroups. Such outgroups are considered safe because the greatest punishment as a child always occurred from the ingroup, particularly the parents. There is reason to believe that the NLF is such a psychologically safe outgroup. Not only is the war being fought thousands of miles away, but it is being fought against another race possessing an alien ideology. *Our results verify the hypothesis that students who perceive their*

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[1]Using a random sample of 305, one can show using statistical techniques that the relationships between variables and percentages for the sample reflect with very little chance of error the relationships and percentages for the entire student body of 20,000.

[2]The data from the survey questionnaire were analyzed through various statistical procedures. All the variables were intercorrelated and a regression analysis and analysis of variance were performed. The relationships which are reported in this paper are those which are significant at *at least* the .05 level, which means that we are taking only 5 chances out of 100 that these results might have occurred by chance.

[3]J. Dollard, L. Doob, N. Miller, O. Mowrer, and R. Sears. *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939).

[4]J. W. M. Whiting and I. L. Child, *Child Training and Personality* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).

[5]Marian J. Radke, Relation of Parental Authority to Children's Behavior and Attitudes, *University of Minnesota Institute of Child Welfare Monograph*, No. 22, 1946.

parents as being extremely punitive in disciplining them for varying degrees of probing aggression generally tend to be more hawkish about the war. This lends support to the notion that individuals mete to others the same harshness of punishment which is meted to them. Further, it shows a need to fully evaluate the home influence in trying to understand intra- and inter-social aggression.

One possible reason for the relationship between aggression training and hawkish attitudes might be that individuals become less sensitive to the pains of others to the extent that they are exposed to pain or violence themselves. A variation of this theme has actually been employed in psychotherapy to overcome anxiety and phobias. The central hypothesis is that fear is learned, and if it can be learned it can also be unlearned. Thus, hospitalized patients who are afraid of open or closed places often overcome their fears when slowly introduced to these stimuli under pleasant or fear reducing conditions.

Today communications media have many of the features described above. As has been noted, violence has become a prominent part of the movies, new novels, and many currently popular TV programs. The interesting phenomenon is that indulging in these media usually takes place under very pleasant conditions, sitting in plush seats eating popcorn or relaxing in front of the TV with a pleasant snack. This relationship contains all the elements of desensitization therapy and could presumably reduce anxiety and fear of violence – including the violence of war. *In fact we find that students who prefer violence over other topics in the various media also tend to be more hawkish about the war.* Presumably what happens is that the individual's own fears and anxieties over violence are blunted, permitting him to more easily tolerate, condone, or actively advocate violence on the intersocial level.

Traditionally, the separation of church and state implies that churches are not political reference groups. Several studies, however, have established that differences in religion are related to differences in handling such issues as dealing with communist nations and the cold war.[6] Research[7] has shown that Jews are more oriented toward peace action that either Protestants or Catholics. Catholics in particular appeared to be highest in the expression of hard-line attitudes. In a Canadian survey[8] religious dogmatism is associated with the acceptance of bigger military forces, being favorable to the spread of nuclear weapons, and hostility to a co-existence policy. We wanted to observe whether church religious authorities are political reference figures for some people and whether the relationship between attitudes toward war and religiosity is also consistent for the Mormon population. The essential hypothesis is that L.D.S. religious authorities are political reference figures for some people.

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[6]A. Barton. A Survey of Suburban Residence on What To Do about the Danger of War, *Council for Correspondence Newsletter*, No. 24 (1963), 3–11; M. J. Rosenberg "Images in Relation to the Policy Process," in H. C. Kelman, ed., *International Behavior* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965).

[7]Barton, *op. cit.*

[8]*Ibid.*

Although there is no obvious link between the L.D.S. Church and attitudes toward the war in Vietnam, consideration of our results may suggest that the Church is viewed by some members as a political reference group. In general the Church leadership is recognized as being socially and politically conservative and B.Y.U. has been characterized as the most conservative university in America. The campaign for Christmas cards for the servicemen along with an absence of recognized dissent on the campus has perhaps led many naive students to believe that a connection exists between Church commitment and fighting the battle for Christ against an atheistic enemy. Under these conditions, one might expect that the more active an individual is in Church the more he will be disposed to a hard-line policy toward the war. We may expect greater Church norm influence on a young man who has just returned from a mission for his Church than on those who have been back longer. If the L.D.S. Church then is a political reference group we may predict that those who have been back from their missions a shorter time will tend to show greater preference for hard-line attitudes in Vietnam. *The results of our survey indicate that this postulated relationship actually exists.* In summary, the more active an individual is in the Church and the more recently he has left his mission, the more hawkish are his attitudes.

Hawkish individuals tend to believe that the war is really part of an international Communist plot. This is not surprising as we may logically expect that a person's beliefs are consistent with his attitudes. Festinger[9] (p. 18) suggests "when dissonance is present, in addition to trying to reduce it, the person will actively avoid situations and information which would likely increase the dissonance." This may then explain why those with "hard-line" views on the war approve of the management and control of news and treating dissenters harshly. If news sources are carefully moderated and selectively filtered and internal dissent is absent, it is not likely that any dissonance will occur. In the absence of dissonance there is no discomfort which will cause the individual to reevaluate his position or change his attitude.

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

The overwhelming majority of Brigham Young University students (94%) perceive themselves as possessing the Christian virtues of love, brotherhood, and consideration for others, and many accept the General Authorities as political reference figures. It is apparent therefore that the possibility of individuals in authority becoming models for political behavior is very real. At the same time, there is considerable divergence about the war among L.D.S. persons of high status, and this divergence is in fact reflected among the students. The perception of self-expressed Christian virtue has some meaning at the intersocial level. This is indicated by the fact that a majority of the students disapproved of harsh and cruel measures administered on a person to person basis, while approving of more remote means of destruction, e.g., bombing, where the pain and suffering seem somehow more distant.

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[9]L. Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957).

As has been stated, there is no immediate or apparent reason why the Church should be a hawkish reference group. Nevertheless a significant positive relationship was obtained between the extent of Church activity and hawkish attitudes. The statistical techniques employed in analyzing the data do not imply causal relationships, but we are left with the intriguing question: Why are highly active members and recently returned missionaries more hawkish than less active members and missionaries who have been back longer?

There is no evidence at present which indicates that Brigham Young University students have less information available about the war than students from other universities. One must however contemplate how attitudes are affected by the lack of knowledge concerning critical historical items. It is of course logical that good choices are only available to the extent that one possesses the knowledge upon which to base a choice. By this criterion, Brigham Young University students in general do not have a solid foundation on which to base their policy preferences.

There are varying opinions on why we are fighting the war in Vietnam, and these differences of opinion are at the very core of solving the issue. Involved here is the whole problem of how to obtain "good" information apart from the biases of the individual. Good information is trusted information and all have varying opinions about whom they can trust. The bias of the individual not only indicates whom he will trust but also the type of information sought in the first place. While this problem is difficult it must be clear that there is safety in diversity. *Only by exposing oneself purposely to information which is incongruent with one's own opinion is there any hope that a realistic picture will finally emerge.*

This indicates the importance of keeping the channels of information free and open while allowing all forms of constitutional dissent. One must ask the question, "How can citizens make responsible judgments in the face of censorship and misrepresentation and how will incongruent information be made available without dissent?" In this regard, it is disappointing to observe that so many students approve of the muzzling of dissent and news control. Democracy will only succeed to the extent that citizens can make choices unencumbered by the tyranny of government or majorities.

War is ugly and far from glorious. It often robs those involved of any human sentiment and pity and permits one to be "objective" about cruelty and pain. In the beatitudes the Lord says: "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the sons of God." How can we as Latter-day Saints play this fortunate role in this complex and fast-paced world? While there are no easy solutions to this question, it is clear that we must all be involved in the choices we make as a nation in waging war and peace. This study shows that harsh punishment as a child, preference for violence in TV and reading material, and activity in the Church, among other variables, are generally found in B.Y.U. students who take a hard-line or hawkish approach to the war in Vietnam, while those characteristics are generally present to a lesser degree in students who take a "dovish" stand.

RFK AT BYU

This speech by the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy was delivered at the Smith Fieldhouse at Brigham Young University, March 27, 1968, at a noon rally. Mr. Robert K. Reeve, the B.Y.U. student who transcribed the speech from a tape, reports that approximately 15,000 people were present, the "largest crowd ever to witness an event of any kind in the fieldhouse."

Thank you very much. Thank you. I appreciate very much being here . . . I understand that this is a campus made up of all political persuasions. I had a very nice conversation with Dr. Wilkinson [*laughter*] . . . and I promised him that all Democrats would be off the campus by sundown [*applause*]. But I feel very close to this state. Not only did part of my wife's family live in the state of Utah for a long period of time, I traveled down your Green River . . . spent part of the time in the water . . . [*laughter*] and then I spent

part of my honeymoon here and I've had ten children since then, so I have learned something from the Mormons [*laughter*]. I think that we still have a great deal in common, and [in common] with the man this university honors. For I too have a large family [*laughter*], I too have settled in many states [*laughter*]. And now I too know how it is to take on Johnson's army [*laughter and applause*]. So I am delighted to be with you. I am going to speak relatively briefly, but then I'd be glad to answer any questions you might have about any of the matters I do not cover. I am not going to speak in any detail today . . . about Vietnam. But I would be glad to answer any questions about my position on that subject, or really any other subject, at the question period.

Many people have asked me — and again I apologize for my voice (I lost it somewhere between Portland and Seattle), but I'll do the best that I can — many people have asked me why I entered the race for the presidency. This is what Parley Pratt, one of Utah's great pioneers, wrote describing the winter of 1848:

> My family and myself in common with many of the camp suffered much from lack of food. Myself and some of them were compelled to go with bare feet for several months. We toiled hard and lived on a few greens and on thistle and other roots.

For myself, I have been eating regularly. I wear shoes. I haven't had a meal of thistles lately. But running for the presidency, I know exactly how Parley Pratt felt. But he won his fight to found a great state, and I hope that I am as fortunate in this struggle. Parley Pratt also wrote that year of the mood of the new settlement: "All is quiet. All is stillness," he said. "No elections, no police reports, no murders, no wars in our little world. It is a dream of the poets actually fulfilled."

Utah is very different today and so is the United States. There is a war, there are murders, there are police reports, and there is an election. It is an election which will tell us what kind of country we will have and what kind of a country we will make for our children, and really, what kind of men we will be. It is of this election and, more importantly, what lies beyond it that I wish to speak with you today. In the last week I have met with your colleagues across the United States — in Kansas, in Tennessee, in Alabama, in Watts, in Oregon, and New York. I've asked of them what I now ask of all of you — your help in the struggle for new leadership here in the United States of America, a new leadership around the rest of the world. I found in this past

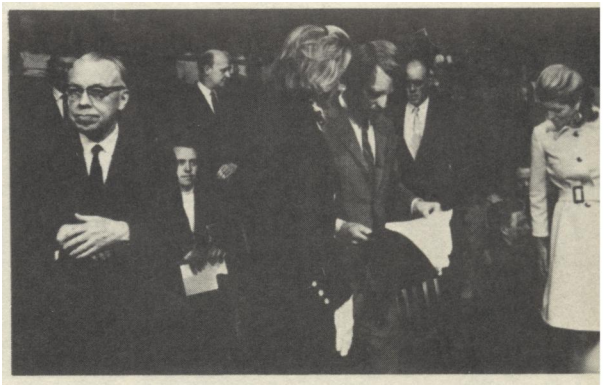
week a new sense of possibility. Not so much for my candidacy but for the principle that we remain the masters, not servants, of our own political life. And I think that's what's at stake in this election year [*applause*].

I think that there is a stirring abroad in this land. I think we have come to realize not simply that our course must be changed, but that this course can be changed, and that it can be changed this year [*applause*]. And I believe we can and that we will win the nomination in Chicago in August and that we can win the election in November. But I ask for your help in making that possible. And you who will give your help, I believe, will offer it not merely to win an electoral victory. I think that we have to seek a victory of purpose. It's more than just an election of an individual; it's more than just a change in leadership. It's the direction in which we want the United States — our own country — to proceed. Our country needs what our own conscience demands — a new dedication, a new commitment to its service, the realization that all across the country we must have a special mission and a special calling.

For there should be no mistake: I think the next President of the United States must offer the people of this country not comfort, but challenge. He must respond to your concerns and he must demand in return that you fulfill your own spirit of concern with action for the betterment of our fellow citizens and for the betterment of our country. And that is what I intend to do.

What are the tasks that we can do? What is this special mission of this generation of Americans? We've heard much debate in the past few years over the question of national service, but much of this debate in my judgment misses the point. We are a great and a generous nation and we are a great and generous people, but much still needs to be done within our own country. What we require is the commitment of this American generation to accept the burden of change across the whole range of conditions which are this nation's failures. I think you are willing to make that commitment. It can and it must be made, it seems to me, in some of the following ways:

First, your help is needed in a forgotten place in this nation where there is committed every day the most terrible, terrible of crimes — the breaking of a child's spirit. I have seen these children starving in the state of Mississippi, in the Delta of Mississippi. Here we are in the United States with the gross national product of $800,000,000,000 and we have little children who are slowly starving to death, whose minds will never be the same because we haven't provided them even enough to eat. I have seen others surrendering their lives to despair in the ghettos of our great cities, watching their proud



fathers reduced to the idle indignity of welfare. And I've seen this happen also in the ravished lands of eastern Kentucky. These and many more are the scars of the body of this nation, and they must be changed. And we must change them. And they can be changed. And they will be if our generation is willing to make that commitment to America, and if America will help you make it. There is much we can do together. [America needs] your commitment, your talent, your energy, your compassion, and your feeling, put together with the great need of those who are less well off.

Second, you must look beyond the problems of material poverty to the many kinds of poverty which afflict us all. All over this nation there are places where the air is polluted and the rivers are dying. Everywhere parks and open lands which afford us our essential cleansing contact with nature are being eroded by neglect, trampled by growth, and ripped and scarred by careless and selfish use. All this is something that you — all of you — can help to change. And it is something that we can commit ourselves to change.

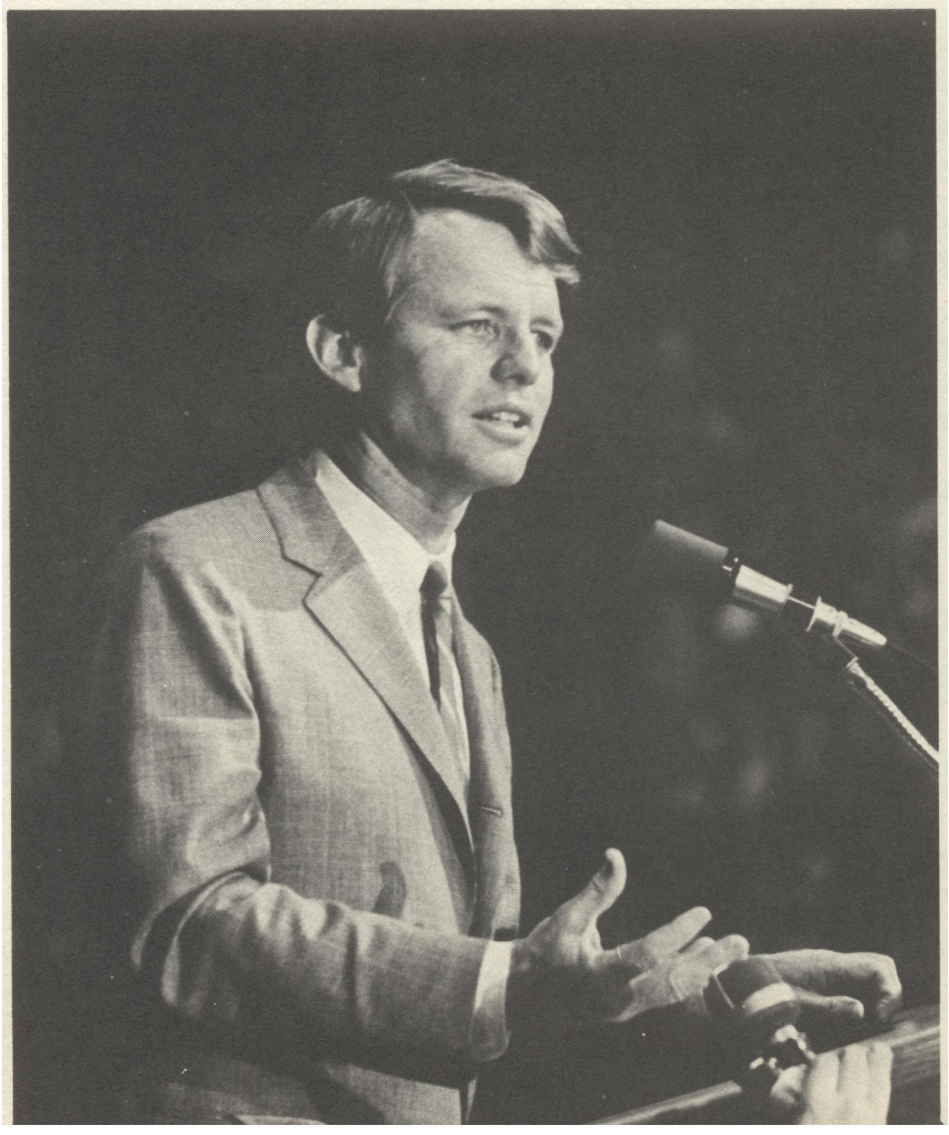
Third, you must take the lead in the creation and the organization of new organizations, new groups of concern and of action, to deal with the many problems of the day. Financial resources are only a part of what we need. We also need new kinds of organizations, small in size and scale, working in neighborhoods, able to establish the sense of personal contact and cooperation that we have lost all too often with the growth of our federal government. Kinds of organizations are diverse: they may be neighborhood help centers; they may be community job centers; they may be neighborhood assemblies where members of a real community meet formally and informally to debate issues of common concern and to develop a sense of identity in that neighborhood, one person with the other. In short, they are as varied and as different as the needs of the society. And I think all of us need to be a part of that venture.

Fourth, your work is needed in the renewal of political institutions, broadening their base to engage a far greater proportion of the American people in the debate and the decison and the issues which finally affect their lives. Above all, I want us in government to understand that this kind of commitment is the greatest contribution that your generation of Americans can render to this country. And I believe we could recognize this contribution by altering the laws of military service accordingly [*applause*]. I believe that if the difficulties could be resolved, this government ought to discharge young men from their military obligations if they have given a different but equally valuable kind of service to their country [*applause*].

Let me be clear: I do not come here promising to develop a system of alternative service to the draft. There are serious difficulties involved in such an attempt. First, it could only work in peacetime, for nothing is comparable to the risks of combat, and those burdens must be met by all of our citizens [*applause*]. Second, it could not be allowed to reinforce the already rampant social and economic disparities in our system of [selective] service. Third, we should not assume that we could overcome the unattractive aspect of military life by giving higher benefits to those in the military [by] imposing

greater burdens on those in the alternate service. So I do not come before you with a complete program of alternative service. But I do say that America should be a nation where a man can serve his country without a uniform and without a gun [*applause*]. And I do say that America should honor those who improve the quality of our national life as much as those who fight to defend it. I do say that by working together we can design the kind of program that will fairly and equitably begin the process of alternative service. Obviously this is not an easy task. But it is not given to us to lead an easy life.

It was once said of Utah (of the hard soil and the tribulation of your pioneers) that life does not come easy. Perhaps some of the special flavor of Utah comes from this quality that things come hard. That will be true too of our efforts, yours and mine, to match the generosity of our impulses with a determination to act. It will not be easy. But it will be a special task, one which will ennoble those who are willing to participate even as it wins for us a better country. And I ask you to join with me in that task. Thank you very much [*extended applause*]. Now, Doctor, that wasn't so bad was it? [*laughter and more applause*].



The First Presidency wish to bring to the attention of the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints their obligations as members of the communities in which they live and as citizens of the nation.

The historic position of the Church has been one which is concerned with the quality of man's contemporary environment as well as preparing him for eternity. In fact, as social and political conditions affect man's behavior now, they obviously affect eternity.

The revelations in this dispensation place a sobering responsibility on us as individuals in seeking out and supporting political candidates who are "wise," "good," and "honest." Likewise, the health of our cities and communities is as genuine a concern now as it was in the planning and establishment of Nauvoo or Salt Lake City.

The growing world-wide responsibilities of the Church make it inadvisable for the Church to seek to respond to all the various and complex issues involved in the mounting problems of the many cities and communities in which members live. But this complexity does not absolve members as individuals from filling their responsibilities as citizens in their own communities.

We urge our members to do their civic duty and to assume their responsibilities as individual citizens in seeking solutions to the problems which beset our cities and communities.

With our wide ranging mission, so far as mankind is concerned, Church members cannot ignore the many practical problems that require solution if our families are to live in an environment conducive to spirituality.

Where solutions to these practical problems require cooperative action with those not of our faith, members should not be reticent in doing their part in joining and leading in those efforts where they can make an individual contribution to those causes which are consistent with the standards of the church.

Individual Church members cannot, of course, represent or commit the Church, but should, nevertheless, be "anxiously engaged" in good causes, using the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as their constant guide.

THE FIRST PRESIDENCY
Church of Jesus Christ
of Latter-day Saints.
Deseret News
September 7, 1968

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